

End the war in Lebanon now: withdraw imperialist troops!

Five-nation invasion escalates

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

The U.S. battleship *New Jersey* arrived off the coast of Lebanon on September 25. The ship, which is capable of leveling Beirut, was sent to augment the joint imperialist force engaged in combat against Lebanese Muslims and Druse and the Palestinians — a force that threatens war with Syria.

As the *New Jersey* went on station off the Lebanese coast, a cease-fire went into effect. Negotiations between the ultrarightist Lebanese government and opposition leaders are to take place, but the meetings haven't been scheduled yet.

Meanwhile, sporadic fighting continues despite the cease-fire. At least one Lebanese soldier was killed on September 26 in fighting near Suk al Gharb, the town in the Shuf Mountains where the combat in the civil war has been centered for several weeks. Fighting is also continuing in the Muslim suburbs of Beirut.

There is widespread skepticism about how long the cease-fire will last. The current cease-fire is the 179th since the 1975-76 civil war. In announcing the accord, President Reagan said that "You see my fingers are crossed."

But the five imperialist governments involved in Lebanon's civil war aren't relying on crossed fingers. In addition to the *New Jersey* the Pentagon has 13 other ships from its Sixth Fleet stationed off Lebanon. The Reagan administration has deployed some 14,000 sailors, pilots, and marines in its combat force. Four U.S. marines have died in the recent fighting. Dozens have been injured.

Washington's imperialist allies in
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U.S. Marines at Beirut airport. U.S. forces are joined by French, British, Italian, and Israeli troops in war against Palestinians, Lebanese, and Syrians.

Stakes high for workers worldwide

There are big stakes for working people in the current civil war in Lebanon. Fundamentally, the war is a conflict between world imperialism, led by the United States, and the Arab revolution. The imperialists have assembled a formidable mil-

EDITORIAL

itary force that they are using in this battle.

Lebanon is one of three fronts where imperialism is waging open war today against oppressed nations and exploited workers and farmers. The others are Central America and northern Africa, in Chad.

In Lebanon, the objectives of the U.S., French, British, Italian, and Israeli military forces are to defend and stabilize the proimperialist Gemayel regime, and to deal a blow to those in the front lines opposing imperialist aggression — the Muslims and Druse in Lebanon and the Syrian and Palestinian people.

The joint military action by the imperialist countries also indicates a new stage in their struggle against the toilers of the world. Not since the Korean War has Washington been able to organize such a massive *joint* imperialist move to crush a struggle for national and social liberation. In Korea, imperialist forces under the guise of a United Nations "police action" propped up a puppet regime. Although the bulk of the troops in that war came from the United States, they were joined by imperialist forces from Great Britain, France, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the Netherlands.

Despite its attempts Washington was unable to accomplish something similar during the Vietnam War.

Today there are thousands of U.S., French, British, and Italian troops in and off the coast of Lebanon, as well as a big force of naval warships and aircraft.

Until the recent, and shaky, ceasefire agreement, the U.S. Navy was shelling the Lebanese Shuf mountains at will. The U.S. battleship *New Jersey*, which has the firepower to level Beirut, arrived to bolster Washington's armada.

The French air force was strafing Lebanese Druse, Syrian, and Palestinian targets.

The British naval task force, used last year against Argentina in the Malvinas war, is being rushed from the south Atlantic to Lebanon's coast. British jet fighters have also flown sorties over the Shuf mountains. Italy has sent a destroyer to back up its 2,050 troops.

The Israeli regime still occupies southern Lebanon, where it has confined thousands of Palestinians in prison camps. It continues to organize patrols near Beirut and provocatively flies fighter jets over the city.

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982 set the stage for the current joint imperialist intervention. The main objective of Israel's invasion — as with the current imperialist assault — was to impose a proimperialist regime and to crush the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). In that effort Israel was backed by the major imperialist

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Filipinos brave bullets to protest Marcos gov't

BY FRED MURPHY

Hundreds of thousands of Filipinos took to the streets of Manila and other cities in mid-September to demand an end to the U.S.-backed Marcos dictatorship and the identification and punishment of the killers of opposition leader Benigno Aquino.

These protests were among the largest in recent Philippine history, dwarfed only by the gatherings of up to 2 million that paid tribute to Aquino following his assassination on August 21.

Aquino was gunned down at the Manila

airport while in the custody of government troops, seconds after he returned to the Philippines from three years in exile. Most Filipinos immediately concluded that the regime was responsible for Aquino's murder. Marcos' utter failure to provide evidence to the contrary has helped to fuel the current protests. A deepening economic crisis, ongoing repression and human-rights violations, and domination of the country by U.S. imperialism are at the root of Filipinos' discontent.

The high point of the latest anti-Marcos demonstrations was a rally of half a million in downtown Manila, the capital, on September 21. The date marked the 11th anniversary of Marcos' 1972 declaration of martial law, as well as the first month since the murder of Aquino.

According to the September 22 *Washington Post*, "The crowd listened in stifling heat for four hours to their leaders who demanded that the president resign and who called for the memory of Aquino to be kept alive."

The *Post* correspondent noted Filipinos' growing anger at the Reagan administration's support for Marcos' rule:

"A large banner depicting a crowd storming up a hill toward the president and his wife, Imelda, carried the slogan, 'Oust the U.S.-backed Marcos regime.' Other signs read 'Down with the U.S.' and called for an end to the 'U.S.-Marcos dictatorship.' Others said, 'Reagan stay home — go to hell,' a reference to President Reagan's scheduled visit [to the Philippines] in November."

As the rally ended, thousands of students left the plaza in organized contingents and tried to march on Marcos' presidential palace. They were met violently by hundreds of police wielding clubs and fire hoses. When the students fought back with rocks, bottles, and makeshift firebombs, the cops opened fire. Eleven persons were killed and some 200 wounded or injured.

The demonstrators dispersed, but re-

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Big opportunities to forge fighting women's movement



Militant/Lou Howort
 National Organization for Women contingent at August 27 march for jobs, peace, freedom. Demonstration illustrated deep support for women's rights among Blacks, working-class women.

BY MARGARET JAYKO

New and important openings exist today to advance the process of building a powerful, militant, women's liberation movement.

This assertion is sharply at odds with much conventional wisdom about the declining fortunes of feminism. But it is right in line with the political reality of life today, where working-class women, and particularly women of the oppressed nationalities, are stepping forward to help lead the battle for equal rights.

The massive August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom was the most dramatic recent example of this.

August 27 was a solidly pro-women's rights march, as well as a powerful protest for Black rights, jobs, and peace. The hundreds of thousands of women who were there are a source of new inspiration to all those concerned with pushing back the attacks on women's rights, living standards, and dignity that are coming from the employers and their government.

The prominent role of Black women in the August 27 action, and their enthusiastic

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Filipinos demand end to Marcos regime

Continued from front page

grouped in other parts of the city for impromptu rallies around bonfires that blazed throughout the night. Street clashes between police and thousands of demonstrators continued in Manila during the next two days.

Pro-Marcos demonstration flops

Other protest actions occurred in the week leading up to the September 21 rally. These centered in the Manila district of Makati, the country's main financial center. Between 10,000 and 20,000 office workers and executives rallied in Makati's main street on September 16. The three-hour protest was organized by Filipino businessmen who support the procapitalist opposition group UNIDO (United Nationalist Democratic Organization).

The mayor of Makati tried to hold a pro-Marcos rally in the same place three days later. He hired demonstrators at \$2 a head and bused in schoolchildren and teachers, but the attempt backfired badly. According to the September 21 *Miami Herald*, thousands of office workers again poured into the streets and "hurled cans, rocks, fruits, firecrackers, water balloons and insults at the pro-Marcos demonstrators, ripped signs from their hands and set the placards on fire."

Another anti-Marcos rally by Makati office workers drew 7,000 on September 23. Police broke it up by hurling tear-gas canisters into the crowd from pickup trucks.

On September 24, 30,000 persons marched in Cagayan de Oro, a city on the southern island of Mindanao. The action was led by the city's acting mayor and heard Benigno Aquino's mother, Aurora,



Ferdinand Marcos

call on Filipinos to "topple this government, which is for graft, corruption, oppression, and for killing the people."

Warns of 'bloody revolution'

The mounting unrest has led some sections of the Philippine ruling class to begin seeking ways to replace the Marcos regime with one that could gain greater popular support. The Catholic archbishop of Manila, Cardinal Jaime Sin, presented a plan to Marcos on September 23 whereby a "national reconciliation" council involving

government, church, opposition, and business representatives would organize national elections and conduct a "thorough and impartial" investigation into the murder of Aquino.

Cardinal Sin termed his plan "the last feasible alternative to avoid the violent confrontation and bloody revolution made possible by the temper of the times."

While Marcos responded that he would listen to advice from anyone, "irrespective of how lacking in wisdom they may be," his main reaction to the growing protests has been to launch a crackdown and make hysterical denunciations of his opponents.

"We have been holding back the use of our military capability," Marcos warned in a televised speech September 25. "The policy of maximum tolerance has been discarded." An additional 1,600 troops plus tanks have been moved in Manila, checkpoints have been set up throughout the city, and unauthorized demonstrations have been banned.

On September 26 the dictator again went on television and assailed protesters as "communist partisans, gangsters, vandals, thugs, and other subversives."

Marcos has also ordered his hand-picked commission for investigating the Aquino killing to complete its work within two weeks. He challenged witnesses with evidence contradicting the official version to come forward. "We offer them protection," Marcos said. "We will give them all the protection that we are giving to our own witnesses."

But those with the facts to refute the regime's story that Aquino was slain by a lone "professional killer" supposedly hired by communists or by Marcos' opponents

no doubt recall the way the dictator's men "protected" Aquino and will hence turn down Marcos' offer.

Meanwhile, in Washington, the Reagan administration is growing increasingly wary of the consequences of the U.S. president's scheduled November 5 visit to Manila. Officials are weighing whether it would be more harmful to U.S. imperialism's interests in the Philippines to cancel the trip and thus further discredit Marcos, or to go ahead with it and risk major protests by Filipinos against Reagan's presence beside the dictator.

According to the September 22 *Washington Post*, administration officials are seriously concerned "that Marcos is losing control of the government and may be unable to keep order during a Reagan visit without an 'excessive' show of force."

Marcos' opponents are gearing up for further protests in the coming weeks. One opposition leader, Jose Diokno, says Reagan will receive a "proper welcome" if he shows up in Manila in November. Says another, Eva Estrada Kalaw: "Let Ronald Reagan come and find out what the Filipino people will do to someone who supports a dictator."

N.Y. protest hits Filipino repression

BY RUTH NEBBIA
AND IRVING LEE

NEW YORK — More than 75 Filipinos joined a picket line here on September 21 outside the office of the Philippine Consul. The demonstrators protested the repression by the Ferdinand Marcos regime and solidized with the growing mass movement against that regime in the Philippines.

The demands of the demonstration included: an impartial investigation by an international body of the murder of Sen. Benigno Aquino — the exiled anti-Marcos political figure assassinated on the day of his return to the Philippines in August — and other political oppositionists, cancellation of Reagan's visit to the Philippines, and a stop to all U.S. aid to the Marcos regime, withdrawal of all U.S. bases and nuclear weapons from the Philippines, and dump the U.S.-Philippines Extradition Treaty.

The demonstration also marked the eleventh anniversary of the imposition of martial law by Marcos on Sept. 23, 1972.

Despite a drizzling rain the picket was quite spirited. Chants included "Ninoy [Aquino] we are still with you."

Sponsors of the protest included: The Campaign Against Military Intervention in the Philippines, Friends of the Filipino People, Coalition Against the Marcos Dictatorship/Philippine Solidarity Movement, as well as the Philippine American Group Advocates for Social Action, Filipino Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, Movement for a Free Philippines-Philippine Affairs Bureau, Alliance for Philippine Concerns, New York Pacific Network, and the Southeast Asia Resource Center.

'Contras' in new attack on Nicaragua get support from Honduras, Costa Rica

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, Sept. 29 — U.S.-financed *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) have hit Nicaragua at both ends of the Pan American Highway, north and south, in coordinated action that began September 25.

The attacks, striking at the key overland route linking Nicaragua with the rest of Central America, destroyed two key customs facilities and forced the relocation of some 1,000 civilians in the north.

Travel and commerce have been severely disrupted by the attacks.

Eyewitnesses to the combat in the north, at the El Espino border checkpoint, report that the *contras* were openly supported by the Honduran army. Mortar fire backing up the invaders destroyed the area's health center, communications office, and several homes, in addition to the customs building.

At dawn yesterday, three days after the initial attack began in the north, 60 counterrevolutionaries based in Costa Rica attacked the southern border towns of Car-

denas and Sapoá. Another 200 attacked the customs office in Peñas Blancas, almost destroying it. Peñas Blancas is the main crossing point between Nicaragua and Costa Rica.

Very ominous is the fact that when the initial attack was repelled at Peñas Blancas, the *contras* moved half a kilometer back into Costa Rican territory and continued shelling Nicaraguan positions.

At that point, they were operating virtually within Costa Rican customs facilities. This could not have occurred without the knowledge of Costa Rican authorities.

However, no action was taken by the Costa Rican government to stop them. To the contrary, their wounded were removed to government hospitals, where they are currently being cared for.

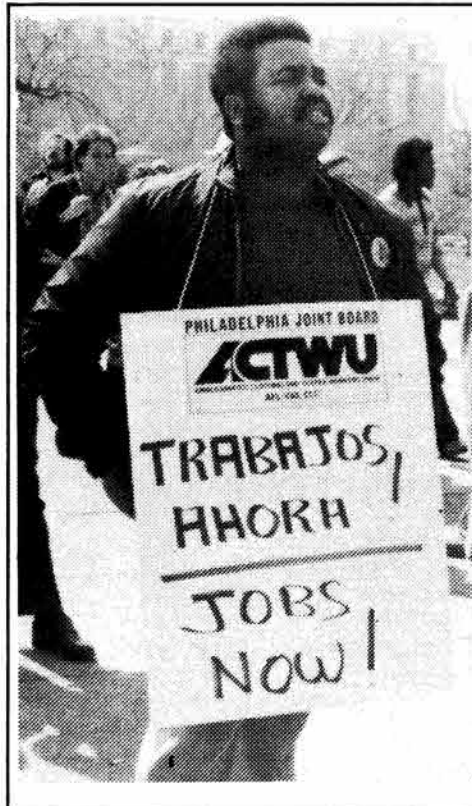
The attack resumed at 4:45 p.m. as *contras*, firing mortars from the Costa Rican customs offices, continued to shell the Nicaraguan side. Two planes, flying in from Costa Rica, joined the attack. They

were driven back by ground fire after bombing Nicaraguan positions.

Only the day before the attack, Costa Rica's ambassador to the United Nations, Fernando Zumbado Jiménez, criticized Nicaraguan government coordinator Daniel Ortega's address to the UN General Assembly on September 27. The ambassador took offense at Ortega's denouncing the growing U.S. encirclement of the Salvadoran freedom fighters and the Nicaraguan people. Ortega singled out its "covert form in Costa Rica."

Zumbado, speaking for the supposedly neutral Costa Rica, opposed having the UN General Assembly adopt an agenda point on the "crisis in Central America."

However, complicity with U.S. aggression against Nicaragua is high on Costa Rica's agenda. Discussions are currently under way on a Pentagon proposal to finance a highway network coinciding with the border area where ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora's counterrevolutionary forces are now operating.



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2,000 demand U.S. end colonial rule in Puerto Rico

Protest militarization of island

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

NEW YORK — "The independence of Puerto Rico is a necessary condition for the freedom of the peoples of the world. . . . The total decolonization of our homeland is a necessity of humanity, of the modern world. It is this that we come to demand of the UN today."

With these words, Juan Mari Bras, a leader of the Puerto Rican independence movement and former secretary general of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), expressed the main theme of a demonstration and rally held here near the UN headquarters September 23.

Close to 2,000 supporters of Puerto Rico's freedom struggle gathered to commemorate the beginning of Puerto Rico's independence fight in the town of Lares, Puerto Rico, 115 years ago.

The demonstrators also came to demand that the status of Puerto Rico be put on the agenda of the UN General Assembly. The protesters expressed their support for "the right of the Puerto Rican nation to self-determination and independence" and for "the struggle of the Puerto Rican people in the United States and Puerto Rico for democratic rights."

Organizations that built the action included the International Information Office for Puerto Rican Independence, Puerto Rican Socialist Party, El Comité-MINP, National Liberation Movement (MLN), National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, Andrés Figueroa Cordero Foundation, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, and People's Anti-war Mobilization, among many other political, community and solidarity groups.

Wilma Reverón Tío, of the International Information Office for Puerto Rican Independence, gave the welcoming speech. She emphasized that Puerto Rico "is a Latin American country, and by our presence here we give a clear message that Puerto Rico is and will remain always part of Latin America." This theme was touched on throughout the rally.

Diana Caballero, president of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, said that Puerto Ricans living in the United States and Puerto Rico have a common struggle against "the same enemy — the U.S. government."

Puerto Ricans must unite, she said, to combat the militarization of the island and its use as a launching site for U.S. intervention in Central America. She also condemned reimposition of the military draft, denial of jobs to Puerto Ricans, attacks on bilingual education, police brutality, and forced sterilization. She blasted Reagan's attempt to win votes from Latinos with one hand, while with the other he drives them further into poverty.

Awilda Colón, of the Caribbean Project for Justice and Peace of Puerto Rico, urged Puerto Ricans in the United States to become a link between the antimilitarist movement on the island and the antiwar activity in the United States.

Juan Mari Bras described the internationalization of Puerto Rico's independence struggle, one aspect of which is the

fight to have the issue of Puerto Rico discussed in the UN.

The whole world has a stake in decolonizing Puerto Rico, he explained, because the island is used by Washington "as its spearhead in the brutal imperialist offensive against the peoples of the world."

The Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador sent a special message to the rally. The message recognized that "the issue of Puerto Rico at the UN concerns not only Puerto Rico but all of Latin America."

Other speakers included Arthur Kinoy, who spoke of North Americans' solidarity with Puerto Rico; José López from the MLN, member of the Coalition of Latin American Trade Unionists; Ana Celia Zentella; and Iris Jackson.

The rally was chaired by the Puerto Rican artist Soledad Romero and Bill Howard from the Black Council of the Reform Church.

Nicaraguan youth sign up for army

BY JANE HARRIS

SAN JACINTO, Nicaragua — One hundred and twenty-seven years ago the armies of Central America united here to drive out an American slaveowner named William Walker, who had proclaimed himself president of Nicaragua, aiming to reestablish slavery throughout the region.

A fitting tribute to the heroes of that battle took place here, 30 miles north of Managua, September 14. Some 900 militants of the Sandinista Youth signed up for military service, becoming the first to do so under the new military service legislation.

The young men were sworn in less than 24 hours after the country's parliament approved the law.

Since early August the Patriotic Military Service law has become an excellent barometer of support and opposition to the Sandinista revolution.

Washington refuses to let Sandinistas speak in U.S.

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Once again, on September 16, U.S. Ambassador Anthony Quainton delivered the same message here: the American people will be denied the right to hear leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Invited to the United States by four senators and four representatives, Commander Carlos Nuñez, president of Nicaragua's parliament, and Roberto Argüello Hurtado, president of the Supreme Court, were denied visas in time for the scheduled trip. Instead they were informed that the matter was under "study" and that their trip should be "postponed" until October.

This is not the first time that the State Department has used this phony pretext of "postponement" to disguise the denial of visas to Nicaraguan leaders.

Earlier this year Minister of Interior Tomás Borge was denied the visa needed to fulfill speaking engagements at more than a dozen U.S. universities.

The aim is to make all planned attempts to reach out to people in the United States impossible.

Commenting on the latest visa denials to a gathering of Sandinista soldiers, government coordinator Daniel Ortega said, "Really, the U.S. government is demonstrating that it fears the voice of the Nicaraguan revolution. That is, it fears the moral strength, the political strength, and the spirit of Nicaraguans. It knows that its arguments are unfounded; that our strength is overwhelming and it is not derived from cannons and tanks."

"Rather," he continued, "our strength



Militant/Roberto Kopec

Part of September 23 demonstration at UN for self-determination for Puerto Rico and against U.S. using it as base for wars in Central America.

The law affects all men between the ages of 18-40 and encourages the voluntary participation of women of the same age. Out of an estimated pool of 200,000, some 15,000 men between 18-25 will be selected for two consecutive years of military training.

Plans for such a law go back to before the July 1979 insurrection. The day after the overthrow of Somoza, the new government decreed that "the National Guard of Nicaragua will be replaced by a new national army of a patriotic character."

In the four years that followed, the country relied entirely on volunteers to create the basic structure and organization of a modern army. Now that that structure is in place it is possible, and indeed necessary, given the U.S. military offensive, to fill it out.

Yet, far from seeing this law as a step

forward in professionalizing defense against the U.S.-backed counter-revolutionaries, several procapitalist sectors of Nicaraguan society openly oppose it. These include the Catholic church hierarchy, the Social-Christian and Conservative parties, and the reactionary Managua daily *La Prensa*.

Publicly they claim there is no difference between the Sandinista National Liberation Front, the government, and the army; that no one can be forced to take up arms in support of a political party; and that, therefore, no one can be forced to join the army.

Privately, however, what they would like to see is a successful imperialist military intervention that would remove workers and farmers from political power and restore to the rich their lost privileges.

The problem is that they can't say this openly, because of the overwhelming popular support for the new defense measure.

The *Militant* saw one example of this support in the northern city of Estelí September 9, at the fifth anniversary celebration of the founding of the Sandinista Defense Committees.

Commander Victor Tirado addressed the crowd. "I don't understand if it's a sin to defend this revolution," he said sarcastically, referring to the church hierarchy's position. "I don't understand if they are going to condemn it if we defend this revolution. But," he concluded, "I think we must defend this revolution even though we might be sinning."

Ten to fifteen thousand voices shouted back their agreement with chants of "*¡Servicio Militar Patriótico!*" and "*¡No pasarán!*" ("Patriotic Military Service!" and "They will not pass!")

Over the course of a month, the draft law was improved through the broad-based discussions in unions, neighborhood committees, church groups, and in meetings organized by the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE).

AMNLAE sisters won the right to active military service for women if they so choose. The original projection excluded them from this level of participation.

When the last of the law's 57 articles was approved September 13, no part of the right wing was to be found in the chambers of the Council of State. They had in fact boycotted most sessions discussing the law.

Also notably absent was the representative from the Independent Liberal Party (PLI). The PLI is a small, petty-bourgeois party that forms part of the Patriotic Revolutionary Front. It normally supports measures undertaken by the revolutionary government. On this key question, however, it went in a different direction.

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Auto workers lose out in GM-Toyota deal

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

General Motors and Toyota have agreed that when the shut-down GM assembly plant in Fremont, California, reopens as a joint GM-Toyota venture in 1984, the United Auto Workers (UAW) will represent hourly workers at the plant.

However, the UAW leadership has agreed to concessions, including combining job classifications. And it gave up the central demand of former Fremont workers that they be rehired by seniority.

The agreement was announced jointly September 22 at Solidarity House, the UAW's headquarters in Detroit, and in Washington by W.J. Usery, a former secretary of labor who represents GM and Toyota in labor relations.

The UAW officials claim GM-Toyota has "pledged to hire 2,500 of the 4,000 workers laid off" when GM closed the plant in 1982, the *New York Times* reported.

But the same report says the agreement "does not preserve the seniority rights of the laid-off Fremont workers, nor does it require GM-Toyota to hire certain people. Instead, the new company pledged to make the idle GM workers a 'primary source' of employees and to consider experience in hiring decisions."

The *Wall Street Journal* reported that "sources" said there would probably be three job classifications at the plant, a sharp reduction from previous UAW contracts.

What wages will be at the reopened plant are also in question. First reports say only that they will be "pegged to going rates in the U.S. auto industry," which could mean they will be lower.

The plant is expected to begin operations in fall of 1984. Bruce Lee, director of the union's Region 6, said, "They're talking about volume production by June 1985."

Lee also said GM-Toyota has agreed to accept the recommendations of three-member panels if the company holds that a laid-off Fremont worker is not suitable for rehire. The panels are to consist of a company, a union, and an "independent" member.

Former Fremont workers, both in the Bay Area and at the Fairfax, Kansas, GM plant where many of them have been sent (see article page 23), had mixed reactions on reading newspaper reports of the agreement with GM-Toyota.

Many could not believe it was as bad as it looked, and said there must be more to it. These workers said they could not believe the union's leadership would agree to such concessions.

Others thought the reports were accurate. Everyone *Militant* correspondents could talk with thought the agreement, as reported, was a setback, and would be resisted.

When GM closed the Fremont plant in March 1982, 4,000 workers were laid off, bringing the total of UAW members idled at the plant to more than 6,000. Production of light trucks ended at Fremont two years earlier.

In February 1983 GM and Toyota announced the plant would be reopened as a

joint venture, producing Toyotas to be sold under a GM label. Whether any Fremont workers would be rehired was left in doubt by statements from both companies.

Members of UAW Local 1364, which represented workers at the plant under the contract with GM, mounted a campaign to demand recall by seniority. This gained widespread support, including from many delegates at the UAW's constitutional convention in Dallas in May.

But the top UAW leadership, under Pres. Owen Bieber, refused to endorse Local 1364's demand, and on July 25 revoked Local 1364's charter. This made it impossible for the local's members to vote on any agreement with GM-Toyota.

A group of Local 1364 officials filed suit against the local's dissolution, but the case was dismissed September 15. There have also been a number of demonstrations by Local 1364 members at the local's old headquarters across from the assembly plant.

The UAW leadership has aimed to offer enough concessions to GM-Toyota to induce them to open the Fremont plant with a UAW contract, even if it is substandard.

This practice is an extension of the concessions the UAW offered to Chrysler to keep the company profitable in hopes that jobs would be saved. In fact, thousands of laid-off Chrysler workers will never return. Acceptance of concessions has led to competition among union locals to see which will accept the cheapest contract.

But there are limits to how far the UAW tops can go in making concessions to the



Owen Bieber (right), president of United Auto Workers, and W.J. Usery, GM-Toyota representative. Union tops and company worked out deal that doesn't guarantee laid-off Fremont workers their jobs back.

corporations. This was reflected in the observation by the *Times* that the GM-Toyota pledge to "give some hiring preference [to laid-off Fremont workers] was a political necessity for the union" — by which the paper means the union's leadership.

The UAW was, and is, not lacking in strength, which the *Times* acknowledged when it reported that GM told Toyota "from the outset that the union would have to be accepted in Fremont, since G.M.'s other operations in this country could otherwise be subject to union action."

Further, as Chrysler workers have demonstrated, auto workers' confidence that

they can fight the corporations and win is increasing as more and more auto workers are hired as car production rises. More than 80,000 have been recalled since January.

The second shift is being recalled by GM at Framingham, Massachusetts, and a GM plant at Wentzville, outside St. Louis, is being opened for the first time.

Thus auto workers find themselves in a stronger position. This increased leverage will make itself felt in struggles to come, including at Fremont — in spite of the top union officials' failure to lead this fight.

George Johnson is a laid-off Fremont worker.

Women coal miners, Ohio oil workers discuss discrimination on job

BY LYNN EDMISTON

TOLEDO, Ohio — On September 10, women oil workers and union officials from the Sohio and Sun refineries here met with Sandy Dorsey and Kipp Dawson, who described the fight for women's rights in the coal mines. Both are underground coal miners in Pennsylvania.

Later that evening, they spoke to a Militant Labor Forum audience along with Janet Post, a Sun oil worker and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Toledo, on defending women's rights on the job.

The meeting started out with a videotape of the "60 Minutes" television interview with eight plaintiffs in a "peephole" suit against Consolidated Coal's Shoemaker mine where Dorsey works.

The foremen had drilled a hole through a wall to the women's locker rooms in an area to which only foremen had access. Dorsey described how the foremen would openly promise the male workers that "if they worked hard, they could look at the women showering."

The women first discovered the hole in October 1980.

They contacted the company, which did

nothing. They filed a grievance through the union, but this was not enough pressure on the company. The government civil rights agencies wouldn't do anything because "there was no lost time involved." Finally, they contacted their own lawyer and the Coal Employment Project (CEP). The CEP is an organization that helps women get and keep jobs in the mines.

Dorsey explained that she and other women had known vaguely about the CEP before, but had never contacted them. But "when this happened we had to get some help, and the Coal Employment Project was right there for us."

In the videotape, Betty Jean Hall, one of the founders of the CEP, described examples of harassment women have faced in the mines, from suggestive cigarette searches before going underground to women being "taped up with electrician's tape like a mummy and being left somewhere."

Dorsey and Hall agreed that the harassment is carried out or instigated by the company. "When the guys hear the foremen saying all these things, they figure it's okay, that they'll get away with picking on the women," said Dorsey.

Hall declared, "the only thing these companies understand is big dollar settlements. That's the only thing that will force them to change their ways." The women asked for \$5.5 million dollars in real and punitive damages against Consol for the company's harassment at the Shoemaker mine.

When the lawsuit was filed, the pressure really came down. "The company treated it like a rape case — they tried to tear down our credibility," said Dorsey. The foremen circulated every rumor they could think of to male workers.

The local union was inexperienced in handling a defense case like this. "The company would subpoena guys in the mine on company time and tell them, 'You've got to tell us everything you know about these women.' And our union guys would tell them things," said Dorsey.

In court, the judge took hostile testimony from second-hand sources. The women, however, had to have witnesses for their allegations. The case was eventually settled in the women's favor, but the judge ruled that they couldn't reveal the amount of the settlement.

Sun Oil women workers also discussed some of the harassment that has happened to them.

In the last 15 months, there have been five discharge cases, four of which involved women. All of them were lost in arbitration. The cases involved "surprise field tests" where women were suddenly taken out in the unit and tested on it. The foremen would then say that the woman flunked the test and she would be immediately fired. These tests have been given only to women and most of the women were allowed no union representation during the "tests."

In a few cases, the company tested women right after they had come back from sick leave, giving them no time to review the unit.

Dorsey emphasized that "the companies aren't just after the women — they're after the unions, too. The union has to defend the women and Blacks and anyone victimized to defend itself."

At the evening's forum, Dawson spoke about the recent CEP conference, which all three panelists had attended. Dawson is a plaintiff in a suit against U.S. Steel for discrimination against women in hiring in the mines it owns.

Farm Workers' march recalls 1963 deaths

LYNDA JOYCE

SALINAS, Calif. — On September 11, 2,500 United Farm Workers members and supporters commemorated the death of 32 farm workers killed when a train struck their bus 20 years ago. Led by union Pres. César Chávez and other executive board members, they marched from Salinas to Chualar, the site of the accident.

Public outrage from this accident, the worst bus-train collision in U.S. history, resulted in legislation and regulations to protect farm workers and the public using public roads.

The farm workers came from all over California. During the four-hour, 10-mile march, Miguel Loza, a union representative for King City tomato pickers, explained, "We need marches, contact with the workers, so that each worker gains a consciousness. We know that organizing must come from below, with the members. All the legislation and resolutions we get passed means nothing if our membership is not organized and strong."

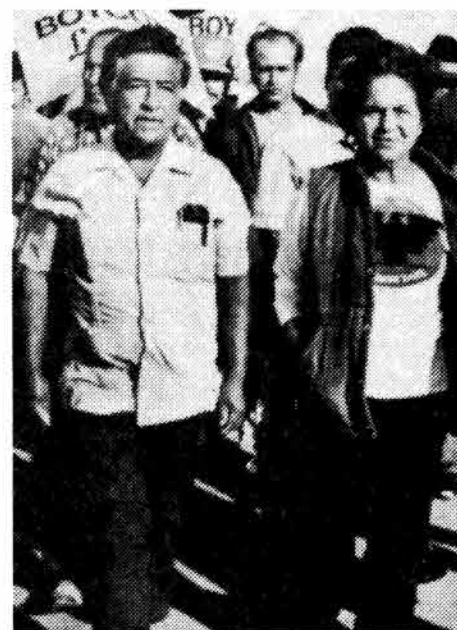
Among the marchers was a contingent of Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Workers from nearby Gonzales. They are women unionists striking against Maggio carrots over wage and benefit takebacks.

Chávez addressed a rally at the accident site and linked the bus disaster to the fight for justice in the field today.

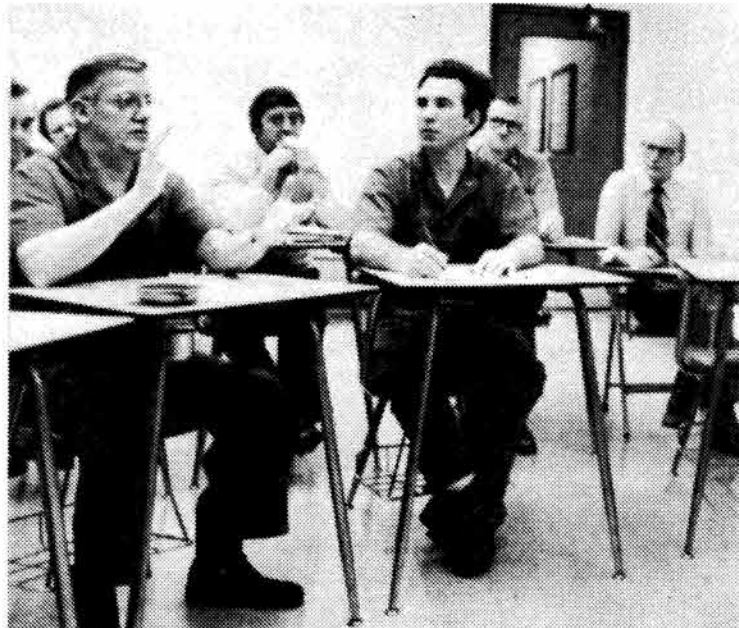
He listed the giveback contracts; the corporate reshuffling, which results in changing company names and hiring scab labor; the gutting of California's Agricultural Labor Relations Board; and the general economic crisis in the United States and Mexico, which gives the growers an advantage of a huge surplus labor pool.

Chávez made it clear that the growers were out to bust the union and that the union would fight back.

"The dead live when we raise our voices to organize," Chávez said. "The dead live when we march, when we ask for justice, when we strike and boycott. They live when we say that we are not agricultural implements, but human beings."



UFW leaders César Chávez, Dolores Huerta leading Salinas-Chualar march.



Companies seek to use "quality circles" to get workers to lower their own wages and accept worse working conditions.

'Quality circles': tool for bosses to speed up, spy on workers

IAM, UAW boycott them at GE plant in Ohio

BY KATHLEEN DENNY

CINCINNATI — In early March, International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 912 filed a suit with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) against General Electric for unfair labor practices. At the center of the suit is GE's use of "quality circles."

The IAM represents skilled trades at the GE Aircraft Engine plant in Evendale, Ohio. United Auto and Aerospace Workers (UAW) Local 647 represents production workers in the same plant.

The NLRB has yet to return a decision, but the suit is part of a nationwide discussion in the labor movement about quality circles, and what they mean to working people.

What are quality circles? Why should unions oppose them?

Quality circles are worker-management teams that meet on a regular basis on company time to discuss how to increase productivity and company profits. The group leader is usually a supervisor.

They go by different names from place to place. Focus groups, Can-do Committees, Bring-Quality-to-Worklife. They all amount to the same thing.

The idea that working people have something in common with the capitalist class is an old one, and false. It is becoming clearer that we have nothing in common whatsoever.

Faced with declining rates of profit, corporations are on a drive to increase their profit margins and improve their competitive position at workers' expense.

Quality circles are part of the ruling-class effort to shift the burden of their economic crisis onto working people. Part and parcel of this drive are systematic efforts to weaken and break the unions.

Companies use job blackmail to force concessions from workers — wage-benefit cuts and work rule changes. Changes in work rules can result in lost jobs, more dangerous working conditions, and loss of hard-won restrictions on management's arbitrary powers in job assignments.

Seek workers' help

With quality circles, management hopes to force workers to take responsibility for this attack on their working conditions and standard of living. Management also hopes to enlist workers' help in weakening their own unions' ability to fight these attacks.

This won't be easy.

Gerald Glassman, a lawyer who represents corporations, bluntly stated in the May 16 *Business Week*, "There has to be a heightened perception of a threat — a closing, a move, whatever."

General Electric, which cleared \$1.8 billion in 1982, certainly cannot plead poverty. But that hasn't stopped them from trying to cash in on the concessions wrung from workers in the auto, tire, and steel industries.

Preceding 1982 national contract negotiations, GE began a campaign to intimidate and demoralize the workers in the plant. Top corporate officials announced that, while GE overall was profitable, certain sections of the business were less so. If productivity and profit at the Evendale plant did not improve, they threatened, work would be contracted out, sent to nonunion satellite plants, and the plant may even be closed altogether.

The bosses' argument goes like this: competition is tough. We're all together in

this. We have to put aside those old differences between management, salaried employees, and hourly wage workers. If we don't pull together we'll sink together. And a few slackers can spoil it for us all.

Articles in the company newspaper stated that workers in the Evendale plant were competing with workers in other GE plants. According to the company, workers had to care about the welfare of the business to keep their own jobs. Their strategy for job security was to work harder for less, to undersell workers in other plants, other countries.

Over 100 Quality Teams were set up in different departments around the plant. To many workers, at first it sounded like a good idea. They later changed their minds.

"Management screws up everything themselves," explained a young machine repairman. "It looked like a chance to get our two cents in. But there's nothing in it for us. We got our area working *too* well, so they decided they could lay some of us off."

A shop steward pointed out another side of the quality circles. "By the second session the foreman wanted the names of people who 'don't carry their load.' He was nudging people to blame and snitch on each other. Far as I can see, they're out to set our people against each other. And that's no help to the quality of my life!"

Searches and harassment

The company began a policy of searches and harassment at the plant gates, while refusing to negotiate grievances.

By April 1982, both IAM 912 and UAW 647 had urged their members not to participate in quality circles through contract negotiations.

Budget cuts aimed at retired, disabled

MORRIS STARKSKY

CINCINNATI — Next month a new Medicare payment plan will go into effect. The plan changes fundamentally the way that the government pays for the health care of the 26 million retired and 3 million disabled persons covered by Social Security.

Congress quietly adopted the new payment plan last April as an amendment to the Social Security "reform" package that raised taxes and lowered benefits for millions of U.S. workers.

Since 1965, when Medicare was added to the Social Security system, the government has paid the bill for hospitalization (less deductible and cost-sharing) without regard to the nature of the illness. However, hospital costs have risen dramatically in the last 15 years and now are climbing at twice the rate of the Consumer Price Index. So, the government decided to reduce Medicare payments to retired and disabled by 30 percent.

Under the new plan, called "prospective payment," the government will pay a fixed amount for a specific illness regardless of how long the patient is hospitalized. Health care requiring hospitalization has been classified into 467 categories of illnesses, such as tonsilectomy, heart attack, or kidney transplant.

The government will pay a fixed amount for every Medicare patient with the same category of illness. If the cost of hospitali-

zation exceeds the fixed amount, the hospital takes a loss on that patient. On the other hand, if the actual cost for a patient's hospitalization is less than the government's payment, the hospital gets to pocket the money as an incentive to lower costs.

That's quite a neat set-up. It is very unlikely that a hospital administrator will allow the cost of health care for a Medicare patient to exceed the amount the government will pay unless the patient can afford to make up the difference. With health care already inadequate for the poor and the elderly, hospitals will be encouraged to cut corners on the health care provided to Medicare patients in order to maximize their profit from government payments.

The new Medicare payment plan, in addition to lowering government benefits, is a license for hospitals to kill old and sick working people who cannot afford to pay for their health care.

The "prospective payment" plan is just the first phase of a cutback program in health care for workers covered by Social Security. Other proposals are now in the works. One proposal calls for adding a payment of \$10 per month to current deductibles and cost-sharing.

That proposal would save the government about \$1.4 billion a year. But, the \$10 for most Medicare recipients would come from their already meager Social Security checks. For the poor, that would

mean trading off food for health care.

Boycotting quality circles

With the approval of the contract, both the IAM and UAW locals at the Evendale plant asked their members to continue to boycott the quality circles.

The NLRB suit cited GE's use of the cir-

cles to bypass union bargaining committees. Quality circles discussed negotiated work rules, as well as the allocation of jobs from one union to another. The company uses job allocation to pit the two major unions against each other.

This April, the IAM newsletter pointed out that, "The word TOGETHERNESS is indeed hollow, when, as a union, we are being subjected to the worst anti-union activity in the history of the plant."

There is deep resentment over the company's refusal to resolve grievances, many of which predate the present contract. GE continues to contract out work while workers are laid off, and to introduce new technology so that union jobs are eliminated.

These systematic efforts to harass workers and weaken the unions have forced the IAM and UAW locals to ask for and receive strike authorization from the membership, the IAM on May 18 and the UAW on September 19.

The experiences of the Chrysler workers, as well as their own, have generated discussion in the plant on what course workers and their unions should follow. More and more, workers see that participation in quality circles amounts to letting the foreman be shop steward.

John Nickells, Business Agent for IAM District 34, explained, "There's nothing new here. It's part of Reaganomics and all the antilabor media. The company or the union. It's a fight for the hearts and minds of the people."

Kathleen Denny, an employee at General Electric Evendale, is a member of IAM Lodge 912. She is also Socialist Workers Party candidate for Cincinnati city council.

mean trading off food for health care.

Another proposal, almost certain to be adopted in the near future, is to extend the "prospective payment" plan to all health care covered by Medicare, including treatment in physicians' offices.

Two proposals are being discussed for increasing the cost of Medicare Part B coverage. Medicare Part B, or Supplementary Medical Insurance, provides payment for physicians and outpatient services. It is available under Medicare for a monthly premium fee that is deducted from the Social Security payment.

One proposal would add \$5.66 to the monthly premium, which would save the government \$2.5 billion. Another proposal would both increase the premium and charge to the patient a portion of the daily cost of his or her hospital stay for the first month instead of, as now, for days 61 through 150. Since most Medicare patients do not stay in the hospital for two months, the government would save \$2.6 billion if this proposal were adopted.

Medicare cost-sharing payments (that part of the health care bill for an illness paid by the patient) was increased just two years ago. Last year, Social Security taxes were increased and benefits cut. Now the "prospective payment" plan and other proposals threaten not only to increase the cost of health care for the old and the disabled, but to put a price tag on their lives.

BY MALIK MIAH

On Saturday, September 24, our *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* eight-week subscription drive got off to a good start.

We made a good beginning toward achieving a major objective of the subscription drive: to significantly increase the number of workers reading the *Militant* and *PM* on a weekly basis. (See article below for more details.)

How to go about selling subscriptions to workers at plant gates and on the job is being discussed and planned out by socialist workers across the country. In most cases socialists in auto, steel, rail, garment, electrical, and other industries are deciding to take spe-

cific goals. They are based on the size of the work force; past discussions on the job, at the plant gates, and in union meetings; and the number of socialists working in the particular plant.

For example, socialists working at Koppers, a piston ring factory in Baltimore, have taken a subscription goal of 15. Sales have been very successful at that plant, both to coworkers and at the plant gate. The first subscription sold as part of the drive was to a Filipino worker who first came across the *Militant* at the plant gate, and began to read it every week. The plant gate sales team introduced him to the socialists working inside, and when they told him

about the special offer he decided to subscribe.

At present the union — the International Association of Machinists — is involved in contract negotiations. The contract expires on October 2.

Sales at the plant gate have increased due to the heightened discussions about the contract, and socialists expect that many of their coworkers will want to subscribe. They have also effectively combined selling the *Militant* with selling socialist literature. For instance, they've sold three copies of the pamphlet, *Steelworkers Under Attack*, by *Militant* staff person and former steelworker Geoff Mirelowitz, as a result of

discussions about the contract.

Socialists in Morgantown, West Virginia, likewise have mapped out a subscription campaign. In this case, it is mainly to coal miners.

Since most of the socialist coal miners are laid off from work at this time, they've decided to focus their subscription sales to coworkers still on the job and to employed and unemployed coal miners through door-to-door sales in mining communities. In particular they expect to concentrate on communities near Morgantown where they can more easily follow up discussions in the future.

Another thing they're doing is

using the subscription drive to build the upcoming October tour of Salvadoran trade union leader Alejandro Molina Lara. Molina Lara is set to speak before the Blacksville and Kill mine locals of the United Mine Workers of America.

In general, initial reports tell us that most socialists in industry are hoping to use the subscription drive to reach out to more coworkers on the job and get workers they meet at plant gates to dig into their pockets for the three dollars to buy a subscription. They find that setting a specific target for the eight weeks helps in thinking out how best to do this.

Mississippi team highlights value of socialist fund

BY HARRY RING

A campaign is under way by members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party to raise a \$125,000 Party Building Fund. One wonderful example of what this fund can help accomplish is an initial report from four members of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance now traveling through Mississippi.

They are selling the *Militant*, plus socialist literature, to working people and students there, and are highly enthused by their first results.

The purpose of the \$125,000 fund is to help carry out such activities which, financially, require more than the total weekly contributions of party members and supporters.

The SWP is currently involved in a number of important political projects, with more on the agenda.

The first issue of a theoretical magazine, *New Internationalist*, has appeared. SWP activists will be carrying through an eight-week drive to obtain 4,300 new subscribers for the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

And, invariably, there are political developments that can't be anticipated in mapping yearly budgets.

One recent vivid example was the importance of having on-the-scene reporting of the embattled Arizona copper strikers, regardless of the added expense involved.

Needless to say, we hope that *Militant* readers will pitch in with their contributions to ensure the success of this important fund-raiser.

The initial report from our Mississippi sales team is a good illustration of why you should.

In a telephone report, the team members said they had their first plant-gate sale of the *Militant* at a factory in the capital city of Jackson, employing about 400 workers and organized by the International Union of Electrical Workers.

The reception among the mainly Black workers was very friendly and, in short order, 20 papers were sold.

The friendliness was also expressed in conversation with leaders of the union local. (All of the local officials of the union are Black.) One wanted to receive the *Militant* regularly and raised the idea of a team member speaking at a local union membership meeting.

In the plant-gate discussion, the team members report, there was special interest voiced on the war issue — both in relation to Lebanon and Central America.

Additionally, there was substantial interest in what is happening in the labor movement around the country. There was a strong, positive response on the need for solidarity with the Arizona copper strikers.

Discussion with the workers and local union officials suggested the big changes in Mississippi in the past several decades. Mississippi was traditionally one of the most open-shop states in the nation. But unionism is definitely gaining ground there.

In Jackson, the labor movement scored a major gain in 1980, when a majority of the 1,500 workers at the GM Packard plant there voted to be represented by the United Auto Workers and gained a union contract.

Along the Gulf Coast area of the state, there is extensive unionization among shipyard workers.

Organizing drives are being conducted

among masonite and furniture workers by the United Brotherhood of Carpenters. The United Furniture Workers also has locals in the state as well.

The team members were told, proudly, of a symbol of the changing times. This year, for the first time, Jackson was the scene of a Labor Day parade, with 2,000 unionists marching.

At a rally, the head of the area AFL-CIO stressed the need for labor solidarity in the face of a national union-busting drive.

And, in August, 500 striking "Ma" Bell workers marched on the state capitol.

Black Mississippi students were equally responsive to the socialists.

The team set up a table with their literature on the campus at Tougaloo, a Black college.

In several hours they sold \$70 worth of

literature, with books and pamphlets by and about Malcolm X selling out fast.

Three people bought subscriptions to the *Militant*, and a number of individual copies were sold as well.

A young man from Puerto Rico, employed on the campus, particularly welcomed their presence and was especially interested in obtaining material in Spanish by Fidel Castro.

The team was en route to Tchula, where Black Mayor Eddie Carthan has been railroaded to jail by racist officials, and will be continuing on to other areas. One of the things they want to do is check out the progress of the Black voter registration drive in the state and how obstacles to registration are being met.

All of this will be reported in coming issues of the *Militant*.

The work of the Mississippi sales team is, of course, a fine example of how we can advance the socialist cause. But we can't forget that in addition to motivation, in this society, it also takes hard cash.

As of this writing, \$91,500 has been pledged and \$19,850 collected. According to reports received by the SWP national finance office, a good number of individual pledges have not yet been obtained.

This means a systematic leadership effort must be undertaken by SWP units in each locality to ensure that all pledges are obtained and that collections are stepped up to ensure we will meet our \$125,000 goal in full and on time.

So, if you haven't already done so, make a pledge to the Party Building Fund. And send in your contribution today. It's a great investment.

'Militant' subscription drive off to good start

BY PEGGY BRUNDY

The kickoff of the eight-week campaign to win 4,000 new readers to the *Militant* and our Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* was announced last week by the *Mesabi Daily News*, the daily paper on Minnesota's Iron Range. The paper reported that on the weekend of September 24, socialists would be going door to door across the Range offering subscriptions to the socialist newspaper, the *Militant*.

Elizabeth Kilanowski reports that on Saturday, about 40 members and supporters of the Twin Cities and Iron Range branches of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance fanned out across the Iron Range to begin the *Militant* subscription drive in Minnesota. Over 170 single copies and 26 subscriptions were sold.

On Minnesota's Iron Range, out of 13,500 iron ore miners, organized by the United Steelworkers of America, only a couple thousand are working.

Understandably, people are angry. That anger was reflected in discussions socialists had that day in towns across the Iron Range.

Nine teams went out to towns with populations of 300 up to 12,000. In the small town of Keewatin, population 1,300, six subscriptions and 34 single copies were sold. National Steel is located just outside of town, and plant-gate sales are done there weekly.

One laid-off steelworker who bought a single copy talked about the war in Lebanon: "Yeah, they send us young, poor kids to go and get killed for those rich people. We better do something about it."

In the town of Kinney, population 325, a subscription was sold to a laid-off steelworker who regularly buys single issues at the unemployment office in Virginia, Minnesota, each week.

The successful day of sales was followed by an evening dinner and program featuring Natasha Terlexis of the Iron Range YSA and Lisa Ahlberg from the Twin Cities YSA, who is a Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council in Minneapolis.

A postscript to the day was the Monday plant-gate sale at National Steel in Keewatin, where 17 *Militants* were sold at the

shift change. A steelworker who had bought the paper Saturday stopped to see if the team had the new issue, because he had liked it so well.

In other cities, similar teams were organized to take the *Militant* and *PM* to people like the iron ore miners.

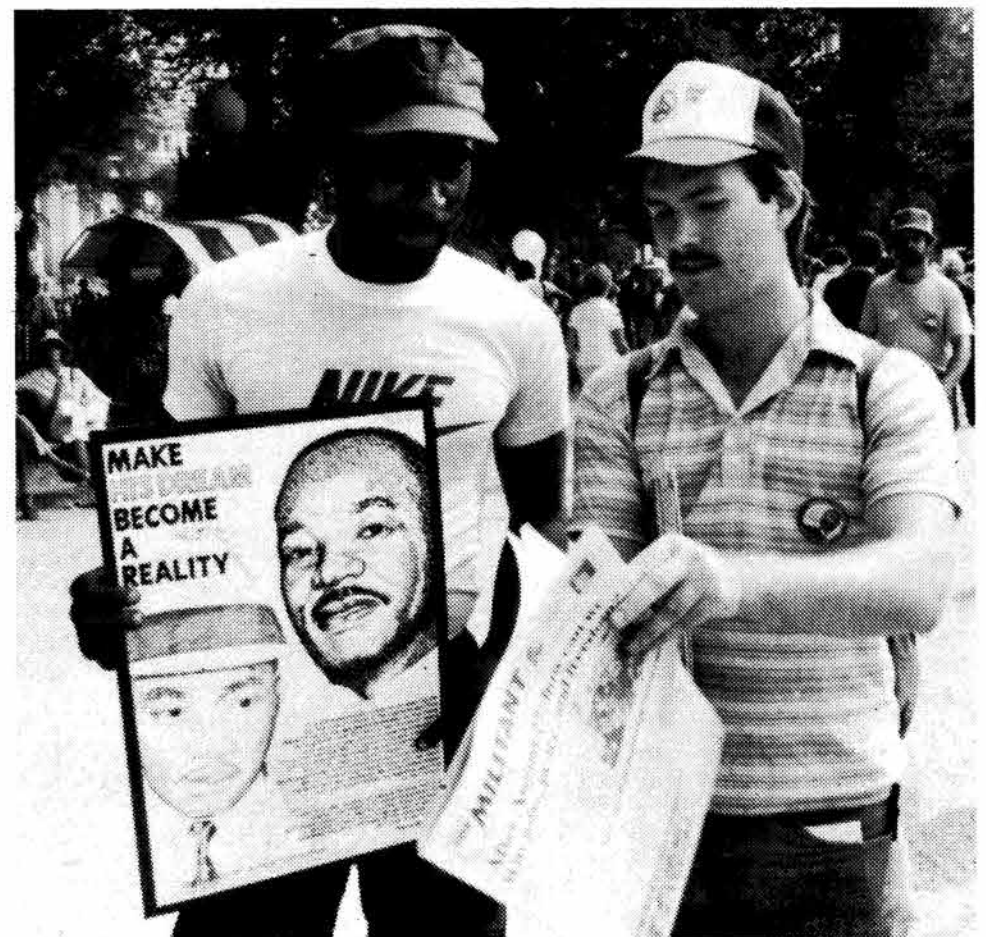
In St. Louis, Saturday teams sold in one neighborhood where an independent Black candidate was recently elected to the alderman's seat and in another where residents are demanding justice for a young Black woman murdered by the cops. Fifteen salespeople sold eight subscriptions and 40 single copies.

In San Antonio, three *PM* and two *Militant* subscriptions were sold at a protest of 75 people against the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill. The San Antonio

socialists report a lot of interest in the interview in *PM* with Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican socialist fighting deportation from the United States for his political views.

Sales teams in several cities noted that single-issue sales were high. People they talked with welcomed a paper that is anti-war, prounion, and takes working peoples' side; but that often isn't quite enough to convince some to subscribe and read the paper regularly.

Seattle socialists discussed this after their experience on Saturday, and concluded that it's important to point out that the *Militant* and *PM* are part of an ongoing discussion among working people on how we can unite to fight back against the bosses' and government's attacks.



Selling *Militant* at August 27 march in Washington, D.C., for jobs, peace, and freedom. *Militant*/Yvonne Hayes

San Jose teachers fight school board, endorse socialists

BY DEBBIE TARNAPOL

SAN JOSE — "We found on strictly local and educational issues that these two candidates express philosophies that are compatible with ours," Belinda Hall, president of the San Jose Teachers Association (SJTA) said at a news conference announcing the union's endorsement of Siobhan Dugan and Rick Trujillo in this city's school board elections.

Dugan, a welder at the FMC plant, and Trujillo, a county bus driver, are the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party. Trujillo has also been endorsed by Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) Local 265, which he is a member of.

As we went to press, we learned that the San Jose Teachers Association rescinded its endorsement of the Socialist Workers Party candidates for school board. A representative of the National Education Association (NEA) met with Siobhan Dugan and Rick Trujillo, the socialist candidates, on September 26. The socialists were asked to limit their campaign to "school board" issues. They were urged to drop discussion of U.S. intervention in Central America and Lebanon, the need for a workers and farmers government, and socialism from their campaign. While refusing this request, the SWP candidates said their campaign would continue to support the teachers' union in its struggle with the school board.

The teachers' union backing comes as the San Jose Unified School District and the federal courts have conspired in a major attack on the union. The school district filed for bankruptcy in June and a federal judge ruled in its favor in August.

The court ruling froze the teachers' wages at their 1982 level. In 1980 the teachers struck and won a three-year contract that included a 23.3 percent wage increase over the course of the agreement.

But the federal bankruptcy court ruled that the school board didn't have to pay the 1983-84 wage increases. Teachers here are fuming over the prospect of trying to support themselves and their families on 1981 wages. "I love teaching," one teacher said upon learning of the court decision, "but it's becoming a luxury I can't afford."

This attack on the teachers has increased their interest in the school board elections to be held on November 8. The SJTA interviewed 7 of the 10 candidates in the race. The union's board of directors then made recommendations to the SJTA's representative council, which is made up of delegates each representing 15 union members.

There are roughly 100 teachers on the council. The council voted to endorse the two socialists and Norbert Strecker, a current member of the school board.

Roger Evans, a leader of the union's bargaining team, said that Dugan and Trujillo were endorsed not "because they were socialists. In fact, if anything, that label tagged on them caused a great deal of debate. . . . Our decision was based on their position on the issues we thought were important."

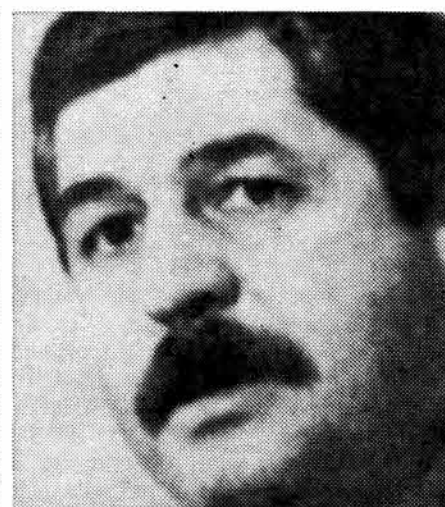
"You can vote for the person you think is going to win," Evans continued, "or you can work for the person you feel will be best on the board. We have taken the latter position."

At the news conference announcing the SJTA's support for the socialist candidates, Dugan pointed out that "A coalition of labor, Latinos, Blacks, and women must be built to fight for our rights."

"The endorsements of the ATU for Rick,



Siobhan Dugan



Rick Trujillo

and of the Teachers Association for both of us, is an important step in the direction of working people running labor candidates who will actively fight for their rights. Central among these is the right of our children to a decent education."

Trujillo said that the socialist campaign "will work to unify the broadest possible support for the teachers, students, and community of the San Jose Unified school district."

"Instead of paying teachers here a decent wage," Dugan told the media, "our money is used to prop up a hated dictatorship in El

Salvador, which regularly murders children and teachers. As a trade unionist and socialist I will use my campaign, and if elected, my office, to further this alliance of labor and its allies to fight for money for education, not for wars."

As to the school board's claim that there's no money to pay the teachers the wages they won in their contract battle, Trujillo said, "The government has the money. It goes to war and not to children. That's not the answer, to blame the teachers and the students. The answer is to blame the government. It's the system."

Boston debate: socialist backs busing

BY RICH CAHALANE

BOSTON — Some 500,000 people had the chance to see for the first time Boston Socialist Workers mayoral candidate Eloise Linger debate her opponents September 14 in Boston's Faneuil Hall.

Last month the League of Women Voters and Boston Chamber of Commerce excluded Linger from the first in a series of debates. In protest, Mel King — the only Black candidate in the race — boycotted the debate. Protests forced the league and chamber of commerce to invite all the candidates the second time.

Six others in the race are: David Finnegan, former president of the Boston School Committee and radio talk show host; David Kearney, sheriff of Suffolk County; Fred Langone, member of the Boston City Council for 20 years; Ray Flynn, also a member of the city council and most known for his active opposition, while a member of the state legislature, to court-ordered busing for school desegregation; Robert Kiley, a former deputy administrator in the CIA and director of public safety during the busing struggle in Boston; and Larry DiCara, also of the city council. All are Democrats, except for Mel King who left the Democratic Party two years ago.

The debate was carried live on the three major television stations and two radio stations. The topics that evening were "crime," city services, and housing. But other issues were also brought up due to Linger's participation.

All the candidates, except Linger, proposed various schemes to solve Boston's



Eloise Linger

Militant/Jane Roland

housing shortage. These included tax incentives, urban homesteading, and loans from a "neighborhood trust fund." "Linkage" has been a big issue so far in the campaign. This scheme would supposedly encourage downtown developers to direct their investments toward neighborhood housing. Mel King said "federal initiatives" should be taken to fund housing construction.

Linger called the linkage schemes "election year scams."

"Only a massive building and renovating program," she said, "can provide quality, affordable, and desegregated housing. We can do it but we need money. First, we could use the \$850 million [in federal tax revenues] that Boston will be sending to the Pentagon. We should tax the corporations instead of working people and stop condominium conversions. One hundred percent rent control enforced by the tenants. Not one more office building should be constructed until everyone has a decent place to live."

"But politicians aren't going to provide housing," Linger said. "It's going to take a fight."

When it came to "crime and public safety," the other candidates didn't say a word about the recent coldblooded murder of Elijah Pate, a Black youth, by city cops.

Flynn and Finnegan talked about getting back to the "neighborhood cop," Kiley and King said they'd replace the present police commissioner, Kearney proposed hiring almost 300 more cops. Everyone advocated putting cops back on the beat.

Linger began from a different perspective: "This morning I attended the funeral of Elijah Pate, a 19-year-old Black youth gunned down by racist cops. This is mur-

der. These cops should be prosecuted for murder. The city government and the Democratic Party are responsible. Their opposition to busing for school desegregation and to affirmative action has created a climate that gives a green light for racist violence. And more cops, gentlemen, will mean more racist killings."

"The real criminals in this country," Linger noted, "are taking us to war in Central America and Lebanon, supporting dictatorships in El Salvador — and they run our cities and they use racism to keep working people divided."

When the topic of city services came around, Linger hit again at the central issue of racism: "The problem with city services is that the Black and Latino communities are not getting them. What we need is an alliance between Blacks, labor and Latinos to actually get political power and control our city and provide the services."

In the candidate-to-candidate questioning, Linger was able to ask both Finnegan and Kearney the following question: "In a city where housing is segregated, busing is the only way to guarantee an equal education for Black children and I'm for it. The racist city government has sabotaged busing, made it not work, gutted the school budget and then blamed busing. Now the Educational Planning Group convened by the white majority of the Boston School Committee has a plan for the school system. I agree with Tom Atkins of the NAACP that the EPG plan lays the basis for resegregating the schools and I'm against that. What is your position?"

Both Finnegan and Kearney said they supported the plan.

The day following the debate Boston newspapers claimed that Linger and Michael Gelber, a supporter of ultrarightist Lyndon LaRouche and candidate, detracted from the potential seriousness of the event.

But the reaction at WILD, a Black radio station, was different. News director Pat Marovich told Linger that the results of the station's daily listener poll were overwhelmingly favorable. Listeners were upset that the other candidates failed to speak out about the Pate murder. They thought that only Mel King and Eloise Linger made any sense.

In addition, the *Lynn Item*, a North Shore newspaper widely read by workers at the General Electric plant there, carried a front-page story on the debate featuring a photo of Linger and her statement against racist violence and the war in Central America.

Boston's working class and Black community will continue to have opportunities to hear the socialist alternative. The next televised debate will be on October 2, sponsored by the *Boston Ledger*.

A campaign rally is scheduled for October 8.

Utah socialist seeks council seat

BY DAVE HURST

PRICE, Utah — Jeff Pike, a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) Local 294, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council here. Fielding a candidate for local office marks a step forward in the expansion of the socialist movement in Utah. Pike is the first socialist candidate in Price in more than 50 years.

The SWP campaign was launched at a rally here on September 10. Bob Hoyle, the SWP candidate for mayor of Salt Lake City, was the guest speaker at the event. Hoyle gave an eyewitness report from the picket lines of the copper miners on strike against Phelps Dodge Corp. in Arizona. This part of the rally was of special interest to coal miners in the audience, whose contract expires in one year. Hoyle reviewed some highlights of the militant struggle carried on by the copper miners against the company. He then called for participation in solidarity activities in support of the copper strikers.

"We don't need any more PATCO's," he said. "We need to organize the entire labor movement in solidarity with the strike to defend all our unions."

As an example of what can be done, Hoyle cited the recent decision of the Utah State AFL-CIO convention to sponsor a tour in Utah of striking copper miners.

Pike spoke about the direct connections between eastern Utah workers and farmers and the war going on in Central America. Levi Strauss, which owns Pike's employer, Koret of North America, also has plants in El Salvador. Union organizers at the Salvadoran plants have been victimized by the rightist government in power there.

"Working people," Pike noted, "are coming to realize that the purpose of the U.S. conventional and nuclear arsenal is to carry out aggression against the workers and farmers of the world — especially in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. The copper strike shows that the capitalists are carrying out the same war against workers and farmers here at home."

Pattern of provocations against USSR

A South Korean airliner invaded Soviet air space in 1978; it also rebuffed warnings

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

When Korean Air Lines Flight 7 violated Soviet air space and refused to acknowledge Soviet warnings on September 1, it was part of an everyday pattern of provocations and threats orchestrated by the U.S. government against the USSR. Washington's right-wing puppet regime in South Korea readily assists in implementing this policy.

U.S. military bases ring the Soviet Union. Hundreds of nuclear-tipped missiles are aimed at its cities. Military maneuvers, such as the current one being jointly conducted by the Pentagon with Japan, are provocatively held near Soviet waters.

The CIA and other U.S. intelligence agencies (in cooperation with those of Washington's allies — such as the South Korean CIA) carry out a daily program aimed at gathering information on the Soviet Union as well as attempting to disrupt it in whatever ways it can. One aspect of this is regular military spy flights.

The relentless barrage of anti-Soviet propaganda, aimed at establishing the lie that the USSR is the root of all evil and violence in the world, is intended to justify this activity. As amply illustrated in the most recent incident, it is also aimed at covering up the full extent of this provocative, anti-Soviet harassment.

For instance, most of the U.S. media have tried to dismiss Moscow's charge that the KAL flight was used by Washington and Seoul for spying purposes.

However, buried in the September 4 edition of the San Francisco *Examiner* was the salient fact that "informed military and aviation officials do not rule out the possibility that the . . . Korean airline . . . may have been on a spy mission."

"These officials," the article continued, "said that a number of foreign airlines, particularly those owned by governments, routinely engage in aerial intelligence gathering for their governments."

The article cited a U.S. official "with close ties to military intelligence" who explained that planes owned by governments that are Washington's allies "are fitted in this country with cameras and other devices for intelligence collection." This is done on the basis that "the information will then be shared with the U.S. government."

Marcel Le Roy-Finville, former head of the French secret service, has admitted that French commercial airliners were used for that purpose against the Soviet Union in the 1950s.

Deliberately off course

All this may explain why the *London Times* recently admitted, "There is now growing conviction in the West that the South Korean airliner flew deliberately into Soviet air space."

The equally pro-big business *Far Eastern Economic Review* had to concede that the Soviet contentions that Flight 7 was a spy plane "are not groundless, despite what the U.S. says."

This is reinforced by the fact that the September 1 incident was not the first time that a Korean Air Lines (KAL) plane, carrying civilian passengers, had been used to stage a provocation by invading Soviet air space. A similar, but less publicized incident, occurred in 1978.

On April 20 of that year a KAL Boeing 707 "strayed" over the Soviet Union on its way from Paris to Seoul. Soviet fighter planes took to the air and signaled the Korean aircraft to follow them to a nearby airfield. The Korean pilot refused to respond. He continued to fly over Soviet territory for two hours before finally being forced down and landing on a frozen lake south of Murmansk.

As in the case of the more recent incident, the Soviet territory the plane "strayed" over was a principal strategic military area for the USSR. It included the important Soviet port of Murmansk and a key submarine base at Severomorsk. It is also believed to be a site of Soviet intercontinental ballistic missile silos.

Two people on the plane were killed and 13 were injured in the course of the incident. The USSR allowed the United States

to send a plane to pick up the passengers, while the pilot and navigator were briefly detained for questioning.

When they were released, a statement by the Soviet news agency Tass explained, that the South Koreans had admitted "that they had understood the orders of the Soviet aircraft [to land as directed] but did not obey these orders." Nevertheless, Tass reported that they had been pardoned.

The South Korean pilot and navigator did not deny these admissions after their release. In fact they refused to provide much of any information.

While this 1978 incident has received passing mention in the coverage of the Flight 7 provocation, the U.S. media has chosen not to report most of the actual facts of the case.

According to a Sept. 4, 1983, Washington *Post* story, KAL Flight 902 "wandered" 1,000 miles off its route and "blundered" into sensitive Soviet air space. In a spirit of hypocrisy and contempt for the facts *Post* reporter Kevin Klose went on to observe that "the fact that 108 survived was a tribute more to the skills of the pilot . . . than to Soviet compassion."

'Forgot' admission

Perhaps Klose (and his editors) "forgot" that the skillful pilot had admitted ignoring the Soviet order to land safely at a Soviet airstrip.

The *New York Times* sought out the pilot of Flight 902 himself presumably for a "human interest" angle on the Flight 7 affair. He now claims to be "baffled" by the recent events and can offer no suggestion as to why a KAL plane was again so far off course over Soviet military bases.

Strikingly absent from the *Times* interview with South Korean pilot Kim Chang Kyu is any reference to his 1978 admission that he refused to obey Soviet orders while violating Soviet air space.

Imperialists escalate war in Lebanon

Continued from front page

Europe are also beefing up their strength in the so-called peacekeeping force. French President François Mitterrand has dispatched the aircraft carrier *Foch* to Lebanon and on September 22 French Super Etendard fighter-bombers attacked rebel positions in the Shuf Mountains.

These bombing raids began just three days after Mitterrand's government hypocritically chastised Reagan for ordering U.S. naval shelling of the same area. There are 2,100 French troops in the imperialist multinational combat force. Seventeen have been killed in the fighting.

Britain's prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, has sent all three of her navy's aircraft carriers to the Mediterranean. This task force includes the *Hermes*, which last saw action in the Malvinas War against Argentina. British jets based in Cyprus have flown threateningly over Beirut. There are some 100 British troops in the "peacekeeping" force.



Marine Harrier jet over U.S. aircraft carrier off Lebanese coast.



From command centers like this, U.S. keeps up constant harassment of USSR.

This is fully in keeping with the South Korean government's official stance that the pilot of Flight 7 "would have landed if he had been ordered to do so." But the 1978 incident demonstrated the opposite.

Not forthright

What accounts for this less than forthright reporting on the 1978 affair?

Perhaps the admissions made by the South Korean crew at that time would have undercut South Korea's claims of innocence in the latest incident.

Perhaps it is also because many people would find it hard to believe that the same airline could "stray," "wander," or "blunder" over sensitive Soviet military areas

twice. Particularly when the airline is that of a regime whose support for Washington's anti-Soviet policies is enthusiastic in the extreme.

Perhaps it is because a review of the record would show that it is established Soviet policy to attempt to force those South Korean planes that invade its air space to land. And that it is not exceptional for KAL pilots to refuse to obey these instructions, in order to attempt to provoke an international incident.

In any event, a review of the facts shows that it is Washington and the South Korean government, not the USSR, which has no respect for the safety and lives of civilian passengers.

Recently the Italian government increased the size of its combat force to 2,050. It dispatched a destroyer to back up its troops. Italian and British officials were discussing the use of the British air base in Cyprus to give air support to the Italian troops in Beirut. Leaders of the different military commands meet regularly with each other and with representatives of the Lebanese army.

Another imperialist country involved in Lebanon is Israel. There are 15,000 Israeli troops occupying southern Lebanon, where it has confined thousands of Palestinians in prison camps. Israeli military patrols have been spotted on coastal highways near Beirut — miles north of the Awali River. (Israeli troops supposedly withdrew below the Awali September 3-4.) In a signal that Tel Aviv is still prepared to intervene in the fighting in central Lebanon, two Israeli jets provocatively flew over Beirut on September 26.

Imperialism has mobilized this massive firepower in Lebanon to deal a blow to the Syrian and Palestinian people, and to force the Lebanese Muslims and Druse to accept a proimperialist regime.

Without U.S. naval shelling and French air strikes the Lebanese Army couldn't have held Suk al Gharb. The imperialist troops prop up President Amin Gemayel's embattled government, which is dominated by the Christian Phalange party. The Phalangists, who model themselves after the European fascist movements of the 1930s, have spearheaded sectarian terror against the Druse, Muslim, and Palestinian people. It was the Phalangists who murdered hundreds of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps last year.

Arrayed against the imperialist troops, the Lebanese Army, and the Phalangist militia are the Druse and Muslim militia and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) fighters.

The Druse and Muslim communities are fighting against political and religious discrimination. Their struggle against Gemayel's regime is further fueled by the poverty of Lebanon's working people. Backing them up is Syria, which has 40,000 troops in Lebanon. Druse leaders say they have the right to turn to Syria for help in defending their homes.

Since Syria receives military assistance from the Soviet Union, the Reagan administration claims the civil war is a product of Soviet meddling. President Reagan told a group of broadcasters the war was "Soviet-sponsored aggression against Lebanon."

One reason the imperialists assembled such a large strike force is to prepare to go to war against Syria. Secretary of State George Shultz told a congressional committee on September 21 that stabilizing Gemayel's rightist regime means forcing the withdrawal of Syrian troops. But, Shultz said, "nobody knows if the Syrians will ever agree to pull out." Washington and its allies are preparing to drive them out. But they will be unable to take on the Syrian forces without deploying more of their own ground troops.

The White House also wants to drive the PLO's fighting units out of Lebanon. The PLO has some 10,000-15,000 soldiers in the country. Some of these liberation fighters have been aiding Druse militia in the Shuf Mountains. Bringing down the pro-imperialist government in Beirut would aid the Palestinian liberation struggle. It would give the PLO more freedom to carry out their fight to liberate their homeland from Israeli occupation.

Achieving its goals will not be easy for U.S. imperialism. Washington and its allies have been trying to impose a rightist regime in Beirut since the 1975-76 civil war in Lebanon. The current conflict threatens to become a broader war between imperialism and the oppressed Arab nations — a war in which even more U.S. troops may be committed.

Marxist view of violence against women

BY ANDREA MORELL

Violence against women is an all-pervasive feature of this society. It ranges from the extremes of rape or beatings to the ever-present threat of sexual assault implicit in the obscene comments and gestures women are subjected to in public.

It affects all of our daily lives. Calculating to avoid the possibility of random sexual attack is a consideration in choosing routes, times, and modes of travel and conduct outside the home. Often times we don't give it much thought, because allowing for it becomes second nature. Or we deny it until it intrudes itself.

Domestic violence is rampant in the United States. "It would be hard to find a group or institution in American society in which violence is more of an everyday occurrence than it is within the family," say two leading authorities on domestic violence quoted in *The Changing Family*, by Mark Hutter (1981). "Underneath the surface is a vast amount of conflict and violence — including bitter feelings, anger, hatred, much physical punishment of children, pokes and slaps of husbands and wives, and not altogether rare pitched battles between family members."

These are not battles between equals. Though all participants are losers, women are the special targets and victims. The scope of this abuse is gradually getting dragged out into the open.

A feature article in the September 5 issue of *Time* magazine reports that nearly 6 million women are beaten by their husbands (or companions) in this country each year. Two thousand to 4,000 women are beaten to death annually. The widespread sexual abuse of children, often incestuous, is being brought into the open as well.

Many of us have had the experience of inviting our women coworkers out for a beer or coffee after work for political discussion or to a meeting and had them decline regretfully, saying their husbands would beat them if they ever did anything like that without his permission.

But wife-beating is not a peculiarly working-class phenomenon, class and race prejudices to the contrary. The wives of professionals, students, and executives are equally eligible, though the class position of their families means the brutalizer is less likely than his working-class counterpart to be held legally responsible and therefore become a police department statistic, as is true for all crime statistics in this class-divided society.

Rape itself is beginning to come out of the shadows. However, it's still difficult to get reliable statistics on the scope of its occurrence.

For one thing, it remains an "underreported" crime. Its victims have well-grounded fears of further victimization at the hands of sexist cops and courts. They fear social stigmatization and are convinced, especially Black and Latina sisters, of the futility of forcing the "justice" system to act on their behalf.

Due to the lack of hard statistics, rape figures (like crime statistics generally) are often manipulated by "law-and-order" forces for their own reactionary purposes, which have nothing in common with defending women's rights and well-being.

We don't need to fumble with statistics to be convinced that rape is widespread and a very serious problem for women. Many of us know women who have been raped and have witnessed the crushing effect it has had on their lives — and those of their families — for weeks and even months afterwards.

Women in basic industry

In basic industry, women workers confront sexist abuse and violence that is promoted by management for the purposes of demoralizing them, deepening divisions of the work force along sex lines, and weakening the unions. In the case of sisters of the oppressed nationalities, racist abuse is often combined with sexism. The intensity of sexist harassment varies from industry to industry and time to time, but it is clearly a stock-in-trade of the employing class.

In southern Illinois women underground coal miners are suing their employer because it permitted a peephole to be drilled in the wall of the women's bathroom. It offered male coal miners the "privilege" of joining the fore-

men in leering at the women as they cleaned up after work. Women workers in the oil industry report that the giant oil companies, which hire as few women as they can get away with, conspire to maximize the attrition rate of the women they do take on. Verbal — and in some cases physical — harassment is an important component of their campaign.

International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201 in Lynn, Massachusetts, staged a walkout in 1981 after two managers assaulted a secretary on National Secretaries Day. The machinists who walked off the job then discussed it and decided to continue fighting for the immediate firing of the managers. They learned first-hand why sexual harassment and violence is a union issue.

In some cases women's lives are directly jeopardized. Sexist harassment of working women is not limited to nontraditional industrial jobs. To the contrary, it is one of the most traditional features of office work, along with low pay, making the coffee, and working without union contracts.

The pressure on women from this violence and abuse is demoralizing. It saps our self-confidence. It beats women down. It debases men. It degrades our class and all human relationships.

Nor is it peculiar to this country or a special product of the current capitalist crisis, although this does aggravate it. Rather, like sexism itself, it is as old as recorded history. What is new is women's refusal any longer to accept it.

Searchlight on violence

Over the past several years, women's liberation forces have turned a searchlight on violence against women. They have said, while this society is violent in general, there is a specific violence directed against women because we are women. It is sexist violence in a sexist society.

Violence in the home is a social problem, not a private matter between husband and wife. To say nothing about wife-beating on the excuse of the sanctity of the home is to say that wife-beating is a right — as it was before women won its illegalization. But it is *not* a right — it's a crime.

Women's rights fighters have attacked the reactionary myth that women cause the violence, including rape, directed against them. This is a lie. Women don't cause it, deserve it, want it, or ask for it.

Moreover, we have demanded that the government defend us against violent attack. Instead it refuses to enforce its laws or joins in the attack on women victims through the cops and courts. Real or trumped up instances of sexual assault are used to frame up Blacks, Latinos, and other workers.

Above all, we say, the days are over when women will simply be resigned to violence against us. It will no longer be accepted passively as women's lot in life along with pain in childbirth. No, sexist violence is not part of the natural order of things. It's part of the social order, one that is sexist through and through. And this, along with every other aspect of women's inequality, must go.

Public opinion has begun to undergo a progressive shift on this basic question thanks to efforts by supporters of women's rights.

Protest in New Bedford

This was demonstrated this past spring by the public outcry that arose when a group of men in New Bedford, Massachusetts, raped and beat a woman for two hours in a bar while spectators cheered them on.

Several thousand demonstrators from the largely working-class Cape Verdean Portuguese community, where the incident took place, and other cities, joined a protest rally organized by the Coalition Against Sexist Violence. The prime movers of the coalition were members of the New Bedford Women's Center. They demanded that the law be enforced against the rapists, and the witnesses held accountable.

At the same time, the organizers did not project reliance on the cops and courts as the way to end sexist violence. Rather, they proposed winning "full political, social, and economic equality in this society" in order to cut down on the violence which, they accurately explained, is a manifestation of women's inferior social role.

They were careful, too, to avoid becoming pawns in

Continued on next page



Militant/Mike Alewitz

Top: demonstration last spring against gang rape of woman in New Bedford, Massachusetts, bar. Bottom: 1981 protest after General Electric managers assaulted secretary in Lynn, Massachusetts. Women's liberation forces are turning searchlight on pervasive sexist violence in U.S. society.

Andrea Morell is a longtime activist in the women's liberation struggle and a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee.

Continued from preceding page

the media's attempt to whip up a racist campaign against the community. Residents there publicly repudiated both the racist campaign and the rape.

An important blow was dealt to the attempt to manipulate the rape issue demagogically for anti-working-class, racist, and antiwoman purposes, as has been done so often. Instead, rape was addressed politically in a progressive way and not left to the reactionaries.

Rooted in human nature?

Marxists agree with the New Bedford leaders that the roots of violence against women are social. We, too, reject the fatalistic argument that it is rooted in human nature or in human sexuality and therefore can never be eradicated.

We also reject this reasoning when it is put forward under a feminist rubric. It's false to say that men's superior social status as a sex is a natural outcome of their greater physical powers relative to women and that the fundamental axis of history is the unequal war of all men against all women.

We reject the argument that men are rapists because they are biologically endowed for that purpose. According to this view, men began to rape when they learned they could, and they've been doing so ever since as a conscious means of keeping women subjugated. Men who rape do so in the interests of all men against all women; and all men are potential rapists.

This thesis is elaborated for 458 pages in Susan Brownmiller's book *Against Our Will*, published in 1975. While disavowing the class and racist prejudices that underpin Brownmiller's book, (male members of the "underclass" are, according to her, especially active in the war between the sexes) some supporters of women's rights are vulnerable to her main tenet, that rape and sexist violence are rooted in human biology. And since rape is widespread, they wonder if maybe all men really are potential rapists.

Marxists reject this logic, which rips human beings out of their social setting and historical development. Are all men potential murderers because they can physically overpower and kill at least someone in some circumstances? The fact is, what men or women potentially, and actually, are is a concrete, social and historical question. Humanity became human through a long process of evolution from the higher primates. In the animal world, rape and institutionalized sexist violence don't exist.

Moreover, there was a state of society in which sexist violence and sexism as a whole were unknown. This was the period of history Marxists refer to as primitive communism, prior to the rise of class society. It was the longest period so far of humanity's time on earth — about 99 percent of it. This period saw an evolution of social, economic, and kinship forms. But it was distinguished as a whole from subsequent class-based society by the utter absence of the latter's fundamental social pillars: private ownership of the means of producing social wealth, state power, and the patriarchal family.

Primitive communism

Under primitive communism, social production was organized collectively, and its product shared equitably. There was, therefore, no exploitation or oppression of one group or sex by another. No material basis for such unequal social relations existed. Both sexes participated in social production, helping to ensure the sustenance and survival of all at a subsistence level. The social status of both men and women reflected the fact that each played a vital role in this productive process.

Women held respected social positions due to their role in production. They often held high public positions, helping to determine affairs of the community as a whole. Childbearing was a valued function, not an excuse for oppression.

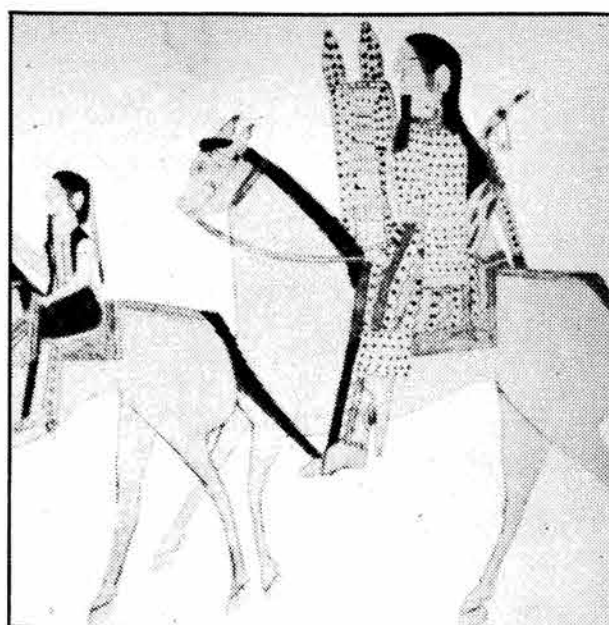
There was no authoritarian father-family whose head held power over its members and upon whom they were dependent for economic survival. Marriage, or pairing arrangements, between individual men and women were voluntary and easily dissoluble by either partner. Women enjoyed great personal autonomy. The double standard of sexual behavior did not exist.

Corporal punishment by men of women and their children was not a right, or a duty, or a secret perverse pleasure. Since women were not a socially degraded sex, they did not become scapegoats or punching bags for men enduring frustrations or hardships — of which there were many.

Preclass society was not the Garden of Eden. Hunger, disease, natural disaster, and intertribal wars were fundamental circumstances. But it is noteworthy that the relative poverty did not cause interpersonal crime — cooperation and sharing of what little there was were the norms.

Sexist crimes were not part of life, either. Having no social roots, institutionalized sexist violence was non-existent. Interestingly, in Iroquois society, if a woman was killed, her family was indemnified at twice the rate as for a male member.

With no exploiting class whose property and preroga-



Woman and son depicted by Kiowa Indian artist. In primitive communist societies like those of North American Indians, there was no material basis for exploitation and brutalization of women, who were treated as equals.



With transition from preclass to class society, women became virtual domestic slaves and beasts of burden. Violence against women became institutionalized.

tives had to be protected, there was no organized official violence — state power — that conditioned the quality of daily life between its members.

No antiwoman religion was fostered by a privileged priest-craft or hallowed by doctrine.

The Montagnais-Naskapi peoples

In her book, *Myths of Male Dominance*, anthropologist Eleanor Burke Leacock relates the efforts of a 17th century Jesuit missionary to impose Christianity in North America, and through it the norms and institutions of "civilized" society, on the preclass Montagnais-Naskapi peoples of eastern Labrador.

One of the greatest difficulties Father Le Jeune reported was establishing the norm of corporal punishment in social relations. He also struggled to introduce the father-dominated family, complete with sexual fidelity for females only and no right to divorce.

Leacock describes one incident this way. A Jesuit called some chief-men together to express astonishment at their permitting a young baptised woman to live apart from her husband. Two of them caught her and tried to take her by canoe to Quebec for punishment. Some pagan young men, observing this violence, which was remote from their customs, threatened to kill anyone who laid a hand on the woman.

Shortly afterwards another act of violence toward a woman occurred. The Christian relatives of a young woman agreed in family council to beat her for speaking to a suitor against her parents' wishes. One of the relatives then beat the girl and lectured other girls who had gathered, "This is the first punishment by beating that we have inflicted upon anyone of our nation. We are resolved to continue it if anyone among us should be disobedient."

These examples show how women's oppression and brutalization, along with other alien institutions, were grafted onto a society where it had not existed.

What are the social origins of violence against women? They are rooted in the transition from preclass to class so-

ciety and are completely intertwined with the foundations of the new social order.

This complex long-term process, of which there are no written records, is not something we can treat fully here. The specifics of this process in any case are not known, but the dynamics, and the results, are clear. Through the development of relative surplus, the foundations of the egalitarian commune were undermined. Its economic relations were a fetter on the free development of the new wealth-producing property which was in the hands of men, among whom class stratifications began to emerge.

As labor productivity increased and could be profitably exploited by the wealthy few, women's ability to reproduce human labor power took on new value. Women began to be purchased, along with the right to their offspring.

Private property developed and imposed the need for heirs in the male line. Men's property was to be handed down to their sons, whose legitimacy came to be "guaranteed" by monogamous marriage.

The patriarchal family replaced the primitive commune as the basic economic unit of society. It, not the collectivity, had the responsibility for the sustenance of its members. It institutionalized class divisions in society between generations.

The collective household community led by women disappeared. Its tasks became private services for individual men upon whom women and children were economically dependent. Women had no property in the wealthy classes, and they were not employed outside the home among the great mass of the toilers. Women labored within the family and as part of it where it was a productive unit, as among the peasantry. Women became virtual domestic slaves and beasts of burden.

Economic dependency

While the forms and conditions of women's status has differed between classes, countries, and historical periods, the foundation of women's second-class status as a sex has been the same: her economic dependency within the family. Her chief social role has been defined contemptuously as a child breeder. While pointing out that the transition to class society represented tremendous progress for humanity, Frederick Engels in *Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884) nonetheless called this turning point for women their world-historic defeat.

As private property reshaped all of society, it reshaped relations between the sexes. As it introduced inequalities everywhere, thus it did so, too, between the sexes.

It introduced new antagonism and violence everywhere, and it did so, too, between men and women. Dispelling the idea that monogamy makes its appearance in history as the reconciliation of men and women, Engels says, "On the contrary, it appears as the subjection of one sex by the other; as the proclamation of a conflict between the sexes entirely unknown hitherto in prehistoric times."

He points out that the sharp conflict between man and woman in a monogamous family results "from the exclusive domination of the male."

Speaking of the institutionalization of brutality towards women, he says this "became firmly rooted with the establishment of monogamy."

Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed, writing on the origins of rape and sexist violence in the April 1976 *International Socialist Review*, said this: "Sexual rape emerged as a new social phenomenon in a 'rapist' society based upon private property, plundering war, and class, sex, and race oppression. As the decreed 'superior sex,' men were encouraged to take out their social and sexual rages and frustrations upon women."

With this new type of society, all social and sexual relations between men and women, who were themselves now quite different personalities, were perverted and distorted. Gone was the old voluntary union of preclass society, dissoluble by either partner without suffering dire economic consequences. Women now are bound, hand and foot, in marriage. Behind their husbands' authority stands the state power and the sanction of all official society.

New sexual relations

New debased and undignified forms of sexual relations between the unequal sexes arise: prostitution, adultery, incest, and sexual abuse of children. Under conditions of monogamy — which is monogamy for women only — women are compelled to be asexual with all men except their husbands, resulting in the specific suppression and distortion of female sexuality.

Thus, women's economic dependency — through the family system rooted in private property — is the key to women's oppression in class society. Her brutalization is an integral aspect of her degraded status.

It's with the development of modern capitalism that the economic foundations of this social relation begins to be shaken. The bourgeois revolution, with its central idea of equality, exerted a powerful pull on women and all the unequals. The demand for equality within marriage, and in society as a whole, was raised. Many progressive

struggles were waged early on and many gains made: the right to divorce, the right to speak in public, obtain an education, retain property after marriage, and eventually the right to vote. But full equality for women was not realized by the bourgeois revolutionary upheavals, which brought to social leadership the class that has raised property and the state to heights undreamed of before. The social position of the capitalist class is still as dependent upon female inequality as was that of the biblical patriarchs. Its political institutions, whose role is to organize society on its behalf, cannot be looked to to win liberation for our sex.

But, with the advent of modern industrial capitalism the socio-economic base is laid for the first time to make the liberation of women a realistic possibility. A class capable of reorganizing society — the modern proletariat — emerges whose interests and emancipation require the active promotion of women's equality.

In their insatiable drive for profits, the capitalist class needs to exploit as much human labor power as possible. Thus it is driven to organize women by the millions into the work force, including into basic industry. By employing, and paying, her as an individual worker, and not as a member of a family working as a unit, it eliminates the organic economic dependence of the woman on the male breadwinner in the family. Moreover, what are today women's private domestic tasks — the necessary care of family members and the domicile, can on the basis of modern technology, be carried out socially for the first time since the dawn of class society.

Economic independence

Women can take their first steps forward as equal, productive members of society. Economic compulsion in relations between the sexes can begin to be eradicated on the basis of woman's economic independence and security, for herself and her children. The roots of sexism are exposed.

Capitalism cannot realize this humane potential — not in its ascendancy, and certainly not now in its decline. Its production is carried on for private profit only. The family remains the basic economic unit, assuring a hereditary class of owners and of toilers, each "equally" responsible for the care of its members.

With the ups and downs of the economy, women toilers are shunted in and out of the labor force. This happens to other workers too, but job and wage discrimination on the basis of sex makes it worse for women. Women's lower wages are a source of superprofits and the divisions among workers along sex lines are politically advantageous to the ruling minority, similar to institutionalized racism.

New society needed

To realize women's equality a new socio-economic system is required — a socialist society — where private ownership of social wealth has been overturned. This will lay the basis for replacing the inherently unequal and oppressive institutions that pinion class-divided society with egalitarian ones.

The struggle of the working class for emancipation from exploitation leads along this road and to this goal. That is why the struggle for women's liberation is politically linked with the struggles of this class — of which women are a large component as well as an ally.

It is on the foundation of massive employment outside the home that the modern women's liberation movement is based. This is clearly so in the United States, where fully 41 million women work outside the home, many millions of them heading households.

This material reality gives rise to the progressive change we've seen in consciousness about women's social status and human potential — among both women and men. It's the basis for the broad support in the working class and the organized labor movement for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment; for safe, legal abortion and government-funded child-care centers; and other needs. These sentiments are especially firm among the heavily proletarianized oppressed nationalities. We saw this in Washington, D.C., this past August 27 at the Black-led demonstration for jobs, peace, and freedom where women's rights — and women — were a prominent part of the proceedings on and off the platform.

It's this irreversible social development that replaces women's age-old resignation with assertiveness. It gives the gentle sex the courage and opportunity to challenge those who would brutalize her.

Male supremacy, with its integral brutalization of women, thus arises through the development of class society and forms part of its foundation. But involved is not simply conflicts between the sexes. These are framed and conditioned to various degrees and in different ways by historical development and its central dynamic, the struggle between social classes. Sexism and sexist abuse, like everything else in class society, assumes a class character.

One of the prerogatives of the men of every ruling class has always been the right, not only to the women of their own class, but to those of the laboring classes, as well. This is a condition of the class oppression suffered



Vietnam. U.S. military high command promoted racist and sexist violence as part of its war effort, in contrast to policy of Vietnamese liberation forces.

by the toilers. For example, the classic "right of the first night" — the lord's right to be the first occupant of any marital bed in his fiefdom — was in force throughout much of feudal Europe until quite late.

Marx and Engels frequently pointed out that this baronial practice was readily adopted as a privilege of their position by the first factory owners. They treated their female employees as so many members of a harem, forcing sexual attentions upon them on pain of firing or worsened job conditions.

Rape and concubinage imposed on Black women by members of the planter class was a regular feature of chattel slavery in the pre-Civil War southern United States. There was, moreover, no law against the rape of any Black woman, slave or free, by a white man. Racism and sexism are still completely intertwined reactionary institutions in this country, shoring up the system of wage-slavery today.

In 1913 Lenin wrote an article that he ironically entitled, "Civilized Europeans and Savage Asians," about the integration of sexist violence with imperialist domination in India.

"A British colonel named McCormick," writes Lenin, "had a mistress whose servant was an eleven-year-old Indian girl, named Aina. This gallant representative of a civilized nation enticed Aina to his room, raped her and locked her up in his house."

When the villagers learned the story, they were so infuriated that the British were forced to arrest McCormick, who declared, "... as gentlemen of noble extraction usually do under such circumstances," observes Lenin, "that Aina was a prostitute, in proof of which he brought five witnesses. Eight witnesses, however, brought by Aina's mother were not even examined" by the judge.

"It must be clear to everyone," said Lenin, "that thousands and millions of such cases occur in India," where, he comments scornfully the British post only their "best" people.

This incident, said Lenin, "... reveals better than all arguments why the revolution is growing apace" in India, where sexist abuse by the imperialist overlords became a focal point in the struggle of the oppressed Indian nation in its struggle for liberation and part of its national cause. This is so in all national liberation struggles and is part of women's great stake in them.

Part of political struggle

The sexual abuse and brutalization of women is consciously fostered as part of the rulers' political struggle against the toilers. The forms it takes vary depending on the level of the class struggle. It ranges from management in coal mines organizing peepholes to be drilled in women's washrooms to organized violence on a mass scale.

This was the case in Nicaragua, where Somoza's National Guard used rape as an instrument of mass terror. Its widespread practice is one reason why the Nicaraguan people vow that the *bestiales* of the National Guard will never return to positions of power in Nicaragua.

Clearly different class forces hold, and implement, different policies regarding sexist violence. This was so in the Vietnam War. The U.S. Army high command in Vietnam used, not only racism, but sexism (as well as anticommunism and national chauvinism) in its counter-revolutionary war. Rape and killing of Vietnamese

women were commonplace as part of the "war effort." Prostitution was promoted and brothels organized even in the field. This was encouraged by the brass partly for the same reasons they winked at or encouraged the drug trade: to divert, narcotize, pacify, and attempt to dehumanize the GIs. This showed their contempt of the working-class ranks of the army.

In sharp contrast to the promotion of sexism and sexist violence by the U.S. brass, the Vietnamese liberation forces did not brutalize women; instances of rape were rare. Even Susan Brownmiller is forced to admit this. A lengthy section of her book deals with war and her attempt to show that all armies commit rape on a mass scale. But she is confounded by the facts in the case of the Vietnamese liberation forces.

Brownmiller quotes New Zealand correspondent Peter Arnett as saying, "The VC [that's racist shorthand for the Vietnamese liberation forces] were prohibited from looting, stealing food or rape, and we were always surprised when they did it. We heard very little of VC rape." He reports the offenders were reprimanded and, in some cases, shot. The Vietnamese made heroes of women who were raped by the other side.

Neither Brownmiller nor Arnett can figure out why this contrast. Arnett floats a sort of sublimation theory: maybe the Vietnamese soldiers didn't rape because their energies were so bound up in the revolution. He reports he knew American officers who did not use the brothels the whole time they were in Vietnam, "so dedicated were they to winning the war." He suggests the presence of women in the Vietnam National Liberation Front was a factor. Brownmiller herself offers no further explanation. This passage alone destroys her entire thesis, that men everywhere and always use rape to oppress women.

Sexist violence can thus be organized and promoted as a specific part of a government or employer policy. But not all instances of sexist abuse are organized. Some flow spontaneously out of sexist social relations in a sexist society — as do random racist attacks.

But the sexist violence that mars relations between working people also serves the interests of the capitalist ruling class. It is reactionary and anti-working-class to the core. It runs counter to the political interests of workers because it weakens women and divides the class along sex lines. Insofar as it is widespread — and it is — it reflects a low level of class consciousness and marks the distance workers have to travel on the way to acting socially, thinking politically, and becoming a progressive social force that can take the leadership of society.

Lenin called sexist backwardness among workers and peasants the "old slave-owners' point of view." Communist workers must take the lead in rooting it out, he said.

Under his leadership, and that of German communist leader, Clara Zetkin, the Third Congress of the Communist International in 1921 adopted a comprehensive resolution outlining tasks and perspectives for the world movement in relation to women. It mandated the establishment of women's departments at all levels of party organization. The document stressed one of the chief tasks of these departments must be "to fight the prejudices against women held by the mass of the male proletariat,"

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Reading on Marxism and women's liberation

The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State. By Frederick Engels. Introduction by Evelyn Reed, 191 pp., \$3.45.

The Emancipation of Women. By V.I. Lenin, 136 pp., \$1.65.

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Women and the Cuban Revolution: Speeches and Documents by Fidel Castro, Vilma Espín, and others. Edited by Elizabeth Stone. 156 pp., \$3.95.

Women and the Socialist Revolution. By Mary-Alice Waters, 75 cents.

Women's Liberation and the Socialist Revolution: Document of the Fourth International. 93 pp., \$2.95.

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

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and increase the awareness of working men and women that they have common interests."

The party must also "conduct a well-planned struggle against the power of tradition, bourgeois customs and religious ideas, clearing the way for healthier and more harmonious relations between the sexes, guaranteeing the physical and moral vitality of working people."

A full program was elaborated for drawing working women into political struggles for the purpose of strengthening their will, confidence, and abilities as class-struggle fighters.

NBIPP's discussion

A rich discussion of sexist violence as a social obstacle to unifying and strengthening the Black nationality in its struggle for liberation was held by members of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) at its founding convention in Philadelphia in 1980.

This discussion, led by Black women, began from the premise that women must participate fully in the struggle for Black liberation at all levels if it is to be won. They pointed out that they are victims of sexist abuse on the part of men, including Black men. Wife-beating is widespread in the Black community, they said, and the needed unity in struggle cannot be achieved while relations between Black men and women are oppressive and even violent. Unity can be achieved only on the basis of equality and dignity for Black women and its active championship as a political goal of the entire nationalist movement.

The causes of sexist violence were examined too. They rejected as backward the idea that there is something inherent in Black men and women that gives rise to it. Rather, its roots were recognized as social and in harmony with the racist society that oppresses Blacks. Sexist violence was seen as inimical to the free and equal society Blacks are striving for. It was also recognized that it is not possible to eliminate sexist violence within the Black community short of liberation. But inroads can be made, consciousness raised, and norms of struggle can, and must, be set, they said.

The NBIPP party charter states: "We believe in the total social, political, and economic equality of Black women. We recognize that Black women have the right to realize their full potential as human beings. . . . Black women have the right to defend themselves against sexual-physical assault and should receive support from other men, women, the community as a whole and the party in this effort. . . . We must continue to search for new concepts in the Black male/female relationship and understand that the continual domination of Black women by men (and society as a whole) will perpetuate the political backwardness of humankind."

Question for labor

The question is posed similarly for the organized labor movement. Sexist violence and abuse between union members destroys solidarity and weakens the union as a fighting instrument. It undermines democracy by intimidating or isolating women members. Often it quite literally means playing the boss' game because the foremen and management are often directly involved in trying to instigate male workers against women coworkers.

Class-struggle unionists have long recognized that union democracy and violence between union members are incompatible. Some labor unions, such as the United Steelworkers of America, for example, prohibit violence between union brothers and sisters and outline union trial proceedings to deal with it.

As part of recognizing the importance of this question for the construction of a revolutionary Marxist party in the United States, the Socialist Workers Party adopted a resolution at its 1977 convention making violence against women incompatible with membership.

In her report to the convention on this point Linda Jenness said the following: "Beating up on women — whether the woman is a wife, a companion, whether she is in the party or not, whether in public or in private — is incompatible with membership in the Socialist Workers Party. . . . How would it look in the women's movement if the party said that comrade X is a fine comrade . . . and a supporter of our program — the fact that he goes home and beats his wife up is no concern of ours?"

The actions of our members cannot be so at variance with our program and what we are fighting for that it would make the party look hypocritical or cynical to the class whose confidence we must have in the titanic battles ahead. . . . We cannot fight for the liberation of women on one hand, and allow a member of the party to hit his female companion on the other. Workers would say, and correctly so, that our program is not worth the paper that it was written on."

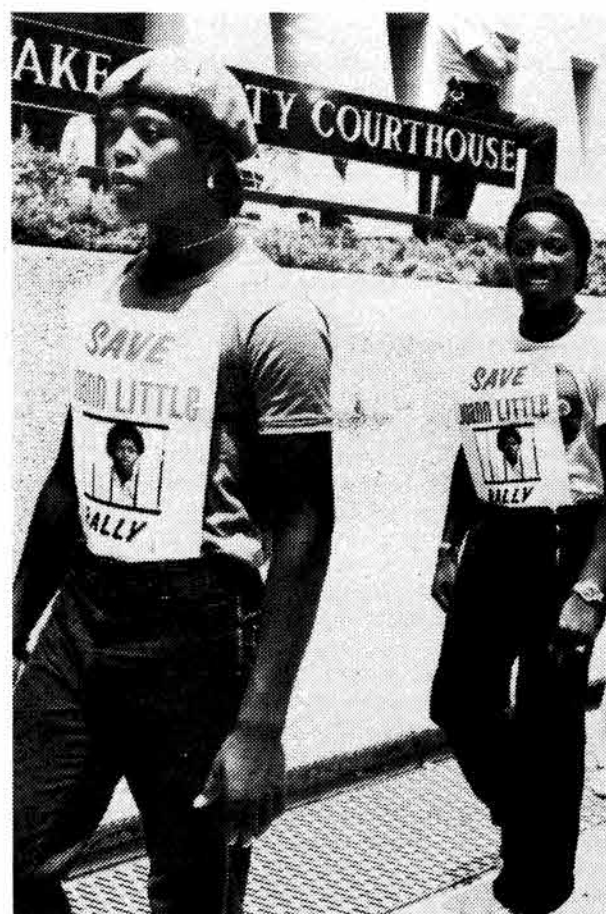
Like all the SWP's norms of membership, this one is applied.

Overthrowing capitalism

Sexist violence is clearly a political question that must be dealt with by all forces fighting for social change. As



Women coal miners have been in forefront of exposing sexual harassment in industry and its reactionary, antiunion character.



1970s campaign to free Joanne Little, accused of murdering white jailer who raped her, educated people on interrelationship between sexist and racist violence.

a Marxist current we see it in the broad political framework of unifying and mobilizing the working class, oppressed nationalities, and women in the United States to overthrow capitalism and establish a society based upon human needs.

Violence against women, or anyone else, cannot be eradicated under capitalism. This in no way implies the issue can or should be postponed to some future stage of the class struggle. Women's rights fighters are posing it now. We welcome this as a sign of strength of the women's liberation movement and working class.

Reactionaries pose it, too. Racists pose it. The issue of sexist violence cannot be left to them.

Moreover, while it is absolutely true that the question of sexist violence cannot be solved apart from raising women's general social position and image, that does not mean that the issue of sexist violence can be dissolved into the general struggle for women's rights.

The issues of rape, wife-beating, abuse on the job, etc., must themselves be forthrightly confronted. The abusive policies of the employers and government authorities must be taken on, and women must be defended against sexist abuse that is part of daily life. Education must be undertaken on this and campaigns carried out in specific instances when that is appropriate.

The campaign in the 1970s in defense of Joanne Little, a Black sister accused of killing the white jailer who raped her, afforded opportunities to educate on sexist violence, its intertwining with racism, and the real role

and character of the capitalist state. The SWP and many other forces rallied to sister Little's side and she was, in fact, freed.

The current New Bedford rape case, which has aroused public anger and been a subject of discussion among working people and others throughout the country, provides another opportunity for education.

The fact is, of course, there is no dearth of opportunities for education on this subject. As industrial workers we're confronted by this question almost daily on some jobs.

We can expect this question to emerge more prominently in the class struggle as the ruling class offensive here deepens. Central to the rulers' drive are attacks on every gain women have made and to the concept of equality for women itself. Hardly a day goes by, from what one can read in the newspapers, that there isn't some attack on women. Women who want child care are said to be responsible for juvenile delinquency and women wanting abortions are said to be murderers.

At the same time, social service cutbacks proceed apace as the rulers attempt to thrust more responsibility for child care, education, tending of the sick and the old, back onto the individual family. Part of these attacks today are attacks on such institutions as abortion clinics, rape crisis centers, and battered women's shelters, which represent important gains. We defend these gains, and demand government funding for more such centers independent of the capitalist courts and cops.

Right-wing campaign

Meanwhile, right-wing forces, such as the "Moral Majority," are trying to reverse the trend of exposing wife-beating on the hypocritical basis that it violates the sanctity of the home. There is presently a case in West Virginia in which a husband is suing a battered women's shelter where his wife found refuge. He is leading an inflammatory campaign saying that the women's shelter is really a house of prostitution run by lesbians.

We've learned to take these irrational charges seriously. The counselors there have been threatened with rape and one, in fact, was attacked.

The Militant Forum in Morgantown sponsored a public meeting where the attack on this shelter and the issues of rape and domestic violence were discussed.

Many commentators expect that spouse-beating will increase under the pressures of the ruling-class offensive against working people. They predict that men will take out their frustrations on women in some cases. We do not subscribe, however, to the view that economic or social pressures cause sexist violence. As already pointed out, wife-beating is widespread among social layers who are quite well off. Not poverty, but sexism causes wife-beating. It, not tension, dictates the choice of victim.

Poverty and unemployment do not cause crime in general, which is hardly a monopoly of the working class or jobless. Furthermore, there were few societies poorer than the primitive commune whose members did not prey upon one another.

Crime among the masses of the people decreases as class consciousness and human solidarity increase. Not many countries are poorer today than revolutionary Nicaragua (thanks to years of imperialist domination and Washington's present attempts to strangle the revolution). But crime has decreased there since the triumph of the revolution in 1979. So has sexist abuse and assault on the streets.

An article in a publication called *Sweet Ramparts* about the gains women have made in Nicaragua points out that these include major advances in their daily lives. In a subsection entitled "Loss of Fear," the author writes, "On the positive side . . . many women have expressed a growing self-confidence. . . . Women on both the Pacific and Atlantic coasts agree violence in the streets has decreased."

One is quoted as saying, "You can walk in the street unmolested. We're out at one or two in the morning when we've been to a meeting — and on our own, what's more. Before, this wasn't possible, it was a crime to be young. . . . You couldn't be young here. . . . You couldn't even go to church if it was in an isolated place. Things were against human rights in every way."

This development is uneven; there remain examples of harassment and sexist violence. But there is a generally improved atmosphere. The biggest criminals, Somoza's cops, are gone, and the Sandinista government clearly takes the side of women.

After 20 years of social revolution, Cuban women find stories of sexist violence in the United States genuinely shocking. They can hardly believe U.S. women are afraid on the public streets — even after dark. Cuba is still a poor country — again, thanks in no small part to the legacy of imperialist oppression.

At the national conference of the National Women's Organization in Grenada in 1982, its president, Phyllis Coard, announced a project to study sexist violence in that country. This was greeted approvingly by the women, who know that in revolutionary Grenada such a report will be a very serious step in educating and chang-

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How women in Nicaragua are breaking chains of oppression

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ
AND VIRGINIA GARZA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The women of Nicaragua began to break their chains the same way other oppressed sectors of the population did — in the 18-year struggle led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) to overthrow the Somoza dictatorship.

Today, four years after the victory of the insurrection, where does the struggle for the liberation of women stand?

We asked these and other questions of Mercedes Mejía, alternate deputy to the Council of State, the country's parliament, for AMNLAE, the Association of Nicaraguan Women — Luisa Amanda Espinosa. AMNLAE is named after the first woman martyr of the FSLN, killed in combat with the National Guard in 1970.

The inheritance of Somoza

You have to begin with "the inheritance left by Somoza, both in terms of the economy and ideology," Mejía said.

Somoza left Nicaragua a backward and underdeveloped economy; "factories that had been bombed, destroyed, and decapitalized"; and "an enormous international debt that we are still paying."

These economic conditions had repercussions on the Nicaraguan family "and in particular on the Nicaraguan woman who, inside the family, has primary responsibility for administering resources, caring for the children, and assuring they have what is necessary for their subsistence."

But with the triumph of the revolution, many women were not ready to simply return to their former roles.

"We had the opportunity to participate in various ways in the struggle against Somoza," Mejía said, "and we had won recognition for this both on a national and international level."

Women participated in clandestine military training during the war against the dictatorship, she said, as well as in armed action. "We organized first aid, staffed clandestine hospitals and clinics, and built barricades too," she added.

Several women leaders headed guerrilla columns that included both men and women, Mejía pointed out. She named Laura Girón, Doris Tijerino, Dora María Téllez, Mónica Baltodano, and Leticia Herrera as examples of women who led military operations in entire regions of the country.

'Ideological problems begin'

"When things settled down, and women returned to their homes," she said, "then the ideological problems began."

"We felt we had showed, through our participation in the tasks of the revolution, that we could do more than simply cook and take care of the children."

"But husbands were demanding what up until then had been their right — according to the system of values that had been inculcated into all of us, men and women — that it was up to the woman to oversee upkeep of the house, cleaning the laundry, cooking the food. . . ."

"Sharp conflicts" took place, she said, and, in fact, are still going on. "This is a struggle that is going to take a long time to resolve, but even with the limitations we face we are going to resolve it."

"Men are going to have to understand that we have a duty, that we won the right through our participation in the war, to continue our participation in the construction of the new society."

Literacy campaign

The literacy campaign organized immediately after the insurrection was the first big challenge women faced, and conquered. We felt, Mejía said, "that literacy was one of the tasks that would open the door to all the others our revolution represents. We felt we had to learn to read and write."

The participation of women in the literacy crusade was "outstanding," she said. "We made up some 60 percent of the campaign, both as students and as teachers."

Winning the right to continue this degree of participation in other campaigns of the revolution is a question of class consciousness, she stressed, not of pitting "sex against sex, men against women."

"We don't want this question to result in the destruction of women's relations with their families. To the contrary, we want the discussions of this to become one of the elements of unity in the family."

Mejía gave a concrete example of what she meant.

"A husband who participates in the revolutionary process should also recognize the right of his wife — and his

just food but also education, medical care, and clothing.

In Nicaragua, where a substantial number of households are headed by single women, widespread acceptance of this principle would greatly ease the burdens now being shouldered by these women alone.

The law also stresses that all members of the family share equally all "rights and obligations" of maintaining a household.

Mejía outlined for us the background and intent of the law, which is part of the new legislation being introduced in the sphere of family relations. The campaign around it has been one of AMNLAE's major activities for nearly a year.

"The Law on Nurture was the third law we brought into the Council of State through our representative there," she said.

The first was the Law on Adoption; the second the Law on Relations Between Mothers, Fathers, and Children.

"We didn't want to just draw up laws that would remain locked in a desk somewhere — that is, a law that might seem very attractive but in reality does not correspond to the problems women face daily."

"So we began by trying to find out what were the main problems women faced in the legal sphere. And all three draft bills were an attempt to respond to them."

"We prepared the draft for the Law on Nurture after conducting a brief investigation, only a fairly general one because we don't have the mechanisms or the data necessary for a deeper assessment."

Mass organizations discuss law

Once the draft was completed, however, "it was very widely discussed, not only through our structure, but through the structures of all the mass organizations. The Sandinista Defense Committees (CDSs), the Rural Workers Association (ATC), and the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), all the organizations represented in the Council of State took discussion of the bill to their rank and file."

"We did the same thing in our own organization, in a very ample way. We tried to assure that both men and women took part in the meetings, to hear both sides, so that we could really gather together all the elements and draft a fair and just law. We want a just law where women and men attain a level of equality in their responsibilities."

Furthermore, the law is not viewed as something engraved in stone. It is seen both as an educational vehicle, a point Mejía returned to later, and a concrete step forward in relation to current conditions.

"We think that after a few years we will have to reassess it, and maybe it just won't be of use anymore. Then we will have to draw up a new law, in response to the development we will have obtained by then. Our objective is to go little by little, building up a family code with the problems of women as its main priority. We can't just stay where we are, and we can't just copy other people's laws either."

"The whole objective of our law is that it should come from the people, that the people should discuss it, that they should feel it is theirs, and enforce it. Otherwise, enforcement will be very difficult."

After several weeks of discussion, the law was approved by the Council of State last November. Before it can take effect, however, it must also be approved by the Government of National Reconstruction. This has not happened yet. At the meeting of the Council of State May 26, AMNLAE introduced, and the body passed, another motion asking that the law be approved and published in the official gazette. The two previous laws introduced by AMNLAE have taken effect.

"Once the Law on Nurture is approved," Mejía said, "we plan to organize a renewed educational campaign, including talks and slide shows. This will allow the law to fulfill its fundamental role, which is educational, informative, aimed at changing the roles within the family in the matter of responsibility for children."

Church hierarchy pushes antiwoman ideas

The stiffest opposition so far has come from the Catholic church hierarchy. "Reactionaries like [Managua Archbishop Miguel] Obando y Bravo launched a campaign at the level of the parish churches," Mejía said, "spreading what they really think — the reactionary, backward idea that responsibility for children must remain with the woman, or as they put it, with the 'woman-mother.'"

The right-wing Managua daily *La Prensa* followed suit. It published "a series of articles about the family in-

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Carlos Augusto



Magnum/Susan Miesel

Women in Nicaragua are advancing programs to overcome legacy of Somozaist oppression and to deepen their involvement in construction of new society.

children too — to participate. And that means sharing family responsibilities."

To help this process advance, AMNLAE has sponsored an important new law in the Council of State.

Law on Nurture

Called the Law on Nurture, a fundamental aspect of the bill is its stipulation of parental (including divorced, separated, and unmarried fathers') responsibility toward children, as well as children's responsibility toward their parents. Nurture, a social concept in law, includes not

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tended to counter the spirit of the law we are proposing," Mejía said.

Neighborhood Catholic and Christian organizations, on the other hand, "supported the law and played a big part in the assemblies held to discuss it." These Christian Base Committees, as they are called, grew out of the revolution, tend to support its aims and goals, and consequently find themselves in a position of more or less undeclared war with the church hierarchy.

But the church bigwigs weren't the only source of vocal opposition. Another, more subtle form, came from ultraleft groups.

"At no time did they come right out and say they were against the law," Mejía told us. "But they did say, as part of their criticisms, that we didn't go far enough, that the law would not solve the problems of women here or the problems of the family."

In other words, "they presented us with points of view that would have been all right, maybe, for a revolution with 30 years of development behind it, for a 30-year-old revolution," but were "completely outside our reality."

In our opinion, she said, it was correct "to go ahead slowly; we could not go faster than all the other social changes that are taking place. There are questions that, if you propose them to the people right now, may be rejected. But through a process during which the people themselves come to see better their situation, see which are the possible alternatives or answers, these questions will come to surface gradually. And we will be in a position to help shape and channel this process."

Collaboration with the FSLN leadership was an important part of thinking out the law.

"The FSLN objectively gave us all its support," Mejía said. "There were many issues they helped clarify, they helped us to see more clearly and more objectively. Because even we ourselves, at certain moments, were out of touch with what women really wanted."

"The FSLN helped us find the correct position within the context of the real possibilities of solving women's problems. They set up discussions about the content of the law that really helped us. And often, after these discussions, we would have to go back and review, rediscuss, and reformulate our proposal."

Once the law is passed, Mejía concluded, "we think it will be observed — because it was a law that was discussed by the people — maybe not at a total level, but that is exactly why we are going to renew the educational campaign."

"We think that if the people really know the law, and know it well, they will see to it that it is enforced."

Reproductive rights

We also asked Mejía about contraception and reproductive rights in Nicaragua today.

She explained that prior to the revolution, contraceptives such as birth control pills were a commercial item. They could be bought anywhere: in candy stores; the market; gas stations — like "soda and candy." Women used contraceptives without any medical care or advice and women became ill as a result.

While abortion was common under Somoza, it was illegal. Many women were jailed for having abortions. Large numbers died from illegal, back-alley abortions.

The government of reconstruction, immediately after the victory of the revolution in July 1979, recalled all the contraceptives in the country. Their distribution was then reorganized so that forms of contraception that were potentially dangerous are only available through trained medical personnel.

Abortion, Mejía said, is still not legal. But it is also not illegal today in Nicaragua. Although the old antiabortion laws are still on the books, no one has been prosecuted for violating them since the triumph of the revolution.

Mejía explained that abortion, however, is not a demand of AMNLAE right now. The destruction wrought by the war of liberation, the poverty and debts inherited from Somoza, and the need to divert huge resources into defense of the country against the U.S.-instigated war on its borders means that there are still not enough medical facilities or trained personnel to assure safe abortions for all those who request them.

Books on Nicaragua

Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution. By Tomás Borge, 30 pp., 75 cents.

Sandino's Daughters: Testimonies of Nicaraguan Women in Struggle. By Margaret Randall, 220 pp., \$6.95.

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

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, NY, 10014. Enclose 75 cents for postage and handling.



Militant/Jane Harris

February 1983 march led by Association of Nicaraguan Women in Managua against U.S. military maneuvers. At far left is Mercedes Mejía, who explains, "We showed through our participation in revolution that we could do more than simply cook and take care of children."

AMNLAE believes that it would be irresponsible to raise abortion as a demand without being able to guarantee abortions could be performed in clean facilities and by trained personnel. AMNLAE does not want to give its blessing to back-alley abortions.

AMNLAE does provide counseling to women who have had abortions to help them overcome any guilt resulting from the reactionary antiwoman campaign of the Catholic church hierarchy, which opposes women's right to abortion.

Mejía also explained that reproductive rights, like women's full integration into the revolutionary process, will take a broader education campaign to overcome the reactionary ideology of the Somoza dictatorship and the centuries of women's oppression. Mejía was confident

that full reproductive rights will become a reality in Nicaragua as the revolutionary process advances and women are increasingly integrated into it.

With the support of the government and mass organizations, AMNLAE is carrying out just such a campaign at all levels of society. This is the meaning of the discussions on the Law on Nurture and on the campaigns to encourage women's participation in defense of the revolution and in production.

AMNLAE also publishes a magazine to educate women on the social roots of their oppression and to raise their consciousness about the necessary solutions.

We found the progress made by our sisters in Nicaragua encouraging.

A new life opens for former prostitutes

BY JANE HARRIS

LEÓN, Nicaragua — A new restaurant opened its doors here July 2 in the middle of town.

Apart from its bright magenta tablecloths, the art work on the walls, and its typical Nicaraguan cuisine, there was a special significance. Here, six women who used to have to sell their bodies for a living are able to lead productive, dignified lives working in the restaurant.

Speaking at the restaurant's grand opening, Minister of the Interior Commander Tomás Borge described the opening this way: "Some think this is an insignificant ceremony — opening a simple restaurant — but what we are doing is opening a new way of life for a group of *compañeras*."

Borge, who in the last year has devoted most of his speeches to explaining and denouncing the U.S. war against Nicaragua, said that he hadn't come to the opening to speak about that war, but rather about the war against women.

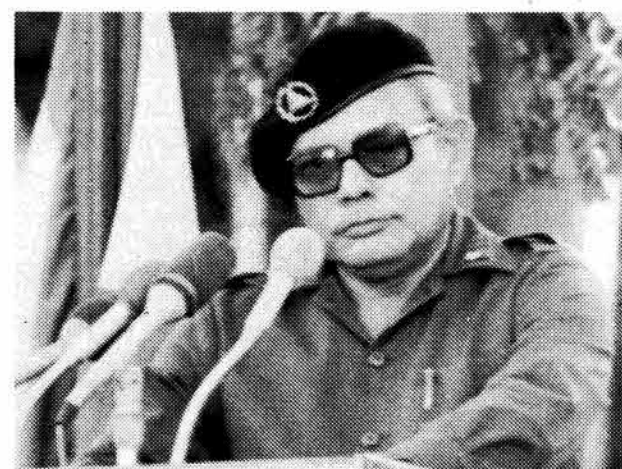
He said it was a "war of prejudice, discrimination, a war in which capitalism tries to turn women into trash, buying and selling them like merchandise, like a luxury item or a cheap vegetable depending on the quality of the merchandise."

During the rule of ex-dictator Anastasio Somoza, Borge recalled, women were bought and sold like chocolates, as if they were dessert — including the wives of Somozaists.

Prostitution in Nicaragua, Borge pointed out, grew dramatically with the big shift toward cotton production in the 1950s. In the process, thousands of peasants were thrown off their land. Many moved to the cities and became workers.

But not all could find a market for their labor power. Families broke up. Some of the peasant women were abandoned by their husbands and had to make their own way. Many, in order to feed and clothe their children, were forced to sell their own bodies.

The restaurant — which specializes in popular food at popular prices — is located next door to the Lucila Matamoros Women's Training Center, named after a Salvadoran woman who fought with Nicaragua's na-



Militant/Michael Baumann

Sandinista leader Tomás Borge: "Capitalism tries to turn women into trash, buying and selling them like merchandise."

tional hero, Augusto César Sandino.

This center, which equips former prostitutes with sewing skills needed for productive work, is a project of the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE) and the Nicaraguan Social Welfare Institute. The garments produced there are displayed for sale at reasonable prices.

In its three years of existence, more than 60 women have taken advantage of the center. Ten have gone on to work in other places but remain in touch with the center.

In his closing remarks, Commander Borge told the women that some people maintain that prostitution has always existed and always will. But for us, he said, referring to the Sandinista National Liberation Front, prostitution only exists where there is exploitation and oppression.

One day, in the not too distant future, Borge predicted, there won't be any more women in Nicaragua who are forced to sell their bodies. Then the only prostitutes that will exist will be those who for purely personal gain sell themselves to U.S. imperialism.

Striking women copper miners speak out on struggle in Arizona

BY JILL FEIN
AND BARBARA KINGSOLVER

The following interviews are with women copper miners on strike against Phelps Dodge in Morenci and Ajo. In both of these towns, women are playing a major role in the strike. All of the women we spoke with are supporting families and say they couldn't live with the cutbacks that Phelps Dodge is demanding the workers take.

The strike began on July 1. Phelps Dodge, with the support of the state government, National Guard, state police, courts, and news media, is attempting to bust the 13 unions that organize the work force. So far the workers have stood firm against the company.

National solidarity, however, is urgently needed to ensure victory. The outcome of the battle will have ramifications for the striking unions, the struggles of Chicanos and Native Americans — who are the big majority of the work force — and women, who only won jobs in the mines in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The first interview is with Lydia González-Knott, a member of the International Association of Machinists since 1980.

González-Knott: I was born in Morenci and have lived in this same house all my life. My dad was the Boilermaker's [union] president for over 25 years and worked for the company for 34 years. He fought for the cost-of-living [clause] in 1968; that strike took nine months. My dad was strong in the union, and gave it all he had.

I was married for 10 years, and I have three kids. When I divorced I had to find a job some place, so I went to work for the company. I was hired as a laborer in the mill in 1979. Later I was transferred to Mill Repair. I was the only woman out of 66 people there. But I enjoyed it, because I was learning to do a lot of new things. I work with jackhammers, sledgehammers, air wrenches that weigh 100 pounds, and I can operate a 160-ton crane. I told them if I couldn't handle the job, I'd be the first to admit it. So far I've never had to.

I'll go all the way with this strike. I'll see it to the end. I'll go back to work if the unions win, but if they don't, I'll never work for this company.

Militant: Phelps Dodge (P-D) claims it is back to normal production through the use of scabs. Do you think they really have replaced all the workers?

González-Knott: They might have replaced all the jobs, but they don't have skilled people working now. They're replacing us with people who don't know anything.

There have been a lot of accidents [since the strike began] that P-D is covering up. One guy was badly burned, and another was dragged by a train. But they don't put them in this hospital. They sent them down to Benson or Willcox. They want to keep everything quiet.

Militant: What was it like when the National Guard was here in August?

González-Knott: It was bad. They had snipers on top of the hills, and tanks and SWAT teams all over town.

I can't understand why the governor sent the DPS [Department of Public Safety] and the National Guard, because these men just came up here to intimidate and harass the people.

Militant: Would you vote for Democratic Governor Babbitt again?

González-Knott: No. Everyone feels that way. I'll vote socialist before I vote for him again.

You know, we were raised to follow our unions and to respect the company. But how the hell do you respect this company? We're fighting for our jobs, our future, for food on the table for our kids. If we don't get a contract, we'll go look for work some place else.

People say they [Phelps Dodge] had us spoiled. Well, we gave those people a good eight-hour day and we worked hard. If we had a contract we still would.

But the government wants to get rid of the unions — it started with the air controllers, and now us. Well, we don't want to work like slaves — 12-hour days, 26 days and 2 days off. And without a contract, that's what it's going to be. I've seen people cross the picket line and go into work [without a contract], and then change their minds, because of the way they're working them.

I have to believe in the unions.

Gloria Blase is a 27-year-old track laborer on strike



Lydia González-Knott (top left) with family: "We're fighting for our jobs, our future, our kids."



Gloria Blase: "Men respect us more now" because of women's role in strike.

against Phelps Dodge in Ajo. Her mother is a Papago Indian, and her father, a retired crane operator who worked at Phelps Dodge for over 30 years, is Mexican. Gloria is a member of the International Chemical Workers Union Local 703.

Blase: I have worked for P-D since December of 1979. They told me they had track laborer open, and I took it because I needed the money. I joined the union as soon as I was hired. In the mine, I do everything the men do — haul ties, spike them, build and repair railroad tracks. It's hard. Before the last strike I had to have surgery on my right hand because of the stress. Now I'm on disability for injury to my other hand.

When I was first hired, the men didn't accept us women. They would harass us, curse at us, make it hard on us. I guess some of them will always be like that — they seem really offended that women would try to do the same work, and might even be better at it.

Militant: Has the strike changed any of that?

Blase: I think so. I've noticed that a lot of men who wouldn't talk to me are friendlier now. They say, "You're still out [on strike]?" They're shocked to see how strong we are. I think they respect us more now.

Now I've been terminated; they say for strike misconduct. I wasn't even there [on the picket line] on the day they got me for. I have witnesses. But even if they rescinded my termination, I'd never go back without a contract. I believe in what my dad fought for.

Militant: What do you think the chances are for winning the strike?

Blase: We have to win, not only for the sake of the union but for the self-respect of this town. And besides,

they [the scabs] are already the losers. If they get hurt on the job, or fired, they don't have anybody fighting for them.

* * *

Janie Ramon is the new secretary-treasurer of the International Chemical Workers Union Local 703 in Ajo.

Ramon: I was born in Ajo and have lived here all my life except when I went to college in Flagstaff. I'm 30 years old. I had to quit college after three years because of a death in the family. I got hired as a laborer on September 13, 1973. I was the first woman hired as far as I know.

Militant: What was it like then?

Ramon: It was terrible. When I was first hired they put me in the paint shop because they didn't know what else to do with me. At first the guys used to harass me. It wasn't easy, but it got better.

Militant: Did you join the union right away?

Ramon: Yes. I believe in the union. I grew up that way. My dad was always going to union meetings and had his Operating Engineers union sticker on his hard hat. When we went on strike, I was recording secretary for my union.

Militant: What was it like here in August?

Ramon: Well, on August 8, when things started happening in Morenci some of us started going around to the bars to tell people what was going on. In the last bar we went to, there were a lot of scabs. I tried to convince a woman why she shouldn't be a scab and what harm she was doing to the union, but she wasn't having any part of it. There was a fight, and the police were called. We left.

The next day, the women blocked traffic at the mine gate. Everyone had bats, but no one used them. We didn't hurt anyone. That's when Babbitt sent the DPS of-

Continued on ISR/8

Phelps Dodge pits women against unions

BY KAREN KOPPERUD

Phelps Dodge Corp., the largest producer of copper in Arizona, is trying to organize women to oppose the strike by copper miners who work at its Arizona and Texas operations. They are doing this to counteract the very visible and effective role that pro-union women are playing in support of the strike being conducted by 13 unions. Women miners — many of whom are Chicanas and Native Americans — are central to staffing the strike headquarters. Women's auxiliaries organize and dispense financial aid to the hard-pressed miners. They have provided money for food, rent, utilities, school books, medicine — all things that people need. They organize raffles, dances, foodbanks, and softball games to keep the strikers together and to keep up morale.

Most of the members of Citizens for Justice, a group that is rallying public support for the strike, are women.

Many of the pro-union letters that fill the pages of the local papers in the mining towns are also written by women.

However, the August 10 *Copper Era* published in Clifton-Morenci carried a letter signed by three women announcing the formation of WOW: Wives of Workers. They describe it as a "women's support group."

"We are those who have chosen to remain on our own jobs to support our families," they write. "Phelps Dodge is a great company to work for and in these economic conditions we would be happy to take a few cuts in wages and benefits in order to keep our company alive."

The letter is full of charges against the strikers: "A convoy of hundreds of cars driving the streets each night after dark, throwing rocks and shooting guns through our windows"; "strikers carrying clubs and firearms to the picket lines"; and "We are concerned that the violence and hysteria of the strikers seems to be increasing daily."

It also contains threats: "I don't know how long we will be able to hold out and control the urge to fight back when our local law enforcement officers sit by and do nothing while crimes are committed. Phelps Dodge had to call in additional help from outside our area to assist the local officers." This was 10 days before Phelps

Continued on ISR/8

Marxist view of struggle to end antiwoman violence

Continued from ISR/4

ing attitudes and practice on this question.

Our expectations of President Reagan's newly appointed Commission on Family Violence are justifiably lower.

Confronting the rape issue

We're politically confronted by the question of rape more and more as women and supporters of women's rights raise it. We should not shy away from this issue, but rather recognize that it is a strength of the women's movement and the working class that this question can be openly discussed and put in a political context.

It's no longer the case that rape is primarily used to frame-up Blacks and to divide the workers. It is still used that way, and we do not change our stand on that one inch. This remains a potentially very divisive issue.

We oppose the racist campaign some chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW) and others are conducting against Chicago Bulls basketball star Quintin Dailey. He was charged with rape. This campaign is racist, not because Dailey is Black, but because its axis depicts Dailey as a Black stud who rapes women. This has nothing to do with defending women's rights.

Anything that promotes racism hurts the cause of women's equality. Identification of the women's movement with any aspect of racism is anathema to it, making it impossible to win women of the oppressed nationalities and needed support from among Blacks, Latinos, and other oppressed nationalities. The women's movement must repudiate this campaign.

Enforce antirape laws?

But should progressive forces demand that antirape laws be enforced? Won't this inevitably mean that they will be used to frame-up workers? Is it legitimate to support legal reforms of rape statutes that broaden the definition of rape? Should there be a ban on questions about a rape victim's sex life? Should she be required to produce witnesses?

First, we must be clear that how rape laws, or any laws, are used is a matter of the relationship of class

forces involved. It's not a simple matter of what ink is on the books, though we are not indifferent to legislative matters, of course. Today public opinion is shifting against sexist violence. It's reflected in some progressive legal reforms that help women rape victims.

We favor removing from the law books statutes that make the woman victim into the criminal. Rape is the only crime in which the victim has to first prove she is not guilty. Perhaps she was wearing a provocative dress? In the Victorian era of the 19th century, provocative dress was anything that exposed the female ankle to public view. But women's dress does not cause rape.

It is an historical advance that rape is now illegal, which it wasn't always. There is now a struggle to broaden the legal definition of rape to make it a crime to rape your wife and it has become so in many states. Socialists support knocking down reactionary family legislation that leaves women legally unprotected from their husbands.

It was clearly an advance for the entire working class when it became illegal to rape Black women, which was not until after the Civil War. But antirape laws are rarely enforced today when the victim is a sister of an oppressed nationality. The Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund in San Antonio, Texas, demands equal enforcement of antirape statutes as part of its antiracist and women's rights work. This is only just and we solidize 100 percent with this sentiment.

How to fight rape

Why shouldn't antirape laws be enforced? Some argue they should not because you can't stop rape, anyway, so enforcing the laws is futile and, worse, strengthens reaction and the capitalist state.

Such argumentation could hardly be confined to rape laws. Should laws not be enforced against killer cops, Klan terrorists, or scabs who attack union pickets? Should they not be prosecuted to the full extent of the law — because to throw them behind bars would strengthen the capitalist state; or that this will just occur again anyway? Of course not. Carrying out such prosecutions, under pressure from a mass movement or public opinion does not strengthen the capitalist state. It strengthens the

working class when the employers' government is made to enforce its own laws in such cases.

Perhaps enforcing any laws strengthens the capitalist state? Should we demand decriminalizing murder? Should we fight for fewer laws, a smaller state, its dismantling? To answer yes tends in an anarchist direction.

Or is rape so widespread there's no point in trying to enforce the laws against it and stop it?

But one reason it's so widespread, and not the least reason either, is precisely that the laws against it are not enforced. Enforcement of laws against rape would also help ideologically by changing it into a real crime and not something that is disapproved of but winked at, or used as an excuse to blame women.

Is rape so widespread because it really is an uncontrollable sexual outburst? Does its prevalence show, after all, how unhealthy and futile sexual repression is? But no. Studies show rapes are often premeditated; they are acts of violence using sex as a weapon. The rapist's emotion is not erotic passion; but rather misogyny — hatred of women — is often the strongest emotion involved. Victims are young, elderly, healthy, handicapped — all women.

For that matter, so far as rape has anything to do with sex, it is sexual activity that must be repressed along with the sexual abuse of children and homosexual rape.

Socialists do not advocate reliance on the capitalist state as the political force to defend women in this or anything else. We favor and participate in building a massive, powerful, fighting women's liberation movement, heavily working class — meaning Black and Latina as well as white — in leadership and ranks. This is the force to look to to defend and advance women's rights.

Such a movement must ally with labor and the movements and organizations of the oppressed nationalities whose interests are in harmony with it. Politically women, and their allies, must look not to the capitalist class, but to the working class, their own united strength.

The fact that the question of sexist violence is a public issue and no longer simply a secret and lonely ordeal for women today is due to the rekindling of a feminist movement in this country less than 20 years ago. This is the only reason. And it points in the direction we must go.

Phelps Dodge tries to pit women against strikers

Continued from ISR/7

Dodge called in 800 National Guardsmen and state police with helicopters and armored personnel carriers to help them bring in scabs to their Morenci operation.

Bitter divisions

The WOW group meets regularly at the company-owned Morenci club.

In a town that has been bitterly divided by Phelps Dodge's union-busting drive, a Wives of Workers news release printed in the September 7 *Copper Era* described their activities in these terms: "The group, which started out as a support group for wives of workers, has decided to continue as a group for the betterment of the community. Business discussion included . . . formation of a welcoming committee for new families moving into the community and a get-acquainted dinner for new workers."

The "new workers" referred to are scabs who have been brought into the area by the company to help break the unions and wipe out everything the working people of these towns have fought for over a hundred-year period.

Women miners speak

Continued from ISR/7

ficers up here. Six cars pulled up and each driver got out with an M16. Not one of us had any weapons except for the bats. It was ridiculous. Later that morning, while we were on our way to the union hall, we were stopped and I was arrested. I wasn't arraigned until the next day because they said they couldn't do the paper work. So I wasn't released until the next morning.

Militant: Have you been terminated from Phelps Dodge?

Ramon: Yes, I received a suspension letter for strike misconduct on August 10. A few days later I received a termination notice for blocking the mine-gate traffic. But there was no traffic. The gates we were supposedly blocking were locked and chained. Nobody went through there or even attempted to.

I know the unions are going to win. Maybe I won't get my job back, but to me it's worth it.

The "new families" may be moving into housing made vacant by evictions of strikers by Phelps Dodge. Many of those facing eviction have lived in these towns for three or four generations.

The get-acquainted dinner was scheduled for September 12 and both Phelps Dodge management and workers were invited.

WOW has made much of its "lady-like" character and its profound respect for law and order. "[We] are working within the limits of the law in our actions." They contrast this to their version of the strikers' conduct. In a letter in the August 17 *Copper Era*, signed only "Wives and workers in support of P-D," they say strikers are like "an angry animal ready to destroy what's left of Morenci."

Phelps Dodge recognizes that the support of women is crucial to the outcome of this strike. That's why they are trying to organize a counterforce to the women's auxiliary and Citizens for Justice. That's why the pro-company letters, most unsigned, talk about scabs "supporting their families" through honest toil.

The company's approach in fact has not changed a great deal from 1917. Then Phelps Dodge smashed a strike of copper miners in Bisbee, Arizona, by organizing vigilantes to deport strikers to the New Mexico desert — all in the name of "defending the honor of our white women."

It is unlikely that Phelps Dodge's women's organization will gather much support in the copper towns. Working people — especially women — in these towns have long memories and a lot of experience with Phelps Dodge's real attitude toward them.

Women in mines

The reality is women gained access to jobs in the mines because in 1968-69 women and the unions fought and won a lawsuit that forced Phelps Dodge to hire women into the mines and smelters. In the last 10 years a core of women have managed to fight their way into these jobs. Even after the court victory most women had their applications on file for two and three years before they managed to squeeze in the door.

It was the unions that made the company provide locker rooms for women employees in Ajo in 1974. They were given the old "Mexican" locker room after the struggles of *mexicanos*, Chicanos, and the unions ended the Jim Crow segregation that still existed in the mining

towns until the 1960s and early '70s. The union negotiated to bring both locker rooms up to federal sanitary standards.

The unions have fought for the grievances filed against the company by women who experience discrimination and sexual harassment by foremen.

They have also negotiated for portable toilets in the open-pit mines so that both men and women could work there with some dignity.

One way women have made their position clear is in letters to the editor of local papers. Angela P. Alzillar, wife of a retired Steelworker, wrote in the September 7 *Copper Era*, "to allow your children and wives to fight for your cause is not to teach them hate, but the price that freedom costs."

Fina Roman, in a September 7 letter commenting on the first Citizens for Justice demonstration, said, "On Wednesday, August 31, women who are strikers, wives of strikers, and supporters of the strike, demonstrated peacefully, obeying the company's amended injunction [limiting picketing]. Will there now be an amendment to the amendment? Will the judge continue adding amendments until finally every constitutional right is taken away from the strikers?"

"The absence of men at Wednesday's demonstration was not an indication that women have taken the men's place, but rather a reinforcement of support for their men. Unlike some women in a neighboring county who believe that they belong at home, these women believe their place is at their men's side in defense of their principles and the rights that affect future generations."

Women who support the strike have been observing the activities of WOW with some amusement. They report that about 25 to 30 women attend these meetings, including some female relatives of management personnel. One meeting was addressed by two preachers who counseled reconciliation and neighborly love. "On the company's terms!" was the comment of one woman strike supporter.

WOW's September 19 get-acquainted potluck dinner was canceled. Some speculate it was because striking unions called a joint meeting on that same night. Over 1,000 cheering, militant unionists and their supporters met with representatives of their negotiating committee and heard them pledge to continue the strike until victory.

Marroquin takes asylum fight to Kansas City

Gains new support from unionists

BY KATHIE FITZGERALD

KANSAS CITY — Héctor Marroquin brought his fight for political asylum here September 10-14. Marroquin fled government repression in Mexico nine years ago. Coming to the United States and seeing the conditions faced by working people, especially undocumented workers, Marroquin became an activist in the labor movement and joined the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

For his political activities, the U.S. government has ordered him deported. His appeal of the deportation order against him is presently before the U.S. Supreme Court. A decision is expected some time this fall.

Marroquin's visit here coincided with a local celebration of Mexican Independence Day. When members of El Centro, the local Latino organization sponsoring the event learned of his visit, they invited him to be part of the program.

Marroquin was introduced to the audience of more than 300 by Richard Ruiz, a leader of El Centro and a member of the city council in Kansas City, Kansas. Ruiz told the meeting that "We have an important guest speaker, a Mexican political activist fighting for political asylum in the United States."

Following his talk, Marroquin was introduced to Fred Sánchez, a county legislator who immediately endorsed Marroquin's bid for asylum.

Marroquin also participated in meetings at Loretta High School, Catholic High School, and St. Mark's Church.

Important new support for Marroquin came from the labor movement. While in Kansas City Marroquin brought his case to both rank-and-file unionists and labor officials. He visited two area plants, Colgate-Palmolive and Procter & Gamble, at shift change time. Procter & Gamble is organized by the Steelworkers union, the only union plant in the corporation's gigantic holdings. For several years the company has tried to break the union by various means and the AFL-CIO has responded with a national boycott of its products. Because of their own experiences, many workers at Procter & Gamble support others fighting injustice.

Socialist auto workers who sell the *Militant* at the company have been bringing information on Héctor's case there for some time. Last July when Marroquin was threatened with imminent deportation, 12 workers from Procter & Gamble signed a telegram to the INS in protest.

So, many workers were anxious to meet Héctor himself. Worker after worker coming into the plant shook his hand and held brief discussions with him. Many also reached into their pockets to give financial contributions. Another 10 workers signed the petition for political asylum.

That same day, Lillian McKittrick, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Midwest Regional Coordinator, was asked to endorse his defense. She answered that of course she would endorse because the ILGWU "is a union of immigrants." She made a generous financial contribution and offered to contact national leaders of the ILGWU to bring Marroquin's case to their attention.

Haitians, others pledge solidarity at defense rally

BY MARTY PETTIT

KANSAS CITY — The 100 people attending a Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) rally here September 11 in defense of Héctor Marroquin burst into applause as rally chairperson Norma Hill opened the rally saying, "The eleven Haitian refugees in Kansas City asked that I pledge to you their solidarity in your struggle."

Hill is the Kansas City chairperson of the National Black Independent Political Party and the Association of Black Social Workers. She has been very active in defense of Haitian refugees.

Those in attendance were representative of Kansas City's Black and Latino communities, the labor movement, and key activists who had helped build the August 27 March for jobs, peace, and freedom here.

Judy Taylor, chairperson of the Shaw-



Militant/Izabella Listopad

Héctor Marroquin, at Kansas City rally organized by Political Rights Defense Fund, explains that U.S. government seeks to deport him for his Marxist views to Mexico, where he faces persecution on frame-up charges.

nee Mission chapter of the National Education Association (NEA) representing locally 170,000 teachers and school staff, explained that her organization has pledged its support since 1978. Taylor read from a recent letter to the Immigration and Naturalization Service written by Willard McGuire on behalf of the national NEA.

Sister Beatrice Zapata representing the Sanctuary House for Guatemalan Refugees in Concordia, Kansas, explained how her church combines sanctuary for individual families with a philosophy of protest. "The Refugee Act of 1980 states that anyone with a well-founded fear of prosecution can apply for political asylum. But this is not true. We can see that political asylum is clearly based on foreign policy."

Rebecca Cramer of the Latin American Solidarity Committee offered the solidarity of her group. She explained the case of Father Roy Bourgeois and three other activists who have been jailed in the Muscogee County Jail in Georgia for distributing antiwar information on the army base in Ft. Benning, Georgia. This is the base that is training Salvadoran troops.

Rene Garcia, a zone committeeman in United Auto Workers Local 31 in Kansas City, Kansas, explained how he became involved in the Marroquin case. "Earlier this year a co-auto worker gave me literature on Héctor. At first I was unsure I could help since he was a socialist. Then I went to the UAW convention and met Héctor and realized that you've got a brother in trouble and you've got to do something about it. Héctor seems to be popping up everywhere and he seems to have a lot of support. Our unions are going through a lot of struggle and are pretty well being destroyed. There are many people not informed: at one point you weren't either. I have a new-found commitment and am at your service."

During his talk Rev. Sam Mann, second vice-president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), in Kansas City, Missouri, turned to Marroquin and declared, "You are an alien in this country. As long as you are an alien, I am an alien."

"As long as we experience poverty and oppression, we can't be at home in America. My house is your house."

Rev. Nelson "Fuzzy" Thompson, cochairperson of the August 27 demonstration and the president of the Kansas City, Kansas, chapter of SCLC, noted that many of those at the rally were key to the success of the August 27 march.

Robert Reeds, executive director of the Greater Kansas City Labor Council, also was present. He invited Marroquin to address that body, which he did on September 13.

The final speaker was Marroquin. He pointed out that of hundreds of thousands of Salvadoran refugees in the United States only 50 have been granted political asylum, and those are cases of military officers who disagree within the military. "What is at stake is not just my freedom and security but the freedom of thousands of refugees," he said.

The rally was the most successful event PRDF has held here to date. It showed the growing labor support for Marroquin. Also \$375 was collected for the defense effort.

Cincinnati teachers hear Marroquin

BY RACHEL KNAPIK

CINCINNATI — Héctor Marroquin received a warm response here from the 125 members of the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, (CFT), AFL-CIO, attending the first union meeting of the new school year.

Marroquin was invited to address the September 22 meeting by the union's Human Rights Committee, which had previously endorsed his fight for political asylum in 1978.

After reviewing the current stage of his struggle for political asylum, Marroquin thanked the teachers for their long-standing support. CFT President Tom Mooney declared, "The CFT reaffirms its support for Marroquin, as it has since 1978." A collection was taken and a petition to Immigration and Naturalization Service Commissioner Allen Nelson was circulated.

While in Cincinnati, Marroquin spoke at a public meeting sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support and raising funds for his case.

Joining Marroquin in speaking at the public meeting was Pío Celestino from Casa del Pueblo in Dayton. He declared, "Marroquin is the embodiment of the tragedy of refugees, whether from El Salvador, Mexico, or Peru." Calling on the leadership of the unions to take up the cause of refugees and undocumented workers as a matter of principle, Celestino expressed his "hope for a world in which people don't have to flee from countries they love for fear of persecution."

Also speaking were the Rev. Maurice McCrackin, a long-time peace and civil rights advocate, and Betty Jean Carroll, a senior vice-president of the American Fed-

eration of Government Employees (AFGE) union at nearby Wright Patterson Air Force Base.

McCrackin referred to the recent August 27 jobs, peace, and freedom march in Washington as a "great experience" and urged those in attendance "to draw on the reservoir of courage of such people as Héctor Marroquin."

Carroll explained that her union, AFGE, has a formal position against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, and that the military brass had tried to fire her for advocating that position.

After she appeared at a legal, peaceful demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador at Wright Patterson Air Force Base, the brass brought charges against her. She was cited under the same law against "disrupting government activity" that Reagan used to fire the air traffic controllers union workers. Recently the charges against Carroll were dropped. The government failed to get her fired.

Carroll explained how she was told before coming to the meeting that her job could be in jeopardy for speaking out in support of political asylum for Marroquin. But, "That didn't stop me either!" she exclaimed.

Messages of solidarity were read from the Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Jackie Rubio, co-coordinator of the Central American Task Force, and Neze B. Tate, president of the Cincinnati chapter of the A. Philip Randolph Institute.

In his brief stay in Cincinnati, Marroquin also spoke on WAIF, an FM radio station, and was interviewed by the *Cincinnati Enquirer*.

Nearly \$250 was raised by the Political Rights Defense Fund to pay the legal costs of Marroquin's fight for political asylum.

INS on defensive in N.Y. TV show

NEWARK — As the Héctor Marroquin case gathers support around the country, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is increasingly being put on the defensive as it tries to justify its position denying Marroquin political asylum.

This was shown here when the news program, "Nine on New Jersey," interviewed both Marroquin and James Pomeroy, district director of the INS in Newark, which has jurisdiction over the case. The interview was broadcast three times on September 22 and 24 on WOR-TV, which is seen throughout the New York City and Newark area. In a previous program by another local news station, the INS had refused to be interviewed.

Pomeroy claimed that politics had nothing to do with the INS' rejection of Marro-

quin's appeal for political asylum, that he had simply failed to show a "well-founded fear of persecution." The film immediately cut to newspaper pictures of the 1968 massacre in Mexico in which hundreds were killed, and to Marroquin's statement that two of his friends had been killed by the police for their political activities.

Pomeroy, however, continued to insist that Marroquin was not being tried for his political beliefs. He said, "I'm certain that there are a lot of Marxists who have received political asylum, and that's why we are the United States." He failed, however, to name any of these individuals, and neglected to mention that the INS lawyer who prosecuted the Marroquin case in 1979 had said bluntly that the United States doesn't grant asylum to Marxists.

PRDF Political Rights Defense Fund

You can help . . .

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

Send copies of messages and requests for information to the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing Marroquin'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 Marroquin defense.

Big opportunities for forging fighting women's movement

Continued from front page

endorsement of women's rights slogans and speeches, points to a new layer of women coming to the fore who are increasingly conscious of their oppression as women and who want to fight against that oppression. In this respect, August 27 is not unique. In many union struggles, women, especially those of the oppressed nationalities, are emerging as leaders.

Chicanas and Native American and white women are helping to lead the copper miners strike in Arizona (see stories on page 15). Women are active both as copper miners and in the indispensable Women's Auxiliary that has been set up to support the strike and to counter company efforts to turn women against the unions.

Women were prominent on the picket lines and demonstrations during the August national telephone workers strike.

Women coal miners are involved in a myriad of struggles against sexual harassment and discrimination on the job and in hiring. The United Mine Workers of America is supporting the efforts of its female members, recognizing that their militancy has strengthened the entire union.

The recent convention of the United Farm Workers heard a report on the terrible working conditions women face in the fields, including sexual harassment. The predominantly Latino delegates adopted

are forced to fight, arms in hand, against U.S.-backed terrorists.

Their advances are a particular source of inspiration to thousands of women in this country, who have joined in demonstrating against U.S. intervention in Central America and against the U.S. military buildup, including the nuclear arsenal.

In each of these examples, the women involved see themselves not only as unionists, Blacks, Latinos, or national liberation fighters. They also see themselves as women taking on women's problems. Affirmative action, sexual harassment, child care, and other issues of special concern to women are involved in many of the struggles that are being waged.

These vanguard women are pointing the way forward for all women. They are leading fights for women's rights. And in the process they are demonstrating their capabilities as fighters.

These women are providing a glimpse of the new women's liberation movement that can and will be built. A movement that will include millions of women miners, farm workers, and telephone workers. A movement that will successfully unite women across race lines in order to fight for their mutual needs as women.

National NOW conference

This is the setting in which the national conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) takes place, from September 30-October 2 in Washington, D.C. It is a good backdrop for discussing how NOW can further advance the fight for women's rights, and build itself as a powerful feminist organization that includes large numbers of Black, Latina, and white working-class women.

NOW has taken an important — and historic — first step in opening the door to this kind of transformation of NOW and the women's rights movement by actively building the August 27 march on Washington.

NOW president Judy Goldsmith conducted a speaking tour with Coretta Scott King and other civil rights leaders to publicize the action. NOW had a sizeable contingent on August 27 and has continued to be part of the new Coalition of Conscience, which initiated the march.

The key task before this NOW conference is drawing the lessons from this positive experience in order to figure out the next steps to organize women into an effective political force to fight for our rights.

Alliances

August 27 confirmed who women's allies are: the Black movement, unionists, antiwar activists, and fighters for Latino rights. Placards with women's rights slogans were carried by thousands of women and men — from Black sororities to unions like the International Ladies' Garment Workers' to opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America.

The basis for this alliance is that Blacks, women, and all working people are exploited and oppressed by the tiny ruling-rich minority.

August 27 also illustrated the recognition by the Black and labor movements of the important place the women's rights struggle occupies in the fight for jobs, peace, and freedom.

Speakers at the rally hailed the presence of organized women's rights activists at the march and welcomed this new battalion of rights fighters.

This recognition, in turn, should inspire feminists to take new steps forward, knowing we are not alone.

An unprecedented opportunity for NOW and the entire women's rights movement has opened up. This is the opportunity to build a truly multinational mass women's rights organization.

This goal has long been a pressing concern for many NOW members, who recognize that the tiny number of workers and Blacks currently in NOW stands in contradiction to the potential to win women from these sectors to a feminist organization.

The 1982 conference passed a resolution calling on NOW to get more involved in is-

suces that particularly affect minority women as a way to recruit more of these women to NOW.

This was also a big topic of discussion at the NOW regional and state conferences this year.

It was in this spirit that many NOW activists helped build August 27.

And August 27 demonstrated that there are literally thousands of Latinas and Black women who would join a fighting women's liberation organization.

That's because these women suffer the most from sexism.

They are the special targets of sexual harassment on the job and sexist violence of all types. They are doubly discriminated against in hiring, training, promotions, and layoffs. They suffer the most when abortion is illegal or unavailable. They have the least access to child care.

These doubly oppressed sisters are the ones who need NOW the most. They would be among its best recruiters and builders. They have the most to gain from every advance in the status of women.

Starting point

How can we attract working-class fighters, especially Blacks and Latinas, to NOW?

The starting point is to champion the needs and concerns of working-class women, including those who are also targets of racism.

This does not mean taking NOW's focus off the fight for women's rights. In fact, precisely the opposite is the task.

The harder NOW fights around the key questions of women's rights — defense of abortion rights, ERA ratification, for equal pay, against sexual harassment, for government-funded daycare — the more it will be able to attract the majority of women, for whom these issues are life-and-death matters.

Included in this approach must be staunch opposition to U.S. military intervention in Central America and Lebanon. Women pay for those wars — through cutbacks, through sacrificing their sons and daughters as cannon-fodder, and through the blows they suffer as the rulers use the war abroad to crack down on democratic rights at home.

In Central America the U.S. imperialists are backing the forces of reaction against those who want to end decades of misery and oppression — including of women — like the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and the rebels in El Salvador.

A good beginning has been made on this front by NOW activists as well.

Four of NOW's 1983 regional conferences adopted resolutions against U.S. intervention in Central America: the Northeast, Southwest, Southeast, and Midwest conferences. So did some state conferences.

In addition, sisters from Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala attended some of



Militant

Through uncompromising fight for women's needs, National Organization for Women can win Blacks and unionists to its ranks.

the conferences to get out the truth about what is happening in their countries, and to appeal for solidarity from the feminist movement here.

Need to break with capitalist parties

What is the source of the problems that prompted the organization of August 27 and the stepped-up struggles by Blacks, unionists, women, and others?

Many people say that the problem is Reagan. The solution to Reagan, they say, is to elect a Democrat in 1984. Even if the Democrat isn't perfect, he's got to be better than Reagan.

But this is a mistaken way of looking at politics. The attacks on women and working people are not the result of evil individuals or the Republican administration per se.

They stem from a clash of class interests, in which the Republicans and Democrats jointly represent the interests of the capitalist class that owns the corporations and banks against the interests of workers, women, oppressed nationalities, and family farmers.

There are tactical differences between the Democrats and Republicans. But what they agree on — defense of the interests of the employing class — is more important than their narrow range of differences.

That's why U.S. military interventions in Lebanon and Central America are escalated with bipartisan votes. Democrats and Republicans together cut social services, and government funding for abortions.

That's why we need a new government, a government of workers and farmers. A government that will mobilize working people to put an end to the private profit system.

To get that, we can't keep following the Democrats. We have to break out of the two-party shell game. The coalition of forces that came together around August 27 shows the potential for launching political action independent of the two ruling parties; for running independent Black, labor, and Latino candidates, for forming an independent Black political party. Steps such as these can lay the basis for building a labor party rooted in the trade union movement — the largest, potentially most powerful organized movement that exists in this country.

An insurgent women's rights movement, which includes many working-class women in its ranks, will make an important contribution to helping other victims of this system find their way toward independent working-class political action.



Like women in other industries, women coal miners are playing leading role in union struggles and battle for equality.

resolutions demanding ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and mandating the union to actively recruit women and involve them in the union.

Among rural women, a new organization of fighters has been announced. The Red Bandanna Brigade, which is associated with the North American Farm Alliance, has as its goal bringing women leaders forward in the farmers movement.

International struggles

Important struggles for women's equality are also taking place in other countries.

In Canada, women have organized a national fight to defend abortion clinics, which operate in defiance of that country's restrictive abortion laws. The labor movement there has gotten behind this campaign, whose outcome will have an impact on the status of reproductive rights in the United States.

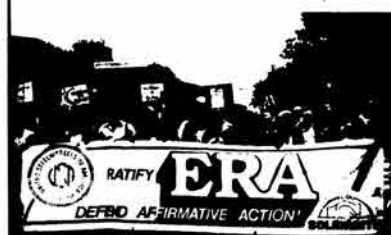
The most important battles are those being fought in Central America.

Women in El Salvador, victims of that brutal U.S.-backed dictatorship, are deeply involved in the rebel-led struggle to free that country from the grip of U.S. big business.

And our sisters in Nicaragua continue to make advances in child care, equal opportunities, and the eradication of prostitution, illiteracy, and unemployment while they

Reagan's War on Women's Rights

A Strategy to Fight Back



by Margaret Jayko

38 pp., \$.95

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

Should we fight to join Reagan war commission?

Should feminist fighters demand that women be included on the National Bipartisan Commission on Central America, headed by Henry Kissinger? Would including women be another step toward both women's equality and peace in Central America?

These questions go to the heart of the goals of the women's liberation movement, and the relationship be-



WOMEN IN REVOLT

Margaret Jayko

tween the fight for women's equality and U.S. imperialist intervention in Central America.

The editorial page of both the July 22 *New York Times* and the September/October *National NOW Times* (NNT), newspaper of the National Organization for Women (NOW), protested that no women were appointed to this commission. The commission was established in mid-July.

Both commentaries imply that it would be an advance for women — and peace — if women were included.

The NNT editorial takes as its starting point Reagan's recent statement: "If it wasn't for women, us men would still be walking around in skin suits carrying clubs." The NNT explains why women found this statement so offensive.

Included in this explanation is the following sarcastic question: "If we're such a civilizing influence and so morally superior, why aren't any of us on the National Commission on Central America, which will directly im-

pact our policies relating to that area, including the possibility of military involvement?"

NOW president Judy Goldsmith also pointed to the absence of women on the commission, saying that "Women must be centrally involved at every decision-making level in government."

But the problem with this commission is not its gender — that simply reflects the nature of the ruling class in this racist, sexist, class-divided society. The problem is the *class interests* this commission represents — interests which are an obstacle to the struggle for women's freedom.

The creation of this commission was another step in Washington's relentless drive toward full-scale war against the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions. On July 16, two days before Reagan announced the commission's formation, a White House policy paper was leaked that proposed forming the commission as a means of advancing U.S. military involvement in Central America.

"The present U.S. policy faces substantial opposition at home and abroad; an increased effort would have to surmount even greater opposition," warned the paper.

According to the document, Pentagon officials said, "the chances of failure are high" if the U.S. war "is hobbled and trimmed" by opposition at home.

The problem for the ruling class is the deep-seated opposition among the majority of women, Blacks, Latinos, farmers, and all working people to Washington's burgeoning Vietnam in Central America.

The commission's job is to further unify the ruling class and its two parties, the Democrats and Republicans, behind the war drive, to stifle as much as possible the tactical debates among them over how to best prosecute the war.

With unity in their ranks, the rulers plan to push through war moves regardless of the antiwar sentiments

of working people. Even while the commission has been deliberating these last two months, U.S. intervention in that region has escalated.

Women in the United States are among the *victims* of this war.

Social services we depend on are cut back in order to finance it. The anticommunist, prowar propaganda campaign fuels other reactionary prejudices, including anti-woman ideas. And the target of U.S. military assaults on Nicaragua is a government that stands for child care, equal pay, and human dignity for women. The Salvadoran rebels are also fighting for a society that will advance women's rights.

AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland is on this commission, supposedly representing the interests of labor. But he's really helping the employer class, which uses his presence to pretend that working people back U.S. policy.

Women don't need a feminist equivalent of Lane Kirkland to help the ruling class pretend that most women are for the U.S.-perpetrated slaughter in Central America.

Anyway, there already *is* a woman on the commission — United Nations representative Jeane Kirkpatrick is Reagan's representative on the panel. But the presence of that war-monger only serves to underline the fact that the problem is the commission's purpose and not its sexual composition.

In fact, building a fighting women's liberation movement is incompatible with promoting Washington's use of force to protect corporate profits — including collaborating in such government commissions.

Just as most feminists said no, women should not fight for the "right" to be drafted along with men, but instead should fight against the draft itself; women should now demand a total end to U.S. intervention in Central America and Lebanon.

U.S. Asian communities protest racist violence

BY MILTON CHEE

Asian-Americans and Asians in this country are organizing to combat stepped-up anti-Asian violence.

The best-known recent case of violence against Asians is the beating to death of Vincent Chin, a Chinese-American, by an unemployed Chrysler foreman and his stepson in Detroit in June 1982. The movement to demand

AS I SEE IT

justice for Chin is the most visible so far of Asians organizing against such violence.

Other acts of violence against Asians have also occurred. The murder of Thong Hy Huynh, a 17-year-old Vietnamese student, is one.

Huynh was killed May 4 by James Pierman, 16, also a student at Davis High School at Davis, California. Pierman, who is described by some who knew him as a bully, killed Huynh with a 12-inch diving knife. He had a hatchet, metal baseball bat, and a bullwhip in his car.

Pierman had five previous arrests, including for battery. Three weeks prior to Huynh's murder, Pierman and other white students threw footballs at — not to — the four Vietnamese students at Davis.

The white gang surrounded the Vietnamese and threatened them. After the Vietnamese picked up sticks to defend themselves, the whites backed off.

The day of Huynh's burial, anti-Asian leaflets were passed out at Davis High and the formation of a "White

Students Union" was announced. Its founder was quoted in the *Sacramento Bee* as calling Pierman "an inspiration to white students everywhere."

Similar racist leaflets appeared in the San Francisco Bay Area, including near some Asian restaurants.

Other racist violence against Asians includes:

- A Vietnamese mother shot and killed in June in Los Angeles by a bullet fired through her kitchen window.
- A 10-year-old Kampuchean shot and wounded in May in Houston while on her way to school.
- A cross-burning on the lawn of a Filipino family in Fremont, California.

- Numerous threats and destruction of property against Vietnamese and Chinese in North Sacramento, California.

- Attacks on Vietnamese fishermen in Texas and California, including by the Ku Klux Klan.

In response to these attacks, coalitions and committees are being formed in cities with Asian communities. In June the Coalition of Asians for Equal Rights was formed in Sacramento.

Diane Tomoda, a member of the coalition, said of Huynh's murder:

"His death has happened in a time of growing racial hysteria which targets and scapegoats Asian and other Third World immigrants for the unemployment and economic problems of this country."

A number of actions protesting Chin's murder, and the light sentences (fines of \$3,000) to his killers, have taken place in different cities including Detroit and New York as well as the Bay Area.

In New York one Chin protest included members of Local 23-25 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU), a union with many Chinese and other Asian members. The ILGWU, like other unions, opposes imports, including those from China. This is in contradiction to its support for justice for Vincent Chin, which is an example of multiracial, internationalist working-class solidarity.

At a San Francisco rally, George Wong of the Asian-American Federation of Union Members said: "We should point the finger for Chin's death at the corporate heads and politicians, who try to shift the blame for today's unemployment on Japanese imports and foreign competition."

That's exactly right.

The Chin protests have also been joined by Blacks and Latinos, who see correctly that they too are threatened by attacks on another racial minority.

Some officials and former officials of the United Auto Workers union, which also echoes the employers' anti-import campaign, have nevertheless spoken out for justice for Chin.

Anti-Asian violence must also be seen as part of the ruling class's war drive, which seeks now, just as in Vietnam, to divide the working class by inciting racism. Refugees from southeast Asia, many of whom came here to escape the progressive social revolutions in their countries, thought they would find a better life here. But they now find themselves victims of the racist propaganda used by the U.S. ruling class in opposing those revolutions.

Oxfam forum hears Nicaraguan officials

BY MARK SCHNEIDER

BOSTON — At a meeting here September 20, four representatives of the Nicaraguan government and Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) denounced the ongoing aggression against Nicaragua directed by the Reagan Administration.

"There is no way a fraction of the old National Guard can defeat us when the full guard could not maintain itself in power," declared Antonio Jarquin, Nicaraguan ambassador to the United States. Jarquin went on to explain that "a Vietnam could occur before the people of the United States know what's happening."

"Because we are an armed people, the Honduran Army cannot defeat us either. But if that stage is reached, it would be easier for troops outside the region to intervene. We have discovered a plan in which *contras* [counterrevolutionaries] disguised as Sandinistas commit an atrocity in Honduras, thus provoking a wider war. A trap is set for us. Despite these provocations we

have not fallen into their trap. We will not invade Honduras. If you read one day in the paper that this happened, it is a lie."

The meeting, held in the historic Arlington Street Church, was initiated by Oxfam America. Harvard University had invited another group of Nicaraguans representing the Council of State to attend seminars and participate in a dialogue on the political structure of the United States. The Nicaraguans agreed to the visit, but at the last moment were denied a visa by the Reagan administration. The irony of this lesson in American "democracy" was noted by several speakers.

The Nicaraguans who did speak were already in the country and filled in for those who were banned. Besides Ambassador Jarquin, they included: Francisco Campbell, first secretary of the Nicaraguan Embassy; Maria Lourdes Vargas, legal adviser to the Council of State; and Leonel Espinoza, member of the Sandinista Assembly and director of political education for the FSLN.

Prominent North American intellectuals and peace activists welcomed the delegation to Boston. Greetings were delivered by Joe Short, director of Oxfam America; Ruth Hubbard, Harvard biology professor; Harvey Cox of the Harvard Divinity School; and Nobel Laureate George Wald. All had visited Nicaragua and contrasted the hospitality shown them by the Nicaraguan government with the visa denial by Washington. "I see no reason to regard Vietnam, Cuba, or Nicaragua as enemies of the United States," declared Wald.

Ambassador Jarquin spoke briefly and most of the meeting took the form of a lively question-and-answer session. In response to a question on the elections scheduled for 1985, Maria Lourdes Vargas explained, "We are studying electoral systems in Western Europe and Latin America. We wanted to study the American system . . . the fact that we were denied a visa won't stop us. The only way I see that we will not have elections in 1985 is if Mr. Reagan invades us."

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410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Legal dep't — A federal judge ruled Holiday Inns is entitled to insurance claims arising from the 1975-76 fighting in Lebanon between Muslims and right-wing Christian Phalangists. The judge decided that what occurred was not a civil war — which would



Harry Ring

have disqualified the claim — but rather a "civil commotion."

Obviously comsymps — The White House receives more than 100 letters a day from school children expressing fear of nuclear war. Sen. Orrin Hatch charged they're being brainwashed by teachers. One student did praise administration war policy and received a personal thank-you note from the prez.

Stenchburger, anyone? — Rudolph Stanko operates meat processing plants in Denver and Gering, Nebraska. The operation

was spotlighted by NBC as processing diseased meat in filthy, rat-infested plants. Stanko sold 24 million pounds of hamburger meat to school lunch programs last year, and also services jails and mental institutions. He and his brother were convicted of a felony for the condition of their Nebraska plant, copped a plea, and drew five years probation.

Not to worry — We don't mean to add to your list of concerns, but in Oak Ridge, Tennessee, where nuclear warhead parts are made, the bees are producing radioactive honey. Authorities assure, of course, it's only a slight

amount and no cause for alarm.

Like a little pregnancy — A United Airlines spokesperson discussing the leaks found in the line's life rafts said the leaks were very small.

Getting with it — For years vending machines in St. Louis' municipal offices were under the control of individual departments, with profits used for Xmas parties, flower funds, etc. Then someone figured out there was money in it, and bids were taken for a single supplier, with all profits going into the city trough. Meanwhile, natch, the price of soft drinks has gone up

and will go up further soon.

Just don't shoot it — A plastic telephone shaped like a decoy duck, and featuring a quacklike ring, is available for \$249.

Double-stemmed poinsettias — Philadelphia disposes of some 190 tons of dry sludge daily in exhausted strip mines in western Pennsylvania. Responding to local objections, an official said poinsettias are grown in a fertilizer including Philadelphia sewage. Meanwhile, independent analysis of the stuff evidenced the presence of herbicides, pesticides, arsenic, lead, mercury and cobalt.

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.

U.S. Marines Out of Lebanon. Speakers: Susan Mordechey, Israeli Peace Movement, Committee in Solidarity With the Palestinian People; Eli Shelala, Lebanese student, Committee in Solidarity With the Palestinian People; Sue Skinner, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 8, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

Oakland

What's Behind Reagan's Anti-Soviet Hysteria. Speakers: Brenda Sunoo, cochair, Korea Support Committee; Walter Turner, director, Africa Resource Center; Tony Ryan, staff, Nicaragua Information Center; Verónica Cruz, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 839-5316.

San Francisco

Desegregation in San Francisco — The Fight to Keep Drew School. A panel of Hunters Point parents and activists. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pat Wright for Mayor Campaign. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

Seaside

Attacks Against Working People: Why We Need Unions. Speakers: representatives of local area unions. Translation to Spanish. Sun.,

Oct. 2, 7 p.m. Seaside Public Library, 550 Harcourt. Ausp: Militant and Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (408) 394-1855.

FLORIDA

Miami

Puerto Rico: U.S. Colony in the Caribbean. Speaker: Pat O'Reilly, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Oct. 7, 8 p.m. 663 Martin Luther King Blvd. (NW 62nd St. at 7th Ave.). Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

See Sara Jean Johnston, Socialist Workers Candidate for Congress, on League of Women Voters' Live TV Debate. Sun., Oct. 16, 7 p.m. Channels 5, 11, and 2. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

INDIANA

Gary

A Black for President in 1984? Speakers: Marie Head, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1014; Andrew Pulley, 1980 SWP candidate for president. Fri., Oct. 7, 7:30 p.m. 3883 Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Marie Head for Mayor Campaign Committee. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Socialist Workers Party Mayoral Campaign Rally: Speakout Against War and Racism. Speakers: Eloise Linger, SWP candidate for mayor; Mohammed Oliver, staff writer for the *Militant*; Willieann Newberry, aunt of Elijah Pate; representative from the Committee for a Democratic Lebanon; others. Sat., Oct. 8; social hour, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30 p.m. Roxbury Community College—Massachusetts College of Art, cafeteria, Tower Bldg., 3rd fl, Huntington Ave. at Longwood Ave. Ausp: Student Government Association of Massachusetts College of Art. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

After August 27: How Can We Win Jobs, Peace, and Freedom? Speaker: Arlene Rubinstein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Kentucky. Sat., Oct. 8; reception, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. 809 E Broadway (near Shelby). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

U.S. Out of Lebanon. Speakers: Ishmael Ahmed, Arab Community Center; Bokeba Enjuente, National Black Independent Political Party; Talib Karim, DAWAH Institute; Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 1, 8 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

The Chrysler and Ford Rouge Contract — A Discussion on Which Way Forward. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

On Strike — Eyewitness Account of Arizona Copper Workers Strike. Speaker: Rich Stuart, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Oct. 1, 8 p.m.

508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

NEBRASKA

Lincoln

Anti-imports and Buy America Campaign: Will Tariffs Save Jobs? Speaker: Mike Carper, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 9, 7 p.m. Lincoln Indian Center, 1100 Military Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (402) 464-2565.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Militarism and the Decolonization Struggle in Puerto Rico. Speakers: representative of New York Committee in Support of Vieques; Roberto Kopec, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Oct. 7; Preforum dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey (cor. Raymond, one block from Broad St.). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum/Foro Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Albany

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

U.S. War Drive in Asia: Why Flight 007 was over USSR. Speaker: George Johnson, staff writer for the *Militant*, former correspondent in Asia. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Oct. 7, 7:30 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

Manhattan

Nicaragua and Central America: Saying "No" to Reagan's Wars. Speakers: Dr. Antonio Jarquín, Nicaraguan ambassador to the United States; others. Workshops and theater piece featuring poetry by Ernesto Cardenal. Sun. and Mon., Oct. 2-3. Riverside Church, 490 Riverside Dr. Registration: \$15. Ausp: Riverside Church Disarmament Program. For more information call (212) 222-5900.

OREGON

Portland

Oregon Unions Under Attack. A panel discussion. Speakers: Paul Freeman, member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 143A; others. Sun., Oct. 2, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

My Fight for Political Asylum in U.S. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín; Tia Plympton, Portland National Organization for Women; Dave Worthington, member Salem Committee on Latin America and Painters Union Local 724. Fri., Oct. 7, 7:30 p.m. Retail Clerks Union Hall, 915 NE Davis. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

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.

TEXAS

Houston

Business Opportunities in Grenada/Status Report on the Liberation Struggle in Grenada. Speaker: Joseph Burke, consul general of Grenada to the United States. Sat., Oct. 1; dinner, 7:30 p.m.; speech to follow. 14215 S Post Oak Rd. Ausp: Jua Corp. For more information call (713) 521-2964.

Concession Contracts in Steel — Do Profits Save Jobs? Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 8, 7 p.m. 4806 Alameda Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

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.

Price

Arizona Copper Miners Fight Union-busting. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Oct. 8, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., rm. 19. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

Attack on Labor Unions: How Do We Fight Back? A panel discussion. Sun., Oct. 9, 4 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

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.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Behind War in Lebanon: Why U.S. Troops Should be Pulled Out. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

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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New International is a new magazine of Marxist politics and theory. It is an initiative of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States and the Revolutionary Workers League of Canada.

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Two Black congressmen hit anti-Soviet campaign

The following is a guest column by Mohammed Oliver.

With all the official hoopla about the "unanimous" approval of an anti-Soviet bill passed in the U.S. Congress on September 15, you'd think that the refusal of two



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Malik Miah

Black congressmen to vote for it would have got more attention.

But it's gone virtually unnoticed by the big-business media. The reason is that it undercuts the prowar, anti-Soviet campaign of the U.S. ruling class.

On September 14, when 416 U.S. congressmen and women voted for a resolution condemning the Soviet Union for downing the Korean Air Lines (KAL) Flight 007, John Conyers, Jr., and George Crockett, Jr., voted "present."

Conyers and Crockett, both Democrats, are the two members of the House from Detroit. They were the only two members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) who voted that way, (one of the most outspoken members of the CBC, Ronald Dellums, was in Europe with Jesse Jackson when the vote was taken). The CBC normally votes as a bloc and has taken progressive positions in the past.

For example, the CBC invited Maurice Bishop, the prime minister of Grenada, to the United States last June.

It organized meetings for him in Washington, D.C., and Detroit.

The CBC, however, split on whether to jump on Reagan's prowar bandwagon.

Why did Conyers and Crockett vote the way they did? Crockett explained it later to some students at Anderson College in Anderson, Indiana: "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 the 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 aircraft of a surrogate nation like South Korea."

Crockett's observation here is an important one. Civilian aircraft have been used by the CIA. The CIA used civilian aircraft in the 1961 invasion of Cuba. They were used again in the bombing attack on Managua, Nicaragua, by U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries on September 8 of this year. In 1978, a South Korean passenger plane was forced down by the Soviet Union for violating its air space and refusing to heed warnings.

These provocative actions are just a few that are part of Washington's pattern of organized military threats against countries where capitalism has been overthrown or it is endangered by the struggles of oppressed peoples. Ever since the working people of Russia overthrew capitalism in 1917, the imperialists have never abandoned the goal of eventually reversing the gains of that revolution.

In this latest provocation the Reagan administration is trying to whip up prowar sentiments among working

people.

That the U.S. ruling class holds human life in callous disregard is becoming clearer to working people the world over. Despite all the talk in Washington about peace, Crockett pointed out that the United States is the chief arms supplier in the world.

Washington is arming the bloody dictatorship in El Salvador. It's training and financing the army of counter-revolutionary Somozaists who've unleashed a murderous war against the Nicaraguan workers and farmers.

The United States has sent 4,000 marines with strong naval backing to Lebanon to join with other imperialist forces in defense of an ultrarightist regime and to deal a blow to the Syrian government and to the Palestinians.

Many working people see that the U.S. government is involved in El Salvador's civil war and stepping up its war against the Nicaraguan people. And in the last several weeks they see more clearly the reactionary role of the U.S. Marines in Lebanon.

And they oppose it.

While successful in the Congress, Reagan has failed to convince the majority of working people — especially in the Black community. The "present" vote by Conyers and Crockett reflects this. Trying to show that Conyers and Crockett were out of touch with their constituency (which, of course, can't wait to go to war), the *Detroit Free Press* took a poll at a memorial meeting for one of those killed in the shooting down of the KAL jet liner. But the *Free Press* found that those at the meeting supported the vote of the two Black congressmen 10 to 1.

Most working people believe that the U.S. government is lying. Moreover, no worker in his or her right mind wants to go to war against the Soviet Union. Nor do they want to fight and die in El Salvador. Nor Nicaragua. Nor Lebanon. And if U.S. workers and farmers could vote on Washington's war moves around the world, they wouldn't stop at being "present," but give a resounding "no!"

Haitians protest AIDS propaganda

BY DAVE PRINCE

BROOKLYN — On September 24 a rally and march took place here to protest the racist AIDS propaganda campaign that uses Haitians as scapegoats. More than 750 demonstrators, mostly Haitian, voiced their anger at stepped up U.S. attacks towards Haitians. The march was especially well received as it passed through the Haitian community.

The action demanded removal of Hai-



Militant/Lou Howort

tians from the Center for Disease Control's list of "high risk" groups for AIDS, which has branded Haitians as carriers of AIDS.

It also protested the Immigration and Naturalization Service campaign against Haitian immigrants and the Federal Appellate Court's decision to reconsider the case of 1,800 Haitian refugees now paroled from U.S. prisons.

The protesters also denounced the regime of "Baby Doc" Duvalier in Haiti for its responsibility for the outbreak of AIDS there.

Placards such as "Haiti-El Salvador-Guatemala — same struggle" and "U.S. warships get out of Haitian waters" were carried by some demonstrators.

The demonstration followed on the heels of the September 21 murder of Firmin Joseph, editor and publisher of a weekly French-language newspaper, *Tribune D'Haiti*. The paper was running a series entitled "157 Days in Haitian Jails" denouncing the prison system in Haiti.

Joseph, a long-time oppositionist to the Duvalier regime, had recently received death threats for his criticism of Duvalier.

Coretta Scott King to visit Nicaragua 'to learn truth'

The following article is reprinted from the September 4 *Barricada*, the daily newspaper of the Sandinista National Liberation Front in Nicaragua. The translation from Spanish is by the *Militant*.

MANAGUA — Reverend Tim McDonald, assistant to Coretta King, widow of the Black leader Martin Luther King, Jr., declared yesterday in Managua that "The road of armed struggle in Central America is a just one, after the failure of the electoral road as a means of solving the socioeconomic problems of the dispossessed majorities."

McDonald is in Nicaragua as a participant in the "International popular meeting for peace," a gathering of delegates from private and political organizations and teachers from Latin America, Canada, the United States, and Western Europe.

McDonald added that if the Reagan administration goes ahead with an invasion of the Central American region "Blacks in the

United States will not accept being sent to fight."

Speaking about the problems faced by Blacks in his country, McDonald remarked that they are coming together as a result of Reagan's policies, which have "suspended social programs in order to furnish weapons to the despotic and proimperialist governments in the region."

He recalled that in Atlanta Black children have been murdered since 1980, acts which have been denounced by churches in the United States.

In closing he announced that Coretta King will soon visit Managua "to learn about the crimes committed by the ex-Somozaist guards, who are backed by the Reagan administration."

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

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Stop airline union-busting

A new and dangerous assault is being mounted against the wages, working conditions, and union rights of airline employees.

Leading the charge is Continental Airlines. Continental has filed for bankruptcy — not because it intends to go out of business, but because it wants to stay in business and get rid of its union contracts. "It wasn't a problem of [insufficient] cash" or too great a debt load, Continental Chairman Frank Lorenzo explained. "Our sole problem was labor."

Lorenzo was not content with the strike-breaking he has carried out against the airline's mechanics, organized in the International Association of Machinists (IAM) who he fired and replaced within days of the beginning of their strike in August. On September 24 Continental filed for bankruptcy and terminated its 12,000 employees. Three days later "New Continental Airlines" opened for business. Only 4,200 workers were rehired. Their wages were cut in half and onerous new work rules were imposed. The company's use of the bankruptcy ruse allowed it to avoid severance pay or other benefits for those workers who lost their jobs for good.

Following right behind Continental are the union-busters at Eastern Airlines. Prior to Continental's action, Eastern Chairman Frank Borman "requested" new wage and benefit concessions from the IAM, the Union of Flight Attendants, and the Air Line Pilots Association. These included a 20 percent pay cut.

In a taped message played to most of Eastern's 37,500

workers September 27, Borman renewed the airline's "request." He reminded Eastern's workers of Continental's action. "In my estimation," said Borman of the vote he wants workers to hold on the company's demands, "you will be voting on your job."

The threat is not too subtle but it is certainly clear: accept concessions or face the use of bankruptcy laws to tear up union contracts.

"This filing may start a trend," says an official of the Texas Air Corp. of Continental's action. "If the idea works, why not use it," adds a top executive at another major airline.

This is the same scam that the bosses at the Wilson meatpacking company used earlier this year against the United Food and Commercial Workers Union (UFCW). Ultimately UFCW members responded with a strike. Wilson didn't get away with all it was attempting. But wages were still cut more than \$2 an hour. The precedent is now being used against other meatpackers.

The Wilson workers were prepared to resist the employers' attacks, as are many airline employees today. What was missing during the Wilson strike was active solidarity from the rest of the labor movement.

Today the labor movement must see the use of the bankruptcy ploy in the airline industry for what it is — a union-busting attack on all workers. Once again the idea of "An injury to one is an injury to all" must be a guide to action.

Imperialists out of Lebanon!

Continued from front page powers.

Although Israel was able to drive the PLO from Beirut and impose the Phalangist-Christian Gemayel regime on Lebanon, it was unable to crush the Palestinian struggle, or bring stability.

Moreover, the Israeli regime's murderous siege of Beirut sparked worldwide outrage, increasing support for the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and for the PLO. It also exposed to the world Israel's nature as a colonial outpost for imperialist domination of the Arab peoples.

The September 1982 massacres of defenseless Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila by the rightist Phalangists politically isolated Israel still more. The antiwar campaign inside Israel won even wider support.

In this context, Israel pulled back from Beirut and imperialist troops from the United States, France, Britain, and Italy began to more directly help shore up the Phalangist-dominated Gemayel regime. It was no longer possible for world imperialism to rely in the same way on its main gendarme in the Middle East to oppose the Arab revolution.

Yet, Israel remains one of world imperialism's most important tools of counterrevolution in the Arab world. As a colonial-settler state based on the expropriation and expulsion of the Palestinian people from their land, it survives through terror, violence, and domination of the Arab peoples.

After World War I, Greater Syria — current day Syria, Jordan, Lebanon, and Israel — was carved up by the French and British imperialists as a way to divide the Arab peoples and undermine their struggle for national freedom from colonial plunder. Jordan and Palestine were placed under British control; Syria and what became Lebanon, under French domination.

Every rise of Arab nationalism and opposition to imperialist oppression is met by brute force.

That's why the French ruling class has sent troops to Lebanon and is also providing Super Etendard fighters — capable of firing Exocet missiles — to Iraq to be used in its war against Iran, aimed at reversing the 1979 Iranian revolution.

The Reagan administration — as part of its propaganda campaign labeling the Soviet Union as the "evil empire" — falsely claims that Moscow is fomenting the civil war in Lebanon; the same charge it levels against the USSR and Cuba in regard to the revolutions in Central America. Reagan, in his campaign against the "evil empire," is utilizing the provocation of the South Korean plane flying over strategic Soviet military installations as the basis to build up even more imperialism's military forces in the Middle East and in Central America.

Reagan demanded that the Soviet Union curtail its aid to the Syrian, Palestinian, and anti-Gemayel Lebanese forces. When Moscow refused, Washington stepped up its anti-Soviet campaign another notch.

As these imperialist war moves have unfolded in the Middle East over the last month, the U.S. government has escalated its war in Central America against the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan peoples. There has been a substantial escalation in counterrevolutionary military actions against the Sandinista-led revolution. U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries have launched a series of air attacks, including on the Managua airport and a major port.

Washington has announced plans to construct new roads and military bases in both Honduras and Costa

Rica. Thousands of U.S. marines are already in Honduras.

Washington is also backing French imperialism's intervention in the northern African country of Chad. It has sent military aid to the proimperialist regime and made new threats against Libya.

The French Mitterrand government, following a long tradition of Socialist Party policy of supporting French imperialism's wars against colonial peoples — from Indochina to Algeria — maintains more than 2,000 troops in Chad in order to prop up the proimperialist regime there. Like the United States, France aims to deal a blow to the Libyan government, which is backing the Chad rebels as well as the anti-Gemayel Lebanese forces.

Imperialist aggression in Lebanon, Central America, and northern Africa is further confirmation that wars today are a result of imperialist plunder and domination of working people who rise up to fight for their emancipation.

It is Washington and its allies that are attempting to defeat and crush national liberation struggles in Asia, Africa, Central America, and the Middle East.

It is the U.S. government that has 300 land, air, and naval bases around the world and approximately 2,000 more military facilities in areas under its control or influence on all continents. It has one-half million troops stationed in countries outside of U.S. borders.

It is U.S. imperialism and its allies that engineer anti-Soviet provocations like the South Korean spy plane, which place innocent air travelers in jeopardy; and that are placing Pershing II and cruise missiles in Europe later this year aimed at the Soviet Union.

This stepped-up imperialist aggression in Lebanon, Central America, and northern Africa is receiving bipartisan support in the U.S. Congress. Both Democrats and Republicans have gone out of their way, in response to the downing of the South Korean spy plane, to issue anti-Soviet and prowar speeches.

At the same time, there is a charade over the War Powers Act. Just as during the Vietnam War when the "doves" spoke for "peace" and the need to control the actions of the Pentagon and White House, but then voted for every bill to finance the war effort, the "liberals" today are joining hands with the "conservatives" in supporting a major U.S. military presence in Lebanon. Their only criticism of the Reagan administration is its refusal to accept the right of Congress to jointly conduct imperialist war.

Few top Democrat or Republican leaders said a word when Secretary of State Shultz announced the United States would stay in Lebanon as long as necessary to achieve its aims. Congress, he said, could not dictate the administration's foreign policy.

These facts are why working people, particularly in the imperialist countries, must join together in an international solidarity campaign in defense of the oppressed and exploited peoples throughout the world.

Such a campaign led by working people through their trade unions and mass political parties is urgently needed. We must mobilize the majority antiwar sentiment that is opposed to new Vietnam-style wars in the world.

In particular, we must demand:

U.S., French, British, Italian, and Israeli troops out of Lebanon!

U.S. out of Central America!

France out of Chad!

U.S. in Lebanon: marines have been there before

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

Today is not the first time Washington has ordered U.S. marines to fight and die in Lebanon. A July 21, 1958, front-page article in the *Militant* reported, "In obvious panic over the advance of the Arab national independence revolution, the trigger-happy Eisenhower Administration, July 14, ordered 5,000 atom-equipped U.S. marines into the tiny country of Lebanon."

U.S. military forces throughout the world were put on alert. The New York *Daily News* quoted a Pentagon official as stating that "H-bombers, with their nuclear loads, were put on 'improved readiness condition.'"

When a Democratic Senator or two expressed muted hesitation over Eisenhower's open act of aggression, the Democratic Speaker of the House, Sam Rayburn, spoke

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

up to make it clear that Eisenhower was carrying out a bipartisan policy. "In times like these," Rayburn advised, "we had better allow matters to develop rather than make remarks about them."

As is the case today, Washington had arranged a formal pretext for its military presence. The right-wing Christian president of Lebanon at the time, Camille Chamoun, had "invited" Eisenhower to send troops to help quell fighting that was going on in the country.

But this formality was not too convincing, especially in view of the fact that the Lebanese parliament condemned the invasion and demanded that the U.S. forces get out. Adel Osseirane, president of the Chamber of Deputies, sent a message to the United Nations stating, "We have learned . . . that American forces have landed on Lebanese territory under the pretext of protecting the lives of Americans and to safeguard the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon. This act . . . is an infringement of the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon. . . . I demand the immediate evacuation of the foreign forces."

As today, the U.S. government was primarily concerned with protecting its political, military, and business interests in the Mideast in the face of deepening anti-imperialist sentiment by the majority of Arab peoples in the area.

Of particular concern at the time was the fact that Iraqi King Faisal, a staunch ally of Washington, had recently been overthrown by a group of nationalist-minded army officers. This, in part, explained Eisenhower's concern with maintaining a stable regime, friendly to Washington, in Lebanon.

The editors of the *Wall Street Journal* posed the question "What are we fighting for in Lebanon?" They answered bluntly, "We are fighting for the oil fields of the Middle East."

Writing in the same paper a few days later, Philip Geyelin explained that Washington's action was based on the fear "of seeing its last footholds in the Middle East disappear, leaving the vital flow of Mideast oil to the whim of the nationalists, denying the West strategic air bases in this area and opening the way for similar nationalist, anti-Western upheavals in the emerging lands of Africa."

At the time of the invasion the Socialist Workers Party in the United States vigorously opposed it. The following protest letter to President Eisenhower from Tom Kerry, acting national secretary of the party at the time, appeared on the front page of the July 21, 1958 *Militant*.

* * *

To the President of the United States:

Sir,

Your personal decision to send U.S. armed forces into Lebanon has plunged America into another foreign civil war like the one in Korea. The invasion of Lebanon by American troops threatens to set off another world war.

Chamoun's personal appeal for intervention is not in the interest of the Lebanese people but in the interest of the oil monopolists. The Lebanese Chamber of Deputies has branded your action as "an infringement of the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon." The people of Lebanon and the entire Mideast are determined to end the imperialist domination that the U.S. occupying force represents.

The American people have no stake in imperialist exploitation. They will condemn your reprehensible act just as they did the Korean "police action" of your predecessor.

U.S. troops must be withdrawn from Lebanon and from the entire Mideast at once. The interests of the American people, the Arab people and the peace of the world demand it.

Fremont workers find relocation hard in K.C.

BY MARCIA GALLO

KANSAS CITY — "I voted for the contract on the basis of the G.I.S. provision (Guaranteed Income Stream). I had no idea it meant I would have to move halfway across the country to Kansas City."

This sentiment was expressed by a former auto worker from the Southgate plant in California who recently moved here to take a job at General Motors Fairfax As-

UNION TALK

sembly plant. He is one of several hundred workers who have picked up and moved here during the last month. The majority of them come from the Fremont, California assembly plant which was closed in 1982, in addition to workers from the Lockwood, Georgia plant and skilled workers from Detroit.

Trying to feed their families, hold on to a good-paying union job, and look for some job security has given these workers difficulties.

Under the United Auto Workers (UAW) contract with GM the company is supposed to pay a relocation allowance of \$980 to single and \$2,025 to married workers. The catch is you have to move first, getting reimbursed later.

This has meant a financial strain for many people and their families. Many workers have left their families behind because of the difficult move and the possibility of returning to their old homes and/or jobs. Several people I have talked to say they plan to see their families only on holidays. They also expect very large phone bills.

Living conditions are also a problem. Some people are still living at the Holiday Inn. Others are sharing apartments or houses with coworkers. One man reports having three roommates. Others have brought trailers and plan to live in them.

In addition to these problems many workers face starting over on assembly line jobs at the entry level after years of fighting to get easier and more skilled jobs. One older worker with more than 20 years in auto said of his job in the body shop, "If I had known what it was going to be like, if someone here had told me, I wouldn't have come."

The inspiring side of this story is the solidarity and determination of both the new and older workers at Fairfax. Many California workers have stressed to the Kansas workers that they have not come here to "take away" their jobs or threaten their seniority. There is strong support for the union which was expressed when 150 or more former Californians attended their first Fairfax UAW Local 31 union meeting after only a few days in the city.

Among the Fairfax workers there is a friendly atmosphere and a lot of discussion between the new and old workers is taking place. We are learning about the experiences of the Fremont workers and their hopes of returning to the proposed GM-Toyota plant as members of UAW Local 1364, with seniority intact. Workers at Fairfax have been hearing rumors for years about the plant here closing and they know the situation could be reversed in a few years with themselves having to leave town.

One of the discussions in our plant has been over the "Quality of Worklife" program, which is more often than not used by GM to get workers to think like the company and justify the demand for better "quality" on speeded up assembly lines. The new workers seem to have definite opinions on this type of program. As one worker put it, "I've had 'Quality of Worklife' up to here."

Another change has taken place since the new workers have arrived. Spanish is now heard over the noise of the assembly line as many of the California workers are Chicanos. As one person put it, "Good, now I can practice my Spanish with someone at work."

Marcia Gallo, an employee at General Motors Fairfax plant in Kansas City, is a member of UAW Local 31.

LETTERS

Korean plane I

The September 16 *Militant* editorial on the downing of the Korean passenger plane correctly focuses its attack on the Reagan administration for using this tragedy to step up its war drive against the people of Central America and the Middle East. The editorial raises questions which Reagan refuses to answer, particularly the question of why the Korean plane entered Soviet airspace despite its sophisticated navigational system. Finally, the editorial correctly concludes by rejecting the new anti-Soviet measures outlined by Reagan.

While discussing this tragedy with thoughtful workers who are already skeptical of the government, I found it necessary to explain the contradictory nature of the Soviet workers state. I think the *Militant* would have explained the incident more convincingly to radicalizing workers if it had done this. While many workers are suspicious of Washington, almost no one gives Moscow's story any credence either.

Working people could not help but notice reports in the mass media that after the disaster, Soviet planes buzzed the funeral at sea. The Soviet press lied to its own working class by refusing at first to print that 269 civilians were killed. This filled American workers with a healthy revulsion against Stalinism.

The downing of this airliner hurt the defense of the USSR. The best defense of the Soviet Union is before the court of international working class opinion. Military defense is crucial but secondary. The protection of no military secret justified the shooting down of a passenger plane, even if it was spying.

The Soviet Union has every right to shoot down military spy planes. It remains unclear as to what the Soviets knew when they shot this plane down. By equivocating, at best, on this point, the Soviet Union tries to justify a policy which casts international opinion to the winds. This military policy flows from the reactionary political policy of "socialism in one country." This, in reality, weakens the defense of the USSR.

Had a revolutionary government killed innocent civilians by mistake in such circumstances, it would immediately seek to tell the entire truth about the incident. It most likely would volunteer reparations, and challenge the imperialists, who bear ultimate responsibility, to match them.

The editorial refers to "the plane that crashed," or "the crash." The

plane was shot down. It hurts our case to obscure this, or sanitize what happened.

Finally, this was a genuine human tragedy. After all the cynical propaganda washed in false tears by Washington, there remains the genuine grief of the relatives and friends of the dead. The sentiments of most workers are, properly, with them. So should be the sentiments of the *Militant*, but the editorial sadly remained silent on this issue.

Mark Schneider
Somerville, Massachusetts

Korean plane II

As the story of the Korean Air Lines flight 7 continues to unravel, the question of why that plane was violating Soviet airspace remains unanswered.

The grief of the Asian families in both Asia and the U.S. has received some passing coverage. But this coverage and the sympathy it is to invoke is hypocritical. In the Korean War of 1950-53, some 3 million North Koreans and Chinese died, compared to 415,000 casualties among United Nations forces, which included South Koreans. Over one million Vietnamese died in the Vietnam War. And who can forget the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki?

While crocodile tears are being shed over the 269, mostly Asian, victims of KAL flight 7, scant coverage is given to the victims of a rising trend of anti-Asian violence in the U.S.

Since the death of Vincent Chin, at the hands of a bat-wielding racist in June 1982, the list has grown. A Vietnamese student is stabbed to death at a California high school. A Vietnamese housewife is shot through her kitchen window in Los Angeles. A 10-year-old Kampuchean school girl is shot and wounded on her way to school in Texas. In Boston, an increase of assaults upon Asian immigrants is being noted. And the list goes on and on. Many of these attacks receive little media coverage even at the local level.

It all leads this reader to wonder that if flight 7 was a spy flight, as I am convinced it was, then the full extent of this hypocrisy is yet to be revealed.

Milton Chee
Jersey City, New Jersey

Korean plane III

The deep seated nature of the antiwar sentiments of people in this country can be seen in the response to the Korean airliner incident. An older cutter at the garment shop where I work said that



By Toles for The Buffalo News

perhaps the plane had been ordered to fly that course to see what the Soviet response would be.

On September 2 I was driving through western New York when I heard a talk show coming from a radio station in Rochester. The airliner incident was the only topic for discussion. The moderator was very openly rallying people for war. He approved of a caller's remark that an appropriate response would be to blockade Cuba. Most of the callers agreed with him but consistently people called in to express their skepticism, saying that the U.S. government was not telling the whole story. These people were viciously red-baited and harassed. One caller stated that the government had lied about the sinking of the Lusitania in World War I, had lied about the Gulf of Tonkin incident at the beginning of the Vietnam War, and was probably lying about this latest incident as well. These doubts were confirmed when only four days later the U.S. government was forced to admit that it did in fact have a spy plane operating in the region.

The timing of this incident could not have come at a better time for the U.S. war drive. In the week before this Korean airliner became the only story on the news, two events happened which have had a major impact on antiwar sentiment in this country.

First was the massive demonstration in Washington August 27 and the antiwar themes expressed there. The second was the death of two marines in Lebanon. Within a week of these two events the U.S. government has an incident around which they are attempting to rally people behind the flag. Perhaps it is coincidental, perhaps not.

Ron Richards
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania

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

Likes coverage

Please begin a subscription for the *Militant*. I would like to commend your coverage of Central American revolutionary events. This is also a letter to advise you not to be shy of rigorous ideological and economic analysis of African and American revolutionary movements.

Ken Brown
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

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.

Copper strikers stand firm

Arizona miners gain support against union-busting

BY DAN FEIN

TUCSON, Ariz. — The three-month strike of 13 copper miners' unions against the Phelps Dodge Corp. remains firm. Evidence of the fighting spirit of the strikers was shown at a union rally attended by hundreds in Morenci on September 19. Cass Alvin, United Steelworkers of America (USWA) staff person, explained to the strikers and their supporters that they can win the strike if they stick together.

The strikers discussed initiating mass picketing again at shift changes. This had ended on August 19 when the National Guard was brought in to back up the company's use of scabs. Since then, the Morenci miners' Citizens for Justice and the women's auxiliary has conducted mass picketing in Morenci.

Alvin also reported that the strike is getting more and more financial support from unions around the country. Support continues to grow in the towns and cities throughout Arizona, he said.

Phelps Dodge officials, however, are now saying the strike is over since all jobs have been filled by scabs. Phelps Dodge Vice-president Patrick Scanlon and Jack Ladd, manager of labor relations, say the company's near-full employment appears to make negotiations pointless.

Strikers, however, tell a different story. Alex López, chief negotiator for the 13 striking unions, said, "P-D has a false sense of winning the war because it has been able to hire outsiders to replace many of the striking workers. The company is now operating at one helluva loss in their properties because of the use of inexperienced people and tremendous expense that they're going through to continue the farce that they call production." Phelps Dodge management, along with the state government, is pressuring the workers in other ways. For example, the company recently moved against strikers' medical insurance.

After the strike began strikers had the option to maintain medical insurance by paying the company \$4.45 per month. On September 11, the company sent termination letters to all strikers in Ajo and Douglas. Morenci strikers received their letters one week later. The company claims the termination makes strikers ineligible for medical insurance starting October 1.

The Department of Economic Security, Arizona's unemployment office, says terminated strikers still cannot collect unemployment benefits unless they say they are willing to go back to work. López, responding to this new attack, said, "If our people feel strong enough in what they're doing, then they are not going to disavow themselves just to get a few bucks."

This is the context in which negotiations are taking place. So far, the company is only agreeing to talk about "side issues." All former agreements were thrown out by Phelps Dodge as soon as the strike began. The unions insist that these issues be reinstated.

Angel Rodríguez, USWA president in Morenci, noted that the company refuses to reinstate a side agreement that provided ice water for workers during the summer. This is a serious health matter.

Ladd explained that the company opposes any provisions that "detracted from our ability to get an eight-hour day out of each employee." This includes, he said, allowing workers to wash up and eat lunch on company time.

On September 16 the company announced that it will pay Morenci strikers to voluntarily leave their company-owned homes. For over a month, the company has threatened to evict those on strike.

At first it was only those strikers "fired for picket-line misconduct." Then, Phelps Dodge said all strikers would be evicted



Morenci picket line faces massive show of force by cops such as these state troopers sent in by Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt to bust Phelps Dodge strike.

and "lease termination notices" become effective September 15 in Ajo. Strikers in Ajo ignored these pressure tactics. Not one family was evicted there — a big victory for the workers.

Tom McWilliams, assistant director of labor relations for Phelps Dodge, said the company will give \$500 to any family that vacates a three-bedroom house before October 16. The day after the company's

bribe offer, a wife of a striker told the *Militant*, "They've offered us \$500 to get out of our houses. We'll take the money, but we're not moving. The company has organized Wives of Workers to counter the women's auxiliary. The Wives of Workers has organized to help scabs feel comfortable. They organize teas and potlucks for the scab wives. People from P-D drive the scabs by the strikers' houses in company

cars and if a scab likes the house, the next day that person gets another eviction notice. So no one is watering their lawns anymore."

The struggle between the unions and Phelps Dodge has moved into the courts too. On September 9 the unions filed a \$25 million federal civil rights lawsuit against Phelps Dodge and the state and county cops. In addition, a \$5 million lawsuit was filed against the Pima County Sheriff's Department, County Attorney Offices, and Helen Gilmartin, Ajo justice of the peace, for civil rights violations in the August 25 arrests of 11 Ajo strikers.

William Walker, union attorney, said, "The thrust of all this litigation is for the unions to take the offensive against those people who by illegal and unconstitutional means repressed [the union's] right to free speech and to free assembly against P-D." The unions are no longer going to "put up with the repressive atmosphere," he continued.

Meanwhile Phelps Dodge has announced its intention to file their own multimillion dollar lawsuit against the striking unions. Patrick Scanlon says this is necessary to help the company recover losses due to "unlawful conduct" by some strikers when the Morenci operations were shut down for 10 days in August after massive picketing.

It is clear that the battle is far from over. National solidarity can play a big role in helping to turn back the company's union-busting.

Cop indicted for killing Black youth

BY DERRICK MORRISON

NEW ORLEANS — A white cop, Stephen Rosiere, has been indicted here by a grand jury for second-degree murder and malfeasance in office in the August 31 shooting death of 18-year-old Gerrard Glover, a Black youth.

The indictment was handed down September 22. Glover's mother, Catherine Peacock, has filed a \$10 million federal lawsuit against the city, Rosiere, his police partner Fred McFarlane, Police Superintendent Henry Morris, and Mayor Dutch Morial.

This case has spotlighted the widespread practice of police planting a gun or knife on victims who have been murdered in cold blood by the cops.

In the early hours of August 31, police chasing two Black youths on a motorcycle shot and killed the passenger, Glover. Raney Brooks, the driver, thought Glover had fallen off and escaped.

While at work the same day Brooks not only heard that Glover had been killed, but that the cops had been fired on by both occupants of the cycle. He turned himself in and was immediately charged with two counts of attempted murder.

Meanwhile Peacock, even though she works for the police department, only got word of her son's death through the daughter of a friend at the hospital.

According to Peacock, as quoted in the September 2 *Times-Picayune/States-Item* (T-P/S-I), "Neither the Police Department or the coroner's office has yet to call and tell me one word about this. Not even the detectives who are investigating the case have given me a call."

This is in spite of the fact that Glover's driver's license, which was in his pocket, was attached to the coroner's papers.

In the course of a week, the contradictions mounted. The 9-millimeter automatic that the cops supposedly picked up at the scene turned out to be a rusty, unloaded .25-caliber automatic.

The discrepancy between what the two cops claimed and the tape of police radio conversations at the time forced out the truth: neither youth was armed, the cops, McFarlane and Rosiere, lied.

The two were suspended September 7, not fired, for "untruthfulness and making false statements."

Vincent Brown, executive director of the local NAACP, issued a news release at that point stating, "This time Chief Morris, we must call it for what it is, plain and simple MURDER."

"The NAACP believes that District Attorney Harry Connick should vigorously pursue charges of murder against these two officers. The NAACP demands that Mr. Connick give complete evidence to the grand jury to assure that these two officers are indicted for murder."

Michele Smith and Nels J'Anthony, the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party for governor and state senator respectively, also demanded justice and the indictment and trial of the two cops on murder charges.

In the wake of these events, Councilman-at-large Sidney Barthelemy issued a call for the firing of Police Chief Morris. The Black councilman coupled the latest event with the police killings in the Algiers section of New Orleans in November 1980. At that time the police stormed two houses, killing two Black men and a Black woman claiming all three were armed. No cop was indicted for these killings.

To throw up a smoke screen and cover its tracks over the Algiers murders, the administration of Black Democratic Party Mayor Morial created the Office of Municipal Investigation (OMI).

This agency, in order to avert a massive public outcry, went after the police over the Glover murder.

In fact, the police Internal Affairs Division had cleared the cops of any wrongdoing the very day of the shooting, according to the September 14 T-P/S-I. It was only

after OMI went into action that the police reinvestigated the incident. The district attorney also got most of his witnesses and evidence from the OMI investigation.

Nonetheless, the campaign for justice for Gerrard Glover is not over. Peacock's suit on behalf of herself and her two other children deserves total support. In addition the vigilance of the Black community and its allies is needed to make sure Rosiere is tried and punished for the crimes he committed.

L.A. antiwar protest planned for Nov. 12

BY VIVIAN SAHNER

LOS ANGELES — Plans have been set here for a West Coast march and rally on November 12 to demand an end to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

The protest action will be held in MacArthur Park at 1:00 p.m. It is being organized as a coordinated effort in support of the national November 12 march in Washington, D.C.

Both marches will demand "No more Vietnam wars," "Stop U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean," and "Jobs, peace, and justice; stop the military buildup." In Los Angeles, where tens of thousands of Central American refugees live, the demand "Stop the Simpson-Mazoli bill — Full rights to refugees and undocumented workers," is also included.

The march is sponsored by the November 12 coalition, the U.S.-Mexico Border Commission in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, and a broad range of community organizations.

For more information contact the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES) at (213) 484-1044, Casa El Salvador at (213) 480-9567, or Casa Nicaragua at (213) 736-9150.