

U.S. war in Lebanon: the next Vietnam?

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

SEPT. 21 — The bombardment that began September 19 of Muslim and Druse targets in the Shuf Mountains of Lebanon by U.S. warships is the largest U.S. naval action since the Vietnam War.

The attack marks a major step-up in Washington's entanglement in Lebanon's civil war, with U.S. forces openly involved in combat on the side of Lebanon's ultrarightist government.

A spokesperson for the Druse militia, which is fighting the Lebanese Army for control of the mountains southeast of Beirut, said the U.S. ships shelled five towns. An undetermined number of civilians were killed. One Druse commander said the U.S. Navy was using time bombs and phosphorus.

In another important development, Yassir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), returned to Lebanon on September 16. The revolutionary nationalist leader linked his visit to the escalating aggression of imperialism against the Lebanese people. "We are meeting here," Arafat said, "when the American fleets are in the sea, with the British and the French and their aircraft. It is not by coincidence or by chance."

U.S. officials continue to claim that their aggression is an act of self-defense, and that their targets are military ones. The naval artillery barrage was described by John Hughes, a U.S. State Department spokesman, as "limited strikes in defense of the Lebanese armed forces" in Suk al Gharb. "Our intent," Hughes said, "is to see that [Suk al Gharb] does not fall into the hands of forces that could shell our marines."

U.S. Marines spokesman Maj. Robert Jordan, however, admitted "there was no direct threat" to U.S. troops. The U.S. naval bombardment was aimed at defending the embattled Lebanese Army troops in Suk al Gharb. The purpose of the U.S. intervention in Lebanon is to shore up the shaky regime of Amin Gemayel.

Lebanon's discriminatory political system guarantees dominance to the Maronite Christians, who are a minority of the Lebanese people. Opposition to this setup is widespread within the Muslim and Druse communities. The Muslims make up some 60 percent of Lebanon's population.

The current Lebanese regime is dominated by the most right-wing element of the Maronite community — the Phalangists. This ultrarightist outfit is the one that slaughtered hundreds of defenseless civilians at the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatila last year. Historically, the Phalangists have received considerable assistance from the Israeli government. The Lebanese Army has been used to aid the Phalangists' sectarian warfare. The present civil war began when the Lebanese Army attempted to disarm Muslim militia in West Beirut.

Later, the government troops moved into the Shuf Mountains, which Israeli occupation forces withdrew from on September 3-4. These mountains, just a few miles south and east of Beirut, are the traditional homeland of the Lebanese Druse. In several weeks of fighting, Druse militia have expelled Lebanese Army and Phalangist troops from more than 80 percent of the Shuf Mountains. Suk al Gharb is the only major town in the mountains that the rightist forces control. And that control is tenuous.

Apparently, U.S. naval artillery stopped Druse militia from driving the Lebanese government troops out of Suk al Gharb. But what will it take next time? Air strikes? Ground troops?

Robert McFarlane, President Reagan's



U.S. marines target Shuf Mountains from Beirut airport

special envoy to the Mideast, has urged Washington for the last three weeks to send the U.S. Marines into the Shuf Mountains to aid Gemayel's troops. Reagan hasn't sent U.S. ground troops into the battle zone yet, but he did authorize the navy to shell the area.

In addition, he ordered 2,000 more U.S. Marines to Beirut to reinforce the 1,800-man contingent already there. This move brings to 14,000 the number of U.S. com-

bat forces — ground troops and naval personnel — that have been deployed in defense of the Lebanese rightists. The battleship *New Jersey* entered the Mediterranean September 20 to join the other U.S. warships off Lebanon.

U.S. imperialism's allies in Europe are also involved in Lebanon's civil war. Besides the detachment of U.S. Marines, the so-called peacekeeping force is made up of

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Polls: U.S. gov't hiding facts on Korean plane downing

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

A majority — 61 percent — of those asked in a poll think the U.S. government is holding back information that the people ought to know about the shooting down of a South Korean airliner by the Soviet Union September 1.

The poll was conducted September 14 by the *New York Times/CBS News*.

Many of those polled thought that the presence of a U.S. spy plane in the area at the time of the downing meant the United States "bears a significant share of the blame for the incident."

The *Times* did not give numbers for this, but reported that those who doubted that Washington has told all were more likely than those who didn't to think the U.S. had some responsibility for the incident.

The *Times/CBS* poll also showed 56 percent feeling that President Reagan had "not been tough enough" with Moscow. But, right after that question was answered, they were asked whether they agreed that "the risks of taking stronger action to punish the Russians are greater than any satisfaction it might give us."

A plurality, 48 percent, answered yes, causing the *Times* to observe, "Even the public's inclination for toughness was equivocal."

The *Times* also noted that "any rallying of the public behind Mr. Reagan was momentary," citing a drop to 39 percent in approval of Reagan's handling of the presidency from 47 percent in a poll by *Newsweek* on September 7 and 8, prior to revela-

tions that there was a U.S. spy plane in the area and that the Soviet pilot had indeed fired warning shots.

The *Newsweek* poll had also shown that 57 percent of those polled didn't want diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union broken, and that 70 percent didn't want arms-control discussions halted between the two countries.

This shift in opinion was also quite noticeable among industrial workers, according to socialist workers who have reported to the *Militant*.

In the General Electric plant in Lynn, Massachusetts, the Korean Air Lines (KAL) plane isn't discussed much, according to Dave Wilder, who works there.

Discussion was intense the first few days, Wilder says, but then died down. Some workers are upset that Reagan is using the downed plane to push military spending, including for MX missiles.

At a General Motors assembly plant in Kansas City, Missouri, Diane Shur reports that few workers were taken in from the start by the government's anti-Soviet hysteria.

Shur noted continued brisk sales of the *Militant* to the GM workers at her plant after the plane was shot down.

At the FMC armored vehicle plant in San Jose, where discussion at first had been hot and heavy, socialist Kim Allen reports little discussion now, even when he initiates it. "People don't want to talk about it much," Allen said, although he pointed

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Solidarity needed for copper strikers

BY MALIK MIAH

The Arizona copper unions need the all-out support of the organized labor movement; Chicano, Native American, and Black movements; women's rights and farmers organizations; and others opposed to union-busting and boss violence against working people.

Since July 1, 13 copper miners' unions have been in a life-and-death battle against the state's largest copper employer, the Phelps Dodge Corp. Phelps Dodge is herding hundreds of scabs into the mines to break the strike.

Its attempt to destroy the unions, as Reagan did the air traffic controllers union in 1981 when he fired all the striking workers and then blacklisted them from the industry, is being backed by Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt, the National Guard, state police, cops, courts, and daily press.

Striking workers are facing immediate eviction from company-owned homes. The courts are limiting pickets and issuing injunctions against the unions.

Arizona's "right-to-work" antilabor laws are the cover for these union-busting moves.

The stakes in this confrontation go beyond the small mining towns of Arizona. They will affect future battles of labor against the bosses, particularly if the copper unions are destroyed.

Moreover, the fight is not just a worker-employer confrontation. It involves oppressed nationalities — Chicanos, Mexicanos, and Native Americans — who are the big majority of the work force and the main component of the striking unions. A defeat of their unions would be a blow to their fight for self-determination and for equality, freedom, and justice.

Women, as well, would suffer greatly by a Phelps Dodge victory. They only began to enter the mines in 1969 after a successful law suit that documented sexist discrimination.

These features of the battle are why more and more the strike is taking on a broader social character. The workers and their families in the mining towns have no place else to go. Some have lived there three and four generations and have raised their standard of living through the efforts of their unions. They don't want to go backward, and won't without a serious fight.

It was not that long ago in fact that Jim Crow segregation was prevalent in the mining towns. As recently as the 1960s, and in some towns the early 1970s, Chicanos, Mexicanos, and Native Americans were using different lunch, locker, and change rooms and lived in segregated neighborhoods and attended segregated schools.

It wasn't until a strike in 1946 that equal pay for equal work was formally won. Even then the bosses continued to pay most Chicanos lower wages. Chicanos and Native Americans were also segregated into the unskilled, dirty, and most dangerous jobs.

This racism imposed on the work force by the bosses brought down the wages of white miners too. It wasn't until the mid-1950s that the unions led a struggle to give the Southwest miners parity with their counterparts in other parts of the country.

Significantly, the central leaders of the major strikes and battles after World War II for equal pay and parity were Chicano, Mexicano, and Native American workers. This explains why the history of the Chicano and Native American fight for

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Ariz. copper strikers need solidarity

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equality in the region is tied to the fight for unionization. They went hand in hand. That rich history remains a part of the mine workers' memory.

This is why other organizations led by Chicanos such as the United Farm Workers and Arizona Farm Workers (AFW) unions are backing the copper miners' strike too.

Lupe Sanchez, head of the AFW, took note of the combined aspects of the copper strike at a news conference held in Phoenix on September 16, Mexican Independence Day. Sanchez was joined by two leaders of Nicaragua's farm workers' organization on tour.

Sanchez explained the reason the AFW backed the strike: "If we don't hold them here, every company will try to take the unions on one by one. And if it is not stopped there's going to be more problems on the road ahead."

After reporters asked how poorly paid farm workers could support highly paid copper miners, he said, "They look like us."

The AFW also donated \$1,000 to the Copper Strike Relief Fund. A significant sum of money considering that Arizona farm workers are currently on strike against citrus growers.

The role of women in the strike has also been significant. Four days after the strike began a women's auxiliary was formed.

The auxiliary provides food, medical, and social services for needy strikers and



National Guard at Phelps Dodge's Morenci, Arizona, copper mine. State and local cops are also being used to try to break miners' unions.

their families. It is open to all women who support the strike.

Its effectiveness can be partially measured by the response of Phelps Dodge. They recently set up their own scab women's auxiliary.

The active leadership role of women in the strike and in solidarity efforts shows the

potential to win support from women's rights organizations such as the National Organization for Women and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

The key to victory, however, lies in what the organized labor movement does.

So far the AFL-CIO Executive Council and the 28 union-member Non-Ferrous In-

dustry Coordinated Bargaining Committee — led by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), the largest union on strike — have expressed solidarity. The Non-Ferrous Committee is urging its 100,000 members to donate a day's pay per month to the Copper Relief Fund.

While these steps are positive, much more is needed. Labor showed in Washington on August 27 and in the September 5 Labor Day parades that it can mobilize tens of thousands of workers. It has the capacity to organize a massive solidarity campaign that could make a difference in the strike. Such a mobilization would send a message to Phelps Dodge and the other employers that the union movement is serious about winning the strike.

The USWA in the late 1970s, for example, encouraged its members to travel to Newport News, Virginia, when it was involved in a major union-organizing drive at the shipyard there. That's the kind of effort we need now.

All union locals can invite a striking miner — or a member of the women's auxiliary — to a union meeting to tell their side of the battle.

They can pass resolutions of support and send contributions to the Copper Strike Relief Fund at 606 S. Plummer St., Tucson, Ariz. 85719.

It is by taking steps like these that the unions in particular can lead the solidarity efforts that can help the embattled copper miners' unions win their strike.

U.S. shells Lebanese in open act of aggression

Continued from front page

2,100 French, 1,400 Italian, and 100 British troops. To add to its firepower, the British government has dispatched all three of its aircraft carriers to the eastern Mediterranean Sea. There are at least 1,000 Royal Marines aboard the vessels.

Italy is considering providing air support



for its contingent and reinforcing it with artillery.

Meanwhile, the fighting widened in Lebanon's civil war during the last week. This is an ominous development for Gemayel's beleaguered regime. On September 18 militia units of the Lebanese National Salvation Front launched a rocket attack against the Lebanese Air Force's temporary base at Jubail, 25 miles north of Beirut.

The front is a coalition of Muslim and Druze forces opposed to the Gemayel government. This attack is the first time that the group has become involved in combat against the Lebanese Army.

Druze opposition to the U.S.-backed regime in Beirut has had an impact on Israel's army. Tens of thousands of Druze live in Israel. Many are in the Israeli armed forces. The September 9 issue of *Al Fajr*, a Palestinian weekly published in Jerusalem, reports that more than 1,000 of these Druze officers and soldiers signed a memorandum sent to Israeli Defense Minister Moshe Arens on September 6. In the memo the Druze troops say they intend to join the Druze fighters in the Shuf Mountains of Lebanon.

The Lebanese government claims that the fighting in the country isn't a civil war, but a Syrian-backed invasion of Palestinians and other "foreigners." Gemayel and

other Lebanese government officials say that PLO guerrillas are fighting alongside Druze militia.

But the PLO chairman Arafat says that the group's fighters have been in the area since before the Israeli troops pulled out of the Shuf Mountains. When the heroic PLO liberation fighters withdrew from Beirut last year, there remained thousands of PLO guerrillas in the Bekaa Valley. Following the Israeli retreat from the Shuf Mountains, PLO units were able to operate in the area with relatively more ease.

Arafat's return to Lebanon and the renewed activity of the PLO's fighting forces both highlight Israel's failure to destroy the PLO. That was one of Israel's goals in its invasion of Lebanon last year.

Speaking before a cheering crowd at the Nahr al Bared Palestinian refugee camp in Baddawi, Lebanon, Arafat pointed out that Israel's former Defense Minister, Ariel Sharon, had wanted to "liquidate the revolution and liquidate the Palestinians" in the fighting in Beirut last year.

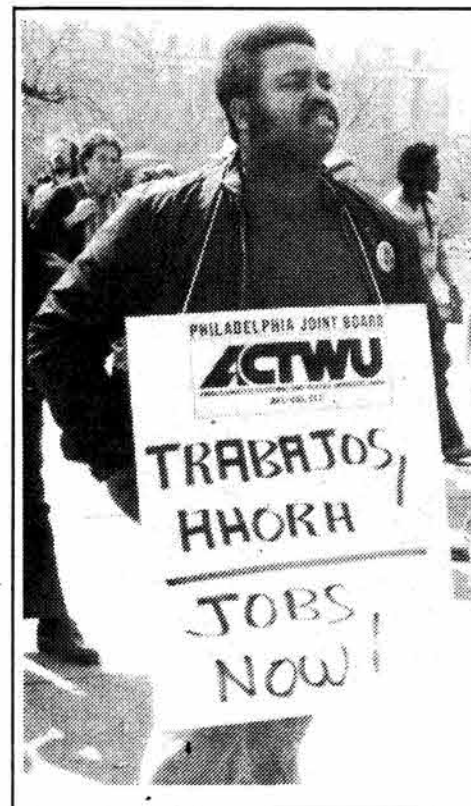
"And where is Begin?" Arafat asked. "Where is Sharon? Where is Haig? They all went to disaster," he said.

"And where is the Palestinian revolution?" the PLO leader asked.

And the crowd answered, "We are here."



PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat in Tripoli



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Book whitewashing 1950s government frame-up of Ethel and Julius Rosenberg (above) on "atom spy" charges has sparked debate.

Forum on Rosenbergs refutes apologists for gov't frame-up

BY CARLA RIEHLE

NEW YORK — An overflow audience of 200 people attended a forum here September 16 on the debate taking place around the Rosenberg case. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed in 1953 on trumped-up charges of espionage.

Entitled, "The Rosenbergs: Left History and the New Cold War," the meeting was sponsored by the New York Marxist School. The featured speakers included Michael Meeropol, oldest son of the Rosenbergs; Morton Sobell, codefendant of the Rosenbergs; and Miriam and Walter Schneir, authors of *Invitation to an Inquiry*.

The Schneirs are well known for their book, first published in 1965, which exposed the government's frame-up of the Rosenbergs. It is now widely accepted that the U.S. government fabricated evidence and called on perjured testimony to convict and execute the Rosenbergs. And that this was a deliberate attempt to stir up public hysteria against the Soviet Union, which had recently constructed an atomic bomb.

The Rosenbergs were convenient scapegoats because they had been active in the Communist Party and because they were Jewish.

Renewed interest in the Rosenberg trial has been sparked in recent months by several events: a new release of the Schneirs' book; the publication on September 6 of *The Rosenberg File: A Search for the Truth* by Ronald Radosh and Joyce Milton; and the recent release of the movie *Daniel*, based on a novel by E.L. Doctorow, a fictional account of the Rosenberg case.

The two books were prompted by the release — through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) — of 200,000 pages of documents on the case as the result of an eight-year legal battle by Robert and Michael Meeropol. Files of the FBI, the CIA, Army and Navy Intelligence, Justice Department, and Atomic Energy Commission were released through the suit, although heavily censored. The fight is still continuing since 100,000 pages of documents are still being withheld for "national security" reasons.

The Schneirs added three chapters to their book, based on these files, and say that the documents confirm all of their original hypotheses. Radosh and Milton, however, claim that the files support the opposite theory. They prove the Rosenbergs — or at least Julius — guilty, they say.

Spate of reviews

The Radosh-Milton book has enjoyed an unusual spate of favorable prepublication reviews — in *Publishers Weekly*, *Time*, the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, which has reviewed it twice. In addition, the *New York Review of Books* gave Radosh and Milton the opportunity to review — and try to rebut — the Schneirs' book before their own appeared.

What gives the Radosh-Milton book a particularly attractive twist to some of these publications is that Radosh has a reputation as a radical. He was a member of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee — now the Democratic Socialists of America. He purports to approach the case with scholarly objectivity and an open mind. Supposedly this gives his conclusion that the Rosenbergs were guilty more credibility. As the discussion develops, however, it is becoming apparent that book is a pack of unabashed lies.

The speakers argued that Radosh and Milton have rewritten a shameful history in

favor of the witch-hunters in the U.S. government who railroaded the Rosenbergs to their deaths. Present in the audience and confirming this view were other participants in the events around the case: Marshall Perlin, the Meeropols' attorney, and William Reuben, who wrote a series for the *National Guardian* in 1951 exposing the trial as a frame-up.

All of the speakers echoed the words of Morton Sobell who opened the program with the question, "How do they expect to get away with it?" How, he asked, can Radosh and Milton take publicly available documents and totally misrepresent their contents? How can they claim to have had interviews with people they never spoke with?

Sobell cited numerous instances of "pure invention" on the part of Radosh and Milton. For instance, they claim that when he was being sentenced, his wife Helen "let out a scream of anguish." This never happened. They claim that Ethel was "visibly shaken and ashen-faced" when sentence was handed down. But, he explains, the defendants had their backs to the entire courtroom and it would have been impossible for any observer to see this.

But the omissions and outright falsifications are far more serious than mere journalistic exaggerations. Miriam Schneir explains that she was one of 43 people Radosh and Milton claim to have interviewed. But, Miriam Schneir never met either of them. And three other people they did interview, former leaders of the Communist Party, John Gates, Junius Scales and Max Gordon, deny statements that Radosh and Milton attribute to them.

In the book, Radosh and Milton concoct an elaborate story in which they have

Scales and Gordon recount that they knew the Rosenbergs became spies because their subscription to the *Daily Worker* was canceled. Such orders, they are alleged to have stated, would come from the top leadership of the CP to divert suspicion when party members were recruited for espionage work.

Another of Radosh and Milton's techniques is to deliberately omit the government-assigned file numbers when they cite a source in the documents obtained through the FOIA. Without these file numbers it is next to impossible to identify a document, since they are not filed chronologically or in any order.

Nevertheless, the Schneirs attempted to track down some of the new evidence that Radosh and Milton claim to have found. For example, one startling new "fact" they uncover is taken from an alleged FBI document dated July 2, 1951. This document, they say, reports that William Perl, a fellow conspirator, checked out classified material from Columbia University. Since Radosh and Milton give no serial number for this document, it cannot be readily located. However, the Schneirs, who are familiar with the files, conducted an exhaustive search, and even requested the assistance of the FBI research staff. No such document was found to exist.

The Schneirs pointed out how Radosh and Milton gleefully present other "new evidence" gleaned from the government files. But their evidence — when its existence can be confirmed — turns out to be the "junk of the case." It is evidence that was too flimsy for even the government prosecutors to use because it led nowhere and proved nothing.

Why, then, is this book enjoying such an

enthusiastic reception from individuals and publications that purport to be objective, and even left-leaning, such as James Weinstein, editor of *In These Times*?

Michael Meeropol explained it as a convenient meshing of interests. On one hand, Ronald Radosh saw an opportunity to become a literary sensation by coming up with a new, albeit false, slant on the old facts. On the other hand, there are the U.S. government and those whose interests it represents. They saw an opportunity to start to close the floodgates that had been opened with Watergate, the Vietnam War, and the Black movement.

Role of FBI

Meeropol explained that with those events, some of the truth about America's secret police began to emerge, that the truth about the role of the FBI and how it framed the Rosenbergs had become popularly accepted by a broad layer of the population. With this book, the ruling class saw an opportunity to turn this sentiment around. However, in their eagerness to jump on the bandwagon, he said, many of these publications overlooked the fact that this book is sloppily put together, and its research transparently flawed.

In spite of the lateness of the hour, most of the audience stayed to participate in a lively question-and-answer period after the formal presentations. The first questioner asked the speakers' opinion on the role of the Communist Party (CP) in defense of the Rosenbergs. Did they agree that the CP had sat on their hands and let the Rosenbergs go to their death?

In response, William Schneir com-

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Farmers discuss November 1 actions

BY JOHN GAIGE

DES MOINES, Iowa — Nearly 50 leaders and activists of the farmers' movement gathered here September 16-18 at a meeting of the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA) steering committee. NAFA endorsed a national farm action called by the American Agriculture Movement (AAM) Grassroots centered in Campo, Colorado.

The Farm Revolt, as it is being called, is to begin November 1 with demands against low prices, high interest rates, foreclosures, and imports. November 1 was viewed here as one step in a broader and bigger response to the deep-going economic crisis that is driving family farmers off the land.

Darrel Ringer of Kansas AAM said it is "time to take the offensive" against government policies. He said farmers "need to keep zeroing in on foreclosures." He also pointed to the thousands of members of the International Association of Machinists laid off in Wichita, Kansas, as an example of the problems facing workers.

Alden Nellis, a Texan and coeditor of *American Agriculture News*, said, "The word 'revolt' may be shocking, but something needs to be done." He charged that Reagan's Payment-In-Kind (PIK) program never benefited the small farmers.

"And with farmers getting 57 percent of parity," he said, "we need to get serious. We need the support of all farmers, but not just farmers, all people violated by government policies."

Alvin Jenkins, national spokesperson of AAM Grassroots, urged support for the Farm Revolt. The Colorado farmer

explained that conditions were ripe for farmers to strike back against low prices by withholding grain and milk from the market. He said, "We're talking broke from country to city," and added that the "U.S. government is on a course for a deadend crash" because of its financial policies.

He said the government "prints wealth" for its bloated defense budget rather than "creating wealth" through policies that would help the small farmer.

Discussion over the weekend centered on the strengths and weaknesses of the demands for November 1, what type of actions to take, and how the Farm Revolt could help build an ongoing coalition with labor, Blacks, and women.

There was also discussion of the demand against imports, which many saw as cutting across international solidarity between farmers and workers. Participants agreed that this demand merited more discussion and possible revision.

Following a lengthy and wide-ranging discussion on different activities on November 1, NAFA and AAM representatives agreed to try to mobilize farmers to bring food to cities and areas with high unemployment. These mobilizations, combined with public rallies involving labor, Blacks, and women, could dramatize the demands of farmers and help build coalitions.

Plans are under way for such actions on the Iron Range in Minnesota, where 12,000 out of 14,000 iron ore miners are out of work, and in Waterloo, Iowa.

There was a desire by farmers to support Arizona copper miners on strike against Phelps Dodge Company, who face eviction

from company-owned homes.

There was some discussion of the need for political action. Merle Hansen, chairperson of NAFA and a Nebraska farmer, reported on a meeting farmers held with Jesse Jackson in Washington, D.C., after the August 27 demonstration for jobs, peace, and freedom. Hansen said he planned to seek Jackson's support for the Farm Revolt.

Paul Swanson, state legislative representative for the Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way in Nebraska, expressed solidarity with the farmers. The rail worker said that in the long run, labor and farmers will have to campaign for office.

In organizing for the Farm Revolt, many farmers recognized they will face opposition in the form of baiting — they will be called "radical," "militant," and "communist." Hansen explained that every time a new group emerges to challenge new conditions, attempts are made to try to divide people and destroy it by labeling them.

He said, "People have a right to political beliefs, and their ideas must rise or fall on their own merits."

There was a special report by Carol Hodne, coordinator of NAFA, on the Red Bandanna Brigade, a farm women's group started to bring more women leaders forward in the farmers' movement.

She said, "This requires special efforts because farm women often work three jobs: the farm, the home, and off the farm."

NAFA also discussed a drive to recruit individual supporting members and a speaking tour.

Salvadoran rebels make new gains

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

As part of their struggle against the U.S.-backed dictatorship, rebel forces of the Faribundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) stepped up their military activity in early September, including a major attack on the army garrison in El Salvador's third largest city. The September 4 attack on government fortifications in San Miguel, a city of 150,000, was the biggest rebel action since the FMLN briefly occupied the city of Berlin last February.

The FMLN's military actions occurred against a backdrop of new moves by Washington to deepen U.S. intervention in Central America. The Reagan administration demonstrated its resolve to pursue war policies in the region by dispatching Pentagon chief Caspar Weinberger to tour El Salvador, Honduras, and Panama early in September.

Shortly after Weinberger returned to Washington, the White House confirmed that 11 more U.S. military advisers would be sent to El Salvador and that Guatemalan soldiers would be trained at U.S. bases in Honduras. Thousands of U.S. troops are already in Honduras for "war games" scheduled to last until February 1984. And U.S. naval task forces are cruising off Nicaragua's coasts.

The administration matched these new war moves with a corresponding escalation in its bellicose rhetoric. Fred Iklé, the third-ranking official in the Pentagon, called for outright military victory in Central America during a major policy speech September 12.

"Let me make this clear to you," Iklé told the Baltimore Council on Foreign Affairs. "We do not seek a military defeat for our friends. We do not seek a military stalemate. We seek victory for the forces of democracy," he said, referring to the Salvadoran butchers.

Iklé also urged continuation of U.S. aid to the counterrevolutionaries attacking Nicaragua. Any other action, he said, "would turn Nicaragua into a sanctuary from which the nations of Central America could be safely attacked, but in which U.S.-supported forces could not operate."

A strong and unthreatened Nicaragua, in turn, could force Washington to permanently station troops in neighboring countries, "as in Korea or West Germany," Iklé said.

Only hours before Weinberger's plane landed in San Salvador on September 4, some 700 FMLN troops began fighting their way toward the heart of San Miguel in eastern El Salvador. The rebels' primary objective was the barracks of the Salvadoran army's Third Infantry brigade, housing some 2,000 government soldiers.

As part of the attack, FMLN gunners opened fire on the military compound with 81 millimeter and 120 millimeter mortars. The withering barrage reportedly destroyed a large part of the garrison. Guerrilla commander Joaquín Villalobos said on the rebels' Radio Venceremos that the artillery



Salvadoran guerrillas in action. Recent rebel victories dealt blows to U.S.-backed government's "pacification" drive.

attack had been the largest ever mounted by FMLN forces.

During the 12-hour attack on San Miguel, FMLN units also ambushed two columns of relief forces from nearby La Unión, blew up three key bridges in the city, and destroyed a large coffee mill and two downtown office buildings.

The attack, which the FMLN characterized as "a total success," left more than 300 government soldiers dead or wounded, according to Radio Venceremos. Guerrilla casualties were put at 10 to 13 by Salvadoran military officials.

Accompanying the attack on San Miguel, FMLN forces carried out a series of other military actions:

- Rebel sappers toppled electricity pylons, blacking out San Miguel, Usulután, La Unión, and Morazán provinces. In late August, the guerrillas knocked out power in parts of the capital and the western provinces of San Salvador, Chaletenango, Ahuachapán, Sonsonate, Santa Ana, and La Libertad.

- Radio Venceremos announced September 3 that the guerrillas had retaken five towns in Morazán province. Two Salvadoran army officers were killed and 17 government soldiers were wounded in the attacks.

- Rebels bombed the Pacayal microwave communications station, nine miles west of San Miguel, cutting telephone service to the eastern part of the country.

'Pacification' applauded

For several months Washington has been citing the relative lull in FMLN military actions as part of its propaganda that the U.S.-backed Salvadoran regime is winning the country's civil war. The White House especially took pains to applaud the Salvadoran army's sweep of San Vicente and Usulután provinces. This operation, which began in June, is styled after the "pacification" program used by Washington in Vietnam.

Administration officials repeatedly claimed that the U.S.-directed operation had virtually cleared the rebel forces out of San Vicente province. Shortly before Weinberger helicoptered into the heavily guarded provincial capital of San Vicente during his tour, top Pentagon officials told the September 3 *Washington Post* that the pacification effort had "turned the tables" on the guerrillas.

"In about the last two months, things have been going along very well," said a senior U.S. official. "Government forces are on the offensive and also they have been conducting some very good operations. They've turned the tables" on the guerrillas, "and now the insurgents are on the defensive."

'Like a boa constrictor'

Even before the FMLN attack on San Miguel put an end to any speculation that the rebels were on the defensive, Rubén Zamora, a spokesman for the FMLN and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), gave a more accurate assessment of the pacification effort.

Zamora, in an interview quoted in the

August 27 *New York Times*, said that the U.S.-sponsored plan is doomed to failure:

"In the first place," he said, "the plan is predicated on forcing the guerrillas out of the area, and this has not succeeded. Besides that, the cost of the San Vicente plan, counting both military and civilian expenses, is over \$30 million, and neither the government of El Salvador nor the United States can afford it."

Other rebel leaders explained that the FMLN had pulled back from military activity to absorb an unprecedented influx of recruits and arms gathered in the preceding eight months of guerrilla successes.

"The guerrilla movement is in this stage like a boa constrictor that has swallowed a calf," said an FDR official. "It is digesting."

"We fight when we want to fight, where we want to fight, not when the enemy wishes we would fight," a rebel commander in northern Morazán province was quoted in the August 8 *Miami Herald*.

"They're saying we're beaten — that's absurd, after all the months in which we've dealt them such blows," he said.

Rebels push for dialogue

Hand in hand with its new military campaign, the FMLN-FDR has continued to

press its demand for an open dialogue with Washington and San Salvador.

The rebels' call for negotiations without preconditions as a way to end the fighting has gained tremendous popularity since they proposed it in 1982. Washington's flat rejection of any talks with the guerrillas increasingly isolated it and the Salvadoran regime at home and abroad.

Within El Salvador the proposal for a dialogue has been embraced by the Committee of Trade Union Unity (CUS), a grouping of unions representing half a million Salvadoran workers. Other support for the proposal has come from the Catholic church hierarchy, the Christian Democratic Youth, and even some sections of the junior officer corps of the army.

Internationally, the governments of France, Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, Cuba, Nicaragua, and other countries have come out in favor of the FMLN-FDR proposal.

With the appointment of special Central American envoy Richard Stone earlier this year, the Reagan administration began maneuvering to put itself in a more defensible posture as far as negotiations were concerned. Stone had a preliminary meeting with FMLN-FDR representatives at the beginning of August. On August 29 a delegation from the Salvadoran government's "peace commission" met rebel leaders in Bogotá, Colombia.

The fact that the meetings took place was a measure of the enormous pressure the FMLN-FDR has brought to bear on Washington. However, Stone and the Salvadoran government representatives made it clear they were only going through the motions. From the outset they insisted that any discussions be limited to Washington's proposal that the guerrillas lay down their arms and participate in elections that the Salvadoran regime has recently put off until sometime in 1984.

After the Bogotá meeting, the FMLN-FDR representatives reaffirmed that they would never unilaterally disarm or participate in phony elections like those held last year. The rebels have said repeatedly that elections held under the guns of the dictatorship's army would be a farce.

While the FMLN-FDR is nevertheless doing everything it can to push for the talks to resume, the Reagan administration appeared to be doing everything it could to derail any further discussions.

Continued on Page 15

Nov. 12 protest action called

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

A national march demanding an end to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean has been set for November 12, in Washington, D.C. The protest was called for by the November 12 Coalition, which includes a broad range of civil rights, peace, and solidarity organizations.

Among the endorsers of the demonstration are Coretta Scott King; Dr. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Operation PUSH. King and Lowery played a big role in organizing the recent August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom. Other endorsers include the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), which has been active in the fight for the civil rights of Chicanos and Mexicanos; the Mexico-U.S. Border Commission in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador; and the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

In its call for the action the coalition points out that "escalating U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean threatens to lead to regional and perhaps even worldwide conflict."

"As peoples and governments throughout the world call for peace," the coalition continues, "the U.S. government is on the brink of another Vietnam war."

"No more Vietnam wars," "Stop U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean," and "Jobs, peace, and justice — end the conventional and nuclear arms buildup" are the demands of the November 12 action.

"We remember from Vietnam," the coalition call says, "that our protest made a

difference. We must join with those voices from Latin America and around the world who demand peace with justice and propose that the conflicts in the region be resolved through political, not military means."

Importantly, the call explains that the U.S. "government's policy of military intervention against the people of Central America and the Caribbean is also directed against us — our ideals and our lives."

"The present administration's efforts," the coalition statement continues, "to overthrow the government of Nicaragua and destabilize or threaten Cuba and Grenada violate U.S. and international law, and run counter to the principle of self-determination enshrined in our own Declaration of Independence. We do not accept the argument or claim that these countries are a threat to our national security."

The coalition explains that the massive U.S. military budget means drastic cuts in needed social services. Those who will be hardest hit by these cutbacks will be Blacks, Latinos, and women. Bringing these and other working people to Washington on November 12 is an important task for all those who oppose U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

As the call says, "The U.S. government is relying on our silence. The people of Central America and the Caribbean are counting on our active opposition to U.S. intervention."

For more information on the demonstration write the November 12 Coalition at P.O. Box 50131, Washington, D.C., 20004 or phone (202) 347-5516.

Washington bans entry to FDR leader

On September 16 the U.S. government denied Rubén Zamora a visa to visit the United States. Zamora, who is an internationally known spokesperson for the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and Revolutionary Democratic Front, was scheduled to speak on September 18 at the University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee.

This denial was the first time that Zamora had been refused entry to the United States, which he has visited 11 times. This time the U.S. government refused to give the Salvadoran rebel leader a waiver he needs to receive a visa. According to the U.S. government, Zamora belongs to an organization classified as "anarchist, communist, or terrorist." Without receiving a waiver from Washington, people in these proscribed groups can't enter the United States.

Meanwhile, a five-member delegation from Nicaragua's Council of State is having a planned tour of the United States held up because the U.S. State Department has yet to grant them visas. After speaking at Harvard University, the group was to have gone to New York and Washington, D.C.

Nicaragua involves Miskitos in revolution

BY JANE HARRIS

TIPITAPA, Nicaragua — Just outside Managua, 144 Miskito Indians are working some 1,200 acres of land here referred to as an "open farm."

Actually the farm is part of the Nicaraguan penal system, although it's hard to tell by looking. Those in charge of the farm are never armed. Yet, so far, in its six months of operation, not a single prisoner has tried to escape.

Instead they work the land. In the afternoons, they learn to read and write, and if they choose, sew or play musical instruments. The Ministry of Culture has just taped an album of Miskito music from the New Seed band whose members all live here.

This is just one of the special efforts of the revolutionary government to reach out to the Miskitos who have been misled into participating in the counterrevolution. The government hopes it will be able to encourage the Miskitos to aid in the reconstruction of Nicaragua.

Why the special effort?

For centuries, the Miskitos have been deceived and used as political and military pawns. This began in the 17th century with the English, who used them to extend control over the Atlantic Coast region. The English set up a phony "Miskito Kingdom," complete with a figurehead Miskito king, in order to sow divisions among the Miskitos and the Rama and Sumo Indians.

Later U.S. corporations wiped out the area's natural resources — its forests, mineral deposits, and fishing grounds — for their own profit. The Miskitos were left with nothing but wasted grasslands.

Since the 1979 revolution, which ousted ex-dictator Anastasio Somoza, Miskitos have been victimized by U.S.-financed counterrevolutionaries. In some cases, extravagant promises have been made to get them to fight the Sandinistas. Many were threatened with death if they didn't fight; others were kidnaped. Of those who went against their will, if they survived, they were brought to concentration camps in Honduras.

It is because of this historic oppression that the Nicaraguan government views the Miskitos involved in counterrevolutionary activity as a special case. When captured they are treated completely differently from the vast majority of counter-revolutionaries, who were members of Somoza's National Guard.

Miskitos pardoned

An example of this was seen August 2, when Interior Minister Tomás Borge pardoned 46 Miskitos who had participated in counterrevolutionary task forces.

Speaking at the news conference where he announced the pardons, Borge detailed centuries of deceit, discrimination, and exploitation the Miskito people had suffered. He added that the revolutionary government had to recognize initial errors it had made on the Atlantic coast and "convert Nicaragua into a showcase of respect for human rights."

After the revolution, he said, solid Sandinista members were sent to the region to try to bridge the gap between the Atlantic and Pacific, geographically isolated from one another.

Because of lack of familiarity with the Miskito customs, some antagonisms developed.

For example, a closed season, no-hunting period was instituted to protect several

endangered species of wildlife. Yet, Borge said, this was done without taking into account that sometimes "there are Miskitos who gather tortoises just to be able to survive. And this was taken away from them."

Another error Borge pointed to was the way in which the massive vaccination campaigns were carried out. In some cases, the merits of preventive medical measures were not explained fully beforehand. This enabled the counterrevolutionaries to gain a hearing for lies such as that the vaccinations were intended to poison or sterilize the Miskito population.

The CIA took advantage of such misunderstandings, using them to help recruit Miskitos to the counterrevolution.

Thousands of Miskitos eventually made their way to Honduras, where today some 8,000 live, most in concentration camps. Some have escaped and returned to Nicaragua to warn other Miskitos about conditions there.

At an August 4 news conference held in Managua, several Miskitos described what they faced in Honduras.

Milton James reported that he had been forced to survive solely on mangoes for two months. He said he'd been threatened with death if he left.

Two Miskitos he knew of who did leave, James said, were ambushed and killed on their way back to Nicaragua.

Dionisio Melgara, a secondary school teacher, left his home in Waspán believing that Honduras offered housing, food, and freedom for his townspeople.

When he marched for three days to Honduras alongside pregnant women, elderly people, and children, Melgara said he was told on arrival to take up arms against Nicaragua or he would be shot.

War zone

Because the counterrevolution has converted much of the Miskitos' homeland in northern Zelaya province into a war zone, the Nicaraguan government was forced to relocate some 8,500 Miskitos further inland. There, five separate settlements have been built, which try to preserve the identity of the original communities. More than 1,000 houses that have been built in the last year and a half are of the highest quality the



Militant/Jane Harris

Sandinista government has established five settlements for Miskito Indians because their homeland is a war zone. Here, a Miskito constructs his house using newly acquired skills.

revolution has been able to provide anywhere.

Many other gains have been registered as well.

In mid-July, the *Militant* traveled to Rosita, in northern Zelaya province, where Agrarian Reform Minister Jaime Wheelock handed over land titles to three Miskito communities for some 28,000 acres of land.

In the four years since the revolution triumphed, medical visits in the Atlantic Coast have increased 130 percent, the number of primary and secondary schools has increased by 160 percent, and illiteracy has been reduced from 75 percent to 30 percent. All this and more has been achieved, despite the ongoing war backed by Washington.

Short visit

This *Militant* reporter was at the Tipitapa open farm when Republican Senator Arlen

Specter from Pennsylvania stopped in for a five-minute visit with the Miskitos.

Even journalists from the U.S. capitalist press were surprised at how short the senator's visit was. Especially in view of the fact Washington is supposed to be so concerned about alleged "human rights" abuses in Nicaragua.

But, as the senator told the press corps, he was in a hurry — "less than 24 hours in the country and a very busy schedule." Apparently he was late for a meeting with the editors of the right-wing daily paper, *La Prensa*.

For those truly concerned with human rights, the doors have always been open to come here and investigate.

And for the Miskito people, as the revolutionary government has made clear time and again, the doors are wide open to come back to their country and help reconstruct it.

Cooking-oil workers discuss plant takeover

BY JANE HARRIS

CHINANDEGA, Nicaragua — Here at the GRACSA factory, first-shift workers get off at 4 p.m. On the day I visited the work place, instead of heading for home, the workers set up chairs under some shady trees in front of the plant and waited for an important assembly to begin.

"Because GRACSA produces 50 percent of the country's cooking oil and 100 percent of its lard, the government has nationalized it," began Sergio Molina from the Ministry of Industry. "We want to control it, as it's the most efficient plant of its kind in the country. We'll maintain what's efficient about it and do away with what isn't."

Molina emphasized that the measure was not a confiscation, but rather a nationalization. This meant the government had compensated foreign investors for 75 percent of the factory's value. Twenty-five percent of the holding will remain in the hands of local cotton producers in Chinandega. However, 100 percent of

the administrative power will rest with the government.

"The state has the right and the obligation to guarantee these basic goods," he explained. (Cooking oil in particular has been in short supply).

"The bosses want to sell us the idea that we can't administer our factories. Today we have a new challenge," said Denis Meléndez of the Sandinista Workers' Federation (CST) National Executive Committee, who spoke next.

"The first country to make a revolution of workers and peasants was the Soviet Union," and they were told they couldn't do it, he said. "But today the Soviet Union is one of the most developed countries in the world."

"We are assuming this responsibility in a difficult moment for our country," Meléndez added. He went on to describe the difficulties caused by thousands of Somozaist ex-National Guardsmen in the north, and hundreds of counter-revolutionaries in the south, the maneuvers of the CIA, the sabotage, rapes, kidnappings, and killings that Nicaraguans face today.

Rena Canpos of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) regional committee in Chinandega told workers that defense against the U.S.-orchestrated war against Nicaragua also includes a rearguard role. Providing the population with necessities such as cooking oil and lard is part of this.

A lively discussion period followed these short talks.

"The *compañero* from the Ministry of Industry said that a new general manager would be coming soon. I just want to urge you to get a new one as soon as possible!" Several workers echoed this sentiment.

"Now that the government owns the plant, can older workers be promoted? In

the past, we never were," said one old-timer.

"How can we improve our commissaries, which are sorely lacking?" (Commissaries are union-run stores that provide basic food products at fair prices.)

"Will the new administration mean more scholarships for workers and our kids?"

"What about technical training? We've never had any, three years after the revolution."

"How about wage increases?"

"All the machinery is U.S.-made. What if Reagan cuts us off?"

GRACSA workers were informed of the CST's negotiations with the government for scholarships, housing, and an incentive plan to increase wages and raise production.

Concerning promotions: yes, there will be promotions.

Right now the company is in good shape. But as far as maintaining it, CST leaders explained, Nicaragua would be depending on the workers' creativity and innovation to keep it that way.

The CST national leadership plans to discuss commissary and food shortage problems in a special conference.

One idea Meléndez put forward might be to develop unused land around the factory to grow food. This was done successfully at a state-owned sugar refinery, he added.

It was soon 6:30 and night had fallen. Workers closed the meeting singing the FSLN hymn.

Yet, the late hour didn't stop one *compañero*, who had earlier eyed this foreign correspondent, from approaching me.

"Compañera, you have to understand. This nationalization is an act of dignity for the workers. The bosses used to call workers with 25 years time in the plant 'boys'." He smiled and said, "This can never happen again."

Further reading on Nicaraguan revolution

Nicaragua: An Introduction to the Sandinista Revolution. By Arnold Weissberg, 48 pages, \$.95.

Sandinistas Speak. Writings and speeches of Tomás Borge, Carlos Fonseca Amador, Daniel Ortega, Humberto Ortega, and Jaime Wheelock, 160 pages, \$4.95.

The Nicaraguan Workers and Farmers Government and the Revolutionary Leadership of the FSLN. By Jack Barnes et. al., \$1.75.

Sandino's Daughters: Testimonies of

Nicaraguan Women in Struggle. By Margaret Randall, 220 pages, \$6.95.

Triumph of the People: The Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua. By George Black, 368 pages, \$9.95.

What Difference Could a Revolution Make? Food and Farming in the New Nicaragua. By Joseph Collins, Frances Moore Lappé and Nick Allen, 186 pages, \$4.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$0.75 for postage and handling.

BY BRENDA BRDAR

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M. — In the midst of a struggle, the *Militant* sells itself.

That's the best way to describe the experiences of two *Militant* sales teams that sold at the gates of copper mines that are not on strike. Each team traveled more than 400 miles round trip from Albuquerque to Tyrone and Bayard, New Mexico.

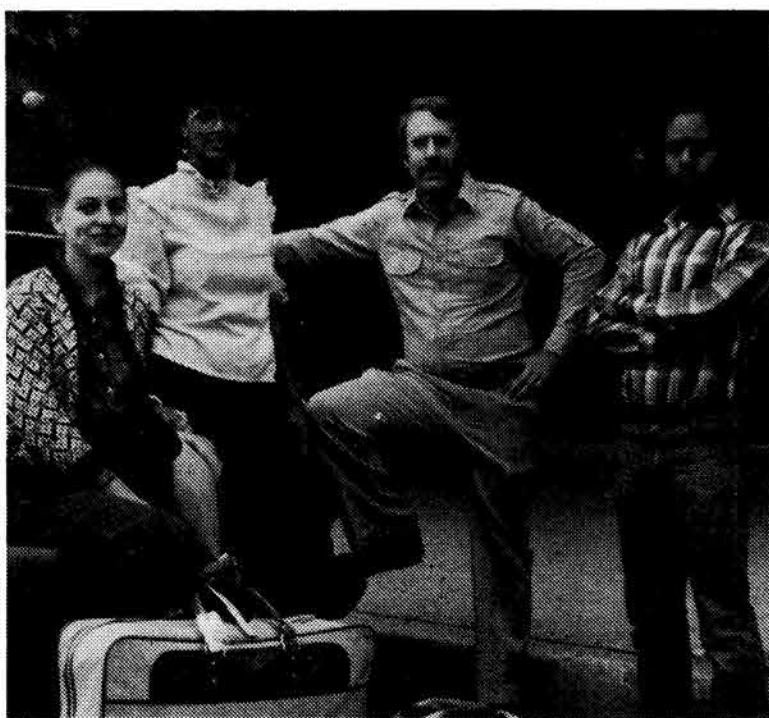
Both Tyrone and Bayard are small towns dominated by open-pit copper mines and the companies that own them.

The Phelps Dodge Corp., which is being struck in Arizona and Texas, owns the mine in Tyrone. The copper miners are not on strike there because their contracts run for another year. But they know they've got a great stake in the strike, which isn't being covered in the local media. And they enthusiastically received a pro-union, socialist newspaper.

As salespeople posted themselves at the gates to the parking lot, holding the *Militant* high, cars and trucks stopped on their way out. Just displaying the paper, with front-page articles on the strike, "Troops sent to break Arizona copper strike," and "Arizona march backs copper strike," and briefly explaining that the *Militant* supports the strike, was enough to make a sale.

Cars and trucks lined up. Most of the miners — Chicanos, Anglos, and a few Blacks — waited patiently and bought a paper. Several workers paid \$1 for the *Militant*, and some drove up holding dollar bills out the window. When the team at one gate sold out, several cars stopped at the other gate to buy the paper.

The recording secretary of the United Steelworkers, which organizes the copper miners, bought a *Militant*. He asked the salesperson why she was a socialist. "Pull over and I'll tell you," she said. They had a 15-minute discussion. The recording secretary likened



Militant/Linda Jenness
Socialists Ellen Kerr, Rohima Miah, Tony Dutrow, and Dywond Belle will be traveling through Mississippi and other Southern states on special reporting and subscription team.

the attacks on the copper miners to that on PATCO, the air traffic controllers' union that the government destroyed in 1981. He expressed the need for greater solidarity to win the copper strike.

Thirty-five *Militants* were sold in about 20 minutes. And this was just the end of the shift change. Due to car troubles, the sales team had arrived late.

Two weeks later another team of socialists traveled to Bayard, eight miles outside Silver City, to bring solidarity with the strike to the Kennecott copper miners there. The movie *Salt of the Earth*, about an earlier miners' strike, was filmed in Silver City.

This team had to contend with a heavy rainstorm. The papers would get soaked before they got into the hands of the miners. Here, as many as 20 cars and trucks lined up; the miners didn't mind buying wet papers. In a half hour, 25 *Mil-*

itants, 4 copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*, and 4 copies of the *Young Socialist* were sold.

These two important plant-gate sales underline the crucial role the *Militant* plays in strike-support activities, and the importance of having a party of mobile socialist workers who don't let inconvenience and distance stand in the way of reaching other workers involved in struggle.

Beginning Saturday, September 24, 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 accompanying chart has the goals accepted by Socialist Workers Party branches around the country.

SUBSCRIPTION GOALS

Area	Militant Goal	PM Goal	Total Goal
Albany	70	5	75
Albuquerque	50	15	65
Atlanta	85	5	90
Baltimore	65	0	65
Birmingham	70	0	70
Boston	95	15	110
Brooklyn	110	40	150
Charleston	45	0	45
Chicago	125	15	140
Cincinnati	70	0	70
Cleveland	80	5	85
Dallas	50	15	65
Denver	85	15	100
Detroit	85	5	90
Gary	45	5	50
Harrisburg	35	5	40
Houston	60	30	90
Indianapolis	80	0	80
Iron Range	75	0	75
Kansas City	65	10	75
Lincoln	35	0	35
Los Angeles	100	75	175
Louisville	55	0	55
Manhattan	150	50	200
Miami	70	10	80
Milwaukee	110	10	120
Morgantown	70	0	70
New Orleans	80	5	85
Newark	110	30	140
Oakland	90	15	105
Philadelphia	100	25	125
Phoenix	75	25	100
Piedmont	50	0	50
Pittsburgh	135	0	135
Portland	45	10	55
Price	35	5	40
Salt Lake City	70	5	75
San Antonio	55	20	75
San Diego	70	30	100
San Francisco	90	40	130
San Jose	75	15	90
Seaside	25	10	35
Seattle	75	5	80
St. Louis	120	0	120
Tidewater	75	0	75
Toledo	50	0	50
Tucson	30	10	40
Twin Cities	120	10	130
Wash., DC	80	20	100
Total	3690	610	4300

Newport News company union challenges USWA

BY CHARLES BARNET

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — On September 15 the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) announced that petitions filed by the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA) for a new union-representation election at the Newport News shipyard were acceptable.

The PSA is the old company union that United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 8888 ousted in a militant organizing drive and strike in the late 1970s.

The announcement comes only days after the first round of contract negotiations took place between Local 8888 and the company on September 12. The USWA contract, which expires October 31, now covers more than 18,000 production and maintenance workers.

The PSA filed petitions three times this year — in January, July, and in August — before the NLRB ruled that they contained the required signatures of 30 percent of the union-eligible work force necessary for calling a new election.

In making the announcement Louis D'Amico, regional director of the NLRB in Baltimore, also stated that a hearing would

be held shortly to determine a date for the election. The Newport News daily press reported unnamed sources as saying that the date could be set within a few weeks.

According to federal law the company can break off contract negotiations with the steelworkers until the election is resolved. Jack Hower, USWA subdistrict director in Newport News, stated that the Local 8888 negotiating committee was planning to meet with the company again on September 19 for another round of talks, but that it "remained to be seen" what effect the pending election will have.

Eddie Coppedge, president of Local 8888, said, "We are somewhat disappointed that the PSA decided to petition at a time when we are going into contract negotiations. But we have won before . . . and we have every reason to believe our membership will vote on behalf of the Steelworkers."

The sentiment among steelworkers is that Tenneco, the owner of the yard, has been behind the PSA move all along in order to disrupt the negotiations and impose a bad contract. Tenneco has reported huge profits over the last year and workers are looking for improvements in wages and benefits.

The PSA challenge occurs at a time when steelworkers nationwide are under attack. This new attack on steelworkers in Newport News is part of the general offensive by the employers that ranges from plant shutdowns to union-busting attacks like the one Phelps Dodge is carrying out against copper miners in Arizona, many of whom are also members of the USWA. Like Virginia, Arizona is also a "right-to-work" state.

The regular monthly meeting of Local 8888 took place only two days after the NLRB announcement. Steelworkers the *Militant* spoke with afterwards said it was

the largest monthly meeting in a long time, close to 200 members and standing room only. The mood was of excitement and calls for unity in the face of the PSA and company attack. While steelworkers believe the PSA is weak, they intend to take its challenge very seriously.

Since the middle of August the Local 8888 volunteer organizing committee has greatly stepped up its activities outside the shipyard gates. "There has been a dramatic increase in the number of people joining

the union," a volunteer organizer said.

A worker in the paint department said that in the yard following the NLRB announcement "everyone was talking about it and all kinds of discussions were taking place about the PSA, the contract, and conditions in the yard."

Another steelworker told the *Militant* that there was outrage in the yard all day after the announcement. "The timing of this, coming the week negotiations begin, can only help the company."

W. Va. women strike restaurant

BY LOUISE ARMSTRONG

MADISON, W. Va. — Employees of the Bonanza Steak House have been on strike here since August 16 to protest unfair labor practices.

It all started a year ago when the workers, led by two energetic and determined young women, Martha Adams and Deen Ann Smith, decided to organize a union to protect themselves from arbitrary actions by the owner.

Smith told the *Militant* that restaurant owner Barry Elswick used to require them to buy their meals from him and at full price. They were not permitted to bring a lunch. Most of the youthful employees, recent high school graduates or in their twenties, were working for minimum wage.

The election to establish the Food Store Employees Union took place a year ago. Twenty-seven employees voted, and in the months following the election, 24 were either fired or pressured to resign.

"We have more than 30 charges against the company filed with the National Labor Relations Board," said Adams. Besides the charges regarding job loss, the workers have evidence of bribery, physical threats, sexual harassment, and surveillance of

their organizing meetings.

Barry Elswick's business is hurting bad.

The Bonanza is located in the heart of southern West Virginia's coalfields where labor solidarity is strong. Coal miners, including Howard Green, the vice-president of United Mine Workers District 17, have offered help. Many regularly stop by to chat with the pickets, bring them support money, food and soft drinks. Workers from a local supermarket have collected money to aid the strikers. Beverage, mail, linen, and other delivery drivers have refused to cross the picketline. In another act of solidarity, the Madison Lions Club moved their regular meetings to a neighboring restaurant. Media coverage too has been sympathetic. The *Charleston Gazette*, *Syvester Local News Journal*, and *WCHS-TV* (CBS) have interviewed the strikers.

Apparently Elswick is looking to get out of the business. A prospective buyer stopped by recently to talk with Smith and Adams.

But that doesn't discourage these fighters. "We told him no matter what happens we intend to stay here until we get our jobs back," states Adams. "Even if another business moves in."

Labor News in the Militant

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. It has correspondents who work in the mines, mills, and shops where the events are breaking. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 4 of this issue for subscription rates.

Indianapolis socialists on ballot

BY KEVIN DWIRE

INDIANAPOLIS — On September 13 the Marion County Election Board threw in the towel. Members of the election board — two Republicans and one Democrat — voted unanimously to place the names of four Socialist Workers Party candidates on the November ballot. The candidates are Bill Warrick for mayor and Roger "Billy" Jones, Margaret Thomas, and Kevin Dwire for at-large city-county council.

The SWP victory marked the end of a year-long battle to qualify for the municipal ballot.

It's the first time SWP candidates have won ballot status in an Indianapolis municipal election. In 1979 SWP mayoral candidate Dave Ellis was ruled off the ballot.

At a news conference Bill Warrick told reporters that the "victory for the Socialist Workers Party in our fight for ballot status is a victory for independent working-class political action." Warrick is a 31-year-old oil worker employed by the Rock Island Refining Corporation at its Indianapolis refinery.

Last February SWP candidates submitted nominating petitions containing over 10,600 signatures. The Board of Voters Registration said that two thirds were invalid.

But the SWP candidates didn't give up. They took their case to the Indiana Civil Liberties Union and won the support of the ICLU for a challenge to the election board's exclusion attempt.

On June 16, the SWP candidates filed suit in federal district court. Defendants were members of the election board and Board of Voters Registration. The lawsuit challenged three aspects of Indiana election law: the early filing deadline for independent candidates, the methods used to invalidate signatures on the SWP nominating petitions, and the five-year residency requirement for mayor of Indianapolis.

On September 6 federal court Judge S. Hugh Dillon ruled that the early filing deadline had discriminated against the SWP. But he agreed with the election board that its recount of SWP signatures had been fair, and that the party still lacked enough signatures to qualify for the ballot. He declined to rule on the residency issue.

Because of the early filing deadline, however, Dillon ordered the election board to accept additional petition signatures from the SWP. The judge ordered the SWP candidates placed on the ballot if they could submit another 415 signatures before a date set by the election board. Election

officials announced they would accept signatures until noon Monday, September 12.

The judge's decision received extensive news coverage. All the major television, radio, and newspapers covered it. They noted that the SWP would be back on the street the next day collecting signatures.

"All the news coverage made this the easiest petitioning we've ever done," Warrick said.

A petitioning mobilization was scheduled for Saturday, September 10. But the response was so good that nearly 900 signatures had been collected by Friday.

By the close of office hours Friday, the SWP had been credited with 402 "valid" signatures, just 13 short of the goal.

On Monday, September 12, an additional 219 signatures were turned in, for a total of 1,106 in the final drive. "The election board announced that we had exceeded Judge Dillon's requirement just before our 10 a.m. news conference," Warrick said. "We announced our victory as soon as we got the news."

On Tuesday, September 13, the election board held its monthly meeting. They decided not to force the issue of the residency requirement for mayor. They feared that a legal test of the residency requirement would result in it being declared unconstitutional as well. The board voted to place the names of the SWP candidates on the ballot.

"There are some lessons we think can be learned from our successful petition drive

and lawsuit," Warrick noted. "First of all, even though we petitioned during the midst of the government's anticommunist, pro-war campaign around the Korean Air Lines plane crash, this was not the issue uppermost in the minds of working people."

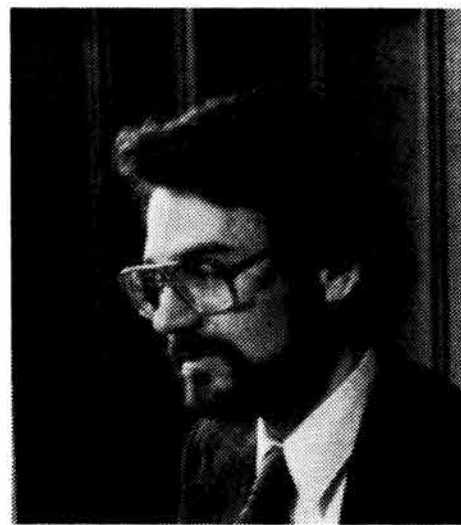
"Second," Warrick continued, "our petition campaign showed us how racist and sexist prejudices are losing ground among working people."

"One example of this point sticks out in my mind," Warrick said. "I was petitioning at 38th and Illinois when a TV news crew pulled up to shoot some film. I don't think the reporter believed me when I told her that nine-tenths of the folks I asked would sign."

"Then I asked several Black shoppers to sign for me, and all of them did. The reporter was starting to believe. Then an older white guy, around 50 and dressed in work clothes, came up the sidewalk. The expression on the reporter's face seemed to say, 'you'll never get this old redneck to sign for a socialist.'"

"With the camera rolling, I explained I was an oil worker running for mayor as the socialist candidate. I told him I supported union rights and equal rights for Blacks and women, and I thought that workers ought to run the government instead of the rich."

"And he said to me, 'You socialists are for the poor people against the rich people, aren't you?' When I told him yes, he said, 'I'd be glad to sign for you.' The TV reporter looked real surprised."



Bill Warrick

Militant

"There's another lesson," Warrick declared. "That's when a group of working people are determined to fight to the end, they can win sometimes. But if you don't fight you can't win. We hope other folks follow our example. We understand the NAACP is filing suit against the election board over the issue of voter registration, and we solidarize with their fight 100 percent."

The SWP candidates' next fight is to win spots in televised and other debates that have already begun. Debates between Republican Mayor William Hudnut and Democrat John Sullivan have already been held. On September 14 an important step was taken when the League of Women Voters invited SWP candidates to appear in debates on local public television.

Boeing workers meet, hear socialist

BY DAVID McDONALD

SEATTLE — Socialist Workers Party senatorial candidate Dean Peoples and his supporters campaigned September 19 at a meeting of 20,000 Boeing aircraft workers. The workers, represented by the International Association of Machinists (IAM) District Lodge 751 and the Seattle Professional and Engineering Employees Association, stopped work to hear progress on contract negotiations and to sanction a strike against Boeing. Ninety-seven percent of the workers voted for the strike sanction.

Peoples and his supporters distributed thousands of copies of campaign literature at the union meeting at Seattle's Kingdome.

Campaign supporter Cheryl Hidalgo reported that she got the best response when she explained that the SWP supports the formation of a labor party based on the unions. "Several workers who had already passed by, came back to get brochures," she said.

Peoples said he got a good response from Black workers. "Comparing this stop-work meeting with the last one three years ago," Peoples told the *Militant*, "brings home the need for the union movement to fight against discriminatory layoffs. There were many fewer Blacks, women, and young people today." More than 30,000 Boeing workers are currently on layoff.



Dean Peoples

Militant/David McDonald

One older white worker liked the brochure so much he came back, took a handful, and helped to pass them out to others.

The only other senatorial candidate represented at the giant meeting was liberal Democrat Michael Lowery. His literature — Lowery himself was not present — urged a vote for Lowery on the grounds that he supports funding for the Export-Import Bank, a quasi-governmental agency that lends money to impoverished countries so they can buy goods from the United States.

Peoples said the Export-Import Bank has nothing to do with the well-being of Boeing workers. "Sure, it may help the company's profits, but I'm campaigning for the idea that we need a government that's good for the workers and not the bosses. Boeing's profits are already high, what has that done for the 30,000 on layoff."

"Boeing is turning more and more to war production," Peoples said. "It tries to create the illusion that working people have a vested interest in the government's war plans for Central America and the Mideast."

"Exactly the opposite is true, but we can't get at the answer by looking at the problems one union faces. What Boeing workers and all working people need is a government that will cut the war budget to zero, and use those trillions for the things we need: housing, schools, hospitals — you name it, we need it."

"This won't happen until a different class — the working class — and its allies among Blacks, working farmers, Latinos, and women comes to power in the United States. This is the kind of government a labor party will fight for."

Peoples' campaign will be the only working-class alternative on the October 11 ballot. The special primary election was called to fill the seat vacated by the death of Sen. Henry Jackson on September 1. 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. This arrangement discriminates against independent and working-class candidates.

To be placed on the ballot, Peoples' campaign supporters were required to hold a nominating convention with at least 200 people present. They held the convention on the corner of Third and Pike — the busiest intersection in downtown Seattle — on September 16. In a few hours more than 300 people signed nominating petitions to put Peoples on the ballot.

Black worker wins ballot status

BY VERÓNICA CRUZ

SAN FRANCISCO — On September 9, Pat Wright, socialist candidate for mayor of San Francisco, fulfilled all the requirements for ballot status. Instead of paying a filing fee of more than \$1,700, Wright's campaign supporters mobilized to collect double the required number of signatures necessary to ensure Wright a place on the ballot.

Each weekend of July and August Wright's supporters covered the city, talking with people and collecting signatures. Signatures were collected at Communications Workers of America picket lines; from striking shipyard workers; at plant gates, and at City College, where over 2,000 signatures were collected in only four days.

Fifteen thousand signatures were collected by the end of the petitioning drive. After a week's wait, the Office of Registrar notified Wright that her petitions had a validity rate of more than 90 percent, making her eligible to be on the ballot.

Pat Wright and her supporters consider this ruling a victory for working people in California, where socialist candidates have been excluded from the ballot in the past. For example, supporters of Mel Mason, a Seaside city councilman who ran for governor last year, collected over 220,000 signatures to place him on the ballot. However, the state Board of Elections ruled that there weren't enough valid signatures to put Mason's name on the ballot.

Pat Wright, 33 years old, is a maintenance worker at the Pacific Gas & Electric plant at Hunter's Point and a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical

Workers Local 1245. Wright's campaign will fight against the Democratic and Republican parties' policies of war and cutbacks. It will defend affirmative action, school desegregation, and union rights.

"Working people," Wright says, "have nothing to gain from the U.S. intervention in Central America." Pointing to the power of an alliance of labor, Blacks, Latinos, Asian-Americans, and women, Wright called for the formation of a labor party based on the trade unions.

San Jose union backs socialist

BY DEBBIE TARNAPOL

SAN JOSE — Rick Trujillo, one of the Socialist Workers Party candidates for School Board in San Jose, California, has been unanimously endorsed by his union local's executive board. Trujillo, a county bus driver, is a member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265. The local also sent letters to the Santa Clara County Central Labor Council's Committee on Political Education (COPE) and the San Jose Teachers Association's Political Action Committee (PAC) encouraging them to endorse Trujillo's campaign as well.

Trujillo and Shioban Dugan, the other SWP candidate for school board, speaking at a September 10 meeting here, contrasted the educational gains in Nicaragua and the Caribbean island of Grenada to the deteriorating conditions of schools in the United States. Dugan, a welder at the FMC Corp. armored personnel carrier plant and a member of International Association of Machinists Local 562, recently returned

from a trip to Nicaragua.

She pointed out that the San Jose school district filed for bankruptcy recently. Using this as a pretext, the courts ruled August 29 that the school board could break its contracts with teachers and other employees.

Dugan contrasted this attack on teachers with the support given to youth and education by the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

Pedro Nogura, an educational counselor in Berkeley, California, was another speaker at the forum. He participated in the 1982 literacy campaign in Grenada. Nogura's talk got to the heart of the problem about the crisis in U.S. education. He explained how this system prevents real learning from occurring at all.

"In Grenada," Nogura said, "the government is not closing schools, but opening them and for the first time ever. The same is true in Nicaragua. The reasons for this is that both governments back education."

Is the 'arms race' root of war danger?

A response to the 'Guardian' on the Korean plane incident

BY HARRY RING

"A Double Tragedy."

That was the title of an editorial in the September 14 issue of the *Guardian*, an independent radical weekly, giving its viewpoint of the downing of the Korean airliner in Soviet territory.

The editorial asserted that while the Korean plane had no business violating Soviet borders, shooting it down was "an unacceptable response for which the USSR must be held accountable and condemned."

"Even more disastrous," the editorial added, was "the new wave of Cold War hysteria, which the downing of Flight 7 has fueled in the West."

True, promoting anticommunist hysteria is a central U.S. aim in this entire incident. The *Guardian* editors appear to be among the initial victims of that effort.

Their editorial is that of a victim of a gut reaction, or perhaps more precisely, a spineless one, to strong reactionary social pressure.

Another example of this is two news articles on the plane incident by *Guardian* staff writer Jack A. Smith.

In the September 14 issue, Smith wrote:

"U.S. charges and Soviet counter-charges have escalated the episode into a major East-West political confrontation and it appears that Moscow — despite mitigating circumstances — is going to lose this round, partly because it pulled the trigger, partly because of its evasions."

Smith sanctimoniously added:

"In accepting responsibility, the Soviet government expressed 'regret over the death of innocent people and shares the sorrow of their bereaved relatives and friends,' but did not apologize and claimed the U.S. was at fault."

By the following issue, September 21, Smith was evidencing a modicum of political sense. He wrote:

"Washington's all-out campaign to thoroughly discredit Moscow for shooting down Korean Airlines Flight 7 is running into difficulties as more information and new contradictions about the incident emerge."

After discussing some of this information, Smith concluded:

"Slowly, evidence is accumulating that the attack was not quite the 'barbaric slaughter' alleged by the White House. Further disclosures favorable to the Soviets cannot yet be precluded."

Smith doesn't indicate if his earlier castigation of the Soviets for failure to apologize may have been, at least, premature.

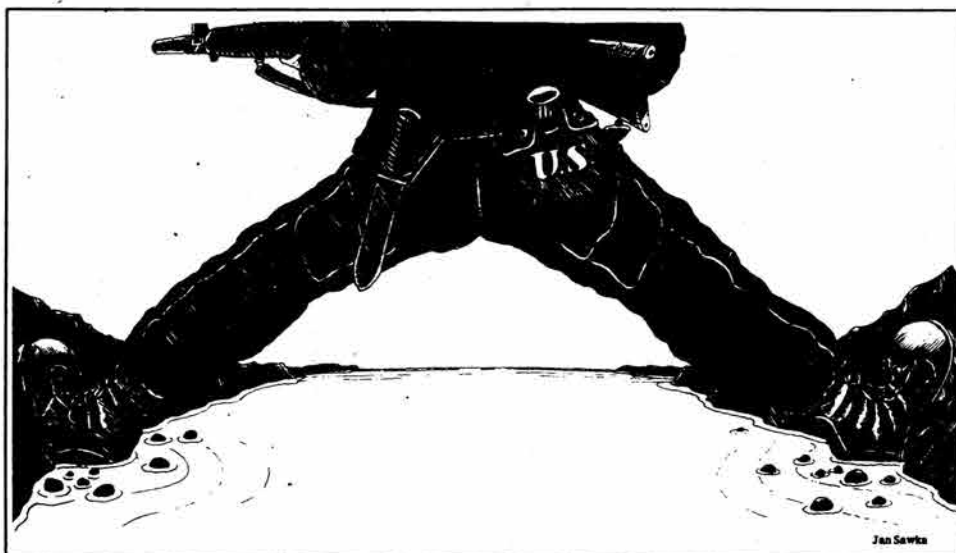
Like a strike

Such reporting, in a radical journal, is about as useful as a paper that rushes into print with the employers' version of a pitched battle between strikers and an army of scabs and cops. It's a sorry situation to be reporting later that the facts were not quite the way the bosses, and their media, reported them.

The *Guardian* is not a supporter of capitalism and is not a right-wing opponent of the Soviet Union. Why then has it been so susceptible to the capitalist pressure in this situation?

A principal reason is that the *Guardian*, like a good many others, sees the world confronted by an "arms race" between the Soviet Union and the United States. The *Guardian* editorial argues that "the tragedy was, after all, a product of the Cold War and the arms race."

It concludes that "the peace movement



U.S. forces have been garrisoned around globe to stem anti-imperialist struggles and contain socialist revolutions.

has the opportunity to expose how these and worse disasters are inevitable until genuine disarmament efforts replace Cold War as the central political theme of our time."

This idea that the "arms race" is the source of international conflicts and war, and that mutual Soviet-U.S. disarmament is the road to peace, is dangerously false because it is a diversion from the real source of the war danger in the world. It is an obstacle to an effective fight for peace.

The thesis of the two big "superpowers" and the joint threat they assertedly represent is like the shibboleth about this country being faced with a problem of "big labor" and "big capital." The formula conceals the fact that one of them, labor, is the victim, and the other the criminal.

Labor's problem is not that it's "too big," but rather that it lacks a leadership with a fighting program to aggressively lead the fight for labor's interests.

One danger

Similarly, there is no twin source of war danger in the world today. There is but one danger. That danger is imperialism, principally U.S. imperialism.

This is no Marxist "dogma," although it does take Marxism to adequately comprehend it.

The facts are there. Imperialism — the drive for world markets, for control of raw material, for areas of investment of surplus capital — has been provoking wars throughout this century.

Imperialism was responsible for the two

world wars and the wars in Korea and Vietnam. It is imperialism that is responsible for the war in Central America today and the war in Lebanon.

The imperialist drive for world domination was given added urgency with the historic victory of the Russian revolution in 1917. From the outset it was the perspective of imperialism to crush socialism by any means necessary.

Yet, despite all their efforts, the revolution has continued to spread. Capitalism no longer exists in Eastern Europe, China, North Korea, and Vietnam.

And, perhaps most critical for U.S. imperialism, the anticapitalist revolution has spread to this hemisphere. Twenty-five years of desperate efforts have failed to crush the socialist revolution in Cuba — or prevent the victories of working people in Nicaragua and Grenada. And all the guns, bullets, and advisers can't stem the liberation struggle in El Salvador.

That's why the number of troops in Central America grows and why a big piece of the U.S. fleet now sits ominously in the Caribbean.

U.S.-hired mercenaries bomb Nicaragua's airport and principal port city.

The gunboats shell the mountains in Lebanon.

These are the real source of the war danger, not the downing of a plane deliberately violating Soviet territory. Yet they don't merit a mention in the *Guardian* editorial.

What about the Soviet nuclear stockpile? Again, the reality is that if the Soviet

Union didn't have the bomb the nuclear war might well have already occurred. Those who are skeptical about this should recall Hiroshima and Nagasaki. There is absolutely no reason to assume Washington would have stopped there if the Soviet Union hadn't developed the bomb soon after.

It's not nuclear bombs, but irrepressible world class conflicts, that create international tensions and the threat of global war. That's why there will be no peace until the imperialists are disarmed.

And it can be done. Social forces — particularly the international working class and its allies — still remain more powerful than any instrument of war.

But, what about the Korean plane? Soviet pilots did shoot it down. True, but all the facts are still not in and it remains to be seen if the full story will be established. So far, objectively considered, the Soviet version of what happened is more plausible than the U.S. story.

Anticommunist campaign

One thing is clear for sure. U.S. politicians — cynically and hypocritically — have deliberately seized on this incident to whip up anticommunism, to try to blunt the popular opposition to the deployment of U.S. missiles in Europe, to divert attention from U.S. aggression in Lebanon and Central America. And, perhaps, to corral a bit of support for those not very popular adventures.

For all these reasons any "even-handed" deploping of "both sides" in the plane affair — intended or not — is simply an assist to the Republican and Democratic anticommunist propagandists in Washington.

Saying these things in no way implies any need to apologize for the bureaucratic caste in the Kremlin that fattens on privileges at the expense of the Soviet workers.

Indeed, if they are to be faulted for anything, it's their readiness to trade off the interests of working people for diplomatic concerns. It's much like union bureaucrats who collaborate with the employers, at the expense of the workers, in the name of labor "statesmanship."

But that's not the issue here. It was Soviet territory that was violated and it was the Soviet responsibility — not that of strategists from afar — to determine how to respond. Meanwhile, our job is to stand up to those in our own country who so cruelly and hypocritically exploit the death of 269 innocent people for the most reprehensibly reactionary purposes.

Gov't attacks affirmative action in Tenn.

BY MALIK MIAH

On September 10 the new staff director of the United States Commission on Civil Rights, Linda Chavez, urged the body to reverse itself and support the seniority rights of white fire fighters over Blacks hired under an affirmative action plan in Memphis, Tennessee.

Chavez, a former aide to Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), argued that modification of the fire fighters seniority system would be reverse discrimination. She claimed that it would destroy union contract rights.

The Civil Rights Commission is a fact-finding agency that investigates complaints of discrimination. It has no enforcement powers.

Chavez's proposal would put the commission behind the Reagan administration's initiative on behalf of white fire fighters in Memphis. The Justice Department filed a legal brief with the U.S. Supreme Court in August contesting a 1981 court-ordered plan against discriminatory layoffs.

The Justice Department brief argues that, "Innocent firefighters were required to sacrifice not only their seniority, but also their jobs to persons who have never claimed to be victims of unlawful discrimination."

"As a result of the District Court's de-

cree," the Justice Department argues, "white firefighters with more years of service than black employees were furloughed or demoted, thus creating a new class of victims who were innocent of any wrongdoing, but were deprived of their rights under a valid seniority system."

In 1981 the Memphis city government announced that it was laying off a number of fire fighters due to a budget deficit. Most Black fire fighters would have lost their jobs because they were hired after 1977 when an affirmative action plan was won.

To prevent these discriminatory layoffs, a federal district court issued an injunction preventing the layoffs of the Black fire fighters. The court said the fire department could not enforce those aspects of its seniority policy that would decrease the percentage of Blacks in such key positions as lieutenant, driver, and inspector.

A federal appeals court later upheld the lower court's ruling.

But soon after the Reagan administration came into office, it proposed new guidelines for the Justice Department to follow concerning civil rights suits. They indicated that the government will now seek relief only for individual "identifiable" victims of job discrimination. The old rules allowed relief to "affected classes" who through class action suits could show discrimination. Another feature of

the guidelines is that complaints must now identify "all known victims of discrimination." This is aimed at civil rights and women's groups who file discrimination complaints on behalf of workers who might be fired if they were identified.

Chavez and Shanker's position, like that of Reagan, would lead to the end of even modest affirmative action plans. It would institutionalize "the last hired, first fired" situation that Blacks and women suffer.

Furthermore, it would weaken the unions, not strengthen them as Chavez and the AFT leadership claim. It would place the unions on the side of their enemies — the government and employers — who only talk about the "legitimacy" of union seniority systems when it serves their anti-Black, antilabor interests.

Although it is true that white, male workers are not responsible for the historical discrimination that has kept Blacks and women out of many jobs, it is also true that strict seniority is not "color blind." Its purpose is to preserve segregated patterns of employment.

That's why the stance of the labor movement on the Memphis case and others like it should be to support the stance of the largest teachers union in the country, the National Education Association. The NEA supports a contractual modification of the seniority system as the way to prevent the discriminatory layoff of Blacks and women.

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Produce packers battle companies, cops in California

BY LYNDA JOYCE
AND SAM MANUEL

LOS BAÑOS, Calif. — Several militant strikes by farm workers erupted in the California fields this summer in response to the growers' drive to force wage cuts and other concessions, and to ultimately bust the workers' unions.

Three hundred striking members and supporters of Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Workers Local 78B on August 5 occupied the Levy-Zentner packing shed at nearby Firebaugh. They then attempted to retake their jobs here in Los Baños at the Lindemann melon-packing shed. Lindemann had brought in scabs during negotiations with the union.

Police from surrounding counties were called in, as was the California Highway Patrol. The cops had helicopters.

Cops taunted the strikers, fired tear gas at them, and charged the crowd. The strikers defended themselves with dirt clods and rocks. Because of the large number of cops, they could not get to the shed.

Nine cops were injured, the local press claimed. A dozen strikers suffered injuries, including one with a broken finger. Also beaten by the cops was the owner of a nearby house who had let the strikers eat on his lawn.

Nineteen strikers were arrested and slapped with outrageously high bail.

The confident spirit of the strikers was described to the *Militant* later by Lee Lyons, who comes from a family of migratory workers: "The police said we didn't have support. We wanted to show them we did."

She told of the continued harassment on the picket line: "Four or five patrol cars drive by continually." One cop threw a melon at pickets.

As we talked, a Los Baños narcotics cop approached us, sporting a .357 magnum revolver, to give us his card. He had driven by several times.

The melon trucks come in under police escort. City officials admit the cost for police will reach \$30,000 above normal levels.

The strike began July 20 when the owners ran the workers out of the plant, threatening to call police. That afternoon the company hired scabs at a little more than half the previous wage rates.

Only Lindemann and Levy-Zentner, of 30 packing companies, have failed to sign three-year contracts with the union, which is part of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW).

In a blatant attempt to break the union, Lindemann demanded a new "contract" with a no-strike clause, a 40-percent wage cut, and takeaways of fringe benefits. The union refused pay cuts and other givebacks.

Mechanization

The company claimed it had to make the cuts to be competitive due to increased mechanization in the industry.

Several companies are experimenting with machinery that, if successful, could make the packing sheds obsolete.

According to state agriculture officials, hundreds of thousands of jobs have been lost in the industry through automation.

Throughout the strike, the company has tried to pit field workers against the striking packers and "local" workers against what the bosses call "invaders" or "out-of-town" workers.

About half the strikers are from the local area. The others are Mexican, Chicano, and Anglo migratory workers who follow the harvest from Texas to California.

Many of the migrant workers have mortgage payments at home and rent to pay in each town along the way, in addition to travel costs.

During the August 5 police attack on union pickets, two busloads of field workers were brought into the packing shed with the promise of jobs. They were told they would be cleaning the shed, but were later ordered to defend it with rakes and hoes.

César Chavez, president of the United Farm Workers union (UFW), visited the picket line on August 18. The UFW is organizing workers in nearby Mendota, where, at a rally attended by 500 strikers and supporters, Chavez urged union members to boycott all fruit and vegetables turned out by Lindemann and Levy-Zentner.

In an attempt to win public support for its union-busting, the company claims it is simply trying to offer employment for local residents.

The company is seeking to take advantage of increased competition among workers for fewer jobs. It reported that when it announced plans to hire "replacement" workers, 400 applied the first day.

Inside the plant the *Militant* observed many whites, Latinos, and Blacks, mostly young. They told stories of lengthy unemployment and minimum-wage jobs. They worked frantically, and fear crossed their faces at the mere mention of the union.

For 15 years, no Blacks had been hired at this shed. Now 40 Blacks had been hired as scabs.

Inside, a company manager attempted to lay the blame on the union for hiring discrimination against Blacks. When asked if the union controlled the hiring the manager hesitated and then answered no.

Company's racism

Octavio Quiroga, 38, who has five children and has been working the sheds for 23 years, explained, "The company doesn't care about local people or Blacks. All these years they never hired a Black person. They are only using them against the strike."

He continued, "Who is going to work for 40 percent less? The cost of living is going up. We are going to stay out here because



Militant/Lynnda Joyce

Melon packers picket Lindemann's in Los Baños. Strike is one of several militant struggles by agricultural workers in California in past several months as bosses push for wage cuts, other concessions by unions.

it's our obligation, it's our jobs, it's all we have."

Lee Lyons emphasized that the employers had been bragging that they're out to break the union. She said that's their real objective.

The owners claim the scabs are now permanent employees. On September 13 the union broke off negotiations with Lindemann and Levy-Zentner over this issue.

In Stockton a dozen striking tomato workers were arrested in July when they stormed a field where they had been replaced, in some cases by Laotian refugees.

In the Salinas Valley about 200 women, predominantly Mexican, struck one of the largest producers of carrots, Carl Joseph Maggio, after the company slashed wages by almost 25 percent.

Unrest in the fields in Salinas has been deepened by the recent announcement that Sun Harvest will close its operations in December. Sun Harvest is the largest employ-

er in the area with a UFW contract. The closure will result in the layoff of 1,100 workers.

In a tremendous show of solidarity, union members who are working under a contract in 11 other sheds in the area voted 576 to 6 to assess themselves \$20 a week for the strike relief to striking workers. So far \$60,000 has been raised for the strikers through this assessment.

In addition, workers at the nonstriking packing sheds are sharing their jobs with strikers by stepping aside one to three days a week to allow their union brothers and sisters to earn a partial week's pay.

Canadian members of the UFCW have also pledged support.

Messages of support and contributions may be sent to: United Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Workers Local 78B, 930 Oller, Mendota, Calif. 93640. Checks should be made out to the San Joaquin Valley Strike Fund.

Pentagon at war with U.S. workers

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

With bargaining for labor contracts just getting under way in the aerospace industry, the Department of Defense has launched an offensive against the wages and benefits of workers in those industries. Particularly targeted are cost-of-living adjustments and health benefits.

The International Association of Machinists' paper, the *Machinist*, points out, "The Pentagon has been likened to a near bottomless cesspool clogged with waste and inefficiency, often accused of entanglement in fraud and more often charged with paying exorbitant prices for supplies and services."

After a highly visible government public relations campaign about cutting Pentagon waste to counter criticism of the huge military budget, the *Machinist* observes, the government "is focusing exclusively on the wages of aerospace workers and other employees of government contractors," aiming for starters at wage controls and gutting health insurance coverage.

The International Association of Machinists (IAM) and United Auto Workers (UAW) are the major unions representing aerospace workers. As they approach negotiations with McDonnell Douglas and other large war contractors, the UAW's magazine *Solidarity* reports, letters "from

high Pentagon officials already have started arriving on the desks of corporate executives, urging them to take a hard line in the negotiations."

The *Solidarity* article was headlined, "The Pentagon's war on workers."

Last year Air Force Secretary Verne Orr wrote an internal memo — which the UAW obtained — to his assistant for financial management, Russell Hale, directing him to "make every effort to see that we do not pay negotiated wage settlements to our weapons producers which are greater than the amounts which the federal government decides are adequate for its own employees."

Orr wrote that he was "fully prepared to accept work stoppage . . . if that is what it takes" to hold down wage increases and benefits.

Aerospace workers' wage increases, according to Orr, have "grossly exceeded" increases for other workers.

Orr, who sold cars for 15 years prior to becoming Air Force secretary, was joined in this attack on aerospace workers by President Reagan, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, and other top Pentagon officials.

Hale told reporters that "70 percent of the cost of doing business is labor-related." He was said to be "adamant" over cost-of-

living wage increases.

Air Force Lt. Gen. Hans Driessnack claimed that "aerospace labor rates are significantly higher" than average manufacturing rates. He added, "It is time to aggressively challenge excessive or unsupported compensation levels."

Both the IAM and UAW point out that these claims are false. A 1981 Commerce Department study showed total production-worker wages, including benefits, to be 16 percent of costs in the aerospace industry.

When nonproduction payrolls are added, the total is still 36 percent, or about half what the Pentagon claims. This is about the same as for other major manufacturing industries.

Production workers' wages rose annually by 8.02 percent from 1967 to 1983, but consumer prices went up 7.02 percent yearly in that period. Thus, real income rose only 1 percent. As the UAW points out, that was less than half the increase in productivity.

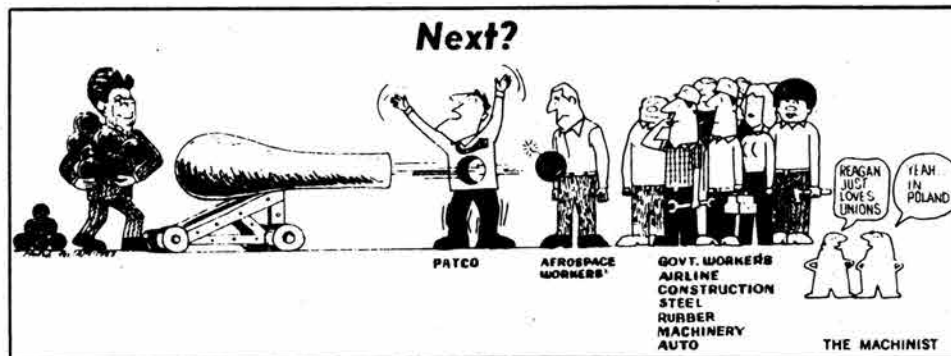
Further, employment in the war industries is highly erratic, with frequent layoffs of whole shifts and plants as the Pentagon changes its contracts.

The government is exerting strong pressure to keep wages and benefits down. Reagan has "jawboned" industry leaders to take a hard line. The Air Force is threatening to withhold contracts from companies that don't keep wages low.

Already, Air Force contract officers at 17 plants are comparing wages at those plants with local average wages.

Brig. Gen. Donald Stukel aimed his fire at health benefits, urging employers to deduct payment for them from workers' paychecks. The *Machinist* reports that Stukel has suggested what it termed "snoop teams to 'review' workers' health claims."

The *Machinist* also notes with irony that Stukel himself "personally enjoys the best in socialized medical coverage."



Farm workers weigh grower, gov't attacks

Union convention solidarizes with Arizona copper strikers

BY ANÍBAL YÁÑEZ

FRESNO, Calif. — Faced with an all-out war being waged on many fronts by big growers against farm labor, nearly 300 delegates of the United Farm Workers of America (UFW), AFL-CIO, met here September 4-5 for the UFW's Sixth Constitutional Convention. They represented 30,000 farm workers from California, Texas, Arizona, and Florida.

The striking feature of the gathering was that the entire proceedings were conducted primarily in Spanish. Simultaneous translation into English was provided for those few delegates who did not speak Spanish and into Spanish for most delegates when guests addressed the convention in English. Besides the delegates, there were several hundred other UFW members and supporters in attendance. Most were Mexican farm workers, along with other Latino, Black, Filipino, and white farm workers.

At the center of the UFW delegates' attention was how to defend the union and maintain the gains won with the passage in 1975 of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act (ALRA) in California. The ALRA was a historic conquest because it guaranteed for the first time the right of farm workers to organize unions free from "interference, restraint, or coercion" by growers and their agents.

In this context, political action by farm workers and all Chicanos was the prominent theme throughout the convention. Furthermore, the participants enthusiastically expressed solidarity with other workers and allies of the working class. This included solidarity with the embattled Phelps Dodge copper miners in Arizona.

Agribusiness on the offensive

In the last few years California growers have organized and financed drives to decertify the UFW in the state where the union is strongest. The growers simply ignore the fact that it is illegal for an employer or its agents to initiate or participate in a campaign to oust a union.

In nonunion workplaces around the state, growers have denied workers the chance to speak with union organizers in labor camps or in the fields during non-working hours, which is also illegal. And lately, the growers have rolled out a slicker antiunion weapon: the announcement of fake "closures."

The UFW charges that these "closures" represent a growing trend by agribusiness to subvert the union "by 'disappearing' and suddenly reappearing as a nonunion company under a different name."

Delegates pointed out how this "corporate reshuffling" works: the "new" companies end up with the same land, the same equipment, the same supervisors, and the same foremen, but no union.

Meanwhile, automation in the field, in particular the mechanization of various packaging and crating operations, has steadily increased. This has resulted in the loss of many UFW-organized jobs.

The California state government has also

stepped up its efforts in support of the big growers. Last July, California Gov. George Deukmejian imposed a 27 percent cut in the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) budget. ALRB member Jorge Carrillo told the *Los Angeles Times*, that the budget cuts "go a long way to defeat the intent of the law, which is to protect the rights of farm workers."

The growers declared that they were "thrilled" by the governor's action because it meant the ALRB would have to be more "business-like." It would have to stop investigations of "frivolous charges against growers," according to a spokesman for the bosses' California Farm Bureau Federation.

The "frivolous" violations of the ALRA have included wholesale firings of workers who voted for, or supported, unions. There have also been cases of violence by growers or their agents against workers and even against state officials trying to enforce the law.

A report by UFW National Executive Board member Frank Ortiz, distributed to the delegates, pointed out that David Sterling, the general counsel of the ALRB appointed by Deukmejian, is "at the beck and call of the rabidly antiunion Western Growers Association and other growers associations." Convention delegates unanimously approved a resolution censuring Sterling "for his betrayal and nonenforcement of the Agricultural Labor Relations Act." Another resolution censuring Deukmejian "for his virulent attitude towards farm workers and for the governor's insensitive sentiments for those who feed him and feed the rest of the nation," was also adopted.

UFW President César Chávez reminded the delegates that "for years farm workers were denied the right to organize." Today, he said, the growers "would like to see agricultural labor return to the days before there was a union. They want us to disappear." Chávez asked, "Will they be able to do this?"

The delegates shouted back: "¡No!"

The new boycott

"The union is the only weapon farm workers have," Chávez continued, "so if the growers put an end to the law [ALRA] we shall take up arms once again and return to the boycott." Applause and cheers broke out from the floor of the convention. Farm workers remember the role the grape and lettuce boycotts of a decade or more ago played, focusing nationwide attention on their struggle. Along with picketing, rallies, and marches, a mass social protest movement — *la causa* — helped win union recognition in many places.

But today, Chávez said, the UFW is launching a new type of boycott. "We can't win boycotts today with the old strategies we used in the 1960s and 1970s," he stated. Instead, the "new boycott" is based on the application of "computers, high-speed electronic media, and direct mail advertising."

Chávez declared that the UFW "will not abandon the tactics of picketing and boycotting, which are traditional tactics," but now the boycott will use new methods, adopting agribusinesses' marketing techniques. As Chávez put it, "We'll poison them with their own medicine." When Chávez was asked by a reporter whether the new boycott would involve the participation of farm workers if the direct mail and computer facilities at UFW headquarters in La Paz, California, did most of the work, Chávez replied that farm workers would still be directly involved in organizing efforts. However, later, in elaborating a response to another reporter's question, Chávez said that the "strength" of the new boycott strategy is that "you're not asking people to come to a picket line, you don't ask them to pass out leaflets . . . you're just asking them [through direct mail advertising] to bypass a product."

The Lucky Stores supermarket chain is the first target of the UFW's new boycott strategy. Lucky, which operates 1,500 supermarkets in 29 states, has insisted it will continue buying lettuce from the Bruce Church Co., a Salinas Valley grower who has refused to negotiate a contract with the UFW.

Several resolutions dealing with the new boycott or, in Chávez' words, the "high-tech boycott," were unanimously approved by the delegates. With one of these resolutions, the UFW strike fund became the Farm Workers Nonviolent Action Fund. This allows money from member's dues to be used not only for strikes, but also boycotts and "consumer action."

Democratic Party and the UFW

César Chávez concluded his main report on a militant note, saying that the union is ready to take on the growers: "If they want to fight us, let's fight them back!" Loud applause broke out, giving way to a prolonged rhythmic chant: "Boycott! Boycott! Boycott!" As the delegates quieted down, Chávez shouted, "¡Sí se puede!" (It can be done!) — a UFW battle cry from the 1960s and '70s. "¡Viva el boycott! Down with the growers! Down with Deukmejian! Up with the farm workers! Down with the scabs! Down with the Republicans! Up with the Democrats!"

Last year, according to César's son, Paul Chávez, head of the UFW legislation department, farm workers donated \$700,000 to Democratic Party candidates. The high-tech boycott against Lucky Stores is part of a plan to tap Chicano's anti-Reagan sentiment and get out the Chicano vote for the Democrats.

The farm workers urgently feel the need to resist the attacks by the growers and the government. A strong anti-Reagan sentiment is one expression of that. It is this that Chávez and the UFW leadership are seizing on to channel farm workers' militancy into the Democratic Party.

A resolution loudly approved by the delegates denounced Reagan for having done "everything in his power to destroy the UFW" when he was governor of California. The resolution hit Reagan's domestic policies, "which have brought unemployment to a level that can only be compared to the Great Depression" and which "have been a major contribution to poverty and hunger in this country."

Reagan's foreign policy also came under attack. "The foreign policy of President Reagan, through deploying more missiles, building new nuclear weapons, developing chemical weapons, and reinstating the draft has brought the United States into a state prepared for war," the resolution says. And it pointed to the wars the U.S. government is carrying out in Central America by saying, "President Reagan's Latin America policy supports repressive military dictatorships with military and economic aid that could expand civil wars into an international war." In approving this anti-Reagan resolution, delegates voted to censure the president and committed the UFW to "do all necessary cam-

paigning and voting to make sure he and others like him at all levels of government will not be elected in 1984."

A number of labor figures and several Democrats were guest speakers at the UFW convention, and most of them took the opportunity to get the "register and vote Democrat" message across to the farm worker delegates, linking it with issues of deep concern to the working class in the United States.

Bill Soltero, a Chicano trade unionist from Arizona and long-time friend of the UFW, also spoke in this vein. But he also discussed the situation of the mostly Chicano, *mexicano*, and Native American copper miners on strike against Phelps Dodge. He gave a colorful, militant speech urging Chicano and working-class solidarity with the Arizona miners.

Working-class solidarity

The pro-Democratic Party political speeches were interspersed throughout the convention proceedings. On the second day, however, one of the farm workers got up and said, "We talk a lot about politics, but many of us are not citizens."

Another said, "We wish somebody would come to power who would really represent all of us, all workers." It was not surprising then, that clear calls for working-class solidarity got the best and most enthusiastic response from the delegates.

Baldemar Velázquez, leader of Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), spoke on the problems facing Ohio farm workers and their six-year-long struggle against the giant Campbell's Soup Co. The UFW National Executive Board then proposed that the union donate \$5,000 to sup-

Marroquín gets

BY DIANA CANTÚ
AND LARRY LUKECART

FRESNO, Calif. — Mexican activist Héctor Marroquín, who is seeking political asylum in the United States, received a warm reception for his case from delegates, guests, and staff at the United Farm Workers of America (UFW) convention.

Almost 300 farm workers signed petitions opposing Marroquín's deportation and supporting his appeal for political asylum in the United States.

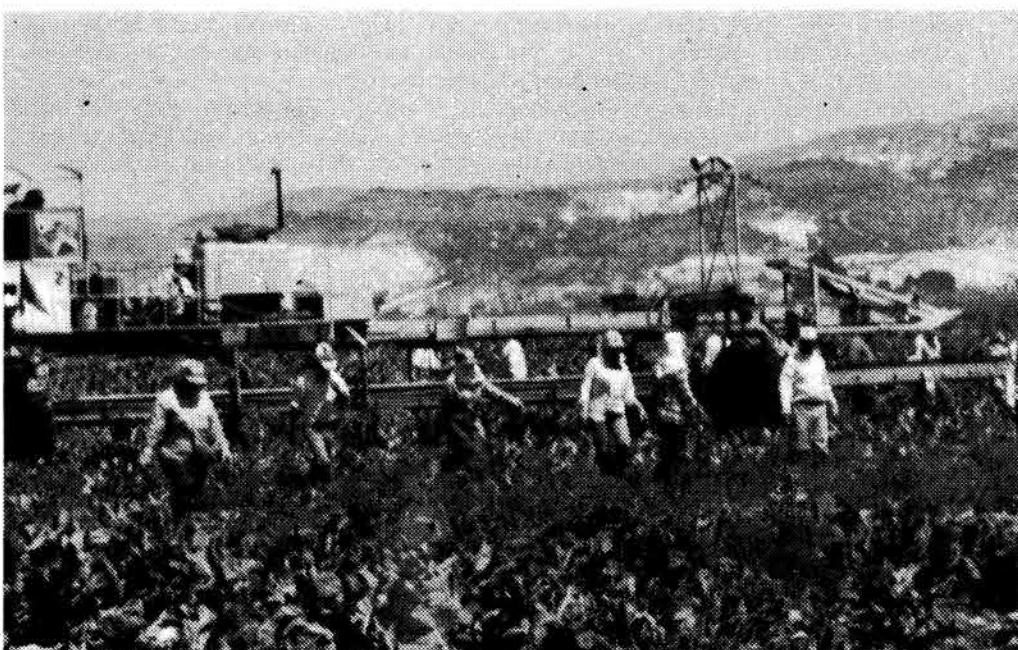
Among those endorsing his defense were the entire UFW delegation from Florida; artist-muralist Barbara Carrasco; Al Belmonte, second vice-president of the Mexican American Political Association (MAPA); El Teatro de la Tierra; and California state assembly member Dick Floyd.

Marroquín has been struggling for political asylum for six years. His final appeal is before the U.S. Supreme Court now. He was forced to come to this country in 1974 after being singled out and framed up by the police in Mexico because of his political activities and support to democratic rights. If he returns to Mexico his life is in danger.

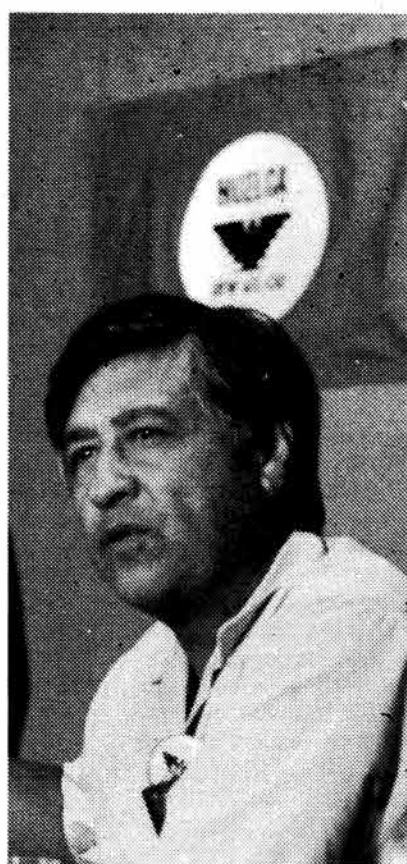
Marroquín met with many UFW members and supporters at the convention who expressed solidarity with his struggle against the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS). Many said they had experienced similar harassment in both the United States and Mexico. They recognized that Marroquín's case is part of the fight of all political refugees fleeing oppression in their own countries. Several bought Marroquín buttons and wore them at the convention. Others took petitions and brochures to circulate back in the fields.

Prior to the UFW convention, Marroquín toured the Monterey-Salinas area in California's San Joaquin Valley. There he won additional support from farm workers. Salinas, known as a center of UFW struggles, is considered the "salad bowl" of the United States.

On September 2, Marroquín and several supporters visited the lettuce and broccoli



Militant/Larry Lukecart



Militant photos by Larry Lukehart

Automation, growers' union-busting, gutting of California Agricultural Labor Relations Act generated discussion at United Farm Workers convention. Union president César Chávez (center) proposed boycott, voting for Democratic Party politicians.

port FLOC. But a delegate made an additional proposal, that the farm workers present directly express their solidarity by taking a collection right then and there. The farm workers passed the hat and raised \$680 in cash, which was presented to Valázquez.

Following Soltero's report on the Arizona copper miners strike, a delegate proposed that the hat be passed again as it was for FLOC. He suggested that the UFW immediately organize farm worker contingents to march with the copper miners on the picket lines. That proposal was met with loud applause and cheers from all the farm workers present. César Chávez said

the UFW had already been supporting the copper miners strike. He amended the motion that had been made from the floor to propose only that the convention ask Bill Soltero to "investigate" what the situation was in Arizona and what kind of help the miners needed from the farm workers. Chávez' motion passed unanimously.

Dolores Huerta, first vice-president of the UFW, motivated two resolutions in solidarity with women's rights. One states that the UFW supports "the immediate passage and enactment of the Equal Rights Amendment." The other declares that the UFW "will actively recruit and organize women workers to be members" and "pro-

mote the rights of women." The resolutions were loudly applauded and passed unanimously.

Furthermore, the delegates voted to "encourage and promote the involvement of women as leaders, officers, and active members" of the UFW. One old Mexican farm worker, a veteran of many struggles, shouted, "¡Viva la mujer!" to a resounding response of "¡Viva!" Huerta urged that all women members of the union join the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). CLUW membership applications were distributed to all women farm workers present.

In another expression of working-class

solidarity, the UFW invited the Political Rights Defense Fund to set up a literature table during the convention and collect farm workers' signatures on a petition in support of Mexican socialist Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum in the United States. (See article on this page.)

At the end of the two-day meeting, as delegates were leaving, *Perspectiva Mundial* reporters covering the UFW convention distributed 150 complimentary copies of *PM*. With the front cover on the U.S. government's attacks on Nicaragua, the socialist biweekly generated a lot of interest and was very well received by the farm workers. A number of them asked how they could get the magazine on a regular basis.

At one point in the convention, César Chávez devoted some time to discuss the UFW's "mission," and a resolution on this topic was presented to the delegates by the National Executive Board of the union. "The UFW's mission," Chávez said, "is food. Not negotiating contracts, not organizing."

"If we say the union's mission is to organize workers, we are limiting ourselves, not reaching out to other people," Chávez continued. "We're not saying we're not going to negotiate or not going to organize. Of course we are. . . . We are broadening the world of the union by saying that our main concern is food."

What Chávez apparently meant was that the union will place a greater priority on "consumer" issues. This includes the fact that "the public is often sold food of poor quality at unreasonable prices and laden with poisons," and that "millions of dollars are spent on wasteful welfare programs for agribusiness." But many farm worker delegates did not seem to know what Chávez was talking about. "I hope you're not confused," Chávez said after awhile, interrupting himself. "Do you understand what I'm trying to tell you?" A few scattered and weak "sfs" could be heard.

The resolution on this subject stated that the UFW "adopts its mission as food and its purpose to end the exploitation of farm workers, eliminate the fraud perpetuated on consumers, and stop the subsidies to agribusiness." Although the resolution was approved unanimously, for most farm workers the "mission as food" talk was perplexing.

The paramount "mission" and purpose of the union in their view is clear: "end the exploitation of farm workers."

Almost every time a farm worker delegate took the microphone it was to talk about the problems facing a particular UFW ranch committee or workers in a particular company in the mounting day-to-day war with the employers — problems of attacks on the right to organize, attacks on the union contract, attacks on farm workers' living and working conditions. And many delegates at the convention seemed to understand that they have a long hard fight ahead of them, precisely "to end the exploitation of farm workers."

farm response from UFW members at convention

fields of Salinas to speak to farm workers. At one field about 35 gathered around during their lunch break to listen while Marroquín explained his case. Many of these workers were from the same area in Mexico as Marroquín and could relate personally to his account. Fifty-five signatures were collected on petitions.

Marroquín was also a guest at the home of Jesús Méndez, a UFW activist. There he spent several hours talking about his case with Méndez, six other farm workers, and a Salinas vegetable packer. They also told him about the struggles they are involved in.

At a September 2 reception in Seaside, Marroquín spoke to local supporters about his fight for asylum. Seaside Mayor Lancelot McClair attended the reception. Impressed by the breadth of support for Marroquín's case, he endorsed the defense case.

Other local endorsements during the tour included Richard Criley, director of the Northern California Area of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation; Alonzo González, past president of the Salinas League of United Latin American Citizens; and William Monning on behalf of the National Lawyers Guild of Salinas-Monterey.

The Seaside Young Socialist Alliance also sponsored a meeting for Marroquín at Monterey Peninsula College. Marroquín is a member of the YSA's national committee. Seven people new to socialist ideas attended the meeting and two asked to join the YSA.

Marroquín was interviewed by the two local TV stations. At one, his interviewer told us that when he was a student at San Jose State, he introduced a resolution before the student government in support of Marroquín's right to political asylum. The other interviewer sent a camera crew to follow Marroquín when he went into the fields to talk to farmworkers.

Marroquín was also interviewed by three radio stations, including KUBO, one of only four bilingual public radio stations in the United States.



Militant/Larry Lukehart

Socialist Héctor Marroquín (left) shakes hands with well-wisher at UFW convention as delegates sign petition supporting his right to political asylum. U.S. government is trying to deport him to Mexico, where he would be persecuted.

PRDF Political Rights Defense Fund

You can help . . .

Support Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum. Send protests to: Alan Nelson, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536.

Copies of protest messages and requests for more information should be directed to the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing Marroquín's defense campaign.

Funds are needed urgently. Please mail to PRDF, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Checks should be made out to PRDF and earmarked for Marroquín defense.

Marshall Islands: still U.S. colony after 'compact' vote

Military control is retained

BY WILL REISSNER

The Pentagon will retain a big military presence in the more than 2,000 Micronesian Islands of the southwest Pacific for at least the next half century under the terms of agreements worked out with three of the four Micronesian island groups this year.

On September 7, residents of the Marshall Islands voted to accept a "Compact of Free Association" with the United States. The vote was 58 percent in favor. This agreement gives the islanders a measure of internal self-rule, but gives Washington "full authority and responsibility for security and defense matters."

Under the agreement, Washington will also have a veto over Marshall Islands foreign relations that it judges "to be incompatible with its authority and responsibility for security and defense matters."

Voters in the Federated States of Micronesia approved a similar compact in June, and those in Belau accepted "free association" in February. In 1975 the fourth island group, the Northern Marianas Islands, became a U.S.-ruled "commonwealth," with a status similar to that of Puerto Rico.

Washington spent huge sums of money to convince voters in the three groups to accept colonial status — "free association" — rather than independence.

The Micronesian islands have been under U.S. control since their capture from the Japanese in World War II. Although since 1947 they have officially been United Nations Trust Territories, the islands have nonetheless been ruled directly from Washington by the U.S. Department of the Interior.

After World War II, the Pentagon set up military bases throughout Micronesia and more than 60 nuclear tests were conducted on the islands. Residents of a number of islands in the Marshalls group were forcibly moved from their homes to clear their islands for atomic testing. Six islands were blasted off the face of the earth and others were rendered uninhabitable by radiation contamination.

Although testing of nuclear bombs in Micronesia ended in 1963, the islands remain a key element in the Pentagon's nuclear testing programs. Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshall Islands is the target for missile test firings from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California, some 4,200 miles away. Kwajalein's lagoon was the target for the Minuteman III intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBM) tests, and on June 17 the first MX missile, bearing a dummy warhead, was fired at Kwajalein.

Nineteen more MX missiles, dubbed the "Peacemaker" by President Reagan, are scheduled to be aimed at Kwajalein in the next four years.

In order to turn Kwajalein into the receiving end of the missile range, the Pentagon removed the residents, replacing them with more than 2,000 U.S. military personnel and technicians. While the U.S. per-

sonnel live on Kwajalein in conditions akin to those in a prosperous mainland suburb, more than 8,000 Marshallese have been herded onto neighboring Ebeye Island, which is smaller in size than New York's Central Park.

Conditions on Ebeye's 66 acres are an international scandal. The population is totally dependent on U.S.-supplied food for survival, and lives with polluted water supplies and inadequate sewage facilities.

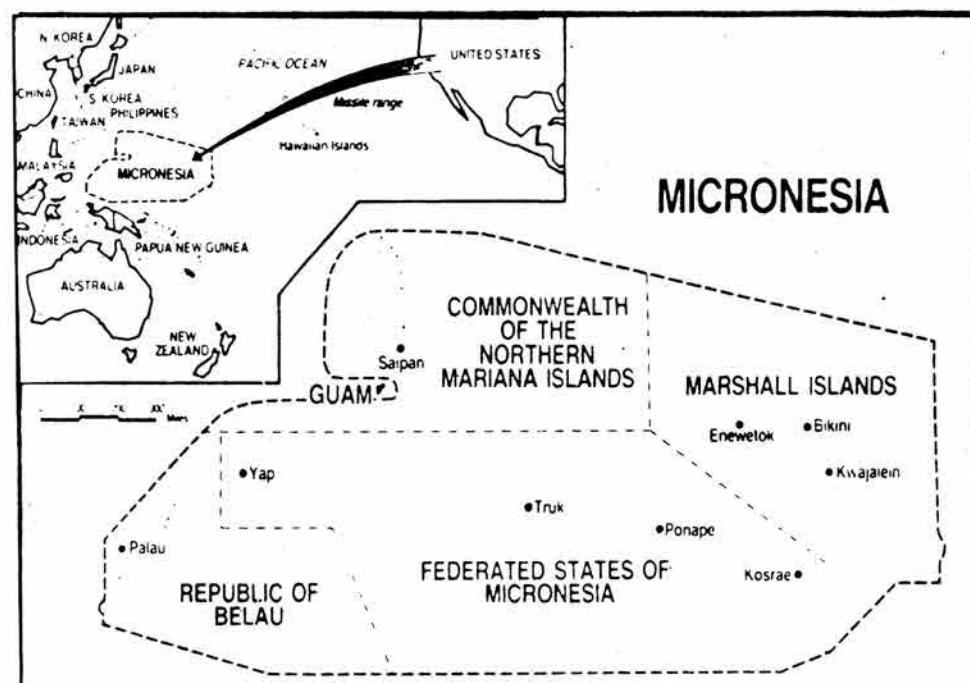
In addition to the Kwajalein missile range site, the Pentagon has other major installations in Micronesia. When Washington rushed through the 1975 "commonwealth" agreement with the Northern Marianas Islands, which was rejected by the other three groups, the Pentagon got a 100-year lease on two-thirds of the island of Tinian, the site of a large U.S. naval and air base. During World War II, U.S. bombers took off from Tinian to carry out the atomic bombing of Hiroshima.

Under the 1975 agreement, the U.S. government pays the North Marianas about \$10 per acre per year to rent the Tinian base.

The Pentagon also plans to build a major military base and staging area in Belau, which lies 500 miles east of the Philippines. This facility is viewed as particularly important by Pentagon planners because mounting working-class struggles in the Philippines could imperil continued use of the gigantic U.S. naval bases there.

In return for about \$20 million annually in economic aid to Belau, the Pentagon plans to construct a Trident submarine base, establish a 30,000-acre jungle warfare training base, expand two airfields for use by military planes, and use a 2,000-acre site for storage of nuclear and conventional weapons.

In all, the Pentagon plans to take over



Micronesia includes more than 2,000 small islands with about 115,000 inhabitants.

for its own use one-third of Belau's land area.

Some of these plans were called into question by a February 10 vote in Belau. Although residents approved a Compact of Free Association at that time, one section of which specifically allows the United States to maintain nuclear weapons on the islands, the voters also upheld the section of Belau's constitution that bans all testing and storage of such weapons on Belau's territory.

On July 1, Belau and the United States signed a compromise treaty permitting U.S. nuclear warships to use Belauan waters but prohibiting storage of nuclear weapons on Belauan territory. A similar U.S. treaty with Japan has imposed no restrictions on U.S. nuclear weapons in that country because the Pentagon maintains that as a matter of policy it never discloses whether a plane or ship is carrying nuclear weapons.

As a result of the vote for "free association" in the Marshall Islands on September 7, Washington has been relieved of legal responsibility for damages to Marshallese caused by the two decades of nuclear testing there.

Four billion dollars in claims had been filed against the U.S. government by Marshallese who suffered personal or property

damage as a result of the 66 nuclear explosions on Eniwetok and Bikini atolls. In 1954, radioactive ash from an explosion showered three islands in the group, affecting 236 Marshallese, 28 Americans, and 22 Japanese crew members of a fishing vessel in the area. One of the Japanese fishermen died of his radiation burns in the incident.

Since then, islanders exposed to the ash have suffered significantly higher rates of miscarriage, thyroid tumors, cancers, and leukemia.

Other Marshall islanders have also been exposed to dangerous levels of radiation. In 1970, residents of the Bikini Atoll were allowed to return to their home islands, from which they had been moved in 1946 to open the way for 23 nuclear tests. But eight years after their return, they were again evacuated when it was decided that radiation levels were still too high for safety.

As part of the "Free Association" agreement, the U.S. government's responsibility for damages is limited to proceeds from a \$150 million trust fund for victims of the testing. But as Glenn Alcalay of the National Association of Atomic Veterans points out, "we don't know how many generations will suffer genetic damage from the tests."

Irish abortion vote spurs discussion

BY MARGARET JAYKO

A broad debate has opened up in Ireland over the right of women to have abortions. The focal point of this discussion to date has been the campaign by the Catholic Church hierarchy and the capitalist parties in the independent southern 26 counties of Ireland to add a ban on abortions to the Irish constitution.

On September 7, the polls were open for a referendum vote on whether the constitution should be amended to include this sentence:

"The state acknowledges the right to life of the unborn and, with due regard to the equal right to life of the mother, guarantees in its laws to respect, and, as far as practicable, by its laws to defend and vindicate that right."

Though the vote went 2-to-1 in favor of the ban, only 53.6 percent of those eligible to vote did so. This is an unusually low turnout for Ireland. The results were widely viewed as an indication of the depth of the changes in popular opinion on abortion in the last couple of years.

Of the 1.26 million people who voted, 841,233 cast their ballots for the amendment, and 416,136 voted against it.

One million registered voters stayed away from the polls, despite the intense pressure from the church hierarchy warning that Catholics could not abstain on this referendum — they had to vote no.

This threat was necessitated by the impact of the broad campaign against the amendment, which was initiated by supporters of abortion rights but also included opponents of abortion who were against the amendment for a variety of reasons.

In urban areas, the vote tended to be much closer than in rural areas. In several sections of the capital city of Dublin, for example, there were majorities against the amendment.

Abortion is already illegal in southern Ireland, except in the most extreme cases when a woman's life is threatened by the pregnancy. Women who can afford it go to Britain to have abortions.

Contraceptives in Ireland are available only with medical prescriptions. Women, therefore, have almost no control over their reproductive capabilities, an important factor in keeping women of the oppressed Irish nation "in their place."

The most rabid right-wing opponents of abortion, organized into the Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child, along with the church hierarchy and sections of the native ruling class, argued that unless a constitutional ban was imposed, abortion could be made legal at any time.

They hoped to use their proamendment campaign as the opening wedge to roll back all the gains that Irish women have made.

And they expected a major victory.

The ratification of the amendment will inspire these reactionary forces to mount attacks on the family planning clinics, the use of IUDs (intrauterine devices), and state funding for organizations like CHERISH, which provides services for single mothers.

It could also spur a campaign to jail women who have illegal abortions. Currently, women are not put in prison for having illegal abortions.

Anne Speed, an activist in the "vote no" campaign and the women's liberation movement in Ireland told the *Militant* about the struggle against the amendment. Speed is also a member of People's Democracy, a socialist organization which is part of the Fourth International.

Speed said that the effect of the antiabortion campaign was to "take abortion out of

the closet," to make it an issue that is broadly and openly discussed.

Feminists who support women's right to choose abortion initiated a broad coalition in opposition to this amendment, which set up groups in every major town. It won the endorsement of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

One important theme of the vote no campaign was that passing this amendment would mean even more women would die each year due to back-alley or self-induced abortions.

The growth of opposition to the amendment during the course of the last two years, and the increasing (though still minority) support for legal abortion, forced the head of Ireland's coalition government to change his position and oppose the referendum. It also caused major crises in the three main parties, Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, and the Labor Party.

Sinn Féin, the political party which supports the Irish Republican Army, opposed the amendment. However, it was not actively involved in the vote no campaign.

Speed said that she felt the vote no coalition had made some real gains. The winning of a sizeable vote against the amendment changes the relationship of forces between opponents and proponents of abortion rights. It slows down the ability of antiwoman forces to launch other attacks on reproductive rights, and it inspires supporters of women's rights.

Speed pointed out that women in the United States have a stake in this ongoing struggle for reproductive rights for women in Ireland. It will have an impact on the struggle to defend and extend reproductive rights in this country, and should be supported by U.S. women.

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West Bank unionist discusses plight of Arab women workers

The following interview is with Amné Rimawi, a member of the West Bank General Federation of Trade Unions (GFTU), Workers Unity Tendency. She is also a member of the Women's Committee of the union and a former member of the Executive Committee of the GFTU. She has worked as a garment worker.

This interview was conducted in the West Bank town of Ramallah earlier this year by Deborah Liatos and Georges Sayad.

Question. How strong are the unions on the West Bank and how do they organize?

Answer. Here in Ramallah, union membership was 150 until 1978. Then we called for opening up the unions to those living in the West Bank but working in Israeli enterprises. These are maybe 90 percent of the workers in our area. The membership rose to 1,600 in three years.

The functioning of the union movement in the last five years has led to new opportunities. There are many new unions being formed and, of course, they affiliate to the federation. In the past, there were about 15 unions in the federation, now there are 30 to 32 workers' unions. The number of unionized workers previously did not amount to 5 percent. Now there are about 15 to 20 percent. So there are real advances.

The union makes regular visits to the

plants; it tries to enforce the work laws. It has hired a lawyer and tries to explain workers' rights. We have had limited successes.

Q. What is the situation of women workers from the West Bank working in Israel?

A. [Israeli] workers in Israeli enterprises have benefits, while the Arab workers in the same plant have nothing.

Those [Arabs] in Israeli plants have it the hardest. First of all is the class oppression, then the national oppression. They have difficulties even though their wages are higher than in Arab plants. In comparison with the Israeli woman worker in the same plant, there are large discrepancies.

Q. What are the industries in which Palestinian women work?

A. We published a special study showing that women work in three sectors: garment, the sweets industries — such as cookies, etc., and the bottling of pharmaceuticals and cleaning products such as shampoo.

Women garment workers are not allowed to work on jobs or machines in which they may acquire skills. Their work will be very simple, while the Israeli worker will be in good job positions. Our workers work on machines sewing blouses, jeans, brassieres. They are just specialized in sewing so that their skills are

not expanded.

It became clear to our committee that it was necessary for our union to face these problems, to organize these workers.

Q. Who owns the garment shops on the West Bank?

A. The shops here are Arab-owned, but are dependent on Israeli shops. That is, the garment shops have machines, workers, and everything necessary, but the cloth comes from Israeli enterprises. We sew them and then return the finished products to Israel.

The nature of our economy is dependent on the Israeli economy, so the garment industry here is dependent on Israel. They bring them from Tel Aviv or large Israeli factories and all we do is sew them.

Q. Can you explain the garment industry on the West Bank? What types of job conditions exist?

A. There are 40 to 50 workers per shop, sometimes less. The woman garment worker's salary usually does not reach \$100 a month. The ages range from 15 up to about 30 years.

The problems are many. Of course, there is speedup. But also, the work is seasonal. In the summer there may be a lot of work and then in winter it will be less. There is no permanence in the job.

There are no work laws, social or economic. Any woman can work in the factory with no wage raise schedule, without yearly vacation or sick leaves, and without health benefits. This, too, is a problem.

Other problems are with the family. They choose garment because there is not possibility of mixing, i.e. there are only women and no men.

Also, it is family members who determine a woman's workplace, as a result of social relations between them and the owner of the workplace. She has to work in the shop decided on. She can make no demands for a raise or about her working conditions.

Another problem is the lack of a Palestinian state. There is a union formed to defend the rights of these workers, but because of the political situation, any boss can forbid the entrance of the union into the workplace.

The women are restricted to just the workplace, and from the workplace to the home and back. The bosses bring the women workers from the homes and they do not permit them to go out, to contact anyone, to visit a union, or attend an event organized for them, even after work hours.

Q. Is that because the management is wary of any organization, or also does it have to do with the position of women in relation to the family?

A. In the first place it has to do with the family situation. A woman enters the work force for economic reasons. And here the family — the husband, the father, the brother — play a major role in pressuring her. They may also forbid her from participating in a union. Of course, there is no child care, so the boss prefers the girl to the married woman, because the latter's responsibilities are more.

Q. What are some of the main issues that women workers themselves raise? Have there been any struggles in collaboration with the union or just spontaneous ones in the shop?

A. As I explained, it is the economic situation that forces women into the work force. The struggles by the women are very limited. There have been no long-standing struggles. Women began entering the work force only in the last 5 to 10 years. So there is no organized form of struggle.

There was a problem in a workplace employing five women. They made about \$60.00 [a month]. They demanded a raise. The boss refused them the raise and, in fact, used abusive language. They complained to the union and the union attempted to come to their aid. But because of relations between the workers' families and the owner of the shop, he visited the



Militant/Georges Sayad
Amné Rimawi, member of women's committee of West Bank General Federation of Trade Unions and former garment worker.

families and the affair was solved informally. He did not want the intervention of the union in the matter.

Q. Given the difficulties of women workers organizing, how do the union and the women's committee function?

A. The problem is, with the plant owners, any woman unionist, a conscious worker, may be fired. I, for example, was fired from three factories; in various sectors, not just garment. I was fired only because I am a unionist.

There are unions, and, of course, their executive committee members are all present in the plants. The Seamstress Union has an executive committee of seven workers. There are 60 in its work committee, most of whom work in the plants. That way, of course, it is easy for them to grasp any problem present in the plants.

The Seamstress Union is an affiliate of the General Federation of Trade Unions of the West Bank. The union was formed in 1980, and there are about 150 workers, mostly women.

In 1975-76, the number of women unionists was very small. In 1978, the affiliation of women workers to the union and the General Federation began.

We then established women's branches, such as the women workers' committee here. It brings large numbers of women to the union, on the basis that the union takes up their cause and strives to solve their issues.

In 1979, the call was made for the establishment of women workers' committees in every union. They would be concerned with the issues affecting women, visit them, and pull them out of the oppression placed upon them by the boss or the family.

There is an increasing involvement of women, not only in unions, but in all organizations of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. It remains, of course, relative. As I said, the number of women workers in unions reaches maybe 10 percent. But we consider it a big step because two or three years ago it was more limited.

Q. What is the response of the Israeli occupation authorities to union organizing in the West Bank?

A. The state does not allow the unions to play their natural role in raising the consciousness of workers and organizing them. Any new union must obtain a permit from the military authorities. The Seamstresses Union has been established for two years now. But it has no permit. It applied to the military government for such a permit, but the government rejected it.

The reality is that the Israeli authorities are against any establishment of workers' organizations in the occupied territories. So the unions and workers themselves must undertake long battles to form new workers' unions. Since 1979 or 1980, some 10 to 15 new workers' unions have been established. Most do not have authorization from the occupiers. They work on the premise that they obtain their legitimacy from the workers and not from the authorities of the military government.

9,000 garment workers in Quebec end strike over wages, hours

BY COLLEEN LEVIS

MONTREAL — The strike of 9,000 members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) ended here August 23 by a close vote of 50.5 percent for a return to work.

It was the union's first strike here in 43 years. It was led by women against an industry notorious for its low wages and inhuman working conditions.

Our society maintains that women are the weaker sex. The women garment workers proved that to be a myth.

The strikers won the support of many women's organizations. The Women's Committee of the Quebec Federation of Labour (FTQ) organized a demonstration in support of the strike. Marie Pinsonneault, an FTQ vice-president and leader of the Bell Canada workers, encouraged the striking women to keep up the struggle.

A large number of strikers were immigrant women: Italians, Portuguese, Greeks, and so on. A young presser explained that "before, immigrant women didn't want to talk about struggles or strikes. They didn't understand what was happening in the meetings, because there was no translation into their language. They were afraid of losing their jobs. Now, they're with us."

Even though they make up only 10 percent of union members and are concentrated in the better-paid jobs, men played an important role in the strike.

The unity between men and women, immigrants, and Québécois in defense of the most exploited is an example for the whole labor movement.

The bosses wanted to reduce wages by

15 percent and raise the workweek from 35 to 40 hours. The strikers demanded an immediate wage increase of \$1 an hour.

The settlement freezes wages until next March. The lowest paid workers will then receive an increase of 50 cents an hour, while the others will get only 25 cents. There will be two similar increases Sept. 1, 1984, and March 1, 1985.

The settlement does not resolve the major problem of piecework. Switching from hourly wages to piecework often results in a big wage cut. One worker explained to us that her income had dropped from \$8 to \$5.78 an hour.

The Manufacturers Guild, which groups together 171 garment employers, argued that several shops would have to close their doors if the union demanded too much.

Strikers talked to us openly about problems in the union. "Before," one said, "it was a union which worked for the employers."

In 1981, at the demand of the union rank and file, the FTQ held an inquiry into corruption and absence of internal democracy in the ILGWU. The result was a restructuring of the union and changes in the leadership at the last elections.

In May 1982 the union began to establish shop committees to resolve local problems. A presser emphasized the importance of these committees: "Before, it was the bosses who often chose union reps. Thanks to the committees, they no longer have the control they once had over the union. The bosses don't like it."

Before, there were no regular meetings of all members; now, they've decided to have three a year.

On August 10, more than 5,000 members had decided almost unanimously to strike. On August 20, a mass meeting of more than 3,000 angrily voted to reject a proposed settlement and continue the strike.

The leadership reversed this decision and forced a new vote — this time by secret ballot on August 23. Faced with threats by the bosses to close their shops and with the refusal of the union leadership to lead, the members finally accepted the agreement, though by a majority of only 61 votes (out of over 6,000 ballots cast.)

Union members took important steps during the strike to transform the ILGWU into a real instrument of struggle against the bosses. The unity of union members and public support for the strikers are two important acquisitions for the union.

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Biggest U.S.-Japan war exercise set

Show of force follows U.S. maneuvers in March 'taunting' Soviet Union

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

The U.S. and Japanese governments, in a major escalation of belligerence toward the Soviet Union, announced plans for the biggest joint U.S.-Japan air and naval "exercises" ever held. They are scheduled to take place September 25 to October 5.

The maneuvers are a show of force following the Soviet downing of a South Korean airplane. U.S. military officials announced in Tokyo September 14.

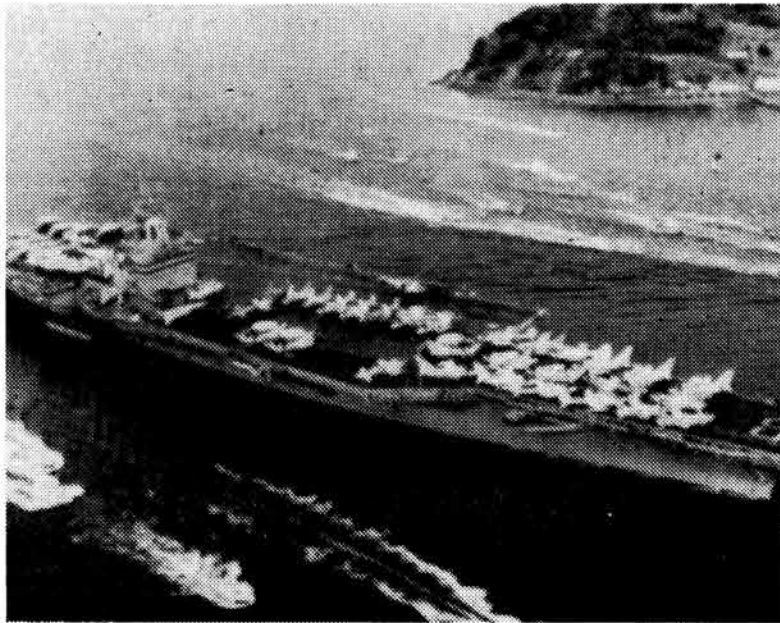
The announcement came a day following what United Press International called a "Soviet show of strength from across the Sea of Japan." Four Soviet planes flew within 100 miles of Japanese air space.

The U.S.-Japan response to this is a *real* show of strength. The joint "exercise," the Tokyo government said, would involve 150 of its 160 ships, 117 of its 360 aircraft, and 30,000 personnel from Japan alone. The U.S. force involved was not reported.

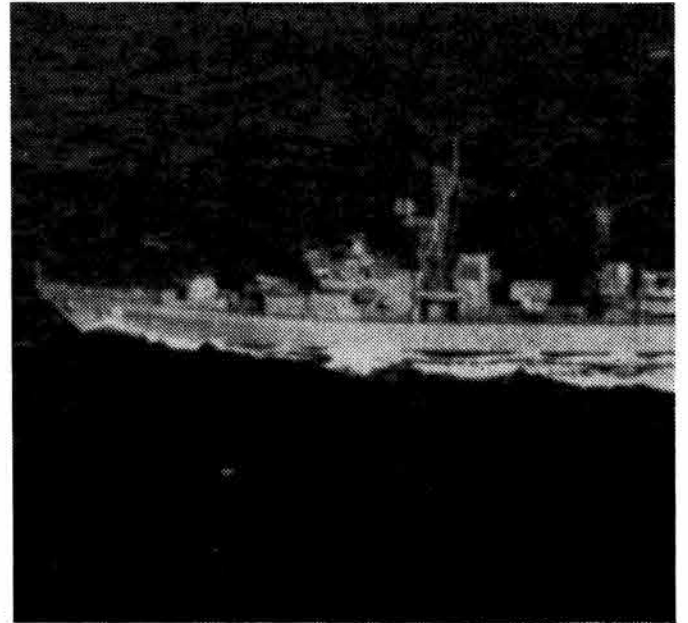
Early this year, the United States and South Korea held joint anti-Soviet "exercises" in the Sea of Japan — "Team Spirit '83."

Then in March, three U.S. aircraft carriers, with a complement of 300 attack aircraft, were joined by U.S. and Canadian escort vessels to sail down the coast of Siberia. They were supported by B-52 bombers, Awacs, and antisubmarine aircraft flying from Japan.

The Tokyo head of the Reuters news agency described this as "taunting" the Soviet garrison at Petropavlovsk by sailing



U.S. aircraft carrier *Enterprise* (left) at U.S. base in Japan. At right is Japanese destroyer *Aokuno*, now patrolling Soya Strait against Soviet ships. Tokyo government is aiding U.S. anti-Soviet drive against wishes of Japanese people.



within 15 minutes' flying time of the major Soviet submarine base there.

The *Far Eastern Economic Review* noted that the aim of this provocative maneuvering "was not, of course, to practice close-formation steaming, which could be done more economically off Seattle. In classical naval theory, a demonstration of this kind shows your prospective opponent that he is outclassed off his own coastline and had better stick close to home if he knows what is good for him."

Japan has become more and more involved in these provocations. Since he became premier last December, Yasuhiro Nakasone has spoken out forcefully for a strengthening of Japan's alliance with Washington.

Nakasone has called Japan an "unsinkable aircraft carrier" that is part of an indivisible alliance with the United States. He advocates bottling up the Soviet fleet by becoming capable of denying Soviet ships access to the straits around the Sea of

Japan. These passages are in international waters.

The Japanese destroyer *Aokuno* is now doing picket duty in the Soya Strait (between Hokkaido and the Soviet island of Sakhalin) "to monitor Soviet warship movements around the clock," the Japanese government announced.

Nakasone has also accepted a U.S. proposal that Japan patrol sea lanes for 1,000 miles from its shores, taking some of the burden for this military role from U.S. forces.

Japan has armed forces comprising 250,000 men, more than twice as many destroyers and frigates as the U.S. Seventh Fleet, and more tactical aircraft than the United States has in Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines put together.

The Nakasone government, like its predecessors, is attempting to increase Japan's military buildup in close alliance with Washington. They are doing this despite the acknowledged opposition by a majority of the Japanese people to remilitarization.

Congressman hits anti-Soviet vote

BY HELEN MYERS

DETROIT — Detroit's two members of the U.S. House of Representatives, John Conyers, Jr., and George Crockett, Jr., refused to go along with a House resolution condemning the Soviet Union for its attack on Korean Air Lines Flight 7.

The two Black Democrats voted "present" while the House voted 416-0 on September 14 to denounce Moscow for a "cold-blooded, brutal, barbarous attack on a commercial airline."

Their dissent has attracted little attention from the national media.

In a speech to students and faculty of Anderson College in Anderson, Indiana, on September 8, Crockett explained: "Beneath the outrage and shock at the incident there is also a disturbing shift of political sentiment. . . . As Congress comes back from the District Work Period next week, I'm afraid we're going to see a considerable surge of support for programs like the MX missile and the B-1 bomber, and the Defense Department's budget. . . .

"We cannot allow ourselves to make this incident into the foundation of a new tower of weapons and military demagoguery. If congressional investigations of our Central Intelligence Agency have taught us anything it is that the CIA's covert operations do not rule out the use of civilian aircraft for reconnaissance purposes, including the aircraft of a surrogate nation like South Korea. . . .

"The United States has become the premier arms merchant to the world — we sell, give, and loan tens of billions of dollars worth of weapons to countries and insurgent groups all over the world each year. Time after time we've had the chance to make a difference for peaceful resolution of international problems and conflicts, we have instead chosen a military solution.

"In El Salvador, the administration has supplied massive U.S. military assistance and has sent U.S. military personnel 'advisers' — the latter in clear violation of the War Powers Resolution — even though the government of El Salvador has a long and bloody track record of human rights abuses, has never implemented the land-reform programs that brought it to power, and has insistently postponed elections that supposedly give it the air of a democracy.

"Another clear example is Nicaragua,

where the people of that nation a few years ago overthrew the hated, American-supported Somoza dictatorship, and where today the U.S. is supplying both covert and overt U.S. military aid" to the counter-revolutionaries now seeking to topple the government.

"Although the House recently voted to cut off the covert assistance," Crockett said, "I, and many of my colleagues, refused to vote for the legislation because it still contained more than \$80 million in discretionary funds that could be used openly to seek the overthrow of the Nicaraguan government.

"Perhaps the clearest example today of our status as arms merchants is in the Middle East, where our position has been to provide virtually unlimited weapons to any nation or faction espousing anticommunist goals — meaning that more than \$2 billion worth of U.S. arms have gone to the principal forces in the area. . . .

"And now, with four U.S. marines killed in the fighting in Lebanon . . . the inevitable inclination will be to pour more

money and more military hardware and personnel into the Middle East. . . .

"Some of the other troubled areas where U.S. militarism and short-sighted policies have dominated include Africa, where the Reagan administration's preoccupation with anticommunism has blinded it to the atrocities of South Africa and its operatives, and has set back our relations with Black African nations at least a decade.

"On the airwaves in this hemisphere, where 'Radio Martí,' the Reagan administration's proposed \$28 million project to escalate the cold war with Cuba, would ram the 'truth' down the throats of the Cuban people.

"In Europe, where we have strained our relations with our Western allies by our hard-line stance on issues like the Euro-Soviet gas pipeline and the deployment of American Pershing II missiles on the continent.

"It's this kind of behavior that contributes to the tension in the world today. We can't preach peace if we're not going to live it."

Polls: doubts on U.S. KAL story

Continued from front page

out that they continue to read about it intently.

In Long Beach, longshotman Mike Downs reports a feeling among his coworkers that they have been used by the big-business media and their own local union officials, both of whom promoted a supposed "rank-and-file" boycott of a Soviet ship in the harbor.

Some longshoremen tried to work the ship but turned back when they saw a small picket line of South Koreans.

Some longshoremen had wanted to kick the media off the docks, Downs said, because they knew they hadn't told the truth about longshoremen in this and other stories.

In Detroit, Helen Myers, who works at the General Dynamics plant, where M-60 and M-1 tanks are built, said one worker told her, "I thought the whole thing smelled fishy before, but now I'm sure we're being conned by our own government."

Another who had been highly critical of

the Soviet Union for the first few days was alarmed to see Reagan using the incident to send more troops to Central America and to Lebanon.

One said, "I never realized before how easy it would be to have a nuclear attack, or how lightly the government risks our lives."

Correspondent Myers also pointed to a strongly favorable response among Detroit residents to the refusal to vote for a condemnation of the Soviet Union by two Black members of the House of Representatives from Detroit. (See story this page.)

At a memorial service for one of those killed aboard the KAL jet, those talked to by the *Detroit Free Press* supported the Black congressmen's position 10 to 1.

Betty Lackey, president of the Detroit chapter of the NAACP, said she totally agreed with their position. Most of those interviewed said the resolution came before the facts were in, and that it could add to tensions, which increase the chances of nuclear war.

Columbia students nix anti-Soviet protest

BY MATTHEW MUNRO

NEW YORK — On September 14 the Collegiate Association for the Research of Principles (CARP) — the student group of the Unification Church, better known as the Moonies — staged an anti-Soviet demonstration on the campus of Columbia University. The right-wingers carried signs that read "Communism = murder," "Outlaw communism," and "Expel all Soviets." They chanted "Strong response" referring to what they wanted the Reagan administration to do in regard to the South Korean airline downing on September 1.

Shortly after the demonstration got under way, students began to spontaneously gather, looking on in disgust as the right-wingers burned a Soviet soldier in effigy. Occasional chants of "U.S. out of El Salvador," "U.S. out of Nicaragua," and "Moonies off campus" rose from the students. The protesters, most of whom were not students and some of whom were bused in from out of state, responded by chanting "Commies off campus."

When four or five students tried, unsuccessfully, to liberate a Soviet flag, which was later burned, the right-wingers reacted violently, injuring two students. This attracted a large crowd of students, equalling the anticommunist demonstration in number and chanting very loudly.

The feeling among the students was one of anger and opposition. Right wingers, such as the Moonies, try to whip up anti-communist hysteria in order to focus attention away from Washington's real wars in Lebanon and Central America.

After the demonstration broke up, a number of Moonies stuck around to argue with students. It only took a few minutes for each discussion to turn to the shooting wars that Washington is waging now. One thing is clear, Washington's war drive has little support at Columbia.

Excellence in education vs. sex discrimination

Five words for all the faint-hearts who decided that today's young women are no longer interested in feminism: Central High School in Philadelphia.

On September 12, Jessica Bonn, Rachel Gafni, Michele Hangle, Pauline King, Elizabeth Newberg, and Karen Seif became the first women ever to register at Central High School. The *New York Times* called this



WOMEN IN REVOLT Margaret Jayko

"the oldest and most distinguished public secondary school" in Philadelphia.

How did they get there?

They fought.

The immediate precedent was not in their favor: in 1974, a young woman won a court battle to enter Central. That decision was overturned, however, in a federal appeals court.

But things have changed in the last 10 years. Women have fought many more battles to break down the seemingly inexhaustible number of barriers that stand in the way of being treated as full and equal human beings.

In the beginning of September this year, Judge William Marutani of the Common Pleas Court in Philadelphia had ruled in favor of Bonn, King, and Newberg, who had sued in an attempt to get to go to Central.

He ruled that facilities at the Philadelphia High School for Girls were inferior to those at Central. Both are single-sex schools requiring specified achievement levels for admission. The judge found that Central had a larger library, more experienced teachers, and more computers than Philadelphia High School for Girls.

Therefore, the ban on allowing women to enter Central violated the federal and state constitutions.

Significantly, the judge also ruled that the male-only policy violated the Pennsylvania Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which outlaws discrimination against women.

This is an important example for women in other states that have state ERAs and for the campaign to ratify the federal ERA. It illustrates why the ERA is necessary, and how it is a useful tool for advancing the fight against injustice and for equality. It takes some wind out of the sails of those who say that the ERA will hurt, not help, women.

On September 8, Judge Marutani forced the city school district to admit six female students to Central while appeals were being heard on his earlier order.

The court also ordered the school district to post a memorandum in all public high schools stating that qualified young women could now register to attend Central High.

Arthur Bryant, the lawyer who argued the case for the three young women, said that the entry of women into Central would uphold Central's tradition of "academic excellence."

"These young women are here to continue that tradition," he said. But they would simultaneously be abolishing another Central "tradition": sex discrimination, "the exclusion of qualified women applicants. These women

are here to put an end to that tradition," affirmed Bryant.

As they showed up at school on September 12, the women were excited and nervous.

Elizabeth Newberg, according to the *New York Times*, was the person "who a year ago persuaded two friends to join her in instituting the suit. She exclaimed, 'I'm here! I feel fine.'" She said she plans to start a women's rights organization at Central, which would include men in its membership.

Jessica Bonn said she thought it was "just awful" that women were not allowed in what is considered the best school in the city. "I wanted to be one of the first," she said.

Their victory is an important victory for all women.

For one thing, it will inspire all of us to struggle harder for our rights on every front, knowing that victory is possible.

Secondly, the desegregation of Central High School is another blow to educational privilege, elitism, and segregation in the United States. It says that "good schools" should not just be the property of a few select students — students who are mostly white, male, and rich — but of all young people.

Thirdly, it is an advance for women's right to an equal, non-stereotyped education at a time when that right is under fierce attack from the government. For example, there have been big budget cuts in government programs that promote equality in education for males and females. This is part of the broader attacks on the right to education.

These fighting sisters are one more proof that feminist ideas are alive and well in today's generation of young women.

Brink's trial used to smear Black movement

For the past two years the government has sought to use the October 1981 Brink's armored car robbery in Rockland County, New York, to smear activists in the Black and radical movements.

Recently two trials occurred concerning that robbery: one in Goshen, New York, and one in Manhattan. In the Goshen trial the three defendants were convicted of murder and robbery. In the Manhattan trial two were convicted of conspiracy; two of lesser charges; and two acquitted.

Immediately after the shootout in 1981, the cops



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY Malik Miah

launched a nationwide smear campaign against people and groups they labeled as having possible connections to their fabricated conspiracy charge. This led to a fishing expedition that included police raids, arrests, and assaults against Black activists.

The cops, with the help of the media, sought to use the robbery-conspiracy charge as part of their ongoing campaign against "crime" and "terrorism." Their purpose

was to strengthen the powers of the cops and the secret police and to smear the Black, Puerto Rican and labor movements as well as radical organizations.

Thus at the time the cops linked groups such as the Weather Underground, Black Liberation Army, Republic of New Africa (RNA), the Black Panther Party, Irish Republican Army, the Puerto Rican FALN, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Cuban government to the robbery and killings.

For example, an Associated Press dispatch was released that said one of those arrested, Judith Clark, was a member of the SWP. This smear against the SWP was picked up by newspapers all around the country. Neither the cops nor AP ever officially retracted the charge. An SWP libel suit against AP was thrown out of court.

The conspiracy charge remained the main government attack at the recent trials. It was the political views of the defendants, not the robbery and killings, that took center stage.

As well, the news media continued to point to their political views as a way to smear the Black liberation struggle, particularly the RNA's advocacy of a separate Black homeland in five southern states.

The government also used a federal antiracketeering law (RICO) and a special grand jury investigation in order to bring charges against the six in the Manhattan trial and to bolster their charge of conspiracy. The grand jury, which has broad investigative powers, focused on the politics of those charged, and not the robbery itself.

Informers were brought to the stand to back up the

government's charges too. The aim was to prove that the defendants were out to "destroy the American society."

It is for these reasons that the government's methods and smear campaign around the Brink's trials should be roundly condemned by Black and Puerto Rican activists and by the labor movement.

The real purpose of the trials, as the publicity showed, was not to solve a "crime." Rather, it was to whip up a campaign to try to further victimize all opponents of racism, U.S. wars abroad, and the employers' antilabor and racist domestic policies.

The undemocratic grand jury system must also be hit. Its purpose, as these trials and the trials of Puerto Rican activists prove, is aimed at framing up political activists and denying them their democratic rights.

It is only by taking this strong stand against the government's aims, as well, that the Marxist opposition to individual terrorism can be best discussed. Such tactics in our view are not revolutionary. They harm the fight of Blacks and others seeking fundamental social change.

The road to Black self-determination today is through building broad political unity around a program that challenges the political rule of the capitalists. It is done by joining mass demonstrations like the August 27 march on Washington. It is through defending our unions when under attack, such as the copper miners unions in Arizona.

No other strategy can move our struggle in an independent direction and eventually win the majority of Blacks to a revolutionary perspective.

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Salvador revolutionists make new gains

Continued from Page 4

Washington is not interested in any serious negotiations, Iklé told his Baltimore audience September 12:

"We can no more negotiate an acceptable political solution with these people than the social democrats in revolutionary Russia could have talked Lenin into giving up totalitarian Bolshevism."

Another sign of Washington's true position on negotiations was an article in the current issue of *Foreign Policy* magazine by Néstor Sánchez, deputy assistant secretary of defense for Latin America.

Sánchez argued that the FMLN-FDR has only used its proposal for a dialogue as a public relations ploy and "as a guise for seizing power." He said the rebels' declared aim of negotiating a power-sharing agreement is a ruse: "A glance at history shows that once their foot is in the door, Communists inevitably consolidate power rather than apportion it."

Francisco Quiñónez, head of the Salvadoran government peace commission, used the rebel attack on San Miguel as an excuse to call a halt to any further talks. Quiñónez said in a September 7 interview with Associated Press that he saw "no reason" to continue the dialogue because the rebels had acted in "bad faith" by mounting the attack.

Washington's efforts to abort the negoti-

ations it never wanted in the first place come as no surprise to the FMLN-FDR.

"The objective signs we see in the area tell us that the United States government does not favor dialogue and a political solution in El Salvador," Zamora said in his interview with the *New York Times*. "They are still pursuing military victory. But policies do change, as the United States

changed its policy in Vietnam after sending half a million soldiers there."

Military victory for the Salvadoran government is impossible, he said, because "guerrilla movements can only be wiped out by regimes that have the support of their people."

"The Salvadoran regime lacks this key to victory."

From Intercontinental Press

Forum refutes Rosenberg slanders

Continued from Page 3

mented that many of the rank-and-file members of the CP were unhappy with the way the leadership handled the defense, doing nothing until after the Rosenbergs were convicted.

On the other hand, the speakers objected to the slander put forth by Radosh and Milton that the CP deliberately abstained from defending the Rosenbergs because they knew they were guilty of espionage; and that the Rosenbergs' lawyer was secretly working for the Communist Party and let them go to the electric chair because the CP needed martyrs for the cause.

Toward the end of the meeting, William Reuben pointed to a member of the audience and identified him as Sol Stern, a previous collaborator with Ronald Radosh. A

heated altercation between the two ensued as Reuben demanded that Stern produce the tapes of an interview that he claimed he had had with Reuben. It soon became clear to the audience that what passed for interviews in Stern's mind were in fact visits or phone calls requesting an interview. Stern then claimed that it was his right as a journalist to consider such contacts interviews.

William and Miriam Schneir are looking forward to the next round in the battle. On October 20, at Town Hall in New York City, *The Nation* and the *New Republic* are sponsoring a debate between the Schneirs and Radosh and Milton entitled, "Were the Rosenbergs Framed?" It promises to be a significant event as the truth behind this latest falsification begins to emerge.

Just foam it up — Procter and Gamble, the soap folk whose holdings include Duncan Hines,



Harry Ring

agreed to reduce the size of a cake in an ad after the Better Business Bureau questioned whether a can of Duncan Hines Creamy Frosting

contained enough icing to cover the cake depicted.

Sleep well — "Green Berets Check Nuclear Plants' Security" — News headline.

The lock 'em up boys — The Folger Adams company, self-asserted leader in the industrial security industry, boasts that its products are found in "jails, prisons, banks, hospitals and office buildings." Adds a reader, "and factories."

Try and guess where — Fifty

thousand "randomly selected" income tax returns will be exhaustively audited by the IRS for non-compliance with the rules. The purpose is, we're told, to help the bureau determine where to concentrate its limited enforcement resources.

Proper surroundings — Bored with laying silver spoons on new arrivals? Try the recently advertised gold-plated crib. "Sturdy, tarnish and inflation proof." No price listed.

The march of science — A patent has been issued for a cosmetic

pencil sharpener which deals with the problem of the pencils softening, and breaking, at room temperature. The sharpener includes a solid state thermoelectric cooling device that chills the pencil point to avoid breakage.

What else is new? — A German patent was issued for a compound for making gold-colored coins which contain no gold.

Fashion tip — Bergdorf Goodman in New York will feature a kimono-style men's robe. Gold in front and black in back, with ruby

and royal blue shawl collar and sleeve cuffs. Plus black satin pants with gold piping. Together, \$400. We were going to check it out, but the pants have a button front, no zipper.

A real trip — Planning a picnic? Check out Brexton's in New York for a sturdy British wicker hamper. Includes bone china, cotton napkins and place settings, plus "a cunning plastic salt and pepper shaker." It is "enormously heavy" and requires "a sturdy person" (the chauffeur?) to carry it. With settings for eight, \$2,800.

CALENDAR

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Struggle in the Philippines and Reagan's Visit. Speakers: representative, Committee Against Marcos Dictatorship/Filipino Solidarity Network; Pam Burchett, Socialist Workers Party; video tape on Philippines *To Sing Our Own Song*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore-Perspectiva Mundial Forums. For more information call (213) 380-9640.

San Diego

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.

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

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.

MINNESOTA

Mt. Iron

Socialist Solution to Unemployment and War. Speakers: Natasha Terlexis, Iron Range Young Socialist Alliance; Lisa Ahlberg, Twin Cities YSA, Socialist Workers candidate for Minneapolis city council. Sat., Sept. 24, 7 p.m.

Nichols Town Hall. Ausp: Minnesota YSA. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

VIRGINIA

Arizona Copper Miners Fight Union-busting: Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Rich Stuart, laid-off member of Steelworkers Local 1938, *Militant* reporter at Phelps Dodge copper strike in Arizona. Fri., Sept. 30, 7 p.m. 112 Chesnut St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

South Africa: New Advances in the Freedom Struggle. Speaker: Munde Mnyande, member, South African Student Organization. Sat., Oct. 1, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, rm. 22. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

Defend the Right to Political Asylum and Immigration. Speaker: Héctor Marroquín, Mexican socialist fighting for asylum in U.S.; Bernie Sandovan, League of United Latin American Citizens; Jaime Saiz, Democratic Socialists of America. Tues., Sept. 27, 7:30 p.m. Local 1199 Hall, 1824 Lomas NE. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (505) 877-3745.

Santa Fe

The Right to Immigration and Political Asylum. Speakers: representatives of National Education Association and National Lawyers Guild; Héctor Marroquín, Mexican socialist fighting for asylum in U.S. Sun., Sept. 25, 7:30 p.m. 107 W Barcelona Rd. Ausp: New Mexico National Lawyers Guild, National Education Association—New Mexico, Santa Fe Peace Coalition, St. John's College Political Forum, Women for Survival. For more information call (505) 982-8479.

NEW YORK

Albany

Soviet Union: Threat or Ally of American Workers? Slide show and presentation by Jim McClellan, former member of Albany Central

Forums on Lebanon

NEBRASKA

Lincoln

Crisis in Lebanon — Why the Marines Should be Brought Home. Speakers: Bruce Erlich, associate professor of English and modern languages at University of Nebraska; Rabih Haddad, vice-president, Organization of Arab Students at University of Nebraska; Kevin Porch, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Sept. 25, 7 p.m. Lincoln Indian Center, 1100 Military Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (402) 464-2565.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

U.S. Troops Out of Lebanon! Why Reagan Is Intervening in the Civil War. Speakers: Saeed Naser, Young Socialist Alliance; representatives from Lebanese Progressive Forces, November 29th Coalition, and Casa Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Sept. 30, 7:30 p.m.; pre-forum dinner, 6 p.m., \$3. 141 Halsey (corner of Raymond). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Oppose U.S.-Israeli War in the Middle East. Speaker: Dr. Hatem Hussein, representative of the Palestine Information Center. Translation to Spanish. Fri.,

Sept. 30, 7:30 p.m. Bricklayers Hall, 335 Atlantic. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922 or 226-8445.

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

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

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.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

U.S. Out of Lebanon! Speaker: Ike Nahem, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Oct. 9, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

Labor Council, visited Soviet Union in spring of 1982; Jay Johnson, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 30, 8 p.m. 23 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Brooklyn

Demonstrate to Stop the Scape-goating of Haitians With AIDS Propaganda. Sat., Sept. 24, 1 p.m. rally at Grand Army Plaza and march to Downstate Medical Center. Ausp: Haitian Committee Against AIDS Propaganda. For more information call (212) 284-0889.

PENNSYLVANIA

Harrisburg

Jobs, Peace, and Freedom — From Grenada to August 27 March on Washington. Speakers: Nate Gadsden, recently toured Grenada with 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 of 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

Socialist Workers Party Mayoral Campaign Rally: Stop U.S. War in Nicaragua and Lebanon! Speakers: Ed Warren, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Chicago; Bill Osteen, SWP candidate for mayor of Philadelphia; Katy Karlin, SWP candidate for city council; Benjamin Ramos, president, Philadelphia Puerto Rican Socialist Party; Tom Barry, activist in struggle for peace in Middle East. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 1; reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 5811 N Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

Pittsburgh

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.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally for Jobs, Peace, and Freedom. Speakers: Bob Hoyle, SWP candidate for mayor; Jeff Pike, SWP candidate for Price city council. Sat., Oct. 1; refreshments, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. Northwest Multipurpose Center, 1300 W 300 N. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. 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.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Open House to Meet Socialist Workers Party Candidate for Mayor. Speaker: Chris Rayson, member, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 64. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Sept. 25; 3 p.m. to 6 p.m., with program at 4:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

U.S. War Against Nicaragua: Eyewitness Report and Slide Show. Speakers: Ardenne Bunde, member, Socialist Party USA, Milwaukee Teachers Education Association; Ted Shakespeare, Central America Solidarity Coalition; Norbert Francis, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 1, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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

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Celebrate the 5th anniversary of the revolution and the completion of Grenada's new international airport.

Fifth Anniversary Tour

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

• Tentative price for Grenada tour is from N.Y.

Speeches of Maurice Bishop on Grenada revolution

Forward Ever! Three Years of the Grenadian Revolution. Speeches by Maurice Bishop, 287 pp., paper \$6.95. Published by Pathfinder Press, Australia. Distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. (Include 75 cents for postage and handling.)

BY LOU HOWORT

In a speech earlier this year, Reagan assailed Grenada as a threat to the security of the United States. Now, it's clearly ridiculous that a Caribbean island of

BOOK REVIEW

133 square miles, with a population of 110,000, could be a military threat to the United States.

But Reagan is not totally paranoid. The social ideas that have developed in Grenada since its revolution of 1979 do constitute a threat — not to the working people of this country, but to the capitalist profit-takers.

The ideas of the Grenadian revolution — the first Black, English-speaking revolution in the hemisphere — are to be found in this collection of speeches by Maurice Bishop, prime minister of Grenada, and a central figure in the New Jewel Movement which led the successful revolution that ousted the U.S.-controlled dictator, Eric Gairy.

In addition to 17 of Bishop's speeches, the book includes an interview with him on a broad range of subjects reprinted from the Cuban paper, *Granma*. And there is a helpful short history of Grenada, also from *Granma*. Most of the material in the book is available in this country for the first time.

While Wall Street and Washington will undoubtedly find the ideas in this book "dangerous," they are to be highly recommended to U.S. working people.

Today, Grenada has a workers and farmers government which is putting revolutionary ideas into practice.

In one speech, "Grenada Is Not Alone," Bishop explains that the creation of the new government makes

possible, "the construction of a just and equal society by the poor; for the poor, and with the poor."

The priorities of the new government are laid out: jobs, health care, mass education, improvement of the agricultural infrastructure and, "above all, the process which would facilitate all other developments, the democratization of the society."

Bishop points, with justifiable pride, to the spectacular growth of mass organizations in Grenada since the revolution.

These include the National Youth Organization, the National Women's Organization, the National Students Council, the Productive Farmers Union and the rapidly expanding trade union movement.

These forces, as well as local action groups, all meet regularly with the leadership of the revolution in public meetings, "where the twin principles of *accountability* and *responsibility* of the leadership to the people become a reality for the first time in the English-speaking Caribbean." (Emphasis in original.)

To ensure mass involvement in the decision-making process, revolutionary Grenada has a unique agency — the Ministry of National Mobilization. Its purpose is to mobilize the people and involve them in organizing themselves to accomplish their aims. This has led to "an explosion of democracy."

Bishop emphasizes that "the trade union movement must be involved in all aspects of national development."

"This means planning, production, management."

To facilitate this, all antilabor laws were repealed soon after the revolution. People's Law No. 29 was adopted requiring employers to recognize and give bargaining rights to any union that signs up 51 percent of the workers at any given workplace.

About 80 percent of all Grenadian workers are now unionized.

An equal pay for equal work decree has significantly improved the wages of women in the state sector and has helped to promote the status of women generally.

The 1980 Maternity Leave Law protects the jobs of pregnant workers and provides two months' pregnancy leave pay.



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Maurice Bishop, prime minister of Grenada.

On July 13, 1981, Bishop addressed the Conference of the Development Problems of Small Island States.

He spoke bluntly.

"The key obstacle," he declared, "is imperialism."

"That is the major problem. . . . [W]hilst it is undoubtedly important to focus on the problems which small countries like ours have to face . . . it is useless . . . a total waste of time unless we also acknowledge the fundamental truth that we will never break out of dependence until we work out joint strategies to break our dependence on imperialism. . . ."

"The real problem is that United States imperialism, the United States ruling class, has always wanted to rule the world, has always wanted to grab everybody's land, has always wanted to grab everybody's resources. . . . To us these are the real problems."

Little wonder tiny Grenada is a specter haunting Reagan.

Black party leadership meets, calls convention

BY STUART CROME

DAYTON, Ohio — During the weekend of September 9-11, 41 members and observers of the Central Committee of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) met in Dayton to discuss the current situation in the party and map out its perspectives for the coming months. The Central Committee (CC) is the highest leadership body of the party between meetings of the party's annual congresses.

The business portion of the meeting was preceded by a poetry reading open to the public.

At a political education session, members of the CC and others discussed such questions as: "What do you think is the necessary social transformation of U.S. society that will enable Blacks to be liberated?" and "How can this social transformation come about?"

In this open and free-flowing discussion,

many party leaders discussed the interconnection of the struggle of Blacks in the United States with the struggles of other oppressed and exploited people. There was general recognition of the need for U.S. society to be thoroughly transformed before Blacks can win liberation.

This important discussion on perspectives proved to be useful, and the CC decided to hold similar political education sessions in NBIPP chapters on a monthly basis.

The meeting also decided to hold NBIPP's third national party congress November 11-13 in Jersey City, New Jersey. The congress will be open to party members only.

The August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom — and how the NBIPP related to it — was also discussed.

At the June Central Committee meeting

party leaders — after some discussion — decided that NBIPP would participate in the August 27 march with its own contingent. It would also distribute a statement outlining the NBIPP's view of the action's slogans and how to carry out the fight for them. Party leaders had discussed plans for holding a forum following the march where protesters could hear and discuss the party's view in the fight for Black liberation today.

The forum following the march, entitled "The State of Black America — Where Do We Go From Here?" was attended by about 25 people.

The CC discussed some of the organizational and political shortcomings of the NBIPP's participation. Unfortunately there was no evaluation of the significance for the Black liberation movement of this historic march.

It was reported at the meeting that the

Administrative and Policy Committee (the highest leadership body between meetings of the CC) will discuss a proposal to hold a Black political convention in May. One of the themes of the proposed convention will be to raise the demand to make Malcolm X's birthday a national holiday. The convention would take place near the date of Malcolm X's birthday. The proposal also included inviting other organizations to participate with the goal of drafting a common resolution.

NBIPP is also one of many organizations that support making Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a national holiday.

The Administrative and Policy Committee was assigned to draft and submit a resolution on NBIPP's perspectives for the 1984 presidential election for discussion in the Central Committee before the party's November congress.

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 17 E. Southern Ave. (Central and Southern). Zip: 85040. Tel: (602) 274-7399. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 839-5316. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: Pathfinder Books, 1043A Broadway, Seaside. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 663 Martin Luther King Blvd. (NW 62nd St.) Zip: 33150. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 555 W. Adams. Zip: 60606. Tel: (312) 559-9046.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405.

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RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 2811 Guadalupe, #100. Zip: 78207. Tel: (512) 432-7394.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

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WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Let the people vote on war

The pending deal between Congress and the White House to give Reagan authority, under the War Powers Act, to keep troops in Lebanon 18 months underlines how phony the statute really is.

And while there's been plenty of fakery in the debate around the act, the dispute does shed some light on what is happening to the process of governing in this country.

The act was adopted in 1973, assertedly to prevent another Vietnam — that is, finding the country deep in a war never declared by Congress. While the present deal makes it 18 months for the troops in Lebanon, the statute itself states that the president shall not involve U.S. forces in a hostile situation for more than 90 days without congressional consent.

There is no question that Reagan has been flouting the law. There are, as of this writing, four GIs dead in Lebanon and 25 wounded, not to speak of Lebanese casualties.

The debate about invoking the War Powers Act may seem puzzling. From the outset, Congress members assured and insisted that if permitted to use the authority granted it under the act, they would put their seal of approval on Reagan's involvement of U.S. forces in the Lebanese civil war. Ranking Democrats and Republicans made this abundantly clear.

In fact, some of them argued that using the War Powers Act would put Reagan in a stronger position since it would give the Lebanese intervention the cloak of a "popular," that is, congressional, mandate.

The hypocrisy is not limited to the Lebanese issue. There is no serious concern on Capitol Hill about the erosion of Congressional power and the increasing clout of the presidency. This process has been going on for quite a while — with bipartisan consent.

Several basic ideas should be considered. Number one is that this is not a government "of, for, and by the people." It is a government organized to ensure and perpetuate capitalist rule. The Constitution was written to spell out how the rule of the wealthy would be preserved. All the "checks and balances" were drafted to help guarantee this.

The sole, important, exception to this was the first 10 amendments, the Bill of Rights. These guarantees of freedom of speech, assembly, religion, etc., were reluctantly added to the Constitution as a result of strong popular pressure. And needless to say, these rights are under drumfire attack today.

To a great extent, the Constitution was always a facade to cover up how the country is really ruled by the wealthy. But since the United States has become the world's dominant imperialist power, and inherited the global problem of rising liberation forces, concern for

constitutional niceties has dwindled considerably.

This is particularly true on the issue of war. While the Constitution clearly specifies that the right to declare war is restricted exclusively to Congress, the hard fact is that Congress hasn't declared war since 1941. Yet there's been plenty of shooting since World War II ended.

Truman plunged us into Korea as a "police action." John Kennedy began the Vietnam intervention with the sending of GI "advisers." That was escalated by Lyndon Johnson and Nixon. And the list is longer yet.

Today's war against Nicaragua is waged without a semblance of legal sanction.

This pattern of increased executive authority to wage war developed because of the ever-increased needs of U.S. imperialism to act quickly — and often secretly — as a world cop trying to crush popular uprisings and help defeat progressive wars of national liberation.

The problem is not an uncooperative Congress. All of the previously cited illegal wars have enjoyed bipartisan congressional support, including the necessary financial appropriations.

No, what's involved is an inability to tell the American people the truth about why these wars are being fought. And even mock debate in Congress tends to partially lift the lid and give people an inkling of what the real designs are and the scope of what they're being dragged into. That's why the bill had to be passed over Nixon's veto, and why every president since then has opposed it.

What we need is not the fraudulent War Powers Act. We need a constitutional amendment that would add to the Bill of Rights a proviso to let the people vote on war. Our youth do the fighting and dying, and we all pay the financial and social costs of war. We should decide. Particularly in an era when the nuclear shadow looms over every war.

Korea was, up till then, the most unpopular war in U.S. history. Massive popular protest helped force the U.S. out of Vietnam. Poll after poll confirms the American people don't want another Vietnam — not in Central America, not in Lebanon. Transferring the warmaking power to the people would surely be a great stride down the road to peace.

But such power would have to be real. The people would have to be assured an adequate opportunity to hear all points of view prior to troops being dispatched to another country. Broad-ranging discussion and debate would be needed in the unions, in the Black and Latino communities, among women, in the schools, etc.

All secret U.S. military and diplomatic commitments to other governments would have to be revealed. In sum, the people would have to know the full and true reasons why they should vote aye or nay.

Reagan's new threat to Cuba

President Reagan has made new and explicit threats of U.S. military action against the Cuban revolution.

In remarks to reporters September 14, Reagan ominously declared that Washington no longer considers itself bound by an unwritten 1962 pledge not to invade Cuba.

"As far as I'm concerned," Reagan said, the 1962 agreement "has been abrogated many times by the Soviet Union and Cuba in the bringing in of what can only be considered offensive weapons, not defensive, there."

The pledge made by the Kennedy administration in 1962 not to invade Cuba came in return for the withdrawal of Soviet nuclear weapons from the island. The weapons had been placed there to deter further U.S. attacks after the CIA-sponsored invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs in April 1961.

Until now, as the *New York Times* noted September 15, "it has been generally agreed that the terms applied only to nuclear weapons or weapons with a nuclear capacity."

Wayne Smith, former top U.S. diplomat stationed in Cuba, pointed out that Reagan's remarks constitute the first time that any administration "has stated categorically that the agreement has been violated and certainly the first time anyone has said it has been abrogated many times. That has a really serious ring to it."

When reporters pressed for clarification, White House

press secretary Larry Speakes denied plans for invading Cuba but reiterated the charge that the Soviet Union has "funneled offensive arms through Cuba to the Central American countries."

Another administration official went further, stating that in Reagan's view, the 1962 accord "should have left Cuba without the capability to bring force to bear in this hemisphere in a way that would affect us."

In other words, Washington demands that Cuba remain helpless to defend itself against U.S. military threats.

As for the charge that Soviet weapons have been sent through Cuba to Central America, Fidel Castro declared categorically last December that "there are provisions in our agreements with the Soviets banning the shipment of weapons to third countries. . . . We fulfill our agreements."

Castro also affirmed, however, Cuba's sovereign right to receive military aid from the Soviet Union in order to stand up to Reagan's threats. If U.S. officials "want to go on losing sleep to figure and calculate the number of ships and tons of arms," Castro said, "that's their business. Anyway, I think they can at least draw the conclusion that we are speaking seriously, that we are a people seriously determined to defend ourselves."

Lift restrictions on Gromyko!

Washington's decision to impede the attendance of Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko from the present session of the United Nations further fuels its anti-communist and anti-Soviet campaign.

It was also in flat violation of the treaty the U.S. government signed with the United Nations when it located here in 1947. The pact specifically states that "the federal, state or local authorities of the United States shall not impose any impediments to transit" to any representative of a member state of the world body.

Barring the Soviet envoy's plane from New York area airports meant that for the first time in a quarter of a cen-

tury the Soviet representative would not be present for the UN session.

But it is not the first time that Washington has flouted the UN agreement.

Members of the Cuban diplomatic staff, Vietnamese, and North Korean diplomats, and others not in favor with Washington have had their diplomatic rights violated also in clear abuse of the U.S.-UN agreement.

Clearly Washington regards fanning the flames of anti-communism to be more important than respecting its treaties.

SWP resolution: Puerto Rico's fight for independence

September 23 is the 115th anniversary of the liberation of the town of Lares in Puerto Rico from the Spanish colonial regime in 1868. This year it is being commemorated with a demonstration demanding an end to U.S. colonial domination.

We are reprinting below excerpts from a Socialist Workers Party resolution on Puerto Ricans in the United States adopted by the SWP's 1976 convention. These excerpts are from the initial section of the resolution on Puerto Rico's relationship to the United States.

The resolution and a report on it by Catarino Garza are contained in the book: *Puerto Ricans in the U.S.: The Struggle for Freedom*. It can be obtained from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. The price is \$2.25 plus 75 cents postage and handling.

Since 1898 Puerto Rico has been a direct colony of the United States. It was seized from the decayed Spanish empire at a time when the U.S. was emerging as a world imperialist power.

Puerto Rico's relationship to the U.S., however, developed along somewhat different lines than that of the other booty of American imperialist conquest. Cuba was granted formal independence in 1898 but was a U.S. protectorate until the 1930s and remained a semicolony until

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1960, when the workers and peasants led by Fidel Castro established a workers' state. The Philippines became formally independent in 1946 and since then has been tied to the U.S. in a semicolonial status.

Puerto Rico, however, after nearly 80 years remains subjugated to the U.S. in a *direct* colonial relationship. Although there have been several important changes in the legal relations between the U.S. and its island colony, none have fundamentally changed its colonial status.

In 1900 authority was transferred from the U.S. military to U.S. civilian governors appointed by the president, and a Puerto Rican legislature with limited powers was established. In 1917 Puerto Ricans were made U.S. citizens, primarily to provide cannon fodder for the U.S. Army. In 1948 Puerto Ricans were permitted to elect their own governor, and the present commonwealth status was imposed by Washington in 1952.

Following the nationalist agitation in Puerto Rico in the 1930s and 1940s and the worldwide colonial revolt after World War II, the commonwealth status was designed to give the appearance of greater autonomy for Puerto Rico. In reality it attempts to camouflage the true relationship between the U.S. and its colony and to improve Washington's image internationally by hypocritically declaring that Puerto Rico is "self-governing" and "voluntarily" associated with the U.S.

At various times during the past seven decades there has been considerable support on the island for independence. In the 1930s and 1940s there was a mass independence movement in which the Nationalist Party led by Pedro Albizu Campos was the most prominent organization.

The colonial revolution, particularly the Cuban revolution, played a significant role in inspiring and ideologically influencing the reemergence of the independence movement in the 1960s.

An important aspect of the new independence movement, in which it differs from the movement of the 1930s and 1940s, is its attempt to link the struggle for independence with the social and economic struggles of the working class. This is accompanied by the acceptance of socialist ideas by many *independentistas*.

Under both Democratic and Republican administrations, the U.S. government has ruthlessly attempted to suppress the decades-long fight for independence. Thousands have been jailed and scores shot down as the American capitalists have stubbornly resisted any move that would restrict their freedom to exploit the island's natural resources and labor.

At its founding conference in 1938, the Fourth International declared that it stands for "the immediate and unconditional independence of Puerto Rico." This remains the position of Trotskyists today.

Revolutionary Marxists in the United States have the elementary obligation to oppose all aspects of colonial domination over Puerto Rico and to demand that Washington recognize Puerto Rico's right to self-determination. We unconditionally support the demand for a free and independent Puerto Rico.

American working people have no interest whatsoever in preserving the imperialist enslavement of Puerto Rico. On the contrary, breaking the chains that bind Puerto Rico would be a serious blow to the American capitalist class and a victory for U.S. labor.

Wisconsin auto unionists fight slander suit

BY BILL BREIHAN

On October 31 three United Auto Workers (UAW) shop stewards at the American Motors plant in Kenosha, Wisconsin, go to trial in a \$4.2 million civil libel and slander suit. The suit was brought against them by four AMC foremen and the plant superintendent's son.

Jon Melrod, Tod Ohnstad, and John Drew are all chief

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stewards and long-time activists in the 9,000-member UAW Local 72. They are editors of a dissident rank-and-file newspaper, *Fighting Times*, distributed at the plant. Over the last 10 years all three have been subject to periodic company harassment for their union-related activities. Melrod was fired in 1973 and again in 1976 for public comments critical of AMC. On both occasions he was ordered reinstated by the National Labor Relations Board in Milwaukee. In 1980 the company challenged the right of the three to publish their newspaper. Again the NLRB upheld the workers' rights.

The company then tried a new approach. Four foremen and the plant superintendent's son, a union member, were instructed by the company to file libel charges in court against the stewards for criticisms leveled against

them in *Fighting Times*. The foremen had been exposed in the newspaper for violations of workers' rights on the job — racist and sexist abuse, health and safety violations, and so on.

Local 72 has given its support to the three victimized stewards. The union president has demanded that the company withdraw its backing of the suit. AMC has refused.

The three have again appealed to the NLRB. Secret memos discovered in the Kenosha corporate offices have directly linked AMC's top Detroit management to financing and orchestrating the foremen's suit. AMC has claimed all along that it has had nothing to do with the suit, that it's entirely a matter concerning the foremen and the three stewards.

In April of this year the NLRB ruled against AMC once again, instructing the company to "direct its agent Wyant [the plaintiffs' attorney] and his ostensible plaintiffs to withdraw the civil lawsuit." The NLRB statement went on to say, "The 10-year history of AMC's repeated and continuing efforts to squelch Melrod's protected activities, and to exact retribution against those employees supporting Melrod evince a continuing campaign of harassment and discrimination culminating in the lawsuit."

With this, it looked as though the suit was going to be

thrown out of court. Then in May the U.S. Supreme Court overturned a precedent-setting NLRB decision rendered in another case. This previous ruling had protected union activists and publications from civil libel suits where they were filed in retaliation for protected union activity. Now Melrod, Drew, and Ohnstad must defend themselves and their publication in court regardless of AMC's complicity in the case. It will cost the three \$10,000 to \$20,000 to defend themselves while the plaintiff foremen will be backed with the corporate assets of AMC.

The case of the three AMC workers has begun to attract some national attention. Feature stories about the case have appeared or are scheduled to appear in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Village Voice*, the *Progressive* magazine, and other publications. The case has also been taken up by the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Lawyers Guild.

As Melrod pointed out to me, "The stakes in this trial are high. If AMC can get away with this, no union member is really safe."

A legal defense fund has been established to prepare for the October 31 trial. To send donations or contact the defendants with any other assistance, write to Union Free Speech Defense Fund, 217 E. Michigan, Milwaukee, Wis. 53202.

LETTERS

The Color Purple

I would add an important fact to Diane Jacob's review of Alice Walker's novel *The Color Purple*.

Walker is the first Black woman to receive the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction. She is among several Black women writers — Toni Cade Bambara, Rosa Guy, Toni Morrison, and Ntozke Shange — who, after years of writing, are finally gaining literary acclaim.

Pulitzer's acknowledgement of Walker as a writer was well over due. Check out her previous book *Meridian*, and you'll understand why.

Osborne Hart
Greensboro, North Carolina

Value of Militant

I am writing to praise your newspaper and its value to the common-class people. I had never heard of it before coming to prison. Another inmate had an old issue and allowed me to read it.

I found the information to be informative, valuable, and more reliable than the common propaganda issued by mass media.

The *Militant* has most definitely expanded my consciousness as to the political structure of this country and its direct relation to common-class and Third World people.

This fall I am beginning a four-year program, majoring in political science. My initial preference was business administration, but I have recently changed my mind, deciding that political science would be more appropriate, considering I am Black and a felony offender.

So keep up the good work. Unfortunately, I am presently unable to afford a subscription. I do not get paid for the college program and only receive \$2.50 a week for day-time radio and TV repair shop.

When released I plan to complete my career in electrical engineering, which I had begun before being arrested, but I also plan to become politically active, not only in my community, but on all levels.

Again, I commend you on your publications.
A prisoner
New York

How big?

Crowd-estimating observers generally agreed that the August 27 Washington march for jobs, peace, and freedom drew nearly half a million people.

D.C. park police officials, no friends of demonstrators, initially

offered an estimate of 250,000 (200,000 at the rally plus 50,000 turnover). That patent underestimation was upped by the cops the next day to 300,000.

Meanwhile, the accepted figure for the 1963 civil rights demonstration has been about 250,000, generally based on the official estimate made from the rally platform by the late A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and initiator of the march.

While people who attended both in 1963 and 1983 agreed the 1983 march was bigger, I didn't meet anyone who thought it was twice as big.

I think the seeming contradiction is well explained in a letter to the October 5 *New York Times* from Seymour Posner, who was public relations director for the 1963 march.

Posner said that Randolph's public estimate of 200,000 was based on the figure given him by the park police. But Posner explains, the police estimate was made at noon and thousands of buses, cars, and train loads of people arrived after that time.

Randolph, however, declined to revise the publicly stated figure. Posner's own estimate is that the actual attendance in 1963 was 400,000, a figure which, in my opinion, comes much closer to how many were actually there.

H.C.
New York, New York

Enlightening

I am writing this letter to inform your office that my address has changed, and I would like for your office to send me my *Militants* at my new address.

Please send the *Militant* as soon as possible because I miss reading your paper because it is very enlightening.

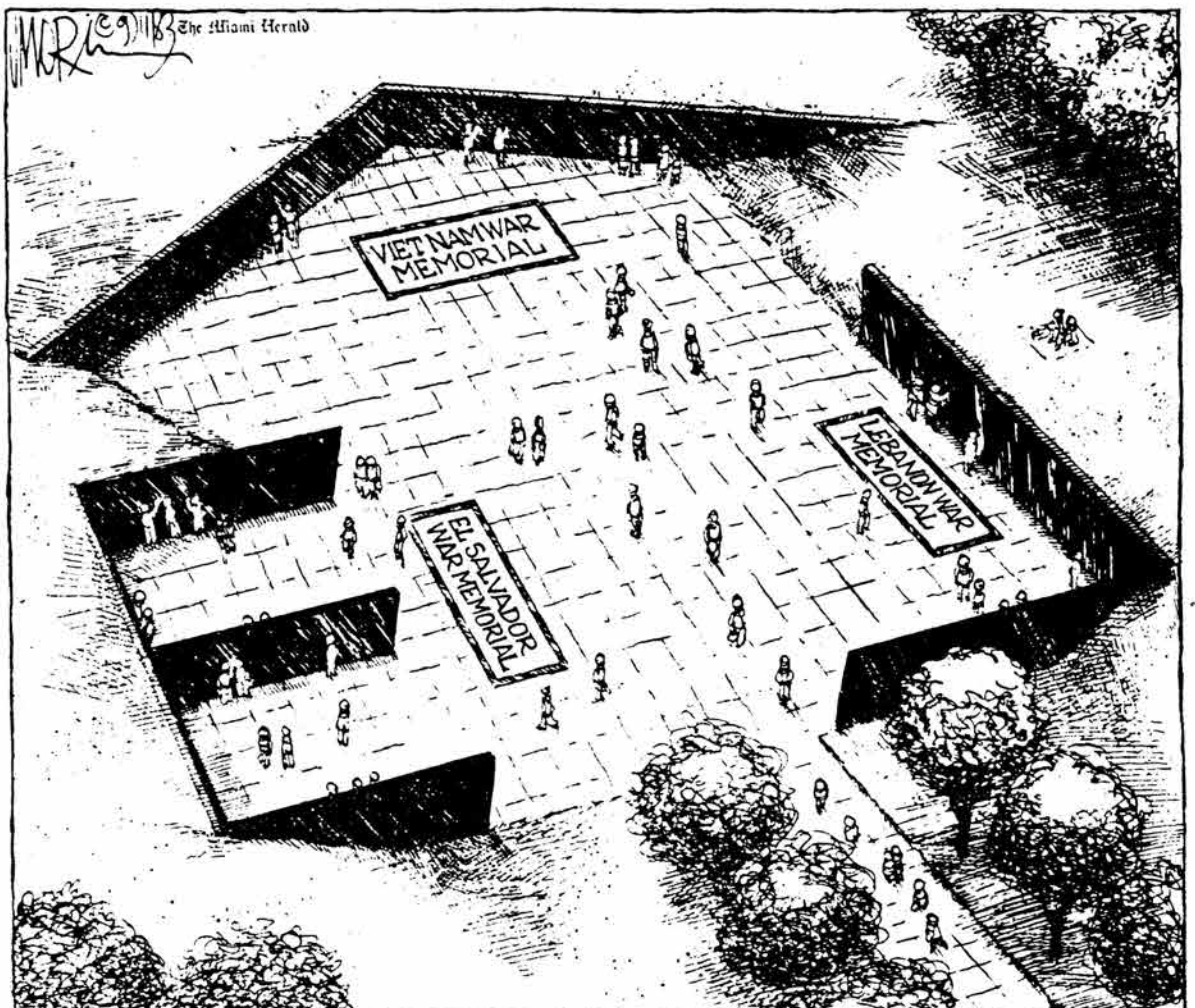
I am going to try and send your office a little contribution at the end of this month. But I know you can understand my present situation because I am a prisoner of war and don't have any money at the present time.

Please take care and I hope to hear something soon.

A prisoner
New York

Thank you

I deeply appreciate receiving the *Militant* and sharing it with other prisoners. I work and study in the prison air conditioning, heating, and refrigeration school, but my wages as a student are \$15 per month and it would be very



difficult to pay for a subscription.
A prisoner

Gandhi

"Palestine Focus" is the national newsletter of the November 29th Coalition, which takes its name from the date declared by the UN as the International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. The coalition was founded in 1981 to create a movement of solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese people here in the United States.

In its June 1983 issue, "Palestine Focus" quoted Gandhi on Palestine in 1938:

"Palestine belongs to the Arabs in the same sense that England belongs to the British or France to the French. It is wrong and inhuman to impose the Jews on the Arabs. What is going on in Palestine today cannot be justified by any moral code of conduct."

"Surely it would be a crime against humanity to reduce the proud Arabs so that Palestine can be restored to the Jews."

"And now a word to the Jews in Palestine. I have no doubt that they are going about it in the wrong way. . . . If they must look to the Palestine of geography as their national home, it is wrong to enter it under the shadow of the British gun."

"A religious act cannot be per-

formed with the aid of the bayonet or the bomb. They can settle in Palestine only by the good will of the Arabs. As it is they are co-sharers with the British in despoiling a people who have done no wrong to them."

"Palestine Focus" can be obtained by writing to November 29th Coalition, Box 27462, San Francisco, Calif. 94127.

D.D.
San Francisco, California

Ala. NOW meeting

The Alabama state conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW), meeting in Huntsville August 21-22, went on record against U.S. military intervention in Central America. Fifty women were present.

NOW members who are active in the Birmingham Committee in Solidarity With Central America had a table which drew women to many lively discussions about the U.S. war against El Salvador and Nicaragua.

The conference also voted overwhelmingly to support the democratic right of Sonja Franeta, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Birmingham, to be included in a televised debate October 9. The candidates' debate is sponsored by the League of Women Voters. According to League President E.J. Stephens,

"We just feel that the interest of the citizens of Birmingham would be better served going with the two candidates" — incumbent Mayor Richard Arrington and City Council President John Katopodis, both Democrats.

Franeta is a member of NOW and of United Auto Workers Local 1155 at Hayes International, where she works as a machinist.

Interest in the ideas of the socialist campaign and on the Marxist view of women's oppression was also seen in the sale of *Militants* and some \$50 of socialist literature.

Robin Kessler
Birmingham, Alabama

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.

Victims blast N.Y. cop brutality

Abuse 'beyond question'; Koch ducks hearings

BY STEPHEN BRIDE

NEW YORK — Mayor Edward Koch is once again at odds with this city's Black and Latino communities, this time over the question of police brutality.

For his part, the mayor says there is no police brutality in New York.

A congressional subcommittee, however, heard otherwise on September 19, as it sat for six hours in a National Guard armory in Harlem and listened to more than 500 witnesses and observers voice their anger at the Koch administration and its police force.

"Calling a cop can be hazardous to your health," Laura Blackburne, attorney for the state NAACP chapter, told the House Subcommittee on Criminal Justice. "It can result in death, serious injury, or abuse."

"There is a pervasive fear that every Black person feels when they encounter a police officer."

Blackburne was one of 49 witnesses — most of them Black or Latino — who went before the subcommittee. Others included Rev. Ben Chavis of the United Church of Christ; Rev. Herbert Daughtry, chairman of the Black United Front; Rev. Calvin Butts, executive minister of the Abyssinian Baptist Church; Assemblyman Albert Vann; and Hector Soto of the Puerto Rican Legal Defense and Education Fund.

At the center of the hearing, though, were the victims. Among them:

- A woman who watched her female cousin beaten by transit police.
- A cosmetologist, inexplicably forced at gunpoint from her van by police.
- A subway motorman, kicked in the stomach by cops after his wife fell from a sixth floor window.

Their testimony — punctuated by remarks such as "Property is defended more than human life" — drew repeated applause throughout the afternoon.

Particularly well received was Lee Johnson, a Black divinity student who was dragged from his car and severely beaten by city cops. It was the outcry over Johnson's case, coupled with the fact that Koch practically called him a liar, that first led the House subcommittee to look into police conduct in New York.

Representing the subcommittee at the hearing was its chairman, Michigan Democrat John Conyers. Joining him were New York congressmen Theodore Weiss, Charles Rangel, Major Owens, and Edolphus Towns. Representative George Crockett of Michigan, a member of the House Judiciary Committee, also attended.

What they heard prompted Conyers to conclude that police brutality is "a situation that I don't think anyone can question exists in New York." Further, it appears to be "condoned by leadership outside the police department."

Meanwhile, Koch — who earlier declared himself "quite certain that there is no systematic, condoned police brutality" here — boycotted the proceedings and told other city officials to do the same.

His only proposal was to enlarge the staff of the Civilian Complaint Review Board, itself the object of heated criticism at the hearing. All seven of the board's members are police department employees and, as one witness put it, "When you file a complaint you're the first one to be investigated, not the cops."

The hearing capped a two-month-long controversy that began on July 18, when an initial hearing by Conyers's subcommittee was shut down after 20 minutes. A standing-room-only crowd of 300 packed that session, held in a small room in the Harlem State Office Building. Hundreds more waited outside.

Amidst cries of "sham" from the audience, the subcommittee announced it



N.Y. mayor boycotted U.S. House inquiry of cop brutality against Blacks, Latinos, claimed hearings would be like "circus." Witnesses, victims testified.

couldn't proceed in the overcrowded conditions and adjourned.

Koch attended that hearing, while at the same time charging it had been put together by Black political opponents who were out to get him.

The mayor repeated this charge in announcing he would stay away from the September 19 session, predicting it would be a "political rally" against him. "It's not a congressional hearing. It's a circus," he said.

This theme was picked up by, among others, the *Daily News*, which editorialized on September 16 that the hearing's purpose "will be to inflame feelings among blacks and Hispanics against the police and, through them, Ed Koch, whom they hope to defeat in 1985."

Koch also expressed displeasure at the choice of a larger site for the hearing. The "cavernous" armory, which seats 2,500, he said, did not lend itself to the proper "decorum." More "suitable" would be a courtroom or someplace that holds about 200.

U.S. crams arms into Puerto Rico

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

Puerto Rico — the island colony of the United States — is teeming with U.S. arms. This militarization of Puerto Rico is being stepped up as the Reagan administration intensifies its war against the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan people.

Most recently, the U.S. reactivated its Ramey Air Force Base near Aguadilla, Puerto Rico. In 1973, Ramey, which was the Caribbean headquarters of the Strategic Air Command, was closed and used only as a U.S. Coast Guard installation. According to U.S. Navy Commodore Diego Hernández, the air base is now in the first stages of testing its landing fields. Hernández revealed this information in a September 13 interview with *El Nuevo Día*, a Puerto Rican daily, following a speech he gave in Washington, D.C.

The naval commander, who spoke at a Defense Department celebration during Hispanic Heritage Week, told his audience that during the last 20 years the United States had dropped its guard in the Caribbean and now must increase its military might in the region to counter the Cuban "threat."

Hernández is in charge of the Roosevelt Roads Naval Base in Puerto Rico, which is NATO's Western Hemisphere command center. This base has 162 ships, 500 planes, and 5,000 nuclear bombs. In addition, Hernández is the commander of the U.S. Naval Base in Panama and the Guan-

tánamo Naval Base in Cuba, which is illegally occupied by the United States.

Besides Ramey, the U.S. military is making other moves to increase its strength in Puerto Rico. U.S. armed forces are building a base on Mona Island, an islet off the western coast of Puerto Rico. Fishermen and others have reported that a highway is being built on the thinly populated isle with a heavily reinforced concrete. The concrete, which is rarely used in highway construction, can support enormous weight — such as that of military vehicles. The work crews are made up of members of the U.S. Army and National Guard.

Mona Island has long been considered for a site to transfer part of the military complex that is now in Puerto Rico's eastern region, where the islands of Vieques and Culebra are located. Culebra used to be the site for U.S. bombing practice until protests stopped it in the 1970s. Vieques is still used by the U.S. Navy for gunnery exercises. Puerto Ricans continue to protest the military use of the island, which has about 8,000 residents.

In another move to bolster its military presence in the Caribbean, the United States has targeted a site in Haiti for a military base. The U.S. government plans to build a naval station at Mole St. Nicholas, which is in Haiti's northwest.

Mole St. Nicholas is just 54 miles from the Guatánamo Naval Base in Cuba. Ac-

"Many people in minority communities have stored up bitter experiences and passionate feelings about police conduct," warned the *New York Times* in a September 17 editorial. The *News* agreed. "There is a lot of heated anti-police feeling in the black community," it observed in its September 16 edit.

Such uneasiness is no doubt heightened by the belief that Koch may indeed be fighting for his political life by 1985. At the September 15 news conference, Calvin Butts put his finger on why: Koch, he said, "survives" because of divisions among whites and the Black and Latino communities.

Added Soto, "If there is one issue that unites Blacks and Latinos, it is police brutality."

Congressional hearings notwithstanding, that brutality continues unabated, as Chavis pointed out at that same news conference.

The day before, he told reporters, Michael Stewart, a 25-year-old Black, had been apprehended by five transit cops while spraying graffiti on a subway station wall. The five of them proceeded to "subdue" (their word) Stewart.

One-half hour later, Stewart was admitted to Bellevue Hospital in critical condition, in a coma.

At the September 19 hearings, Chavis drew out the larger implications of this:

"The marked increase in racially motivated violence in the United States is directly related to the racist policies of the Reagan administration. The extent to which the U.S. government supports racially motivated violence in Latin America, in the Caribbean, against the African liberation movement, and in other parts of the world indicates the extent to which this government will allow racially motivated violence to be permitted against its own people."

Also contributing to this article were Barbara Bowman and Fran Collet.

cording to the September 9 *Latin America Weekly Report*, U.S. Army engineers have already started working in the area.

These military moves pose a threat to the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. Puerto Rico has often been used as a launching pad for U.S. interventions in the region. The island was a staging area for the U.S. invasions of Nicaragua in 1934, Cuba in 1961, and the Dominican Republic in 1965.

In addition, the National Guard in Puerto Rico has participated in U.S. maneuvers in Honduras, which provided training and supplies to the U.S.-backed counter-revolutionaries fighting the Nicaraguan government and people.

But Puerto Rican opposition to the U.S. military presence on the island is widespread. At hearings of the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization, José Elías López, of the National Liberation Movement, testified that "nearly 25 percent of Puerto Rican youth had not registered for the [U.S. draft]."

Demonstrations like the September 23 march on the United Nations to demand Puerto Rico's decolonization and the removal of U.S. armed forces from the island can help mobilize this antiwar sentiment. And it must be mobilized and organized if the U.S. threat to the workers and farmers of Central America and the Caribbean is to be turned back.