

## Slaughter in Lebanon: Israeli lies unravel

BY ERNEST HARSCH

The massive swath of death and destruction cut through Lebanon by the Israeli army simply did not happen, according to the Israeli government.

All the reports of blanket bombings, widespread civilian deaths, and the hundreds of thousands of people left homeless by the invasion are part of some vast "media pogrom" against Israel, as Moshe Yegar, head of the Israeli Information Department put it.

Only 600 civilians were killed and 900 injured, according to the Israeli government's latest figures. Altogether, it maintains, no more than 20,000 fled from their homes.

It would be hard to find a cruder example of the aggressor posing as victim.

Lebanese officials in Beirut estimate that some 18,000 Lebanese and Palestinians have been killed since the Israeli invasion began on June 6.

U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Chairman Charles Percy said during a hearing July 13 that U.S. intelligence officials had confirmed to him that 10,000 civilians had been killed in Lebanon. The U.S. government, which has backed the invasion from the very beginning, can hardly be accused of seeking to slander the Israeli regime.

The Israeli figures on refugees are equally understated. According to the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), there are about 350,000 refugees in the Beirut area alone, including more than 100,000 children. The city of Sidon, with a population before the invasion of 200,000 to 300,000, was almost entirely abandoned for a time.

Despite concerted Israeli attempts to cover up the extent of this horror, reports are trickling out.

According to Amnon Kapeliouk in the July 17 issue of the Paris daily *Le*  
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Israeli soldier guards prison camp in Lebanon

## Reagan threatens Iranians with Persian Gulf war maneuvers

BY DAVID FRANKEL

Citing the danger of "potential political unrest" in the Persian Gulf, top U.S. officials announced July 16 that Washington has offered to hold joint military maneuvers with Saudi Arabia and other reactionary monarchies in the region. These regimes are frightened by the prospect of an Iranian victory in the Iraq-Iran war.

"American officials say they fear political unrest could spread if Iranian military successes lead to the overthrow of Iraq's President, Saddam Hussein, and the assumption of power by an Islamic fundamentalist regime like the one in Iran headed by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini," the *New York Times* reported July 17.

Because of Washington's support for

the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Persian Gulf monarchies have not been eager to rush into joint maneuvers with U.S. forces. Opposition to collaboration with Washington already runs high among the masses in these countries.

But the proposal to hold military maneuvers represents a pointed threat against Iran. It was followed on July 19 by a front-page article in the *New York Times* describing how the Pentagon has "quietly begun to rebuild a capacity for guerrilla operations, sabotage, clandestine assault and other forms of unconventional warfare."

The article quoted a Pentagon directive saying, "We must revitalize and enhance special operations forces to project United States power where the use of conventional forces would be premature, inappropriate, or infeasible."

According to *Times* reporter Richard Halloran, "The paper says that when instability endangers American interests, 'special operations forces will be employed to assist United States friends and allies.'"

Among the forces specifically cited was the Air Force's Special Operations Wing, which provided the C-130 gunships that were prepared to blast Tehran during Washington's abortive April 1980 raid on Iran.

Meanwhile, the drumfire of propaganda against the Iranian revolution continues. On the same day the Reagan administration offered to send military forces into the area, the editors of the *Washington Post* complained:

"It was bad enough when Ayatollah Khomeini was broadcasting his doctrine of Islamic fundamentalism among conservative Arab regimes vulnerable to revolutionary contagion and Shiite subversion. It is worse now that he has sent his army, the second most powerful in the region, across a national frontier."

For the imperialists, however, some national frontiers are more sacred than others, as is being demonstrated today in the case of Israel's barbarous invasion of Lebanon. And when Iraq invaded Iran in September 1980, the U.S. rulers hoped that Hussein's forces would smash the revolutionary upheaval in Iran.

The Arab monarchies that Washington is now trying to portray as the possi-  
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## Bombing thwarted as Nicaragua celebrates revolution

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MASAYA, Nicaragua — As Nicaragua prepared to celebrate the third anniversary of the Sandinista revolution, U.S.-backed counter-revolutionaries attempted to bring Reagan's message of greetings. Two rockets were fired at a concentration of storage tanks holding 800,000 gallons of highly combustible fuel in the city of Corinto. An unmarked, twin-engine plane flew in at a low altitude from Honduras just before dawn on July 19.

One of the rockets missed the tanks by only 100 feet. Had either of them hit its target, the entire population of the city — 30,000 men, women, and children — could have perished in the resulting fire. Corinto, which handles three-quarters of Nicaragua's foreign trade, would have been reduced to cinders.

**'They shall not pass'**

More than 100,000 supporters of the revolution gathered here in Masaya later in the day for the celebration of the 1979 victory. At first they reacted in stunned silence as Commander Daniel Ortega told of the attempt to destroy Corinto.

Chants of "No pasarán! No pasarán!" (they shall not pass) then filled the air, followed by thunderous applause as Ortega pointed out, "It is not by accident that we are anti-imperialist — it is actions like this by the United States that make us anti-imperialist."

Ortega, coordinator of the Junta of National Reconstruction, delivered the main speech at the celebration, an action that capped six weeks of intense political and organizational preparation.

In response to escalating, imperialist-backed attacks in the countryside, tens of thousands of acres of recently confiscated land were turned over to newly formed cooperatives.

In cities and villages, mass organizations, unions, and militia units met to discuss the grave military and economic threat facing the revolution. They pledged to redouble their efforts to preserve the gains they have won at the cost of so many lives.

Throughout the country, commemorations, special church services, marches, and days of voluntary labor were organized to salute the memory of comrades in each local area who have fallen in battle. Masaya itself was chosen as the site of the main rally because of the heroic role its people played in the final insurrection against the Somoza dictatorship.

**Wartime conditions**

Held under wartime conditions, with the country on military alert, this year's celebration was necessarily much smaller than the two previous.

To assure that major cities and towns remained guarded, only special contingents, selected by their co-workers for their demonstrated devotion to the revolution, were sent from many areas.

As the attempt to bomb Corinto showed, this was an absolutely neces-  
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## Women march for abortion rights

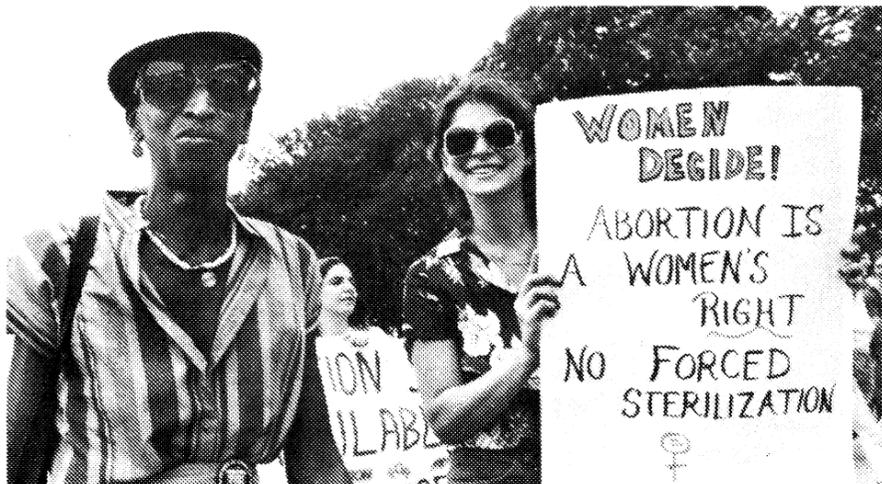
BY MARGARET JAYKO

CHERRY HILL, N.J. — "A woman's right to abortion is akin to her right to be," proclaimed the banner that led off an abortion rights march and rally here on Saturday, July 17.

The action was organized as a countermobilization to the convention of the National Right to Life Committee, taking place here at the same time. This committee is a right-wing organization that actively opposes the right of women to obtain abortions.

Despite the 95-degree temperature, 3,000 to 4,000 demonstrators turned out from cities up and down the east coast, as well as from Chicago, Texas, Arkansas, Minnesota, and Ohio.

The "In Support of Women's Lives" action was sponsored by the Mid-Atlantic Region of the National Organization for Women (NOW), the National Women's Health Network, and the Reproductive Rights National Network. It was endorsed by a large number of reproduc-  
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Militant Lou Howort

July 17 demonstration in Cherry Hill, New Jersey, drew 3,000 to 4,000.

# Women demonstrate for abortion rights

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 tive rights, women's and left organizations.

Several chapters of NOW were represented at the march, as was Planned Parenthood, the National Abortion Rights Action League, and the National Association of Social Workers.

The International Socialists Organization, Democratic Socialists of America, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, *Guardian* newspaper, Citizens Party, All-Peoples' Congress, Revolutionary Socialist League, and the New Alliance Party all participated in the march.

The crowd was mostly young, and mostly women.

Among the placards distributed by march organizers were "Stop HLA" (the anti-abortion Human Life Amendment) and "Stop Helms, Hatch, Hatfield, Hyde," four senators and congressmen who have introduced anti-abortion-rights legislation into Congress. There were also slogans against racist, forced sterilizations.

Many at the action wore ERA buttons and T-shirts. There were some antiwar signs, and petitioners against U.S. aid to El Salvador from the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador got a good response.

President Ronald Reagan addressed the Right to Life Committee convention in a specially prepared, eight-minute, filmed message, in which he urged Congress to pass legislation outlawing abortion.

The opponents of women's rights gathered at that convention recognized that they are not popular with the majority of the American people who support legalized abortions. They discussed how to clean up their act. They are trying to shed their image as backward right-wingers, which tends to alienate most working people from them. In order to win new adherents, they discussed linking up the attempts to outlaw abortion with the antiwar sentiments of working people and their opposition to racism.

Thus, a few convention-goers stood along the abortion rights march route with signs saying "Life is not private property"; "U.S. industry hates pregnant workers"; "Protect all life — end abortion, nuclear weapons, Reaganomics"; and "Population control is genocide."

Many protesters countered the lie that abortion is murder with signs such as "A fertilized ovum is not a person" and "Acorns are not oak trees." They pointed out that the real issue is the right of women to decide whether and when to have children, with signs like: "Abortion rights, not back-alley abortion"; "Pro-choice is pro-life"; "HLA is a killer"; and "A woman's life is a human life".

The rally began with the reading of messages from supporters of abortion rights around the world. Messages were also received from Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women; Gloria Steinem, editor of *Ms.* magazine; former Congresswoman Bella Abzug; and other prominent women.

The first speaker was Rhonda Copelon, a staff lawyer at the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York City. Copelon is the lawyer who argued the

court challenge to the Hyde Amendment, which cut off federal funding for abortions.

Copelon explained what it was like for women before abortion was legalized by a U.S. Supreme Court decision in 1973.

She described what women told that judge "about the butchery of illegal abortions and desperate self-help."

"We told him about women screaming in the labor of unwanted childbirth.

"We told him about women filling hospital wards to try and live and fight for life against raging infections — and dying.

"We told him about women facing the terrible, unknown risk in pregnancies.

"We told him about women facing the enormous responsibility of child-rearing.

"We told him about women facing the daily horror of welfare, the nation's poor."

Copelon also exposed the "pro-life" rhetoric of the foes of women's rights.

"But they only talk about the fetus because it's really not so popular to talk about what they really mean. And so they call themselves pro-life, but they seek laws which will kill women, in body and in spirit."

Copelon ended by explaining that the fight for abortion rights is part of a bigger fight for the liberation of women, and all humanity. "It's a vision of human equality, of liberation, and of self-determination. And they don't understand that you cannot suppress that vision — not by criminal law, not by propaganda, not by covert action and

military intervention, and not by threat of nuclear weapons."

The most moving part of the rally came when three women got up and told their stories of trying to obtain an abortion when it was still illegal.

Dale Papachristou cried as she began. "Five months after my father's death, I became pregnant. I was just graduating from high school."

She went on to describe her fear of illegal abortion, knowing the serious health risks involved, and her contemplation of suicide. Her mother eventually sent her away to a home for unwed mothers, where she gave birth, then had to give up her five-day-old daughter for adoption.

Reetha Hill, a student at Wayne State University in Detroit and a member of the National Black Independent Political Party, pointed to the way the attacks on abortion rights have been aimed at women of the oppressed nationalities and young women.

Joan Gibbs from Dykes Against Racism Everywhere took on the claim that those who fight to outlaw abortion are like the abolitionists.

"We have to be clear that it is not the right that has marched against racism in this country, that has marched against the Klan," Gibbs pointed out.

She invited everyone to come to New York the next day to participate in a demonstration to protest the murder of Willie Turks, a Black transit worker who was beaten to death by a gang of white youths in Brooklyn.

Cecelia McCarthy, representing the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE), explained the record of her union's opposition to various anti-abortion bills, many of which have specific provisions to deny federal workers funding for abortions in their health insurance plans.

McCarthy stated that her union is "against all such legislative, administrative efforts" that would deny any woman the right to abortion.

McCarthy pointed to this demonstration as a chance to show the government that her union is against all the attacks on women, Blacks, and the unions.

Jane Wells-Schooley, a national vice-president of NOW, spoke about the "right to life" organizations, identifying them and the Republican Party as the real culprits in the attacks on abortion rights. She ended her talk with the chant "We'll remember each November," in line with NOW's view that campaigning for liberal capitalist politicians is the way to defend women's rights.

There was a sprinkling of women at the demonstration who were wearing T-shirts that said "Clean up politics, elect women," and buttons saying "I'm pro-choice and I vote."

Barbara Winslow, a member of the Reproductive Rights National Network Steering Committee, later reminded people that "it was a bipartisan Congress, a Congress controlled by the Democrats, that passed the racist Hyde Amendment."

## Slaughter in Lebanon: Israeli lies unravel

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*Monde*, the Palestinian refugee camp of Ein Khilwe, near Sidon, no longer exists. Before the invasion it housed 40,000 Palestinians.

"Bulldozers have begun to raze what the bombs, artillery shells, and explosives had left standing," Kapeliouk reported. "The army has forbidden journalists access to the camp. The reason is simple: visitors have found an apocalyptic spectacle. The houses are either entirely or partially destroyed; not one has remained intact."

Kapeliouk continued: "In launching his attack against Lebanon, Gen. Ariel Sharon [the Israeli defense minister] spoke about the need to destroy the 'terrorist infrastructure.' In reality, it is the infrastructure of an entire people that has been wiped out in the Palestinian camps: houses destroyed, men disappeared, schools, clinics, and other institutions knocked down."

The situation in Ein Khilwe is a familiar one throughout southern Lebanon. *Washington Post* correspondent David Ottaway visited the Rachideyeh refugee camp near Tyre. He found that all but 15 of the houses there had been blown up by the Israeli army.

Some 4,000 of the original 15,000 inhabitants of the camp have returned, but the Israeli authorities refuse to let them even set up tents. About 1,500 young men from the camp have been seized by the Zionists and taken to Israel for "interrogation."

An estimated 100,000 refugees have

fled from the fighting to Baalbek, in eastern Lebanon. More than half of the refugees are Lebanese civilians, and the rest Palestinians.

The systematic bombing and destruction of the Palestinian camps is part of an Israeli drive to scatter the Palestinian population, destroy the Palestinians as a cohesive national body, and silence their political voice, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

Increasingly, the Zionists and their rightist Lebanese allies are talking about expelling large numbers of Palestinians from Lebanon.

"The feeling from all the meetings we had with the Lebanese is that they must be kicked out," Yisrael Gravinsky, a high Israeli official, told Ottaway. The "Lebanese" he was referring to are the rightists that the Israelis are trying to place in charge of the Lebanese government.

One way to try to push the Palestinians out is through systematic terror. That is what is now happening in southern Lebanon.

Catholic Bishop George Haddad of Tyre has publicly denounced the continual arrests and torture of both Lebanese and Palestinian civilians. A World Council of Churches fact-finding mission that visited southern Lebanon accused the Israeli authorities of violating the Geneva Conventions on the treatment of civilians and prisoners in time of war.

Two Norwegian doctors have reported

seeing Palestinian prisoners being beaten with table legs with nails on the ends, plastic tubing, and whips made of plastic straps tied together.

Meanwhile, the Israeli army is tightening its stranglehold around West Beirut, where 500,000 civilians and 6,000 PLO fighters are boxed in. Food shipments into West Beirut have been repeatedly blocked by the Israelis.

Because of the growing international outcry over this Zionist reign of terror, the U.S. government decided on July 19 to announce that it was suspending further shipments of cluster bomb shells to Israel.

White House spokesman Larry Speakes then promptly added that all other U.S. military equipment would continue to be provided to the Israeli forces.

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# Draft nonregistrant tells why he resisted

BY MARY JO VOGEL

SAN DIEGO — Ben Sasway, a 21-year-old college student from Vista, California, is, as he puts it, "doing a whole lot of talking to newspapers and supportive groups" these days. Sasway is building support for the political battle he's waging against the Selective Service and the Reagan administration's decision to reinstitute the draft.

Sasway is the first person in the nation to be indicted for refusing to register for the draft. At least 160 additional prosecutions are being prepared against other nonregistrants.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Sasway criticized the U.S. drive toward war. "El Salvador is a symptom. The nuclear arms race is a symptom. Military conscription is a symptom. They're all interrelated parts of what I consider a spirit of militarism, a spirit of war preparation, an attitude that too often the U.S. has, and too often other countries of the world have, where they meet crisis situations with force and war preparations, and armour clanging and tough hard lines."

He also explained that his rights are being violated. "I don't feel that forcing people to do something against their will and against their conscience is right. It's contrary to democracy."

When he first heard about the registration decision, he said, "I knew I couldn't have any part of it. It would be a last straw for me." So, he wrote President Carter a letter in July 1980, stating that he "could not possibly register and keep a good conscience."

One year later, July 1981, he got a response from the Selective Service, threatening to turn his name over to the Justice Department if he didn't register.

The matter was turned over to the U.S. attorney in San Diego and an indictment was issued June 30, charging him with failure to register with the Selective Service. A trial date has been set for August 24.

Sasway explained that his letter to the president was not the only reason he's the first to be prosecuted. The government singled him out because it expected little protest in San Diego where large naval and marine bases are located. As he put it, "It's not smart to do it in an area of high unemployment which is prone to social protest. Or, in such cities as Washington, D.C., where you can get people out into the streets quickly."

Nonetheless, many San Diegans are expressing support for Sasway. Over 200 people demonstrated outside the courthouse the day after he was indicted. He has also received many supportive phone calls and letters. One phone call brought 15 students from Torrey Pines High school to the picket. Nationwide, he pointed to demonstrations, pickets and news conferences in more than 120 cities.

Sasway explained that people of all ages are supporting him. "People be-

tween 30 and 40 who remember what Vietnam was like and what a draft enabled our government to do, without the consent of the American people. There are lots of mothers and older people, including peace activists from World War II. I've been lucky because people from all different walks of life are in support of me and other draft resisters who are now on the line."

Sasway pointed to strong support among his age group. "I think most people my age sympathize with me. Many registered simply out of fear. They just simply couldn't allow their life to be completely upset by what I'm doing, so they didn't want to go that far. But they told me when they're called up to go to Nicaragua or Beirut or wherever it is this week, 'I'm not going.' There's an awful lot of that."

"There are a few people who say they registered because they thought it was right," he continued. "I have a hard time . . . I can't get down on a person for that because I'm fighting for people to make a moral decision and I think if a person registers because they think it's right, that's okay. That's their decision and something they have to live with. I'm trying to reach people who registered out of fear or who are going against their conscience and trying to urge them not to register and to stand up and be counted because those are the people that we really need. I'm asking people to perform to the dictates of their conscience and I'm trying to set an example as best I can."

Sasway sees a close tie between today's registration and U.S. involvement in another war. "The Selective Service perpetuates the myth that it's only registration. First off, the draft boards are tooled up and ready to go. There's little doubt that they're planning a draft. If we don't exert ourselves right now, we're going to have one. There's little doubt that if there's a million people standing around with guns and training to go to war, they could be sent very easily at the whim of the president. The draft is closely connected to arms and militarism in the sense that it enables a leader to easily send people into a foreign interventionist war."

Sasway explained how it is that so many young men refused to register. "I think the youth of America, meaning those turning 18 and my generation, remember Vietnam very well. Their whole childhood and formative years was spent in that. I don't remember specifics in the news, but my whole attitude was shaped by Vietnam, by Watergate, by Abscam. We've grown up with an irreverence to politicians, with an irreverence toward government."

The San Diego Draft Resisters Defense Fund has been set up to coordinate Sasway's defense. The committee is appealing for contributions and has petitions and fact sheets available. Contact: P.O. Box 33544, San Diego, California 92103.



Militant/John Naubert

Ben Sasway: "If there's a million people standing around with guns and training to go to war, they could be sent very easily at the whim of the president."

## Iran marches for Palestinians

TEHRAN — Hundreds of thousands of Iranians demonstrated in the streets here on July 16 to express solidarity with the Palestinian people and support for Iran's war against counterrevolutionary attacks by the Saddam Hussein regime in Iraq.

Similar demonstrations were held in cities across Iran. The occasion was "Jerusalem Day" — an event that has been observed in Iran each year since the revolution, on the last Friday of the Muslim holy month of Ramadan.

In addition to the massive numbers of Iranians who marched, there was a contingent of Iraqi prisoners of war who chanted slogans calling for the overthrow of Saddam Hussein. Hundreds of Iranian Jews also marched, and at an earlier rally at Tehran University a representative of the Iranian Jewish community read a statement denouncing the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Ayatollah Khomeini sent a message, read by his son, in which he also denounced the Israeli attacks, urged the Palestinian fighters in Beirut to continue their heroic resistance, and assured them that Iran would continue to give them support. Several thousand

Iranian volunteers have been sent to Lebanon and Syria, but no more have been able to go in recent weeks owing to a prohibition on troop flights across Turkey by the military dictatorship in Ankara.

Iranian television broadcast coverage of a demonstration by Iranian volunteers in the Syrian capital of Damascus, expressing support for Iran's efforts in the war against Iraq.

On July 15 and 16 Iraqi jets launched bombing raids on residential areas in a number of western Iranian cities and towns. Seventy persons were reported killed in Hamedan when the Iraqi bombers struck the center of the city while the Jerusalem Day demonstration was taking place.

Workers in Tehran factories have welcomed the most recent operations by Iranian forces inside Iraq. These are seen as necessary due to the continued bombardment of Iranian cities from positions inside Iraq. A recent call by the Mobilization Corps of the Oppressed (Baseej) for additional volunteers to fight at the front has received a massive response.

From Intercontinental Press

## Reagan maneuvering in Persian Gulf

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ble victims of Iranian aggression bankrolled the Iraqi invasion to the tune of nearly \$25 billion. Saudi Arabian ports were choked with war materiel for the Iraqi army, which was then trucked overland. Nor has this supply been halted. "It is known that trucks with equipment for Iraq are moving across the border from neighboring Kuwait," Michael Getler reported in the July 21 *Washington Post*.

The speaker of the Iranian Parliament, Hojatolislam Hashemi Rafsanjani, warned July 18 that "if the truckloads of arms continue to go to

Iraq, then Iran will have the right to an appropriate response."

As Washington's mask of neutrality in the war has worn thinner and thinner, Iraqi President Hussein has also continued to move away from the anti-imperialist stance that at one time characterized his regime.

"We want to have good relations" with Washington, Hussein told *Time* magazine in an interview appearing in its July 19 issue.

"Before the war," Hussein continued, "I discussed seriously the question of resuming relations with the U.S. with some of my comrades in the leadership. . . . At the appropriate time we will tell the Americans, 'Come.' It is unnatural not to have relations with one of the two superpowers."

Later on Hussein added: "We are not following the Soviet line. Iran is. The Soviets have targets and aims in the region, among them Iran."

Hussein pointedly refrained from criticizing Washington's support to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in the interview.

Right now, Iranian and Iraqi forces remain locked in combat outside the Iraqi port of Basra. A victory for the Iranian forces will inspire the oppressed and exploited throughout the Middle East, and especially in the Persian Gulf area. President Reagan, who vowed in October 1981 that "Saudi Arabia we will not permit to be an Iran," has telegraphed his response to the latest developments offering to send U.S. troops to the region.

## The fight against Washington's war on working people—at home and abroad

Rally in Cleveland  
Wednesday, August 4, 8 p.m.

Speakers:  
**Mel Mason**, independent candidate for governor of California  
**Rev. Ben Chavis**, Wilmington 10 defendant; deputy director,  
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Also, rally Friday night: Aug. 6, Oberlin College. Hear fighters from the battlefronts against imperialism around the world — the Caribbean, Central America, Palestine, South Africa, Indochina.



Ben Chavis



Mel Mason

# Actions support Central American struggle



Militant Dave Snipper

Increased opposition to U.S. intervention is needed.

## Boston conference on Nicaragua condemns attacks

BY LOUIS JOSEPHSON AND MICHAEL GALATI

BOSTON — As U.S.-trained and supported counterrevolutionaries increased their attacks on Nicaragua from the Honduran border, 250 antiwar activists and Nicaragua supporters attended an all-day conference here on various aspects of Nicaragua's revolution. The event was sponsored by the Central American Solidarity Association and the Latin American Studies Department at the University of Massachusetts.

The crowd heard Isabel Letelier, whose husband, Orlando Letelier, was defense minister of Chile under Salvador Allende in the early 1970s. Orlando Letelier was assassinated in 1976 by Chilean secret police with the help of the CIA. Isabel Letelier is now a fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington. She charged that what the Reagan administration has done through covert actions is to "wage an undeclared war against the people of Nicaragua and its legitimate Sandinista government."

After Letelier's keynote address, the

conference broke into workshops.

The workshop on democratic rights (called "pluralism") was led by Amilcar Navarro, first secretary of the Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington. He answered many questions about the Reagan administration's claims that the Sandinist government is "totalitarian." When asked why the next scheduled elections were slated for 1985, Navarro responded, "The triumph of the revolution was our first election. Of course, we didn't vote with ballots but with bullets."

The workshop on building a solidarity movement was packed, and a lively discussion centered around the best way forward for solidarity work. A perspective of orienting toward the November elections was discussed. But the majority of participants were against supporting any candidate and were confused as to exactly what "orienting to the elections" meant as a strategy for the solidarity movement. Several people from western Massachusetts and Boston proposed holding a conference to discuss what direction Nicaragua activists should take: that of working in elections or building a mass-action-oriented group. The latter proposal was met with wide support and interest.

The conference closed with an inspiring speech by Amilcar Navarro which

showed the confidence and hope of the Nicaraguan people despite devastating floods and invasions from the Honduran border. Navarro closed his speech with the emphatic assurance that "We Nicaraguans, with all our difficulties, know we will be successful. With your support and with the sweat and blood of our workers, we can tell you now that the future is ours. Patria o muerte! [Homeland or death!]"

## L.A. Casa Nicaragua attacked by rightists linked to Somoza

BY BARRY SCHIER

LOS ANGELES — Organizations attempting to get out the truth about U.S. intervention in Central America are coming under increasing attack.

On July 17, Casa Nicaragua, a cultural and political center here, was heavily damaged by a firebomb. The attack was organized by counterrevolutionary Nicaraguan exiles, former supporters of the deposed Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua.

The early-morning bombing caused extensive damage to the main meeting room as well as to several smaller rooms in the Nicaraguan community center. These included the offices of *El Nicaraguense*, Casa Nicaragua's monthly publication. The building was unoccupied at the time of the bombing, so no one was injured.

Casa Nicaragua issued a release explaining, "The bombing represents an effort by supporters of the ousted dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, whose family ruled Nicaragua with an iron hand for 45 years, to intimidate and silence those in the United States who support the process of national reconstruction now taking place in that Central American nation."

"The political nature of the attack was clear," the release continued, "from the fact that political slogans such as 'Muerte al comunismo' (Death to communism) were painted on the front of the building. The attack comes at a time when other supporters of the former Somoza dictatorship are engaging in armed attacks against Nicaragua from the sanctuary of neighboring Honduras. Because of these attacks, Nicaragua has ordered all its defense forces on alert and into action. Military actions are occurring as Nicaragua acts to defend itself against attacks."

Casa Nicaragua says it has failed to get any cooperation from the police. "The response of the Los Angeles Police Department has been to refuse all requests for an investigation. The Ram-

part Division of the LAPD stated that it would rely solely on the report of the fire department. . . .

"If such attacks are allowed to continue, and if local authorities refuse to act, they can escalate and can affect others in our community. This attack threatens the democratic rights not only of Casa Nicaragua and its members and supporters but of everyone who would exercise their constitutionally guaranteed rights to freedom of assembly, freedom of speech, and freedom of the press."

On the evening of the day that the attack occurred, a celebration of the third anniversary of the founding of Casa Nicaragua went ahead as planned. Speakers at a meeting of more than 200 people included Jaime Bismark, editor of *El Nicaraguense*; Ramon Diaz, one of the central leaders of Casa Nicaragua; representatives of the Guatemala Information Center, the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, and the Farabundo Martí Liberation Front; and Mel Mason, independent socialist candidate for governor of California.

Mason condemned the attack and placed it in the context of the deepening war against the Nicaraguan revolution being waged by Washington with the help of the Honduran government.

The following day, the July 19 Coalition — including Casa Nicaragua, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, and others — organized a march and rally of 250 people in downtown Los Angeles to protest the bombing.

## Protests to hit raids on Central America

The following emergency activities are being organized in New York in response to the attacks against Nicaragua and El Salvador by U.S.-backed Honduran troops and the imminent threat of an invasion of these countries:

On Friday July 23, the Emergency Committee against the Intervention in Central America will be holding a picket in front of the Honduran Consulate from 4:30 to 6:30 p.m. at 18 East 41 Street.

On Friday July 30, the Farabundo Martí Solidarity Committee is planning a teach-in beginning at 7 p.m. at the Holy Name Church at 748 Amsterdam Avenue between west 96th and 97th streets.

On August 1, the New York Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador has called for a march and rally to assemble in front of the Honduran Mission at 11 a.m. at 43rd Street and Lexington Avenue.

# Nicaragua marks anniversary, thwarts bombing

Continued from Page 1

measure of self-defense. Only the barrage of anti-aircraft and rifle fire unleashed by troops guarding the port prevented the bomber from zeroing in on its target. Within minutes of the rocket blast, the Sandinista troops were joined by 2,000 armed militia members who took up positions throughout the city in case the bomber returned for another try.

In his speech, Ortega took up the main points of the discussion that has been held in virtually every workplace in the country.

"We have made advances, but we still have a long way to go." Furthermore, as the revolution deepens, as it continues to fulfill its pledge to build a new society, "we must be prepared for the worst" — an intensification of attacks from U.S. imperialism.

"The American government," Ortega said, "will try to kill the Sandinista revolution, and with it all hope for change in Central America."

We are combating a "silent but murderous invasion," Ortega said. He spel-

led out the details of the recent intensified counterrevolutionary attacks, which the U.S. business press — on the rare occasions when it has reported such attacks at all — has tried to portray as figments of overheated Sandinista imagination.

"It is no fantasy, what you have seen in [the border villages] Kilambé, Kuina, Cerro de Jesús, Somotone, Limbaica, San Fernando, and Tortuguero, to name just a few, where since July 4, 18 attacks have taken the lives of more than 50 heroic fighters. . . .

"It is no fantasy that helicopters of the Honduran armed forces are being used to move supplies and support the Somozaist National Guard who are based along the border.

"It is no fantasy that thousands of rifles are being delivered to Honduras to these beasts so that they can try to drown our country in blood.

"It is no fantasy that units of the Honduran army are positioned behind the National Guard units to cover their retreat after they launch their criminal attacks."

Moreover, he continued, "there are increasing political efforts to isolate Nicaragua," claiming that our supposed "arms madness" is the main danger in the region.

The truth, Ortega said, is that "all of Central America is on the verge of war."

It is not Nicaragua that is responsible for this widening war, Ortega pointed out. It is U.S. imperialism.

"It is the government of President Reagan that has justified the presence of Somozaist National Guard camps in the U.S. state of Florida.

"It is the government of President Reagan that has approved \$19 million to enable the CIA to carry out covert actions designed to arm the members of the National Guard stationed in Honduras and to encourage destabilization, economic sabotage, and crime in Nicaragua.

"It is the government of President Reagan that, through its representative in the United Nations, vetoed . . . a majority resolution that simply called for no invasion of Nicaragua, no threats

against Nicaragua, and no destabilization of Nicaragua. . . .

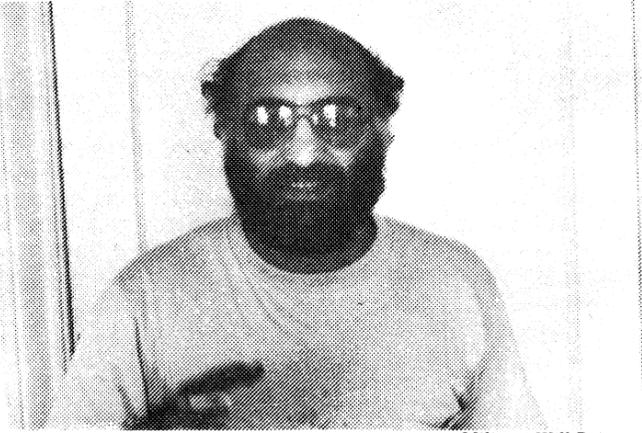
"It is the government of President Reagan that has ordered its spy planes to violate Nicaraguan air space.

"It is the government of President Reagan that has ordered its warships to station themselves in Nicaragua's territorial waters. . . .

"In short, this is his policy and no other: to murder our literacy instructors, teachers, health brigade workers, militia members, soldiers. To bring grief to our entire people, to hundreds of Nicaraguan families who are today once again mourning lost children, spouses, parents, brothers and sisters who have been killed by National Guard members carrying out this policy."

U.S. ambassador to Nicaragua William Quanton, present on the speakers' stand along with representatives from 55 countries, did not like having his employers' latest crimes publicly listed.

Quanton abruptly walked off the stage, alone — a telling reflection of the lack of international support for the U.S. war against Nicaragua.



Militant/Will Reissner

Nubar Hovsepien

Nubar Hovsepien is the United Nations correspondent for *Palestine Affairs*, a magazine published in Beirut by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Research Center. He is also a fellow of the Institute for Arab Research.

Hovsepien is active in the November 29 Coalition, formed to commemorate the UN-designated International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People. The Coalition sponsored a demonstration of 4,000 people against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in New York on July 10, and has organized a teach-in for July 29.

Will Reissner interviewed Hovsepien for the *Militant* on July 16.

*Question. What are the Palestinians fighting for?*

*Answer.* The Palestinian people were forced out of their homeland in 1948 and want to go home. It is that simple.

The Palestinian refugees have never wanted to stay in Beirut or anywhere else besides Palestine. That is why they have refused to be absorbed elsewhere. To be absorbed would mean losing their national identity.

On a more general level, the Palestinian struggle is a struggle for self-determination, for the right to their own state and the right to choose their own leadership.

The Palestinian people have spoken unequivocally and have stated that their leadership is the PLO.

*Q. Why did the Israelis invade Lebanon?*

A. The invasion plans were drawn up by the Israeli army a year and a half ago. The question of *when* to launch the invasion was simply a political decision to implement long-standing plans.

The Israeli invasion had three basic goals: to eliminate the PLO and its Lebanese supporters; to establish a puppet regime in Lebanon; and to further the Israeli plans to formally annex the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which they have occupied since 1967.

The Israelis hope that by physically destroying the Palestine Liberation Organization, a goal that requires a semi-genocidal war against the whole Palestinian people, they will be able to build up an alternative Palestinian leadership that will agree to solve the "Palestinian question" on Israeli terms.

Perhaps their most important goal is to deepen Israeli control over the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Since 1967 the Israelis have been establishing Jewish settlements on the West Bank. They have been seizing Palestinian land, and they have been taking the water resources for their own use. These are all preparations for formal annexation of the occupied territories, to follow the recent annexation of the Golan Heights.

The Israelis hope that by destroying the Palestinian leadership, by seizing the land, and by taking the water resources, they will make it impossible for the Palestinians in the occupied territories to maintain themselves as a homogeneous community and will pave the way for their eventual elimination from the territories.

*Q. How have the Israelis done on their goals?*

A. The results have been mixed. Israel has tremendous military power, but it does not have the political power to consolidate its military gains. In Lebanon, the internal political situation is so complex that to establish a puppet state they will have to keep their troops in the country for a prolonged period, which heightens the military, political, and economic costs.

Secondly, although the Palestinian movement has sustained major military losses, which we should not underestimate, the Palestinian movement has not been crushed.

*Q. Can the PLO maintain a presence in Beirut?*

A. Things are still very fluid, but I think there will be some type of Palestinian presence.

# 'Palestinian struggle is for self-determination, the right to a homeland'

The Israelis are now demanding that not only the PLO, but all Palestinians leave southern Lebanon and Beirut. They are demanding that all the refugee camps in the south be relocated to northern Lebanon or preferably to other countries.

We are at a very critical juncture. The Palestinian movement has never thought it could defeat the Israelis in a purely military encounter. The military dimension was simply a complement to the political demand for an independent state as outlined by the Palestine National Congress in 1976.

But unless the Palestinian movement can maintain some military presence in Lebanon, the Lebanese rightists will unleash another bloodbath against Palestinians as they did in 1976.

*Q. What has been the U.S. government's role?*

A. The Reagan administration gave a green light for the Israeli invasion. This is part of Washington's preoccupation with military solutions to developments in the Middle East and Gulf region.

Reagan's recent claim that he had no advance knowledge of the Israeli invasion is simply not true. Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon called Reagan a week before the invasion telling him of the plans. And the invasion would have been impossible without U.S. arms.

*Q. What do you think of the reaction of Arab states to the invasion?*

A. When the Israelis invaded, the Arab states did not move in our defense. But the Arab people also did not move. This has caused us many problems. People around the world ask, "why should we support you when your Arab brothers do nothing?"

The root of this problem is that all the Arab states — from Saudi Arabia to Algeria — are very repressive. Whether they are authoritarian monarchies or authoritarian nationalist regimes they have all excluded the mass of the population from the political process.

As a result the Arab masses have been severely weakened in their ability to resist and are very suspicious of all political tendencies in the area.

*Q. What do you think of the development of opposition to the war within the Jewish population of Israel?*

A. It is very significant when 100,000 people demonstrate against what they call an unjust war, while that war is going on.

We also have seen combat pilots and troops in Lebanon protest what they describe as "Sharon's dirty war."

For the first time we see the potential for a real antiwar movement in Israel, which will have big consequences in Israeli society.

One thing that is particularly striking to many Jews is the parallel between the plight of the Palestinians, a homeless people that no one wants to take in, and the Jewish predicament after the Nazi onslaught in Europe.

This movement is qualitatively different from the Peace Now movement that arose in 1973. For the first time they acknowledge that this is an Israeli-Palestinian war, and that a solution to the Palestinian question is central.

But it is sad that we have had to pay such a huge human cost to see this development.

*Q. What kind of activities do you plan in the U.S.?*

A. First let me say that there has been a dramatic change here in people's receptivity to the Palestinian side of the question in recent years, and especially since the Israeli invasion on June 6.

This shift in consciousness has not been produced by our own ability to convince people, but rather by Israeli excesses, both in Lebanon and on the West Bank.

Today we must address ourselves to broad sectors of the American people — in the churches, the peace organizations, the labor unions, and so on. They are now willing to listen to our side of the story, and we must bring it to them.

We have already been able to hold demonstrations and teach-ins that have been much more successful than anything we could have done six months ago.

The time is right for a broad educational campaign about the Middle East. We have to recreate the teach-in programs that took place here during the Vietnam antiwar movement. As a student, I was involved in those teach-ins myself, and I remember that when we started people did not even know where Vietnam was on the map. So we have to deal with the ABCs of the matter.

We are also beginning to put together delegations of prominent people to go to Lebanon to examine the situation and report back. They must be prominent or the Israelis will refuse them entry.

We want to involve Catholics connected with the Liberation Theology movement in order to undercut the myth that the struggle in Lebanon is simply a religious struggle between Christians and Muslims.

We also hope to get lawyers involved in defending Palestinian prisoners of war being held by the Israelis. The Israelis refuse to recognize the Palestinians as POWs and we have to demand that they be treated in line with the Geneva Convention and other agreements regarding treatment of POWs.

Another special area of concern is Black political figures. We find that wide layers of the Black and Hispanic populations in the U.S. immediately understand our struggle and support the Palestinian cause. One of our major concerns is to organize and build on that support.

## U.S. court upholds Cuba travel ban

A preliminary injunction against the government's ban on travel to Cuba by Americans was turned down July 16 by a magistrate in U.S. district court in Boston.

The magistrate, Robert Collings, ruled that the president has authority under the Trading With the Enemy Act to prevent American citizens from spending U.S. currency in Cuba.

Under this act, anyone not a journalist or "professional" researcher — categories the government claims authority to define — or who does not have relatives in Cuba, can't go there.

The restrictions effectively bar most Americans from Cuba.

The case was argued before the magistrate by noted constitutional lawyer Leonard Boudin. The magistrate's order is expected to be appealed.

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# Racist cuts in education go into effect

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

On July 1 a new round of cuts in education, approved by both President Reagan and Congress, came into effect. The result is a new escalation of the attack on working people in general, and on Blacks, Latinos, and other oppressed nationalities in particular.

Federal spending for elementary and secondary education will total only \$5.3 billion this year, down 6 percent from last year's figure (which was itself a reduction of 8 percent from the preceding year). And these figures do not take inflation into account. In real terms, the cuts are greater.

Assuming no further reductions, the U.S. government will spend only about \$26.5 billion on elementary and secondary education over the next five years. This compares to the \$1.5 trillion that the Reagan administration wants to spend on arms.

Government-funded public education is a basic democratic right. Yet it did not always exist. In the early 19th century, formal education was a privilege of the rich. The right to government-funded public education was one of the demands raised by the first labor organizations in this country. Gradually, the working class won the right to free public education, at least through the high school level.

Now this basic democratic principle is under attack. Nothing better symbolizes the social regression brought on by the decline of capitalism than Reagan's proposal to abolish the federal Department of Education.

Merely looking at total figures conceals the full significance of the attacks. For example, while the overall federal elementary and secondary education budget is being reduced by "only" 6 percent, spending on bilingual education is being slashed a whopping 14.6 percent. This fits in with the government's other recent attacks against Spanish-speaking people, in particular the racist raids being carried out against undocumented workers by the immigration cops.

The impact of the Reagan-Congress cuts will be quite uneven. In wealthy communities, education can be easily financed by local taxes. Federal aid plays a small role.

But in most communities, federal aid plays a big role. And among the poorest, it is vital in maintaining the educational system. When Reagan and Congress reduce the amount spent on Indian education from \$82 million to \$78 million,

this is a devastating blow to the already terrible schooling provided Indian children.

Depression-ridden Detroit illustrates the effect of the education cuts on the nation's urban areas. Public school officials in Detroit report that they will have to cut their education staff by more than 700.

It is "disadvantaged" students who are affected most by these cuts. Most such students are Black or Latino. Their "disadvantage" is centuries of racist oppression.

In the Detroit school district, the program for "disadvantaged" students will be reduced by 15 to 20 percent. Of the 45,000 students that now are benefiting from this program in Detroit, as many as 10,000 will have to be dropped.

Even more directly racist is the reduction of funding for desegregation. In Norwalk, Connecticut, for example, the desegregation program will be reduced from \$500,000 to \$300,000, a cut of 40 percent.

While Reagan is working overtime to slash government financial support of public education, he is trying to establish education subsidies for the rich. The president would give a tax credit of up to \$500 to people who send their children to private or parochial schools.

A joint statement by the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association pointed out, "The attempts to enact tuition tax credits schemes constitute an effort to undermine the financial support structure of the public schools of our nation."

On July 6, thousands of teachers attending the convention of the National Education Association in Los Angeles marched against the cuts in education. Among the banners that were carried were "Nuclear arms can't hug kids"; "Teaching: poverty with dignity"; "Reaganomics: Death Valley Days"; and

"Reaganhood: rob from the poor and give to the rich."

The capitalist government of the Democrats and the Republicans is steadily rolling back public education. This is their response to the economic crisis of their rotten system.

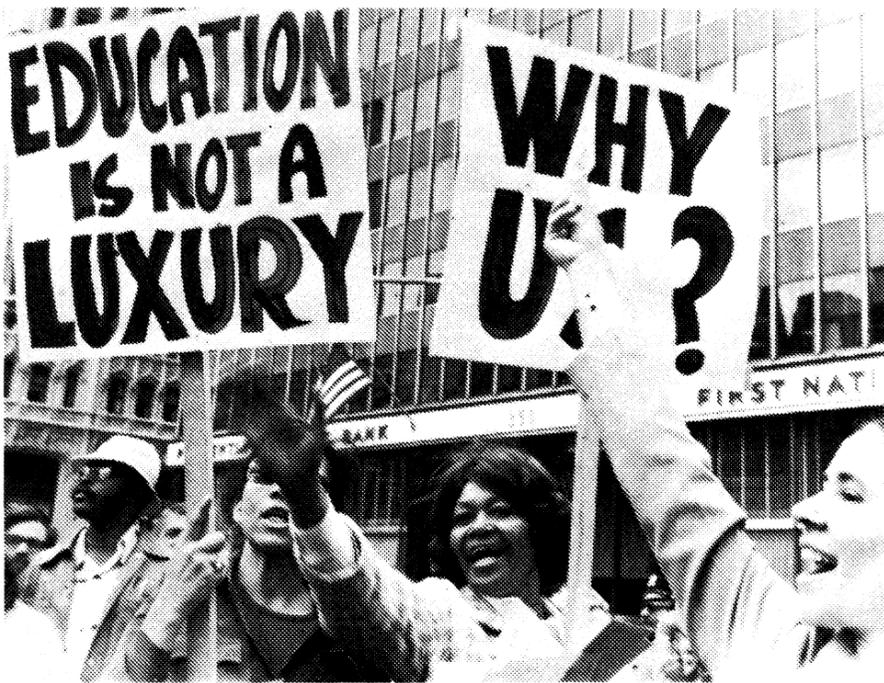
Clearly, these cuts are not in the interests of working people. Working people need more schools, more teachers, and more special programs, especially in Black and Latino communities. The extension of busing to achieve desegregation, as well as bilingual education programs, is necessary to overcome the effects of generations of racist oppression.

Since the number of school buildings is inadequate, and much of the existing school plant is run down, a crash pro-

gram to build new schools is sorely needed. Such a program would provide jobs and job training for thousands of workers.

Just as the pioneer labor organizations a hundred years ago fought to establish the basic principle of public education, today the unions must fight to preserve it. That is the only answer to the attempts of the capitalist government to roll back public education.

The resources are there, in the \$1.5 trillion military budget. If the Democrats and Republicans say that the arms budget is needed for "national defense," the unions should answer that human needs here at home are what need defending — not the profits of big business in Central America and the Middle East.



Militant/Martha Harris

## African National Congress leader speaks

BY EVELYN NEWMAN

ATLANTA — Johnny Makatini, chief representative of the African National Congress (ANC) observer delegation at the United Nations, spoke here July 10.

He reported that the ANC, the liberation movement fighting against the apartheid regime in South Africa, is gaining momentum and attracting new recruits. These include a growing

number of whites who now identify with the aspirations of the Black majority.

Standing before an audience of about 60 that was comprised largely of Africans, the ANC leader warned that "Washington's statements of solidarity with the South African regime could easily lead to U.S. military intervention on the side of the regime." He cited U.S. actions including the continuous vetoing of UN resolutions condemning South African apartheid and aggression; the sending of military advisers to South Africa; and the encouragement of nuclear proliferation in South Africa.

Discussing the worsening economic conditions in his native land and the more than 200 strikes by workers last year alone, Makatini pointed out that large numbers of Black workers involved in these strikes are discovering the enormous power they share as laborers. He cited the strikes in the gold mines as an example. Those strikes involve thousands of workers in several mines. The militancy of the strikers is

encouraging other workers and further raising the consciousness of the Black masses.

The advances in the freedom movement are increasing reactionary offensives by the apartheid regime however, Makatini reported. These include "divide and rule" tactics, greater repression and genocide against the Black masses, and destabilization attempts in neighboring countries like Namibia and Angola.

Makatini not only brought information, but words of encouragement and inspiration.

"Ours is a just cause . . . African people are not living under the illusion that freedom will come easy. There is no easy walk to freedom," he commented, adding that "generations of Blacks in South Africa have had to fight for liberation."

This liberation is inevitable, he concluded, and urged ANC members and their allies in the United States to promote widespread solidarity in this country for South African liberation.

## Federal gov't to tax disabled

BY DAVE BRANDT

NEW YORK — Among the slew of attacks being launched against working people's living standards, some of the dirtiest punches have been aimed at disabled people. Not only are services being cut and recent regulations against discrimination being eroded, but many are having their incomes taken away.

A massive "reevaluation" program is under way, and thousands are having their Social Security Disability Benefits (SSDB) ended. At least one man who lost his SSDB has committed suicide.

Social Security has three trust funds. The only one considered to be in "financial trouble" is the one for retirees. In spite of this, essential support to disabled people — SSDB — is being cut back, and workers who provide services to those receiving SSDB are facing layoffs and speedup.

There is another side to this attack that few people know about. The federal government has started to tax state disability benefits.

I work for a state-operated insurance company that handles state Workers' Compensation and Disability insurance. According to the law, the agency is required to plan its budget to make a hefty income (it's not supposed to be considered profit). When the income is particularly high, the companies that hold

policies are given a break, but never the people collecting benefits or the agency's workers.

For years the state had added insult to injury by refusing to provide us, as state workers, the disability insurance that private employers must provide. Recently, the new federal tax law has added a new humiliation.

This new law requires that Social Security tax be deducted from the state disability insurance benefit checks paid to disabled workers. Disability insurance is limited to a maximum of \$95 per week for 26 weeks. For someone who is healthy, this is a pitiful sum to scrape by on; it is all the harder for someone who is ill.

And yet Reagan and the Congress have decided that disabled workers must pay federal taxes on these measly checks.

In addition to paying Social Security taxes on state disability checks, workers have to pay federal income taxes on these meager payments as well.

Congress was not satisfied with this stab in the back. They felt they had to give the knife a good twist.

So if a disabled worker requires a lawyer to help him or her with the disability benefits, the worker must pay Social Security taxes on the lawyer's fee as well!

	<p><b>South Africa</b> <i>White Rule/Black Revolt</i></p> <p>Ernest Harsch</p> <p>This is the history of South Africa's Black majority. Its fight for freedom—for the right to vote, for an end to pass laws, for decent education and living standards, for the right to organize into unions, and for majority rule. \$6.95</p> <p><b>Pathfinder Press</b> 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 (include \$.75 for postage and handling.)</p>
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Militant Stu Singer

Joe Swanson, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Nebraska.

# Socialists open drive to put rail worker on Nebraska ballot

## Rally hears farmers' leader, others

BY DELBERT MAXWELL

LINCOLN, Neb. — The first socialist campaign in Nebraska in more than 60 years got off to a strong start this week. Campaign supporters gathered more than 800 signatures to place Joe Swanson, a rail worker, on the ballot as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor. Two thousand signatures are required by state law.

At a rally held June 26 to launch the campaign and the petition drive, the socialists announced that Cheryl Porch, a clerk on the Burlington Northern Railroad and a member of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Local 471, would run for lieutenant governor.

Porch said the petitioning requirement "restricts the democratic rights of workers and socialists to participate fully in the electoral process and to have equal treatment and coverage in the elections.

"But we plan to gather hundreds more than the 2,000 signatures required to get on the ballot."

Porch explained, "Our campaign speaks to the interests of workers and farmers, and this is why obstacles are placed in our way."

But, she said, "this is a good time to fight. We have gotten a good response from co-workers, who are anxious to sign our petitions.

"We believe our campaign will attract fighters: Black activists, unionists, women's rights activists, gay and lesbian rights activists, draft nonregistrants, and farmers."

She said the petition drive will be taken to Omaha, to farm communities, and to other parts of the state. The campaign plans to distribute 5,000 leaflets, outlining the socialist program, during the ballot drive.

### ERA supporters

Supporters of Swanson and Porch gathered nearly 200 signatures at a July 1 rally protesting the refusal of Democrats and Republicans to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment. They also got a good response at a Black community picnic in Omaha on July 5, netting 150 signatures. Dozens of rail workers in Lincoln have signed the petitions at work.

The socialists plan to complete their drive by July 24, and to file their petitions in August.

Also speaking at the rally, which was attended by more than 40 people, was David Moraga, a Nicaraguan student, who described the progress of the revolution in his country despite the attacks of U.S.-organized terrorists and the recent floods. He appealed for solidarity and aid to help the revolution go forward.

Following Moraga was Steve Burdic, a leader of the Southeast Nebraska Small Farms Action Group, who noted, "The same people that are doing these things in Nicaragua and El Salvador are doing the same things right here in this country to the people that live and work here."

Former Secretary of State Alexander Haig, he said, is part-owner of a feed lot operation in Nebraska's Sand Hills. "Maybe now that he's unemployed he'll go out there and feed some cattle.

"The farmer's in a depression right

now," Burdic explained. "The farmer buys his goods at retail and he sells what he grows at wholesale, and it doesn't make for a very profitable enterprise when you consider that there's only about five companies that he can sell his grain to, that control the grain trade in the whole world.

"And when the people go to buy their food in the grocery store, they find out there's only four or five grocery stores that control around 60 percent of the food that's sold in this country. The same is true of processing — you've got four or five companies with monopoly control of the distribution and processing of food right now."

### Farmer-labor unity

Burdic continued: "I think that this is a time when people are going to have to get together. Farmers and labor union people have been traditionally at odds with each other, because they each think the other is ripping them off. We have to realize that the corporate managers and the shareholders interested in the short-term profits are the ones that make it so expensive to live."

Burdic also spoke about a recent drive to put a constitutional amendment on the state ballot to prohibit corporations from buying farmland. "Prudential Insurance bought 34,000 acres of farmland last year; they've got \$100 million a year budgeted to buy more farmland," he noted.

The rally expressed solidarity with David Rice and Ed Poindexter, two fighters for Black rights who have been in prison for 12 years after being framed in Omaha for the murder of a police officer in 1970.

Michael Rice, brother of David Rice and a leader of the Rice/Poindexter Defense Committee, explained his brother's case, and the committee's attempts to win his freedom, to the rally. The courts have refused to hear new evidence obtained in the last few years which indicates that the prosecution's main witness lied to help convict Rice and Poindexter.

The main speaker of the evening was gubernatorial candidate Joe Swanson. He devoted his talk to what a workers and farmers government is.

He disagreed, he said, with those who say that the 100 million workers and farmers and their families in this country are not powerful enough to run the government on their own.

"We have not been ruled by the British monarchy for more than 200 years," he said, "but we are now ruled by new tyrants. We are wage slaves to the corporations, the insurance companies, the banks, and their paid politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties. They govern us by the rule of profits, denying us the basic democratic and social rights we need for life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

"This government of the rich must be abolished and replaced by a workers and farmers government that will represent the majority."

Such a government, Swanson explained, will move to abolish private ownership of land and industry. "This does not mean your private home, if you can afford one," he said. "But it will

mean the end of landlords — they're useless as far as I'm concerned."

Similarly, the new government would not take over family shops and farms, but it would seize "the giant agribusiness farms that are trying to control the food production of the world. At the same time, the working farmers should be given all the help they need to do the job they know best — grow food."

Swanson predicted that the major industries and banking systems of this country will become public property, that the new government would lead in nationalizing them and operating them according to a plan. "Their aim from the very beginning will be to increase production, eliminate pollution and waste, and improve the health and living standards of the people."

The national plan, he said, would be drawn up by a planning group of elected representatives from unions, farm committees, economists, scientists, technicians, and consumers.

He challenged the idea that such a government is unrealistic and utopian. "What is absurd to me," he answered, "is the enormous waste on military spending today.

"This year over \$200 billion will be spent on military hardware and preparing for war in such places as Central America, Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. The capitalists and their government see this as an absolute necessity.

"They cannot afford any more revolutions in the world where oppressed people are overthrowing U.S.-backed dictators and setting up governments for the people."

## Opposition to Israeli invasion spurs sales of the 'Militant'

BY NANCY ROSENSTOCK

The *Militant's* antiwar stance and its support to the Palestinians has received a warm response at a number of recent protests against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

The largest protest was in New York City July 10, where 4,000 people demonstrated for immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and a halt to U.S. aid to Israel. *Militant* salespeople report 200 papers were sold.

A similar protest held July 10 in Washington, D.C., drew about 800 protesters. The interview with PLO leader Yassir Arafat in that *Militant* was popular among demonstrators: 60 people bought copies.

Forty copies each were sold at protests in Boston and Detroit.

Peter Seidman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Wisconsin governor, has been campaigning with supporters and selling the *Militant* in Milwaukee's Arab community. They have visited a number of grocery stores run by Arabs. Many were interested when they saw the *Militant's* headline, "No U.S. Troops to Lebanon." Several bought subscriptions to the *Militant*. An upcoming *Militant* forum, "Stop U.S.-Israeli Aggression in Lebanon," was publicized along with sales.

Swanson compared the recent U.S. government budget of war spending, cutbacks, and higher taxes that has been rammed down the throats of working people to the latest budget in Grenada, which was drawn up and discussed in union meetings, women's organizations, and local community gatherings.

He spoke of the advances of the workers and farmers governments in Grenada and Nicaragua, and of the example of revolutionary Cuba, which has aided these new governments.

Swanson urged all those present to get involved in the socialist campaign. "I became a socialist after reading books, pamphlets, and educational literature; being a union activist, asking questions, having questions answered; talking to people involved in the movement a long time, a short time; going to labor conferences and socialist educational conferences.

"I have been in marches, rallies, demonstrations, and strikes for everything from protesting and demanding jobs to higher wages, war threats, cutbacks in education and social services, and for the rights of women, Latinos, Blacks, and gays.

"Many of you here tonight have probably done the same thing. But it doesn't make sense to do all this one day and then vote for the two parties responsible for all this the next." We need our own party, he said. We need to break with the Democratic and Republican parties and set up a labor party that can fight for the interests of all workers and farmers.

At the abortion rights demonstration in Cherry Hill, New Jersey, on July 17, over 200 copies of the *Militant* were sold. Demonstrators were attracted by the back-page story on the recent women coal miners' conference, as well as the eyewitness coverage on Nicaragua.

Sales of Pathfinder Press literature totaled \$75, including several copies of *Women and the Cuban Revolution* and *Sandino's Daughters*.

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**Texans sue state to be on ballot**

BY ELSA BLUM

AUSTIN, Tex. — Three socialist congressional candidates filed suit in the Texas Supreme Court here July 14 to force the secretary of state to place their names on the November ballot.

The three are Shirley Peña, a garment worker running from San Antonio's 20th district; Gary Trabuea, an oil worker from Houston's 18th district; and Lee Oleson, a steelworker from Dallas' 5th district.

The three are running for Congress as independents because Texas law virtually excludes working-class parties from the ballot. Secretary of State David Dean is now trying to keep even this independent effort from reaching the voters.

Steve Marshall, chairperson of the Texas socialist campaign, spoke to reporters in a noon news conference outside the Texas Supreme Court.

"I want to emphasize," said Marshall, "that our fight for a place on the ballot is bound up with the U.S. government's moves toward war.

"Secretary Dean, representing the same millionaires who are behind President Reagan, wants to prevent Texas voters from hearing and voting for the only party in this state that's campaigning against the war drive.

"Unlike the Democrats and Republicans, our party expresses the will of the majority on this question of war. We are against all these moves, and we want a chance to be heard," he said.

The suit was filed by the Dallas firm of Mullinax, Wells,

Baab, and Cloutman, prominent in defending labor and civil-rights causes in Texas.

The Texas Supreme Court is to decide in a few weeks whether to hear the suit.

The secretary of state has also ruled the Citizens Party's 17 statewide candidates off the ballot. David Biggs, Dallas Citizens Party organizer, reported that his party submitted 30,000 signatures to qualify for ballot status. 15,000 were ruled invalid. To qualify for the Texas statewide ballot, a party must submit 24,000 valid signatures. The Dallas Voter registration office failed to provide important lists necessary for validating the party's signatures. The Citizens Party is considering legal action against the secretary of state.

**D.C. candidate blasts mayor**

BY OSBORNE HART

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Glenn White blasted Democratic Mayor Marion Barry's support for the Israeli invasion of Lebanon during a news conference here July 13. He also announced a petition drive for ballot status.

"It's not accidental that Mayor Barry spoke out in support of Israeli terror in Lebanon," White said. "But neither Barry nor the other Democratic and Republican candidates will speak out to support the thousands of D.C. youth who have refused to register for the draft and now face prosecution."

Running on a "Stop U.S. wars, jobs yes, draft no" program, White, who is a D.C. Metro worker and a member of the

Amalgamated Transit Union Local 689, told the media that the response to the SWP campaign has been impressive. During the initial 48 hours of the petition campaign, he said, supporters collected more than 2,800 signatures of the 3,000 required to be on the November ballot. Some 180 campaign interest cards have been returned by signers of the SWP petition.

The SWP campaign is fielding teams of supporters during a week-long drive to gether 6,500 signatures.

White told the *Militant*, "On-the-job petitioning has been received with enthusiasm by co-workers. We've gotten 25 signatures and several financial pledges on my shift alone."

He added, "Some of the more common responses to my candidacy are 'right on,' 'long live Malcolm X,' and 'it's about time we did our own thing in our interest.'"

**W. Va. socialists hit state 'count'**

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — A delegation demanded an explanation from the secretary of state July 6 of his office's disqualification of petitions to put Socialist Workers Party candidates on the November ballot.

In front of the Charleston media, the socialist delegation charged the secretary of state's office with violating the state Supreme Court's 1980 decision that permits individuals to petition and sign petitions in districts other than those they live in.

The secretary, A.J. Manchin, has disqualified thousands of signatures of voters who signed outside their home counties.

The SWP is running as candidates two coal miners, William Hovland for U.S. Senate and Adrienne Benjamin for U.S. Congress in the 3rd district. The campaign has turned in 13,359 and 3,944 signatures respectively for them to be on the ballot.

The law requires 4,934 signatures for the Senate and 1,796 for Congress. There has not been a socialist on the West Virginia ballot since 1936.

A spokesman for Manchin, who was not available, claimed phony names were included on the socialists' petitions, and charged them with "subverting the electoral process."

These false charges echoed those that appeared on the front page of the June 30 *Charleston Daily Mail* by Kanawha County Clerk Margaret Miller, who said "many signatures" on the SWP petitions were "fictitious," "duplicates," and even "obscene."

Miller, a Republican who is under indictment for election fraud following the burning of ballots right after the 1980 election, wrote Manchin to urge him to warn other counties to carefully scrutinize the socialists' petitions.

Miller also refused a request by the SWP that they be allowed to check her office's "validations."

These attacks by Miller and Manchin are the latest in a series by the state in its attempt to keep working-class candidates off the ballot.

The socialists have gotten broad support for their right to be on the ballot, including a column by editorial board member L.T. Anderson in the July 7 *Charleston Gazette*. In addition, many people have sent letters to Manchin's office to complain about harassment of the so-

cialists, and to demand that their candidates be placed on the ballot.

**Oak. mayor backs Mason's right to campaign**

BY ARNOLD WEISSBERG

OAKLAND — Mayor Lionel Wilson has issued a letter supporting Mel Mason's right to campaign "free from harassment and intimidation."

The state campaign office in Oakland of Mason, an independent candidate for governor, has been broken into three times since May. The last time, June 19, vandals destroyed campaign files and stole money and a typewriter.

In response, the Mason campaign sent a statement to Wilson asking him to "use his office's authority to ensure Mason the right to campaign free from harassment and intimidation."

The statement was signed by Congressman Ron Dellums; Wilson Riles of the Oakland City Council; John George, Alameda County Board of Supervisors; and Tom Bates, state Assembly.

Additional signers were Howard Moore, attorney; Kendra Alexander, Communist Party; Timothy Twomey, Hospital Workers Local 250, secretary-treasurer; David Aaroner, executive director, Social Services Employees Union Local 535; David Wald, Peace and Freedom Party; and others.

In addition, the Alameda County Central Labor Council sent Wilson a letter asking the mayor "to insure the right of citizens to campaign for the candidate of their choosing free from illegal harassment."

**Socialists win ballot status in North Carolina**

BY KATE DAHER

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. — The Socialist Workers Party was certified July 14 to be on the North Carolina ballot through 1984.

The decision, made unanimously by the state board of elections, means the SWP's candidate for U.S. Congress in the 5th District, Meryl Lynn Farber, will be on the ballot this November.

This is an important victory in a hard-fought struggle. Earlier this year, the socialists had to take the state to court to knock down a law that made it impossible for working-class parties and candidates to get on the ballot.

More than 14,000 people — Blacks, unionists, women, farmers, and students — signed the SWP's petitions for ballot status. In an unsuccessful attempt

to keep the socialists off the ballot, the state purged 9,000 names from petitions, claiming the signers were not registered.

But the battle is not over. Continuing their attempt to obstruct this campaign, the state has refused to drop charges against two SWP campaign supporters arrested while participating in a demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment in Raleigh June 6.

Shortly before the march began, Raleigh police Maj. Larry Smith and police attorney Dawn Bryant told campaigners they could not circulate petitions or distribute literature in a 30-block downtown area.

After consulting with attorneys from the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Lawyers Guild, SWP mem-

bers Steve Craine and Jeff Miller approached rally organizers at the end of the march to suggest they talk with police to get the ban lifted.

Without warning the police moved in, arrested Craine and Miller, and handcuffed them and took them to jail.

Despite their not having petitioned during the rally, they were charged with "interfering with a picket" under a city ordinance that deals with physically blocking, intimidating, or threatening a picket line. They are to appear in court July 29.

Craine and Miller face a possible six-month jail sentence and fine.

These arrests are seen by many as a blatant attack on First Amendment rights and on the right of workers to run for office.

The arrests are the latest in a series of attacks on participants in political protest actions.

Antiwar demonstrators have been photographed by cops since January in a number of cities, including Greensboro, Winston-Salem, and Fayetteville.

At a January 27 march at Fort Bragg to demand that Salvadoran troops in training there be sent home, license plates of participants' cars were photographed.

James Orange, an organizer of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's pilgrimage to Washington, D.C., was arrested and jailed while participating in a march for peace, justice, and the Voting Rights Act.

In a statement, SWP candidate Farber charged that the state "is trying to chill our right to gather peacefully and freely speak out. Moreover, they are trying to prevent working-class candidates from participating in the electoral process.

"At stake are our constitutional

rights. If they can silence us on any issue, they will find it a hundred times easier to carry out their antilabor, pro-war policies.

"That's why forcing the state to drop the charges against Miller and Craine will be a victory for democratic rights."

More than 100 individuals and organizations have signed petitions demanding that charges against the two be dropped, including the Raleigh Chapter of the National Organization for Women; Barbara Arnwine, attorney; Jim Grant of the Commission for Racial Justice; and David Garrow, author of *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*

Telegrams demanding that charges be dropped should be sent to: Randolph Riley, District Attorney, Wake County Courthouse, Raleigh, North Carolina 27602.



Militant/Kelly Lawrence

Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Congress Meryl Lynn Farber at June 6 ERA march in Raleigh, North Carolina.

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## Family farmers reap bitter harvest

The following article is based on a report adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party on February 27, 1982.

BY DOUG JENNESS

U.S. farmers are suffering the worst crisis they have faced since the 1930s. Their purchasing power is decreasing and their debts are skyrocketing. Tens of thousands are being ruined and forced off their farms and ranches. Farm machinery is being repossessed as farmers are unable to make their payments.

Even in better times many farmers, squeezed between high production costs and the low prices they receive for their produce, find it difficult to make a living. But these problems are now exacerbated by unprecedentedly high interest rates and massive unemployment.

The Democrats and Republicans in Washington, rather than offering relief, have further tightened the screws on farmers. Bipartisan legislation has made it more difficult for farmers and ranchers who the government doesn't consider good credit risks to obtain Farm Home Administration (FmHA) loans. At the same time, price supports on some farm commodities are being lowered. Black farmers, concentrated primarily in the southern states, have been hit the hardest and are losing their farms at an even faster rate than their white counterparts.

The reverberations of this crisis are being felt throughout the entire rural population. Small shop owners, farm equipment dealers, and other small retailers are facing bad times. Decreases in local tax revenues are used as cover by state and local governments to cut back on funding for schools, public health facilities, and other social services. At the same time, the federal government is cutting back on rural development programs, food stamps, and other social programs.

Depression-level layoffs in industry mean that many rural residents, including many farmers who depend on off-the-farm income, are out of work. And as with urban workers, their unemployment benefits have or are about to run out. The depth of the recession is also making it more difficult for farmers who have lost their farms to find other work.

### Farmers are angry

Many farmers describe the situation in the rural areas as a "depression." They are angry that the government is doing nothing to help them, that it in fact defends their exploiters. This is being dramatically demonstrated in the protests generated by the wave of grain elevator bankruptcies throughout the South and the Midwest.

In the last four years more than 150 grain storage facilities have gone broke as elevator owners, speculating in the crops futures market, lost their shirts. The federal courts have ruled that farmers can't get their grain out of storage until the banks and other creditors get paid what is owed to them. The burden of bailing out the creditors is thus shifted to the working farmers who were simply renting space in the elevator.

Early last year, Missouri farmer Wayne Cryts, with the support of 3,000 other farmers, defied a line of federal marshals and repossessed his soybeans from a bankrupt elevator.

When Cryts refused to give the names of his supporters to a federal judge, he was charged with contempt of court and thrown in jail for a month. Cryts has become a hero to tens of thousands of farmers who suffer from the same plight. The American Agriculture Movement (AAM) has launched a nationwide campaign in his defense.

### Defending the exploited farmer

The Democratic and Republican parties, representing bankers and big business, not only accept capitalism's ruination of farmers; it is their policies that help accelerate it. In spite of election-time demagoguery,

their policies are grounded in the view — let the fittest survive. If farmers can't make a go of it, it's in the natural order of things that they fall by the wayside. The hardships of farm families, squeezed until they are forced out of farming, is of no concern to these ruling-class politicians.

Historically, the working class movement and its communist vanguard have taken the polar opposite approach to the problems of exploited producers on the land. They have taken the side of farm workers and family farmers against landlordism, the banks, food monopolies, grain merchants, real estate sharks, and other exploiters. Marxists have strived to develop a program that could forge a worker-farmer alliance to replace capitalist rule with a workers and farmers government.

Historically, the experience of the Marxist movement with agriculture and the rural toilers has come primarily from two different types of situations.

The first is where the question of destroying feudal remnants, landlordism, and medievalism — that is, carrying through the bourgeois-democratic revolution — is posed. This is the context in which Marx and Engels wrote about the agrarian question in relation to Germany and other countries in the 19th century. This was also the situation in tsarist Russia, an especially backward imperialist country. It is how the question is posed in many semicolonial countries today.

The second situation occurs in advanced capitalist countries that have essentially wiped out feudal relations on the land, but where independent commodity producers on the land still represent a numerically significant portion of the population. Such was the case, for example, in France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United States, Canada, and other countries in the 1930s.

Neither of these situations prevail in the United States today. The United States is not like tsarist Russia, nor are the land question and class relations in the countryside related to completing the bourgeois-democratic revolution. Neither is the situation in the United States in the 1980s like it was in the 1930s. Due to major technological advances, there has been a sharp decline in the farm population. In 1930 farmers and their families made up 25 percent of the American population; today they are less than 3 percent.

### American agriculture today

In order to determine what approach the labor movement should take today toward farmers, and where their struggle fits into the fight for socialism, it is necessary to take a fresh look at the role of agriculture and the countryside in this country.

We have been spurred into taking this up as a result of our experiences in industry. Over the past four years, the majority of SWP members have obtained jobs in coal mining, garment, electrical, oil, steel, auto, rail, and other basic industries. And they have become active in their unions. Since many farmers also work in industry, we began meeting more farmers and learning more about the relations between industrial and agricultural producers.

We discussed this in classes at our national Socialist Education and Activists Conference in 1978. We took further note of experiences in the report on "American Agriculture and the Working Farmer" adopted by the party's National Committee in 1979 (see *Marxism and the Working Farmer*, Education for Socialists bulletin, Pathfinder Press, \$2.50).

We have become more integrated into the real productive life of this country and have established party branches further away from large metropolitan centers — in places such as Price, Utah; Lincoln, Nebraska; Morgantown and Charleston, West Virginia; Winston-Salem, North Carolina; Seaside, California; and the Iron Range in Minnesota. We are learning more and are faced with more questions about the toilers who work on the land. Our socialist election

Continued on next page



## Continued from previous page

campaigns are paying more attention to the particular problems of the rural areas as we learn more from farmers about them.

In light of this experience, how do we evaluate the weight and importance of agriculture in U.S. politics today?

Despite the sharp decrease in the number of farmers, there are three considerations that lead us to place considerable importance on this question. They are: the weight of agricultural producers in the U.S. economy; the special conditions of the rural population as a whole, which is larger than the farm population; and the role of U.S. agriculture in the world.

### Weight of food producers

Including agricultural wage workers, the total number of persons over 14 years old working on the land is approximately 3.5 million. The real figure is somewhat higher if children and hired workers working only a few days a year are included.

Although the number of farm producers has steadily shrunk in past decades, the weight of agricultural production has *not* declined. This can be seen by comparing farm productivity in 1960 with what it is today. Twenty years ago one farm worker or farmer produced enough farm products for 26 people; today one farm producer produces enough for 65.

In achieving these much higher levels of productivity, many functions that were previously performed by farmers are now done by other workers. Many farmers used to make many things — from household items to buildings — out of materials produced on the farm. Manure from livestock on the farm was used to fertilize fields. Many produced their own fodder for their livestock, much of their own food, and their own seeds. In the 1930s and 1940s many farmers still used horses, for which they could grow food on the farm, instead of tractors or other gasoline-fueled machinery. In 1940, for example, there were 1.6 million tractors and 1 million trucks compared to 4.3 million tractors and 3 million trucks on far fewer farms in 1979. It wasn't until 1952 that the number of tractors surpassed the number of work horses and mules.

Today farmers buy feed, hybrid seeds, fertilizer, tractors, diesel fuel, storage bins, and automated equipment. Even most of their food is bought in supermarkets. Agriculture has become more specialized, and more farms produce just one or two products.

For every worker on the land there are four or five more workers who are involved in some aspect of servicing the agricultural sector, either through manufacturing farm equipment, processing, transportation, or retailing. There are about 20 million workers who are involved either in direct agricultural production or in some closely related industry.

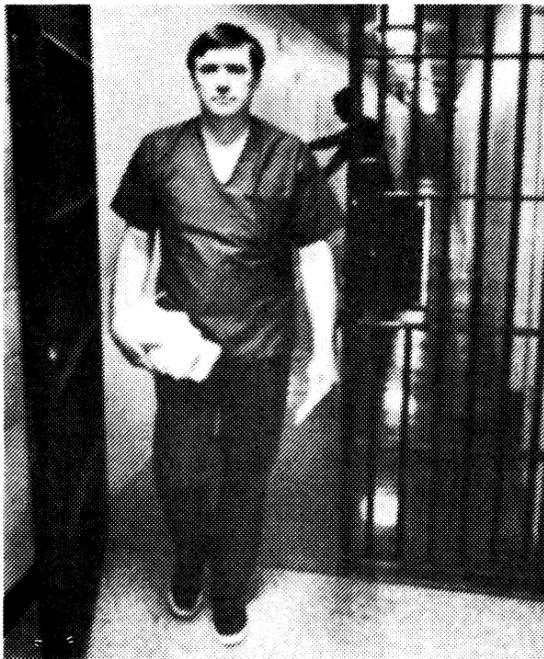
### Rural population

The rural population as a whole is larger than the number directly employed in agricultural production. Those who live in rural areas still make up a substantial part of the U.S. population. In addition to farmers and farm workers, this category includes many non-farm workers, who either were farmers themselves or have close relatives who are farmers. Many work in industries located in rural areas — mining, textile, garment, furniture, forest products, and so on. The auto and electronics industries have set up plants in the countryside, especially in "right-to-work" states, in order to try to maintain non-union shops. Other workers commute long distances to plants located in metropolitan areas.

Many workers living in rural areas have some direct connection with production on the land. They may have small plots where they grow vegetables, raise chickens, and so on. And there are all sorts of jobs that are related to agriculture including crop dusters, mechanics, truck drivers, irrigation maintenance workers, and veterinarians. There are shopkeepers, farm equipment dealers, and other small businessmen who are dependent on agriculture and are adversely affected by bad times for farmers.

Since the 1930s great strides have been made in bringing electricity into rural areas. Before farmer and labor protests led to the creation of the Rural Electrification Administration in the 1930s, 90 percent of the people in rural areas did not have electricity. Today over 99 percent do.

But in many rural areas education, medical care, housing, and public transportation remain poor. It is hard for many workers, especially if they can't find



**Wayne Cryts, a Missouri farmer, was jailed for refusing to name those who helped him repossess his soybeans. While in jail, he received many calls and letters of support from around the country.**

regular employment, to buy or rent a decent house to live in. Many live in shacks or substandard housing. Others live in trailers.

Whenever farm income declines, as is the case today, local and state funding for education, medical care, and cultural opportunities in rural areas suffer. Today rural poverty, which is not just confined to pockets in Appalachia, but spreads from Maine to Hawaii, has been worsened by the capitalist crisis and the wave of layoffs in industry.

### Role in world politics

A major feature of American agriculture today is its big role in the world — a role that is greater now than ever before. The United States, or more accurately, the United States and Canada, have become the breadbasket for the world. One hundred countries rely on North American grain to eat and to feed their livestock.

Agricultural products are the number-one export for the United States today. One out of three acres planted in farm lands is for export. The United States exports 75 percent of the rice grown here, more than 50 percent of the wheat and soybeans, and 25 percent of the corn. The revenues from farm exports help offset American capitalism's large trade and payments deficit.

In the 1930s the situation was quite different. Every region of the world except Western Europe exported grain. North America, Latin America, Africa, Asia, and Australia all were net grain exporters. In the 1930s Latin America's grain exports were nearly double those of the United States. Today the only regions that are net exporters of grain are North America and Australia. (Argentina remains a net exporter, although very small compared to the United States. But overall Latin America has become a net importer).

North American grain exports have expanded dramatically — from 5 million metric tons a year in the 1930s to 91 million metric tons today. A gigantic jump took place in the 1970s when, between 1967 and 1977, the volume of U.S. agricultural exports increased by 77 percent. American exporters' biggest customers are in Japan, Western Europe, and the Soviet Union.

But exports to many semicolonial countries have also greatly increased, and the people of many countries that were previously self-sufficient in food have become dependent on U.S. food imports. This is what happened to Iran in the 1960s as a result of the shah's agrarian program, which was so highly touted in the U.S. press. South Korea is another example of a country where capitalist "progress" has meant going from growing its own food to dependency on U.S. exports, including its main staple, rice.

With the backing of the U.S. government, grain merchants sell grain more cheaply than it could be produced in these countries. The U.S. grain monopolies set up storage bins and organize transportation of the grain to these countries. They establish beef and

poultry industries under their control, to consume the grain. This practice drives hundreds of thousands of farmers and peasants off the land in these countries, totally devastating local agriculture and impoverishing millions.

In many countries that at one time grew their own food and grain, the richest farmers have gone over to producing "luxury" crops such as strawberries, nuts, and flowers for the U.S. and European markets. Some produce beef for export. Such produce is not going to be bought by people with average incomes in the semicolonial countries.

In some countries, North American grain merchants have introduced the production of corn, soybeans, etc., replacing other crops that have long been part of the diet of the people in those countries. Farmers who produce these crops become dependent on the U.S. monopolies for hybrid seeds, fertilizers, and pesticides.

In addition to the misery that has been created by the ruination of millions of farmers in the semicolonial world, the greater dependence on U.S. grains has made these countries more vulnerable to famines. The giant grain merchants may hold grain off the market or force farmers to cut back production in order to drive prices up. They may rapidly divert grain from one market to another causing sudden shortages. These factors were behind the severe famines in Bangladesh, India, and parts of Africa in the 1970s.

Famines are also created by the devastating affects of imperialist war, as demonstrated by the terrible famine that ravaged Kampuchea several years ago.

At one time famines were almost synonymous with natural disaster. Natural factors such as droughts, floods, hurricanes, and locust infestations played the biggest role in generating famines.

The capacity exists today on a world scale not only to produce enough food for everybody, but enough to compensate for bad harvests that may occur in some countries. In fact the stockpiles of food were sufficient to have prevented the famines in the 1970s.

Famines today, to be named accurately, are *profit famines*. They are caused by the inherent nature of the capitalist system, which places profits first, last, and in between. Created by man, famines can also be eliminated by social action.

The expansion of U.S. grain exports is carried out with the direct aid of Washington to the grain merchants by giving them tax write-offs and helping them to organize this trade. This, in fact, is one of the major functions of the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

The U.S. government began the process of consciously expanding its agricultural exports in the 1950s when it began to build up big surpluses that it couldn't sell in the domestic market. The first step was to adopt Public Law 480 — later dubbed "Food for Peace" — which permitted governments to buy U.S. food imports with their own currencies instead of with dollars.

In the past 25 years, more than \$30 billion worth of American grain was sold in this way. But the surpluses continued to mount, so other provisions of PL 480 were utilized to help *create* new markets. For example, the local currencies received by the U.S. government for its sales of food were loaned at very low interest rates to U.S. corporations setting up business to exploit labor or speculate in stocks or real estate in those countries. In many countries, U.S. grain monopolies established poultry and livestock farms that would increase the market for their feed grains.

In South Korea multibillionaire grain merchants such as Cargill, Ralston-Purina, and the Peavey Corporation received big loans from the U.S. government for setting up profitable poultry operations, breeding chicks, producing chicken feed, and retailing chickens.

The governments receiving this "Food for Peace" aid had to fulfill one condition. In order to get a certain amount of the cheaper food they also had to agree to purchase U.S. agricultural commodities in the future at regular market prices.

### Food as a weapon

The U.S. government also uses the great productivity of American agricultural producers as a political weapon against the peoples of countries whose governments it opposes. It withholds or withdraws food aid altogether to punish or destabilize regimes. For example, Chile was getting "Food for Peace"-type aid until Salvador Allende was elected in 1970. Then Washington cut it off and tried to starve the people as part of its destabilization campaign against the government.

A couple of years ago, when Kampuchea was suffering from famine caused by the devastation of

Washington's war against Indochina, Washington didn't offer a single bushel of wheat from its vast surpluses. Washington still maintains an economic embargo against Vietnam, and it attempts to get all of its allies to join this boycott. Wheat sales were cut off to Nicaragua. The use of food as a weapon has also been highlighted by the grain embargo Washington imposed against the Soviet Union following the intervention into Afghanistan.

So we can see that even though there are fewer farmers and farm workers in the United States, their economic and social weight is considerable. Their role, and their plight, is therefore a matter of great importance to the working class.

#### Who works the land?

The big majority of producers on the land are victimized by the capitalist class. This is our starting point for determining what approach the labor movement should take toward them.

Like all working people, farmers are used as cannon fodder for imperialist wars. They are victims of inflation, unemployment, racism, sexual discrimination, environmental pollution, the hazards of nuclear power, and all the other social evils spawned by capitalism.

This is most clearly the case with those who are wage workers. They are the most oppressed and exploited sector of the farm population and one of the worst-off sections of the working class as a whole. They suffer abysmal conditions as the result of not having adequate union organizations to defend themselves. Wages are low and health and safety conditions are horrendous. There are virtually no unemployment or health benefits. Most farm and ranch workers are not able to get regular work year round. They work as casual laborers or on a seasonal basis. Since harvesting in many parts of the country occurs in the summer, a disproportionate number of workers are children or teen-age youths who are paid far less than the legal minimum wage.

The worst conditions are suffered by the migrant workers who move from one part of the country to another following the harvests. The housing provided by the capitalist farmers for migrants is often riddled with no water or heat. Medical facilities and education and recreation opportunities for children are generally poor or unavailable. Pesticides poison field workers causing chronic ill health for thousands and sometimes leading to deaths.

A disproportionate number of migrant workers are Black, Chicano, Puerto Rican, Filipino, and Haitian, and many are undocumented workers. Undocumented workers are especially vulnerable to blackmail by overseers who use the threat of deportation to get them to accept worse conditions and to cheat them out of their meager earnings. Sometimes this intimidation is used to impress workers into virtual slavery.

Many of these workers are very internationalist-minded. They bring with them an appreciation of the oppression imperialism creates in the semicolonial and colonial countries and help to transmit this internationalism to the working class in this country.

In instances where farm workers have been successful in winning fights for higher wages, the employers often move their operations to another country. For example, sugar and pineapple growers in Hawaii, confronted with effective struggles by farm workers organized by the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, are beginning to move their production to the Philippines where they can keep unions out and pay inhumanly depressed wages. Some growers in California have moved their operations to Mexico. Thus farm workers in this country are tossed out of jobs with no assistance in finding other employment.

Nor do farm workers benefit from the mechanization of planting and harvesting which greatly increases productivity and eliminates some of the arduous character of farm work. They simply lose their jobs with few prospects of getting another one. Closely connected to those who work on the land are the men and women who work in the canneries, freezing plants, and poultry processing plants. As many of these operations are not year round, the employers hire migrant workers — sometimes the same farm workers who have been involved in the harvest — for low pay. Like farm workers, they work under miserable conditions.

Thousands of poorly paid Blacks make up a big part of the work force in the poultry processing plants, which are increasingly being located in the South.



Chip Berlet/Liberation News Service

**Farm workers, such as these tobacco workers in North Carolina, suffer from some of the worst working conditions and lowest wage rates in the United States.**

Unlike the manufacturing industry, agriculture is not yet organized on a strictly capitalist basis where the work force is dominated by wage workers employed by capitalist firms. Family farmers are still responsible for more than half of the agricultural production today in this country. This is especially true for the big export commodities such as corn, soybeans, and wheat. Because of the growing difficulties for family farmers in making a living, the majority are also wage workers in non-farm industries. Some work in factories or mines; others as rail workers or truckers. This also includes some farm women. It has also been common for farm women to get jobs in town as clerks, secretaries, hospital workers, and schoolteachers.

The fact that so many farmers also work as wage workers has contributed to greater communication between farmers and workers and an awareness of their common plight.

At the same time, many employers attempt to turn the workers who go home to work their land against those who are landless. In some plants, for example, the employers give farmers a couple of weeks off without pay during the planting season. In return the foremen may get a box of vegetables, a ham, or the like. Some other workers, however, see this as a deal with the boss or a special privilege.

When the special needs of the farmer-workers aren't taken into account, union organizing drives can lose a potential layer of support both in the factory and in the surrounding community.

Both family farmers who depend on off-the-farm income and those who depend on what their farm can produce are exploited as independent commodity producers. They create a product with labor done with their hands and those of their families. They sell their product on the market, but only get a small portion of it back for their own account. The rest is expropriated from them — stolen from them — along the way by the banks and trusts.

The ruling class attempts to convince them that, as farmers, they are businessmen with interests different from and opposed to labor. But they are not capitalists who exploit labor, not even small capitalists. They are independent, exploited commodity producers.

The bankers take their share from working farmers through interest payments on loans and mortgages. In order to buy a new piece of equipment — some tractors cost as much as \$100,000 each — so they can compete, farmers have to get bank loans. In order to get money for operating expenses — seed for the next planting, fertilizer, diesel fuel, pesticides, feed for livestock — they must borrow against their next crop or their land.

#### Victims of private land ownership

The rents and mortgage payments that virtually all small farmers have to make to parasitic landlords and banks represent substantial sums that could be used by the farmers to lower their costs of production.

Today about 13 percent of all farmers are tenants who rent all of the land they farm. The figure is slightly higher for farms with sales of \$2,500 or more. At one time tenant farming was most prevalent in

the South, where it took the especially oppressive form of sharecropping. Under this system tenant farmers were provided with credit for seeds, implements, etc., by the landlord in return for a certain share of the value of the crop minus the landlord's charges. But the mechanization of cotton and tobacco production, along with the opportunity for jobs in the cities, virtually wiped out the sharecropping system in the decades following World War II.

Tenant farming today is the strongest in grain belt states like Iowa, Illinois, and Nebraska where more than 20 percent are tenant farmers. The only state with a higher number is Hawaii, which suffers historically from a colonial-type oppression.

Many other farmers rent at least some portion of the land they farm. Most family farmers who own their land have mortgaged it and are paying interest. The tightening cost-price squeeze and high interest rates make it more difficult for farmers to make these payments and they are increasingly threatened with foreclosure.

Farmers are painfully learning that holding a deed to the land where they raise their crops and livestock isn't a lifetime guarantee for use of the land. They can be forced to sell, often below the real market value of the land, or expropriated outright by the parasites that collect the interest on their mortgages. "Private" ownership of farm and ranch land is not the hallmark of independence, self-reliance, and security; it is one of the principal forms of the exploitation farmers suffer. It is an albatross around their necks.

In some parts of the country, big landowners also use their monopoly of land to deprive family farmers access to water or to cheap water for irrigation. This is very important because an increasing number of farmers are dependent on irrigation.

#### Monopoly price-rigging

The big farm-implement manufacturers such as John Deere and International Harvester take their cut by charging monopoly-rigged prices. The big seed and feed companies such as Cargill and Ralston-Purina take theirs. The big chemical companies such as Dow, Dupont, and Tenneco that sell pesticides and herbicides take theirs. Exxon and all the others in the energy trust that sell fuel for the tractors, trucks, harvesters, and irrigation equipment take theirs. All the monopolies that sell independent commodity producers the things that they need to produce a product for the market exploit them.

Squeezing the farmer at the other end of the vise are the big processing and merchandising trusts who rig the prices they pay farmers to keep them as low as possible. For example, two giant grain monopolies handle half of all U.S. grain exports. They operate grain "pipelines" all the way from farmer to foreign consumer. They own seed and feed subsidiaries, shipping companies, grain elevators, communications systems, espionage networks, and processing plants. Cargill, a Minneapolis-based corporation, boasts that "The sun never sets on Cargill's corn."

Food processing and distribution are becoming increasingly concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. In every major food category in the United States, four or fewer companies control more than 55 percent of the market. The top 50 food processing companies make about 75 percent of all the profits in industry. A company like Beatrice Foods, for example, which is 36 on *Fortune's* list of top profit makers, bought up 400 companies in the last 25 years. It has annual sales of over \$5 billion and markets 8,000 different products.

This concentration facilitates price-fixing and other secret dealings that victimize both the producer and the consumer.

#### Contract farming

Another trend is for more farmers to sign contracts with food processors instead of selling on the market. Under such agreements they have to buy feed, seeds, and fertilizer from the processors. Or if they're in poultry breeding they have to buy their chicks from the corporate processors. In return they have to sell their product to the processor.

This type of contract farming is highest in vegetables for processing (95 percent), fresh and market vegetables (51 percent), citrus fruits (85 percent), potatoes (70 percent), fluid milk (98 percent), broilers (97 percent), seed crops (80 percent), and sugar (100 percent).

The rapid development of contract farming is

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shown by the fact that the proportion of the U.S. food supply produced in this manner is expected to jump from the 1970 figure of 22 percent to about 75 percent in 1985.

While some of these big food monopolies have also gone into the production end of the food industry by setting up their own corporate farms and hiring wage labor, most have not done it or have pulled out of initial moves in this direction. They prefer to let farmers take the risks of high interest rates, bad weather, and blights and to concentrate on the more lucrative aspects of the food industry.

## Taken for a ride

Then there's the gouging by the railroads. In addition to monopoly pricing policies, they are cutting out spur lines to grain elevators in smaller towns located away from the main rail lines. The railroads then haul the grain on unit trains, that is trains that may be a mile long carrying only cars filled with grain. Cutting out the spur lines means farmers have to pay the trucking costs to get their produce to where the railroads will pick them up. This has also led to layoffs of rail workers.

Farmers are also under pressure to use marginal land or to overuse their land in order to get as much out of it as possible. This is leading to the disastrous butchery of the land. Last year alone, 6.4 million tons of topsoil, roughly equivalent to peeling an inch off the whole state of Missouri, was washed away into the oceans or rivers.

Government programs, supposedly designed to alleviate the problems of farmers, are totally inadequate. Those benefits that do exist, for the most part, go to the capitalist farmers, not to the exploited working farmer. For example, 3 percent of the farmers in 1978 received 46 percent of the benefits from the federal government.

Even the programs that have benefited working farmers a little are being slashed by the Reagan administration. Price supports on some commodities are being cut. The administration is chipping away at rural development, soil conservation, and reforestation programs. The FmHA, where farmers are supposed to be able to get loans when private banks will no longer lend them money, is making its conditions much more stringent. The FmHA is becoming the most hated government agency among farmers today.

A good share of the loans that it does make have nothing to do with farms at all, or are only remotely related. Some of the biggest loans go to help real estate speculators who are building hotels or resorts, or to capitalists. Frank Perdue, the chicken tycoon, for example, got \$20 million in loans over the last 10 years for building some new chicken factories in North Carolina.

But when Black farmers in North Carolina go to the FmHA just to get a few dollars to plant their next crop, they are told: "No. You're not a good credit risk, you've been overextended too long."

Black farmers have been especially victimized by the discriminatory policies of the FmHA, and small Black landowners are being wiped out at a rate disproportionate to the overall farm population. A U.S. Civil Rights Commission report issued in February of this year has documented this in detail. The National Black Independent Political Party includes some demands in its charter addressing this question.

## What farmers want

In the last several years, farmers have stepped up their protests against the conditions they face. They have organized tractorcades, rallies, and meetings demanding that the government help them meet their costs of production and provide enough for a decent living. The most prominent and militant organization that has emerged from these struggles is the American Agriculture Movement.

Farmers are discussing answers they figure can end, or at least ameliorate, the mess they are in. A wide range of proposals is being put forward. As has been the case for many decades in the farmers movement, there are also a good many utopian schemes, gimmicks, and nostrums.

The major proposals at this point are generally aimed at attempting to find solutions within the framework of the capitalist system.

Among the demands most often raised are increased government support of prices and more favorable export-import policies.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s when the income for working farmers dropped to a new low, the government, under pressure from farmers, implemented measures that were supposed to stabilize farm incomes at a level at which farmers could make



BLOCKBURGER

The current secretary of agriculture, John Block, is seen by many small farmers as a supporter of the banks and Reagan's plan to make farmers pay for the economic crisis along with workers.

a living. Such programs for many commodities have continued up to the present. These programs are very complex and have varied with different administrations and for different commodities. They have included attempts to raise market prices by getting farmers to cut back on production as well as supporting prices through direct government purchases of commodities.

Generally the price supports are linked to putting ceilings on farm prices. If the market price goes below the ceiling, then government aid through direct purchases, loans, etc., goes into effect.

The mechanism that was employed for many years to determine the ceiling price is called parity. Since 1973 parity, which is governed by market conditions, is no longer being used to set price supports on most commodities. Instead, target prices are established by government decisions in which parity along with calculations about current production costs are taken into account. But since parity figures so heavily in the discussion about agriculture and in the demands of many farmers, it will be useful to summarize how it works.

Parity is simply a calculation that has been used to describe the relationship between prices farmers receive for their commodities and the prices they pay for production and living expenses. The index used to determine this relationship is based on the years 1910 to 1914 when there was supposedly a favorable relationship between costs and prices. In theory, if all commodity prices were at full parity, farmers would have the equivalent purchasing power that they had during this base period.

One hundred percent of parity means that if the costs of production are 150 percent higher today than they were in 1910 to 1914, the prices the farmer gets today should also be 150 percent higher than they were then. Supposedly, farmers would then be able to meet the costs of production plus have enough to live on.

When the government has used parity to determine ceiling prices, it has never set them at 100 percent. It has always set them lower. For example, today the price at which the government will subsidize dairy products, which are still calculated according to parity, is only 80 percent of parity. This means that the price that dairy farmers receive for their milk will make their purchasing power 20 percent less than it would have been in 1910 to 1914. Yet the Reagan administration is attempting to lower the parity support price on milk.

The "target prices" that are used today to determine the price at which the government will purchase wheat, corn, soy beans, and many other commodities are also well below what the price would be if 100 percent of parity were used to calculate the ceiling price.

Even if prices were set at 100 percent of parity, as many farmers demand, it would not give many of them a living income. One of the flaws with parity is that the 1910 to 1914 index wasn't really such a favorable period for farmers. The Franklin Roosevelt administration, which first used this index in the 1930s, said this was a more favorable period for farmers, but that was only true relative to other years.

One of the biggest problems with the government support programs is that they are tilted towards giving the greatest assistance to the most well-off farmers. The capitalist farmers, who exploit wage labor, come out the big winners. The basis for payment is according to the volume of production, so the largest payments go to those with the greatest production. For example, in 1978 the 50 percent of farmers with the smallest farms participating in the program received less than 10 percent of the total payments, and

the 10 percent of farmers with the largest farms received nearly 50 percent of the payments.

Moreover, the price support system has generally made government subsidies or loans to farmers conditional on agreement to curtail production when prices are low. The Democrats, in fact, introduced a "farm bill" this year that would pay wheat, feed grain, cotton and rice farmers to plow under 5 percent of their crops. Thus, the full productive capacity of American farms is not utilized, while millions in the world go hungry or suffer from malnourishment.

At this point most farmers, struggling for a living income, are looking for answers within the framework of the programs of the capitalist government. They enter into the discussion taking place among Democratic and Republican politicians about the merits of this or that measure, this or that way of trying to squeeze out a little better way of getting a better price.

But the entire framework of the capitalist programs is geared to aiding the richest farmers, while driving those who have the most difficulty making ends meet out of farming. This has been the record over the past decades. The demand for parity, even 100 percent of parity, raised by many farmers does not distinguish between these schemes and an income maintenance program that would genuinely benefit the most exploited farmers.

Such a program should be paid for not by keeping prices at artificially high levels through land "set-asides" and government stockpiling, but by eliminating the massive war budget and taxing the profits of the bankers and monopolists.

Moreover, concentrating on price supports based on parity overlooks other ways that farm income could be improved. For example, a challenge should be made to the exorbitant costs of production that result from monopoly price-rigging and parasitic rent and mortgage payments. And it should tackle the big food distributors and processors.

Socialists support the call for the government to guarantee the full cost of production plus a living income to all farmers. We oppose any subsidies whatsoever to capitalist farming operations, any subsidies for the curtailment of production, or the raising of market prices by government action.

## What about protectionism?

Many farmers are also demanding that the government impose protectionist measures to make agricultural products grown in other countries more expensive in the United States. Tomatoes from Mexico, lamb from New Zealand, and sugar from the Caribbean are among the commodities in this category.

More significant, however, is the drive to get the American government to pressure other countries to remove restrictions against cheaper American farm products. The Common Market countries, especially, finance a costly price-support system to maintain agricultural profits in their countries. They help finance these subsidies through the tariffs imposed on U.S. and other foreign farm products entering Europe.

Japan likewise maintains a system of protectionist measures to keep up the price of U.S. farm imports. In the last several years, however, under pressure from Washington, Tokyo has loosened restrictions on some U.S. farm commodities in exchange for being able to keep selling less expensive manufactured goods in the U.S. market.

The problem with protectionist measures for agricultural commodities is that they pit farmers in this country against farmers in other countries; they also pit farmers against workers who want cheaper farm prices. And they let the exploiters of both workers and farmers in all countries off the hook. They no more offer a way out of the exploitation farmers suffer than such measures are a solution for auto or steel workers.

Unfortunately, it is precisely around the demand for protectionist measures against imports from other

### Farmers and the Cuban Revolution

By Fidel Castro

The complete text of Fidel Castro's address to the Sixth Congress of the National Association of Small Farmers (ANAP) on May 17, 1982 is published in two issues of *Intercontinental Press*. These are available for \$2.00. Order from Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014.

countries that the procapitalist union bureaucracy in this country is waging a campaign and seeks to establish closer relations with farm organizations such as the AAM.

### Defending the family farmer

As the impending catastrophe of the capitalist system unfolds, bringing price explosions, deeper recessions, shortages, and more wars, the ruination of farmers will become even worse. The working class must respond by defending the exploited farmer from big business and the banks. Working farmers should not be driven against their will from their farms. They should not be deprived of a means to make their living. They should not be victimized by the sharp swings of a market dictated by profits. They should be freed from the yoke of capital — its brutal exploitation and wars.

Some radicals have raised the proposal that the task is to *save* the family farm. They hail the virtues of the independent family farm from a moral standpoint and lament its disappearance. Some even argue that small farms are more efficient than big ones.

This is not the approach of the Marxist vanguard of the workers movement. In defending the exploited farmers, we don't and can't promise that the small farm will remain an efficient economic unit. As long as capitalism exists, family farms will continue to be wiped out as they have for more than a century. During the development of American capitalism, tens of millions of farmers have been driven from their land and the proportion of farmers has sharply declined. We have gone from a country made up mostly of independent commodity producers to one where the vast majority are wage workers. This is the situation as it exists today, and it would be utopian to propose reversing it.

Nor does the revolutionary workers party make any promises about the future of the family farm after capitalist rule has been replaced by a workers and farmers government. We don't advocate that the family farm be preserved indefinitely. What we project is removing the yoke of capitalist exploitation from farmers. This would permit family farmers to determine voluntarily whether or not to continue as independent farmers. The Marxist program favors the development of collective forms of organization of labor in all areas of production, including in agriculture. But we insist that such measures be implemented with the voluntary consent of the independent farmers, not by force.

Many of us have read Frederick Engels's article written in 1894 on the "Peasant Question in France and Germany" (see *Marxism and the Working Farmer*, Pathfinder Press) and especially appreciated its warning against forced collectivization. However, I sometimes think we have not studied as closely the points Engels makes in the same article that the working class shouldn't just accept the farmers' desire to save smaller economic units. In fact, it would be hypocritical to go along with this, because the objective of the working class in power will be to attempt to explain and demonstrate to farmers the advantages of cooperatives and other forms of collective production.

Our starting point for a working-class farm program is recognizing that capitalist rule is responsible for the plight of exploited, working farmers. No solution is possible short of replacing capitalist rule with a workers and farmers government.

In order to chart a course that can lead to establishing a workers and farmers government, the working-class party must strive to forge an alliance between workers and farmers. The "transitional program" adopted by the Socialist Workers Party at its founding convention in 1938 explains that this alliance "should be consolidated in a special 'contract.' This 'contract' is the program of transitional demands voluntarily accepted by both sides."

### Organize farm workers

First and foremost a labor leadership with a class-struggle perspective must put defense and organization of the wage workers on the land at the head of its list. Farm workers are part of the working class. They are an especially oppressed section of that class. And the labor movement must do everything it can to help them organize unions and defend them against their capitalist employers.

Farm workers should get union wages, full unemployment compensation when out of work, decent living conditions, and protection against pesticides and other on-the-job hazards.

Undocumented workers should be granted all the rights of citizenship in order to end the discriminatory and especially brutal treatment to which they are subjected.



**When a bank forecloses on a farm, an auction is held and all possessions, which farmers have often spent a lifetime accumulating, are sold.**

Some radicals oppose the mechanization of agriculture because it can lead to loss of jobs for farm workers. But this is true in any industry. The Marxist position is not to oppose gains in technology and productivity, but to develop proposals that both advance the struggle for jobs and permit workers to benefit from new technology. Committees of farm workers should be involved in all decisions about employing new machinery. A shorter work week should be established in order to share the available work. When workers are laid off, training and suitable alternative employment should be provided.

### Curbing monopoly robbery

In order to defend exploited farmers, a working-class program should include proposals to curb the inflated costs of production due to monopoly price-fixing and market domination.

The banks, the trusts, and the big merchants rob the farmer from every side. Only the farmers themselves, with the help of the workers, can curb this robbery. Committees elected by small farmers should be formed that can, jointly with workers organizations, demand the right to see all the financial and other records of the banks and big industrial and food processing corporations.

The energy trusts and the grain merchants are among the most secretive in the world and maintain huge security systems to protect this concealment of their operations. They should be forced to reveal the truth about their profits, their stockpiles, and their monopoly pricing practices.

The government, however, refuses to challenge the employers' "right" to secrecy or to defend the right of working people to know. So the committees of farmers, in collaboration with committees of workers, should take the initiative and pry open all the records and accounts of the banks, railroads, manufacturers, and all other capitalist operations affecting agriculture. Through their independent action, the toilers can police these capitalist enterprises, curbing monopoly price-fixing, hoarding, graft, and tax evasion. They can establish cheaper credit and fairer prices for the things needed for farm production.

At the same time, such committees can expose the big capitalists' attempt to turn farmers against workers by falsely charging that "excessive" wage demands of the workers are responsible for the high costs of oil, machinery, and transportation that farmers need. By demanding that the trusts open their books for inspection to farmers organizations, delegates from the factories, unions, and consumer groups, the workers can prove to the farmers that the real reason for high prices is not high wages but the exorbitant profits of the capitalists and the overhead expenses of capitalist anarchy.

The big capitalists also try to pit workers against farmers by attributing high food costs to farmers' demands for a fair price for their produce. Here, farmers' committees, along with organizations of workers, can demand that the big merchandizers, processors, and distributors open their books. They can show that it is the Cargills, Campbells, Jolly Green Giants, Hormels, etc., that are profiting from high food costs, not those who till the soil and raise livestock.

The struggle of farmers and workers to establish control over the working conditions, pricing practices, and credit policies of the big banks and trusts will

help prepare them for the day when they have political power and can expropriate the capitalists, transforming their enterprises into state holdings under workers management.

### Nationalize the land

The biggest robbery of the small farmers by the big capitalists is the payments they must make in order to use the land they farm. The huge sums working farmers pay to parasitic landlords and banks for rent and interest on mortgages are money that is not able to be used to help defray the costs of production.

If they fail to pay rent or make their mortgage payments, farmers will be deprived of the use of their land. It matters not one whit how many generations their families have held deed to the land or how well they have cared for and improved it. As long as their land can be bought and sold, or put up as collateral for loans, farmers have no guarantee that they won't be foreclosed. This threat continually hangs over their heads. Their deeds become worthless scraps of paper, and ownership an illusion. The depth of the economic crisis that capitalism has entered is intensifying the gravity of this problem.

Farmers are fighting to force state governments to put a moratorium on mortgage payments until the economic situation gets better. The struggle by farmers to get some relief from the threat of bankruptcy and foreclosure is clearly one that deserves the wholehearted support of the labor movement.

But the demand for a moratorium can be, at best, only a reprieve. It doesn't liberate farmers from the whole *system of rents and mortgages*. If farmers are to be freed from this oppressive yoke around their necks, it will be necessary for the workers and farmers to replace the capitalist government with one of their own and abolish private ownership of land.

The system of rents and mortgages is rooted in the private ownership of land. To eliminate the burdens of rents and mortgages once and for all, private ownership of land must be eliminated. All land must be nationalized and made public property.

Nationalization of the land by a workers and farmers government would mean that land could no longer be bought and sold nor used as collateral for loans. No more rent or interest could be collected by landlords or banks simply by virtue of the fact that they hold deeds or mortgages. There would be no more threat of foreclosure.

Nationalization should be carried out in such a way that, from its very beginning, the government guarantees small farmers the use of the land they've been working for as long as they want. And that their machinery, buildings, and livestock will not be taken from them. They should be guaranteed interest-free, long-term credit and insurance in the event that their crops or livestock are wiped out in a disaster.

Working farmers should be permitted to determine for themselves the advantages that could be obtained by pooling their resources with neighboring farms to establish cooperatives. Likewise the decision for farmers to stop farming and go into other lines of work should be totally voluntary. This has been the Marxist position since it was outlined by Marx and Engels in the last century and carried out in practice by the Bolsheviks in the Russian revolution.

In the 1930s we reaffirmed this position in the "transitional program." It states, "The practical participation of the exploited farmers in the control of different fields of the economy will allow them to decide for themselves whether or not it would be profitable for them to go over to collective working of the land — at what date and on what scale. Industrial workers should consider themselves dutybound to show farmers every cooperation in traveling this road: through the trade unions, factory committees, and, most importantly, through a workers and farmers government."

The experience of the Cuban revolution offers the best model of how this is being carried out. There the workers and farmers government has sought to explain and show small farmers the advantages of forming cooperatives. But it has consistently adhered to the policy that joining cooperatives should be totally voluntary.

Fidel Castro's speech to the Sixth Congress of the National Association of Small Farmers in May of this year describes the history of this development and its success. In just five years, 1977 to 1982, the number of cooperatives jumped from 44 with 14,954 acres to 1,140 with 1.3 million acres (about 35 percent of the land of small farmers in Cuba). This was accomplished, Castro explained, "without resorting to violence, without using coercion and with the strictest respect for our workers' and farmers' feelings and wishes."

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The objection may be raised that small property-owning farmers won't go for nationalization. The tradition of private ownership of their land is so deeply rooted that such a proposal will drive them away from the working class and into the hands of reaction. Instead, we should consider nationalizing only the land owned by the banks, capitalist landlords, and the capitalist farmers and leave the land of working farmers alone.

It is true that many farmers will not necessarily agree with land nationalization right away, just as most workers don't yet accept many of our demands. But the fact is that this proposal is objectively in their interests. And as the economic crisis worsens, as it inevitably will, more and more farmers will see the merits of nationalization. They will begin to see more clearly that "ownership" of their particular plot of land is really an illusion; that in fact, by clinging to the defense of private land ownership they are actually defending one of the principal ways the big capitalists keep them in servitude.

Furthermore, speculation in land, forced sales, and parasitic exploitation cannot be eliminated if there remains a large sector of the country's land in private hands. Land speculators, usurers, and other social parasites will always find ways to suck the farmers dry. The only way to end the system of mortgages and rents is to make all land public property.

Nationalization of the land by a workers and farmers government would also directly benefit the working class. Workers who live in city apartment buildings pay higher rents simply because the landlords own the land. Private ownership of land and apartment buildings generates land speculation and all the evils that come with it. Tenants are continually being driven out of their apartments and forced into worse or more expensive dwellings as apartments are converted to condominiums, neighborhoods are "gentrified," buildings are abandoned or burned down, etc.

In addition most workers who are small homeowners pay interest to banks for mortgages they obtained to purchase their homes. Like small farmers, their "ownership" is more illusory than real. And as economic conditions worsen, more and more will be forced to sell or lose their homes when they can't make the mortgage payments any longer. Abolishing private ownership of the land will end the burden of mortgage payments. At the same time small homeowners should be guaranteed the right to keep their homes.

**Public land policy**

About 40 percent of the land today in the United States (that is an area about the size of India) is publicly owned — that is, it is administered by state and federal governments. But the way these lands are presently administered is not what socialists propose as part of the program of nationalization. The present government policy permits big capitalists, especially mining, oil, and timber interests, to extract resources from these lands for their own profits.

Hard rock mining — iron, copper, gold, etc. — can be carried out on public lands with no royalty or leasing payments. Consequently there are no records of

the quantity or value of hard rock minerals that have been taken from public lands.

Oil companies lease lands and make royalty payments, but they are meager compared to the profits they reap.

Timber companies are permitted to cut trees on federal lands, not according to long-range conservation plans, but on the basis of immediate profits.

The Department of the Interior, designated to administer the federal lands, is staffed by representatives of big industry whose first priority is safeguarding the interests of private profit.

Among its activities for decades has been selling federal lands. The Reagan administration is pressing ahead right now with plans to sell federal properties in the next year that may be valued at as much as \$1 billion. For the longer run, a survey of Alaska has just been completed in preparation for selling 300 million acres of the state's federal lands.

Abolishing private ownership of the land will not benefit the majority of people if big business is also allowed to have a free rein.

A policy must be adopted whereby the interests of the majority — that is, workers and farmers — prevails in determining how much and which cropland is destroyed for urban expansion, highways, and strip mines; which lands are set aside for recreation and wilderness areas, and those where minerals and timber can be extracted; and upholding the hunting and fishing rights of Native Americans and settling in a just way centuries of broken treaties.

The present capitalist government will not carry out such a land policy. That's demonstrated clearly by how it currently administers the land.

Thus the demand for nationalizing the land is very much linked to the demand to replace the capitalist government with a workers and farmers government.

What about the examples of the Russian and Cuban revolutions? Don't they represent a totally different approach to the land question? Didn't they divide up the land and give it to the peasants?

The situations in Russia in 1917 and Cuba in 1959 were very different from each other and from the situation in the United States today. But the workers and farmers governments established in both Russia and Cuba nationalized the land. A brief description of what happened in these two countries can be instructive.

**Russian example**

During the course of the 1905 revolution in Russia, many of the peasant groups began raising the idea of nationalizing the land. Lenin and the Bolsheviks, spurred by this experience, also began advancing this demand and continued to do so through the 1917 revolution. Lenin, particularly, wrote extensively on it and presented the clearest and most consistent explanation of this demand from a Marxist standpoint. (See "Revision of the Agrarian Program of the Workers Party," *Collected Works*, Vol. 10 and the *Agrarian Program of Social Democracy in the First Russian Revolution 1905-1907*, Progress Publishers.)

Lenin explained that abolition of private ownership of the land and the transfer of all land to the state was the only way to smash feudal relations, medievalism, and landlordism in Russia. It was the way the bourgeois revolution in Russia could be carried through the most completely. At the same time, he did not rule out the possibility that, once landlordism was smashed, there would be a redivision that would grant the peasants land for their use.

In October 1917 on the first day of assuming power, the Soviet government of workers and soldiers deputies adopted a resolution, proposed by the Soviets of Peasant Deputies, that included the provision that, "Private ownership of land shall be abolished forever; land shall not be sold, purchased, leased, mortgaged or otherwise alienated." This was codified into law in January 1918 at the Third All-Russia Congress of Soviets.

It was also the wish of the peasants that the land be redistributed, and this was carried out on a massive scale. These lands remained state property that the peasants took over for their own use.

The progress that the Soviet government made under Lenin's leadership toward welding a worker-peasant alliance and taking the first steps towards establishing collective forms of agricultural production were reversed by the policies of the privileged bureaucratic caste that developed in the 1920s under the leadership of Joseph Stalin. The Stalinist policies led to a worsening conflict between the workers and peasants, ending in the forced collectivization of the peasants. Soviet agriculture hasn't recovered from the disastrous consequences of this action to this day.

The agrarian reform in Cuba did not abolish private property outright. However, the measures it

adopted in substance accomplished the same objective.

The first law, adopted in 1959, nationalized nearly 50 percent of the land, totally smashing the plantation system and the dominance of American landlords. The second law, adopted in 1963, confiscated most of the remaining capitalist farmers, bringing 70 percent of the land under direct state ownership. But working farmers who owned their land were permitted to keep it, and former tenant farmers and squatters were given titles to the land they were working as a demonstration that the government was not going to forcibly remove them from their land.

However, this private sector was circumscribed by a series of measures. The first land reform wiped out tenant farming, mortgages (except to the state), and sharecropping. In all cases of sales of land, the state has the right of first refusal, and moreover has authority to veto any sales that would unduly increase individual holdings.

Overall, the achievements of the Cuban revolution in agriculture and improving conditions for the toilers in the countryside have been outstanding. The production of food for consumption on the island has been greatly expanded. Great attention to research and development of plant and animal breeding has improved the productive capacity of Cuba's livestock and crops.

Sugar cane harvesting is one of the most — if not the most — mechanized in the world. The elimination of thousands of backbreaking jobs, however, was accomplished without adding to the unemployment rolls.

Special attention has been placed on conservation, and tens of thousands of acres of land despoiled by imperialism have been reforested.

Hospitals, schools, and modern housing have been constructed throughout the countryside. Electricity and television broadcasts have been extended into the most remote areas of the island.

**A party to fight for power**

What has been outlined here are the basic features of an agrarian program for the working class. It's a general outline, a framework in which to present more specific demands. Each of these demands should lead to one and the same conclusion — that the workers need to break with all the parties of big business in order, jointly with the farmers, to establish their own government.

The workers need to establish a labor party, organizationally based in the unions, that can act as the vanguard of all those who work and are exploited, as the leader in the struggle for the overthrow of the oppressors. The formation of a labor party with class-struggle policies will recruit exploited farmers, many of whom will appear as candidates for the new party.

The objective of a labor party will be to lead the struggle for a workers and farmers government. Establishing their own government will give working people their strongest weapon to deal with the capitalist oppressors. A workers and farmers government will launch a struggle to expropriate the capitalist class, including confiscating all the capitalist farms and transforming them into state farms.

It will chart a totally different foreign policy from that of the present capitalist government by halting wars against the oppressed around the world and using America's vast productive capacities to help combat poverty, hunger, disease, and underdevelopment.

The capitalists have drawn American workers and farmers into international politics in a way that never existed before. One feature of this is that the tremendous productive strength of American farmers and farm workers has become an important factor in world politics and in the lives of the oppressed in many countries. They have created a power that is used by the exploiters to deepen the subjugation of the oppressed throughout the world, to hold the question of life or death over the heads of people who do not do its bidding.

But that same power can be used to help feed the hundreds of millions of people in the semicolonial world that are hungry or underfed. Instead of periodically cutting back production or storing mountains of surpluses, American farm producers can turn their gigantic capacities to helping the oppressed of the world.

The greatest contradiction in the world today is that the basis exists to comfortably feed and clothe the entire world population. Yet massive hunger and poverty exist and famines still haunt parts of the globe.

The perspective of participating in the struggle to establish a government that will resolve this contradiction in favor of the oppressed is one that will inspire all the exploited producers in this country.

**For further reading**

**Marxism and the Working Farmer**

*Education for Socialists* which includes "American Agriculture and the Working Farmer" by Doug Jenness, "The Peasant Question in France and Germany" by Frederick Engels, "Theses on the Agrarian Question [Second Congress of the Communist International]" by V. I. Lenin, "Report on Work in the Countryside [Eighth Congress of Russian Communist Party (B), March, 1919]" by V. I. Lenin, "Cuba's Agrarian Reform" by Fidel Castro, and "Speech to Third National Congress of ANAP (National Association of Small Farmers)" by Fidel Castro. 62 pp., \$2.60.

**Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution**

By Leon Trotsky, 270 pp., \$5.95

**Merchants of Grain**

By Dan Morgan, 520 pp., \$4.95.

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

# Unions and U.S. foreign policy

## The labor officials' 35-year-record

BY STEVE BRIDE

Last month, President Reagan announced that the semicolonial world would have to bear up under another round of U.S. efforts to "foster the infrastructure of democracy."

Washington, he said, would do more to encourage anticommunist newspapers, parties, labor leaders, and so on abroad. In this campaign, Washington expected the support of, among others, U.S. union officials.

To any worker or peasant abroad, Reagan's declaration simply meant that some of the worst right-wingers in their country would be getting more money from the CIA and State Department.

To any unionist or other working person in this country, it meant another step toward new Vietnams, and more dollars for war to prop up antilabor forces abroad. This, while layoffs and cutbacks continue at home.

But to the U.S. union officialdom, Reagan's proposal undoubtedly seemed a quite reasonable one. The labor hacks' record is well known in this regard. They cheer Washington's wars and war budgets. They help Washington subvert governments and suppress workers' revolts wherever they can.

This all proceeds from a more fundamental position the union bureaucrats hold to, which is that all political questions can be solved within the framework of capitalism, by the two parties that govern on behalf of the bankers and big business. Behind the record of war and anticommunism the bureaucracy has piled up in the name of American labor, stand decades of miseducating and bullying American workers into putting their confidence in capitalism, the Democrats, and Republicans.

### Rebuilding capitalism in Europe

Washington at the end of World War II dominated the capitalist world. This was not without its problems. The economies of Western Europe were rubble after the war. Revolutionary upsurges that had begun in Eastern Europe with the struggle against Hitler, and gained confidence with his retreat, seemed certain to spread to the West. Communist Party members in Western Europe had played a major role in the resistance to Hitler, and thus had considerable influence among workers.

How, then, to save capitalism? Washington proposed the Marshall Plan, a scheme to invest U.S. funds in Western Europe. The difficulty lay in selling European workers on the idea. They had seen what two imperialist wars could do, and were in no mood to give the system another try. How, then, to shove the plan down their throats?

By the end of the war, the AFL, which had not yet merged with the CIO, had set up shop in Paris. It worked through the Free Trade Union Committee, whose executive secretary, Jay Lovestone, was employed by the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). Lovestone's agent in Europe was Irving Brown.

Brown centered his efforts in France. Workers there, he noted, seemed particularly eager to "push America off the continent."

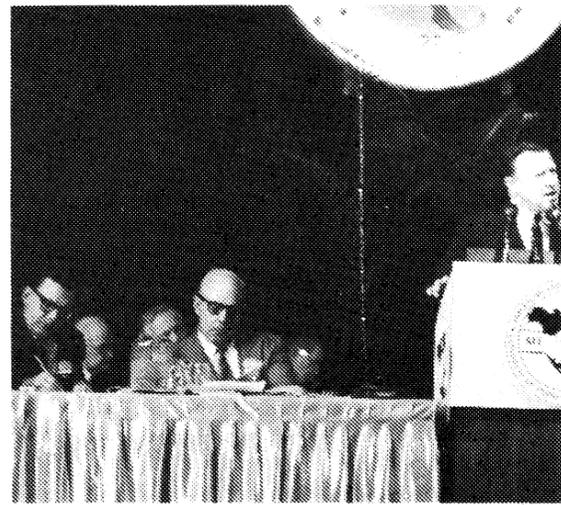
France's largest union federation, the General Confederation of Workers (CGT), was heavily influenced by the Communist Party and against the Marshall Plan. Brown set about trying to split it. Thomas Braden, former International Division chief of the CIA, tells how Brown did this: "With funds from Dubinsky's union [the ILGWU] they organized Force Ouvrière, a non-Communist union. When they ran out of money they appealed to the CIA."

Braden handed over the money, but by 1949 Force Ouvrière had pried loose only a few white-collar unions from the CGT. The French economy, meanwhile, was close to coming apart.

Matters came to a head when French dock workers refused to unload U.S. arms and went on strike. Brown went to the CIA. According to Braden, he needed more money "to pay off strongarm squads in the Mediterranean ports."

The money — about \$2 million a year — went to organize the Mediterranean Committee, a gang of thugs sent in to break the dock strike.

Brown tried everything to destroy the CGT, but never succeeded. In the end, capitalism was salvaged in Western Europe because the Communist and Socialist party leaderships pitched in and helped. Had it not been for this betrayal of the workers' demands, Brown and the rest would have been swept aside with the class they served.



Militant

"They cheer Washington's wars and war budgets. They help Washington subvert governments and suppress workers' revolts wherever they can." From left: AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland, his predecessor George Meany, and former CIO President Walter Reuther.

Back in the United States, though, the bureaucrats were being of more substantial service to capitalism.

What is called the McCarthy Era began years before McCarthy, in America's trade unions.

Just as it tried to use its position in the world to put out the revolutionary fire in Europe, Washington after the war looked to settle accounts with the U.S. workers movement. This promised not to be easy. The end of the war was greeted here by the biggest strike wave the nation had seen. And radicals had sizable influence in the CIO. They had helped build it.

Washington turned to its allies in the labor movement.

In 1947, CIO President Philip Murray told his executive board, "If communism is an issue in any of your unions, throw it to hell out, and throw its advocates out along with it." That year, Murray brought Secretary of State George Marshall, after whom the plan was named, to the CIO convention. In a speech, Marshall thundered against "enemies of democracy," but the convention couldn't bring itself to vote up his plan.

1947 was also the year Congress passed the Taft-Hartley "Slave Labor" Bill. It extended government control over unions, allowed states to pass "right-to-work" laws, and imposed an anticommunist "loyalty oath" on workers. The bill was a big part of Washington's drive to discipline labor. The CIO leaders' protests of it were rendered feeble by their support to the Democrats, and by the witch-hunt they were conducting at the Democrats' bidding.

Murray's wing of the bureaucracy now sought by autocratic means what it couldn't gain by democratic ones. In 1947, the Walter Reuther machine seized control of the United Auto Workers leadership and began a purge of militants. Reuther and others organized raids on union locals thought to be under CP

influence. The raiding unions used the Taft-Hartley loyalty oath to win unopposed in government-run certification elections.

Murray, meanwhile, used pro-Marshall Plan resolutions to engineer minority splits in CP-influenced unions, then granted recognition to the splinter groups. He revoked charters of local labor councils (New York, for instance) in which CPers held office. In Illinois, physical violence was used to ensure a state CIO convention voted the right way.

By 1949, the Reuther-Murray forces were ready for their next step. The 11th Constitutional Convention of the CIO brought charges against 11 unions whose "policies and activities . . . are consistently directed toward the achievement of the program or the purposes" of the CP. Ten of the 11 were expelled. At about that time, Joseph McCarthy began raising his voice on the floor of the U.S. Senate.

Union democracy was a major casualty of the CIO witch-hunt. This was good news to the government. A tamed labor movement was a precondition to Washington's own next step: another war.

### The Korean War years

In June 1950, President Harry Truman sent U.S. troops into Korea. Six months later, a Gallup poll reported 66 percent of Americans wanted to "pull our troops out of Korea as fast as possible." A year later, another poll found 51 percent of the nation thought the intervention had been "a mistake."

The nation's union leaders thought otherwise.

AFL President William Green called for a "mobilization of labor" behind the war effort.

CIO President Murray wired his "wholehearted and unstinting support" to Truman.

George Meany, then AFL secretary-treasurer, predicted, "I haven't any doubt at all that labor will give a no-strike pledge when the time comes."

The Korean War years saw more strikes than any comparable period in U.S. history, as workers tried to keep pace with war-induced inflation. By way of stemming this, the bureaucrats joined a government Wage Stabilization Board. Joseph Beirne, president of the Communications Workers of America, was later to call it the "graveyard of grievances."

Aside from strikes, the labor officialdom had to contend with massive sentiment against the war. At Ford Rouge's UAW Local 600, largest union local in the country, an antiwar, pro-labor-party slate was almost elected to union office. In 1952, 100 members of this local were hauled before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). UAW President Reuther put Local 600 into receivership. Observed *Business Week*, "Reuther and [HUAC] were working together on the UAW like a well-rehearsed vaudeville team."

### Latin America-I

The bureaucrats have never hidden their belief that labor's interests lie with the U.S. corporations and government:

- Walter Reuther to Congress, 1955: "It is in our self-interest in terms of providing a market for finished goods from American industries."

- International Union of Electrical Workers President James Carey to Congress, same year: "We must also remember that many raw materials come from the underdeveloped countries of the world."

The situation in Latin America at the end of World War II was this: President Truman had asked for legislation to train and equip armed forces in many Latin American countries. At the same time, Latin America's largest union federation, the CTAL, had become increasingly militant about U.S. corporations looting the region.

The AFL's man in Latin America, Serafino Romualdi of the ILGWU, set about trying to split the CTAL. He was joined in this by CIO officials, who by 1950 were mopping up the last of the militants in their unions. In 1951, the two set up the Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores.

Whatever slight credibility ORIT may have had was spent within eight years. Two events brought this on.

In Guatemala after the war, according to the State Department's Ronald Schneider, "For the first time in Guatemalan history labor enjoyed the right to organize freely, bargain collectively and strike."

The expectations of workers and peasants rose in this climate, and they made new demands on the state

Continued on next page

## Continued from previous page

— namely, that it do something about the fact that 2 percent of the population owned 70 percent of the land. In 1953, the popularly elected government of Jacobo Arbenz responded by expropriating 234,000 acres of unused land from United Fruit Co.

In June 1954, the CIA mounted a coup against Arbenz in which ORIT members took part. A military dictatorship was brought back in.

Romualdi claimed the new government "favors the development of free trade unionism." He stayed on for two months as an adviser to the regime. "Free trade unionism" turned out to mean placing unions under government control, returning the land to United Fruit, a 75 percent wage cut on large plantations, and slaughtering thousands of peasants.

ORIT's second big — this time, losing — venture into politics was in Cuba. In cooperation with dictator Fulgencio Batista, Romualdi had ORIT's Cuban affiliate suspend union elections, remove dissident officials, and declare strikes illegal.

On January 1, 1959, Fidel Castro entered Havana. ORIT leaders exited with Batista.

The Cuban revolution made it plain that the State Department and its backers in the AFL-CIO officialdom needed something more than ORIT in Latin America.

At about that time, Joseph Beirne of the Communications Workers was using CIA money to train Latin American "labor interns" in Virginia. Romualdi thought Beirne had something there, and began a study.

In August 1961, the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) was chartered, with Romualdi as fulltime director.

## The network

AIFLD, the African-American Labor Center, and the Asian-American Free Labor Institute all came into the world in the first half of the 1960s.

AIFLD began with a budget of less than \$700,000. By 1965 it was over \$5.1 million, and later topped \$8 million. About 90 percent of this comes from the State Department via the Agency for International Development.

Represented on AIFLD's board of directors were the Chilean copper holdings of Anaconda and Kennicott, United Fruit, the Rockefeller interests, and others. Chairman of the board was J.R. Grace, Peru's second-largest employer, hated in that country for drowning a 1960 plantation strike in blood.

"Through the AIFLD," Grace said, "business, labor, and government have come together to work toward a common goal in Latin America." Grace named this goal as "defense of American interests abroad."

AFL-CIO President George Meany and Joseph Beirne, who became AIFLD secretary-treasurer, hotly denied the institute was taking CIA money. In fact, the money was being funneled through Jay Lovestone, by then director of the AFL-CIO's International Affairs Department. Even a former AIFLD staffer, Joseph Palisi, admitted in 1967 to its "covert Central Intelligence Agency affiliation."

Today, AIFLD is run by the CIA's International Organizations Division.

As for the other two institutes: Irving Brown, a favorite CIA bagman, got the directorship of the African Center; and Asian Institute Director Morris Paladino, formerly of the ILGWU and AIFLD, was named as a CIA operative in 1975 by ex-agent Philip Agee. Both organizations have gotten CIA money.

## Latin America—II

AIFLD's budget is often a useful barometer of what Washington is up to in Latin America. Expenditures in Brazil, for example, went from \$54,000 in 1963; to \$150,000 in 1964; to \$518,000 in 1965.

1964 was the year the CIA overthrew Brazilian President João Goulart in favor of a military dictatorship, after he tried to nationalize the country's oil refineries and expropriate land for peasants.

Romualdi had earlier met with opponents of Goulart, who told him a coup was in the works. AIFLD began training a special class of 33 Brazilians. The result is described by William Doherty, then heading up AIFLD's Social Projects Division:

"What happened in Brazil . . . was planned — and planned months in advance. Many of the trade union leaders — some of whom were actually trained in our institute — were involved . . . in the overthrow of the Goulart regime."

AIFLD's Dominican Republic budget grew as fol-

lows: \$67,500 in 1964; \$182,000 in 1965; \$243,000 in 1966.

U.S. troops were sent into the Dominican Republic in 1965 to crush a mass rebellion. The rebellion demanded the return to office of Juan Bosch, the first elected president in the country's history, who had been ousted in 1963 by a U.S.-backed coup.

By the time the troops arrived, AIFLD had put together what it called "a specially trained mobile unit of educator-organizers for emergency situations." AIFLD's Andrew McLellan was rather more candid about its function: "clear away the leftists."

AIFLD is most hated in Latin America for its part in the 1973 coup in Chile, organized by the IT&T Corp. (then an AIFLD board member) and the CIA.

When Salvador Allende was elected president in 1970, the United States cut off all assistance to Chile except aid to the army and a \$1 million AID grant, most of which went to AIFLD.

On the way to Allende's ouster, AIFLD helped Washington sabotage the Chilean economy. It ran CIA money to Chilean truck owners during their 1972 strike against Allende, and organized a 1973 strike of professionals and executives at the nationalized El Teniente copper mine.

AIFLD also had a seat on the National Command in Chile. This was a committee of ex-Nazis, landowners, death-squad members, and black marketeers who coordinated economic sabotage and then the coup.

## The Vietnam War

Just before the CIO's 1955 merger with the AFL, its president, Walter Reuther, accused the U.S. government of "losing" Indochina after the defeat of the French colonial army in Vietnam. Ten years later, the bureaucracy as a whole took pretty much the same approach when Washington plunged the American people into an Indochina war.

In Vietnam, AFL-CIO officials carried out the usual activities. Walter Reuther's brother Victor, for instance, writes of the UAW sending equipment to "the unions of South Vietnam." He was referring to the CVT, a government-run labor federation set up by the AFL-CIO through the Asian Institute.

But the bureaucrats' most valuable aid to the war effort was expended in this country. In 1965, facing the first major escalation of the war, the AFL-CIO convention endorsed "all measures the administration might deem necessary" in Vietnam. A 1966 executive board resolution threw in an attack on the growing antiwar movement for "aiding the Communist enemy." To counter this movement, labor officials organized a 1967 "Support the Boys" march down New York's Fifth Avenue.

As the war dragged on and more Americans came back in coffins, the overwhelming majority of unionists turned against it. The bureaucracy, for the most part, remained unmoved.

Joseph Beirne explained the trade-off as he saw it, on the day in April 1970 when Nixon invaded Cambodia and ignited a nationwide student strike. "The effect of our war," Beirne told an Arizona audience, "while it is going on, is to keep an economic pipeline loaded with a turnover of dollars because people are employed in manufacturing the things of war."

Nine days later, on May 8, 1970, union officials, employers, and the police orchestrated an attack by construction workers on antiwar demonstrators in New York. Nixon congratulated the building trades on this "reassuring and very meaningful" expression of "support for our country."

Antiwar sentiment, however, was such that it did manage a crack in the bureaucracy — the first ever on the question of war. Beginning in the late 1960s, Walter Reuther and others openly criticized the official position on Vietnam.

While significant, this stance had its limits. Reuther and his supporters neither fought for the AFL-CIO to adopt an antiwar policy, nor threw the ranks of their unions into the antiwar struggle.

## Central America war

Whatever pressures the bureaucrats endured in the Vietnam years were mild compared to what they face today in this country.

Unlike Vietnam, the present war in Central America occurs during a sustained economic crisis and a government onslaught on the rights and living conditions of workers. Together with the legacy of antiwar sentiment left by Vietnam, these have forced the war question to the center of labor politics and divided the bureaucracy much earlier on.

The top officialdom of the AFL-CIO clings nervously to the traditional view and conducts the traditional business abroad. The case of El Salvador illustrates this.

On January 3, 1981, rightist death squads there gunned down two Americans and a Salvadoran. The three were connected with AIFLD, involved in the "land reform" organized by El Salvador's ruling junta.

All three victims were in fact CIA operatives. The land reform was a military operation aimed at El Salvador's rebels: patterned after the CIA's "Operation Phoenix" in Vietnam; designed by AIFLD adviser Roy Prosterman, a coarchitect of the Vietnam program.

The Salvador land reform was announced in March 1980 along with a nationwide state of siege. The junta sent troops to occupy large estates. What happened then is described by a technician of the Salvadoran Institute for Agrarian Transformation.

"The troops came and told the workers the land was theirs now. They could elect their own leaders and run it themselves. The peasants couldn't believe their ears, but they held elections that very night. The next morning the troops came back and I watched as they shot every one of the elected leaders."

The junta and AIFLD thereby tried to eliminate the rebels' considerable support among the peasantry. Apparently, though, the few parcels of land that were passed out in the process were too much for the ultrarights. So the AIFLD men paid the price.

Back in the United States, a second group of labor bureaucrats sees the need to at least stay more closely behind the membership on the matter of war. Their unions — the Autoworkers, Machinists, and 12 other internationals — adopt resolutions opposing U.S. aid to the Salvadoran regime. They sponsor appearances by Salvadoran refugees seeking asylum in this country.

Against this, the AFL-CIO central leadership sponsors its own U.S. tours. AIFLD Director William Doherty, for example, recently chaperoned about three Salvadoran "unionists." Their message to Americans was that the regime hadn't such a bad human rights record after all.

Shortly before the March 27 demonstration in Washington against U.S. policy in El Salvador, the group of unionists opposed to that policy took out an ad in the *New York Times*. But the demonstration passed with only modest labor participation. To this day, then, the antiwar sentiment of American workers hasn't found effective expression through any part of this labor "leadership."

What remains to be answered is why and what can be done about it.

## A workers' foreign policy

In 1969, the U.S. Senate learned the AFL-CIO had been running State Department money to progovernment organizations in South Vietnam. George Meany, then AFL-CIO president, said the money went "to carry out the foreign policy of the United States government."

That is an accurate account of what the labor bureaucracy did in Meany's lifetime and does today. The result has been to impose the foreign policy of the class that controls the government — the capitalist class — on American workers.

The capitalists' foreign policy expresses and promotes their main interest in the world: how to turn a profit from it. U.S. workers need a foreign policy of our own — one that expresses our interests in this country and around the world.

Most workers wouldn't think of opposing a strike in another industry. It is understood that victories by workers in any industry weaken the employers' class and strengthen ours. Why, then, should it be otherwise for struggles by workers in other countries? Wouldn't a workers' foreign policy favor their victory for the same reason?

Most workers would also readily donate money or food to strikers in another industry. Wouldn't a workers' foreign policy, then, favor economic and technical aid to struggles of the oppressed in other countries?

To advance our interests in the arena of politics and foreign policy, we need our own political party. To organize such a party, we begin with how we are already organized — with unions. They are the most powerful basis for a new party — a labor party.

The fight for a labor party presupposes a fight against the policies of the capitalists as represented in the labor movement by the bureaucracy. Among other things, this is a fight to put labor on the side of those struggling against war.

Ultimately, though, what is posed is a fight to replace the present government of capitalists with one of workers and farmers. This is the struggle a labor party would help to lead: the struggle of workers and farmers to govern.

That is the only way a workers' foreign policy will ever become U.S. policy.

# Washington readies more arms for war in Central America

BY FRED MURPHY

A further escalation in the U.S. rulers' undeclared war against the peoples of Central America is under way.

- Nicaraguan defense officials have reported that large units of the CIA-backed counterrevolutionary exile army that operates from southern Honduras have crossed the border between the two countries.

- The big-business press in the United States is building up the counterrevolutionary Nicaraguan traitor Edén Pastora, who is preparing to open a second front against the revolution from Costa Rica.

- In El Salvador, U.S. officials have floated trial balloons about the need to bring in more military advisers.

- The Honduran army has intervened directly in El Salvador's civil war, and a major boost in U.S. military aid to Honduras is being readied.

- The new president of Costa Rica has joined in the chorus of U.S. attacks on the Nicaraguan revolution, as Washington is preparing to provide "security assistance" to his regime.

According to the July 4 *Washington Post*, members of the U.S. military mission in El Salvador "now advocate increasing the number of U.S. military advisers" in that country. "The increase in the number of advisers is being sought to allow teams of advisers to be based at headquarters of Salvadoran Army brigades around the country."

This report came after major offensives by the Salvadoran army in Chalatenango and Morazán provinces failed to achieve their objectives. A "Western military source" in San Salvador quoted by the *Post* complained that the army's "coordination was abysmal" in the Morazán fighting and said the regional brigade headquarters were the "weakest link" in U.S. influence over the Salvadoran armed forces' performance.

Partly as a result of setbacks suffered by the Salvadoran government in recent fighting, troops from neighboring Honduras have openly entered the conflict for the first time. According to a report in the July 4 *New York Times*, Honduran units "have begun a joint military campaign with the Salvadoran Army, with a primary objective of crushing Salvadoran rebels in their mountainous strongholds in the eastern Salvadoran province of Morazán."

Citing a senior military officer in the Honduran capital of Tegucigalpa, the *Times* said "some 3,000 Honduran soldiers have occupied a large area of territory" in northern Morazán since July 2.

Salvador Cayetano Carpio, a central leader of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), has pointed out what this intervention reveals about the weakness of the Salvadoran government's forces. "In spite of the training, the helicopters, the jets and everything else from the United States, they have to bring in large numbers of Honduran soldiers," Carpio was quoted as saying in the July 7 *New York Times*. "Soon they will have to bring in American soldiers."

Another FMLN commander, Eduardo Solórzano, warned in Mexico City July 3 that the Honduran intervention could oblige the FMLN "to act militarily in Honduran territory."

The Honduran officer who spoke to

the *Times* asserted that no foreign advisers were participating in the operations inside El Salvador. *Times* correspondent Raymond Bonner noted, however, that "one of the primary missions of the between 50 and 60 American military advisers in Honduras is to assist the Hondurans in patrolling the borders."

A big boost in U.S. military aid to Honduras has been announced. On June 30, the U.S. Senate voted 93 to 1 to appropriate \$21 million for the upgrading of two airfields in Honduras for use by U.S. military planes. On July 14, Honduran President Roberto Suazo Córdova met with Reagan in Washington and

was promised a total of more than \$60 million in military aid over the next two years. This is more than seven times the \$8.3 million provided over the last two years.

Honduran military commanders openly acknowledge their intent to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution. "We can't have a socialist government there," one senior officer told the *New York Times*. "It's them or us." The *Times* reported July 7 that Honduran officers who had advocated a less aggressive stance toward Nicaragua "have recently been exiled to diplomatic posts, thus increasing the power of the hard-liners."

From Intercontinental Press



Salvadoran rebel leader Carpio: "Soon they will have to bring in American soldiers."

## Nicaragua experiment: 'open farms' to house Somoza's ex-guardsmen

BY JANE HARRIS

TIPITAPA, Nicaragua — It was four o'clock in the afternoon when a team of *Militant* correspondents arrived here at a small farm just 15 miles north of Managua. The 41 men who work here were relaxing after a long day that began 12 hours earlier.

In the last two months, 70 acres of beans, two acres of banana trees, and a host of different fruits and vegetables have been planted. In addition, living facilities were quickly constructed.

This farm serves as a prison facility for former members of Somoza's National Guard. It is an experiment for the Sandinistas, who shortly after taking power in July 1979 abolished the death penalty and declared that one of the goals of the revolution would be to rehabilitate the former members of Somoza's National Guard.

This was not a popular declaration among many Nicaraguans. Naturally, most people wanted revenge for the thousands who had been killed, tortured, maimed, or raped by these "security forces."

And yet even with this unprecedented generosity, Amnesty International, the London-based human rights organization, has attacked the Sandinistas for not going far enough.

In a report released June 22, Amnesty denounced emergency legislation enacted to defend the revolution against Reagan's undeclared war, in which the toll of casualties is mounting. It also called upon the Nicaraguan government to review the cases of over 3,000 ex-Somozaist guards and collaborators who were convicted and sentenced by people's tribunals shortly after the revolution.

The organization, which has not organized any visits to Nicaragua since August 1980, has not identified any of those sentenced as "prisoners of conscience." Yet they claim a systematic review of each case is necessary because of "irregularities" in procedure.

The government chose three people for each tribunal — one trade unionist, one person from a mass organization, and one law student or prosecutor. There were no "trained" judges around who supported the revolution.

Had the government not taken these measures, one can say with reasonable certainty that many angry victims of the Somozaists would have dealt with these prisoners in their own way, and most would be dead today.

"We're not apologetic about having sentenced these people by tribunals. There are real war criminals in there [in prison]," Capt. Raul Cordon, who heads the national penitentiary system, told the *Militant*.

"We made this revolution without any experience whatsoever in administering a state," Cordon continued. "But our policy is not to punish ourselves for errors



Militant Michael Baumann

Prisoners at Tipitapa "open farm" may receive regular visits.

we may have made, but to try to correct them.

"We have the best jails in Central America right now with respect to human rights. The problem we have is with physical limitations," he continued, referring to the overcrowded situation in the prisons. "We are a poor country and we have big perspectives, but all within a certain framework of priorities. However, we are working on those physical limitations."

"We didn't inherit much in the way of prison space from Somoza. He preferred to hang people for the smallest crimes. We are building a new prison, which is slated to open in 1983."

Captain Cordon took an entire afternoon to escort *Militant* correspondents to the Zona Franca prison (where 2,000 prisoners are kept), a school for inmates and prison personnel, and to the "open farm" at Tipitapa.

At the prison on the outskirts of Managua, we visited an infirmary. The prisoners receive daily visits from the Red Cross. They are permitted weekly visits by whomever they wish to see. Many prisoners have the opportunity to work as machinists, tailors, carpenters, or building new barracks.

The day we visited, the literacy campaign was scheduled to begin in the prison system. Some 140 prisoners were signed up to participate.

The "open farm" is a pilot project. There are far more prisoners who want to be part of it than there is room for. Captain Cordon explained that he had a huge stack of requests in his office.

The men were chosen based on their performance in work they did while in the penitentiary — their participation in the cotton harvest or perhaps the cutting of sugar cane. One was a cook and that was a needed skill at the farm.

González Ruiz pulled up a chair and began describing the busy day the men have. "Everybody works and they work hard, six days a week." Ruiz is a lead

man for a seven-man field crew.

The prisoners wake up at 4:00 a.m., have breakfast at 5:00, deliver tools at 5:30, work from 6:00 until noon, eat lunch at noon and then work from 1:00 until 4:00 in the afternoon. At 4:00 they are given time for recreation or to study.

Ruiz will be released August 10. The government has lined up a job for him at the Benjamin Zeledon sugar refinery in Rivas, where his wife and seven children live.

Two months ago, at the inauguration ceremony for the farm, Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge explained, "We're not trying to punish the sinner — we're just trying to get rid of the sin."

## Illinois cops jail ERA activists

Not content with having defeated the Equal Rights Amendment, the state of Illinois has imprisoned several ERA supporters.

Twelve women chained themselves in front of Governor Thompson's office in June, as well as performing other acts of civil disobedience to protest the Illinois state legislature's refusal to ratify the ERA.

Ten of the women have served four-day jail sentences and must pay \$300 each in fines.

Two others are serving 30 days in jail for violating the injunction prohibiting their sit-in at the governor's office.

Nine of the women face felony charges and a \$5,000 bond each for writing the names of legislators opposed to the ERA in blood on the floor of government offices after the ERA was defeated.

Contributions are needed to cover the costs of the fines and the legal defense effort.

Money can be sent to: Grass Roots Group of Second Class Citizens Legal Defense Fund, P.O. Box 2096, Station A, Champaign, Illinois, 61820.

*Barricada Internacional*, the weekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is now available in Spanish and English. The price is 6 months for \$12.

Send check or money order to:  
Barricada Internacional  
Apdo. No. 576  
Managua, Nicaragua.

# What happened in the Great Depression?

## How 1930s slump led to attempts to control business cycle

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

*Third of a series*

The "recession" that was to become the Great Depression began quietly during the summer of 1929, several months before the famous stock market crash. Quietly, because the first layoffs were hardly considered newsworthy, unlike the losses suffered by multimillionaire speculators in the fall.

For three-and-a-half years, the crisis deepened. Layoff followed layoff. Bankruptcy followed bankruptcy. Hundreds of thousands of farmers lost their farms because the depressed price of their produce wouldn't cover mortgage payments. In the cities, the unemployed went hungry. Bank failures wiped out life savings.

Those who continued to work faced huge wage cuts, as the bosses took full

## BEHIND THE RECESSION

advantage of the workers' fear that they might join the unemployed at any moment.

By 1933 joblessness had risen to what was officially estimated at 25 percent. But there is every reason to think that these figures underestimated the true extent of the unemployment — just like official figures underestimate it today. Counting those people who were forced to work part time, the real figure was much higher than 25 percent. Among Blacks, unemployment was worse.

### Trade war

In June 1930, President Herbert Hoover signed the Smoot-Hawley protective tariff into law. Other countries raised barriers against U.S. commodities. This "trade war" further reduced world trade and contributed to the severity and duration of the Great Depression. Eventually, the imperialist trade war led to a shooting war that cost tens of millions of lives.

The depression reached its lowest point when President Franklin Roosevelt closed the banks in March 1933. But double-digit unemployment lingered through the decade. In 1937-38 the economy was hit by a new "recession." As late as 1940, unemployment was still in double digits.

Only the war economy of World War II — with its mass slaughter, shortages of consumer goods, war profiteering, and inflation — finally ended mass unemployment. Normal economic growth did not resume until 1946.

Although the depression of the 1930s was far from the first depression in U.S. history, it had consequences far greater than any of its predecessors. This was not only because it was longer and more severe, but also because of the changed world political context in which it occurred.

The biggest change was the Russian revolution of 1917. The Soviet Union showed that economic planning and nationalization of the means of production, made possible by a workers revolution, could eliminate the horror of depression.

While every capitalist nation was devastated by the economic crisis, the Soviet Union in the 1930s (despite the misrule of the privileged bureaucratic caste headed by Stalin) was experiencing a growth of production and employment never before seen in world history.

The very fact of the Russian revolution and its gains helped show workers in other countries, including the United States, what could be accomplished if capitalist rule was ended.

### Roosevelt's 'New Deal'

After nearly four years of setbacks and defeats during the depression, the U.S. working class began to fight back.

A series of victorious strike battles in 1934 paved the way for the mass workers' struggles that built the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

In earlier depressions, Washington had taken the attitude that a depression was a storm that had to be ridden out. But in the 1930s this approach was no longer politically possible.

The U.S. government under Roosevelt felt the need to make concessions to the workers as the only way to head off independent labor political action and even a revolutionary challenge to the entire capitalist system.

Roosevelt announced a "New Deal," legalized the right of labor to organize (after workers' strikes forced the administration to grudgingly recognize this basic democratic right), launched public works programs, and established the beginnings of a social security system.

The Roosevelt policies are frequently seen as the beginning of what became known as Keynesian policies. These were elaborated by British economist John Maynard Keynes.

Official academic (that is, pro-capitalist) economics had "proven" that unemployment and depressions were impossible in a "pure" capitalist economy. If depression and joblessness occurred, they were merely a result of friction and accidents that were sure to be short lived.

In this the apologists for capitalism sharply differed with Karl Marx, who had argued that capitalism fosters permanent unemployment to one degree or another, and that periodic crises (depressions) with mass unemployment are inevitable as long as capitalism survives.

Keynes was himself a staunch pro-capitalist economist and longtime advocate of the "official" theories. Amidst the Great Depression, however, he realized that economists were making themselves look absurd by continuing to argue that massive, long-term unemployment was impossible under capitalism.

Keynes modified the old arguments.

## Milwaukee socialist campaigns against war

BY NANCY COLE

MILWAUKEE — "Jobs, Not War!" headlined the Socialist Workers campaign rally here June 27, culminating a week of intensive campaigning.

SWP gubernatorial candidate Peter Seidman and his running mate, Margo Storsteen, came to the rally directly from a 350-strong picket line protesting the planned arrival of Israeli Ambassador Moshe Arens. (It was later learned that Arens had cancelled his speaking engagement.)

The protest outnumbered the counter-demonstration across the street, where some 150 backers of Israeli terror sang patriotic American songs and denounced "PLO terrorism."

The demonstration against the Israeli invasion of Lebanon was called on less than a week's notice by the newly formed Committee for Palestinian Human Rights. Saleh Shukri, a member of the committee as well as of the Organization of Arab Students at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee (UWM), spoke to the socialist campaign rally that night.

Pointing to the hypocrisy of U.S.-Israeli claims, Shukri said: "They say that after 3,050 years the Jews have the right to Palestine. But after only 150 years, Argentina has no right to the Malvinas!"

Israel does not exist because of historic arguments, Shukri went on, but because imperialism needs it.

"I don't think Begin will win, because 150 million Arabs believe in the cause," he declared.

"When I saw the leaflet for this meet-



Unemployed during depression

Prolonged depression was possible, he acknowledged. But depressions were not inevitable under capitalism (as Marx had said). They could be avoided by correct government policies within the framework of capitalism.

Keynes and his followers argued that during a depression there is insufficient spending in the economy. As a result, supply exceeds demand. Production and employment are depressed. The answer is to increase the total amount of spending in the economy.

The Keynesians recommended that when economic depression threatened, the government should follow a policy of deficit spending and expand the money

supply. This, it was claimed, would keep the market expanding in pace with increased production.

Today the Reagan administration declares that Keynes's "demand-side" economics have failed and led to inflation, high interest rates, economic stagnation, and high unemployment. That is why the Reagan administration calls its "trickle-down" policies "supply-side economics." How Keynesian policies actually worked out in practice and what the results were (and how much truth if any there is in the Reagan arguments) will be the subject of the next several articles.

*To be continued*

ing that said 'Jobs, Not War!' I said, 'That is exactly what the Arab people want.'"

Gubernatorial candidate Seidman focused his remarks on the wars Washington is pushing around the globe — in Latin America and the Middle East.

Then he moved on to the Democratic Party, which in order to defuse and confuse the antiwar sentiment of the American people is billing itself as the "peace party." He pointed out that the Democratic midterm convention called for strengthening U.S. conventional armed forces and gave backing to the anti-PLO drive.

Representing the Students Mobilized for Survival at UWM, Debi Elzinga told the rally: "Some people believe that electing someone like Teddy Kennedy for president in 1984 will be the answer. We cannot even begin to consider Kennedy as an answer when he votes 'yes' to a \$208.6 billion defense budget while social programs are being slashed.

"We must challenge our own government about nuclear weapons," she said. "And in order for this to be a movement that truly addresses peace, we must address the real conventional wars that our government is involved in."

Sue Harper spoke to the meeting for the Young Socialist Alliance. Harper described how, right out of high school, she had become active in the movement against the Vietnam War. Then when it ended, she and her husband decided to isolate themselves from the world and its problems, and they built a log cabin in northern Wisconsin.

"But then something very important started happening — El Salvador!" she explained. "The TV, radio, and newspapers were all flooded with stories about El Salvador. I couldn't believe this was happening again. I came to realize Vietnam was not an isolated incident."

After moving back to Milwaukee, Harper joined the local Central American solidarity group, but continued to worry about all the other injustices, such as the police murder of a local Black youth, Ernest Lacy; soaring unemployment; and so on. It brought her to join the YSA this spring, and she urged others at the rally to do the same.

During the preceding week, socialist campaigners here collected nearly 6,000 signatures, double the number required, to qualify the SWP candidates for the November ballot.

## 1,000 protest Milw. killer cops

MILWAUKEE — Nearly 1,000 people marched here July 9, the first anniversary of the police killing of Black youth Ernest Lacy. To date, no action has been taken to punish the cops responsible for beating Lacy to death.

Meanwhile, Milwaukee Police Chief Harold Breier, who has become a hated symbol of cop racism, announced June 23 that he had formed a new squad of cops to "combat juvenile gang crimes."

"This is basically a black problem — a problem with black juvenile gangs," the *Milwaukee Journal* quoted Breier as saying.

# Nationwide tours win broad support for fired unionists

## Pentagon-company spying exposed

BY MATTHEW HERRESHOFF

Four trade unionists — fired from their jobs because of their union activity and antiwar views — recently completed nationwide tours to organize opposition to a major corporate and government attack on the union movement.

"The unions know they are under very serious attack by the big corporations in collaboration with the government," said Jean Savage, one of the four fired unionists. "That means that in the fight for their own survival they have to fight against these attacks, against company spying and against any government collaboration with the employers."

The four union activists — Savage, Alison Beckley, Harris Freeman, and Barry David — talked with the *Militant* about their tours.

Savage and Beckley are among 15 workers fired by Lockheed-Georgia following a phony "loyalty" investigation by the company together with the government.

Freeman and David were fired by McDonnell Douglas in St. Louis after being "investigated" by the Defense Investigative Service (DIS), a Pentagon anti-union spy agency that keeps tabs on over 15 million workers.

All four are members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM). The four are also members of the Socialist Workers Party, and Beckley and Freeman are members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

These four unionists are among the first to be targeted by a major company-government campaign to weaken the labor movement under the guise of "national security."

The employers and the government collaborate, using spy agencies like DIS and the FBI to spy on union meetings, finger union activists who raise ideas that the bosses and the government don't like, and get them fired on phony pretexts.

Antiwar and socialist union members — like the Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas unionists — are a key target of this campaign.

The tours, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), were a key part of PRDF's national campaign to help the Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas workers regain their jobs.

### New support in unions

Petitioning at plant gates and speaking to union meetings, union officials and groups of unionists, citywide rallies, press conferences, and other events, the unionists won important new support for this campaign.

"The warmest response came from the union locals I spoke to," reported Savage. At Ohio meetings of the Civil Service Employees Association and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, she talked with unionists who "had seen these same types of spy activities going on in the places that they work, had seen people victimized in the same way, and felt that the union movement should fight this."

"I talked to a local of the American Postal Workers Union in Miami," said Freeman, "which had gone through a big fight over safety conditions there."

After Freeman spoke, the union president "used some of the experiences we had and the way we're defending ourselves in the armaments industry to explain to the members why they should be on guard against company security and company-government provocations in their own workplace."

The local then voted to endorse the

McDonnell Douglas and Lockheed workers' fight to regain their jobs.

Both Beckley and David attended the national convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women. "Virtually everybody who walked past our table signed a petition" reported Beckley. "It was clear that unionists everywhere feel similar kinds of attacks. People saw immediately what the threat was and how it had to be responded to."

### IAM and UAW

Savage addressed an IAM District Council meeting in Louisville. "There was a clear knowledge that I belonged there," she said, "because this was an attack on their union that has to be fought, not just an attack on an individual. Over 20 people — presidents and business agents of unions — signed the petitions around our case at the meeting."

Savage also spoke to meetings of the IAM District Council and AFL-CIO Central Labor Council in Cincinnati.

In St. Louis, Freeman spoke to the membership of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 282, "a union that had gone through a very militant struggle to defend their work conditions on the shop floor and get a halfway decent contract," he said.

"Under new business, the union president proposed sending letters of protest to Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas. The union also decided to donate \$50 to PRDF and to send a speaker to a PRDF rally the next week.

"At the rally," Freeman continued, "Local Secretary Mark Miles explained how the struggle they went through on their job for a decent contract was connected to the fight we were having at McDonnell Douglas. His speech expressed the fightback that exists among trade unionists today when they have a chance to express it."

### Reagan's war drive at home

"I explained our firings, first of all, as part of Reagan's war drive at home and how that is tied to the war drive abroad," Freeman said.

"The government's goal," Beckley added, "is to get militant unionists, especially antiwar unionists, out of the plants. People understand that immediately."

Freeman addressed a local of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) near Pittsburgh. "The union members wanted to know more about my stand on military spending and about the Vietnams that our government is involved in," he said.

The local voted to support the Lock-



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

**Harris Freeman (left) and Jean Savage (center) discuss their case with participants in March 27 demonstration in Washington, D.C., against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.**

heed and McDonnell Douglas unionists and, Freeman reported, "as a sign of solidarity the members attending the union meeting all bought tickets to the PRDF rally that evening."

Later, at a nearby truck stop, Freeman spent hours talking to miners and UMWA officials. "Literally every person I spoke to bought a ticket as a sign of solidarity," he said.

At the Louisville rally, Savage reported, civil rights activist Anne Braden explained that in the 1950s "many people she knew in war plants were fired because they circulated petitions opposing the Korean War."

In Louisville and Indianapolis, Victor Rubio, representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, spoke at rallies with Savage. In almost every city, the touring unionists shared platforms with leading antiwar activists.

"Those folks," David explained, "especially understand that if they're going to be able to reach out to working people then they have to defend unionists who were victimized because of their antiwar views and activities."

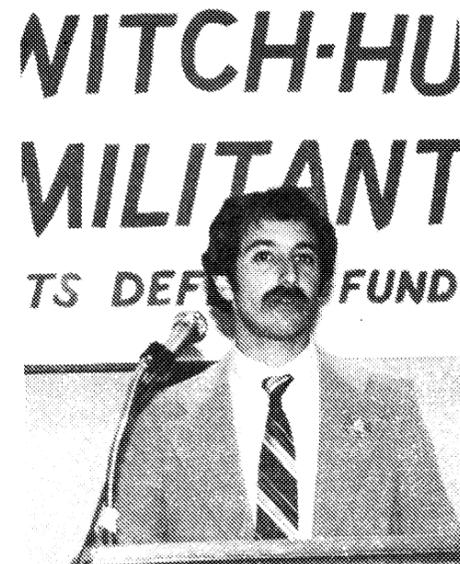
These defense efforts, added Freeman, "complement the work to organize against Washington's wars. I think they're an important aspect of this."

### A broad array of fighters

The touring unionists won support from a wide range of individuals and organizations.

In Albuquerque, Beckley spoke to the National Organization for Women (NOW). "We had a very good discussion. The firings at Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas are a big threat to the women's movement," she said. "It's a big obstacle to unions being able to work as strongly as possible around any issues of concern to women."

The NOW chapter voted to support the fired unionists.



Militant David Strayer

**Barry David and Alison Beckley**



Militant K.C. Ellis

"We were able to speak on common platforms with a broad range of fighters," Freeman reported, "from people opposing the deportation of Haitian refugees, to people fighting for the rights of Palestinians, to antiwar activists opposing U.S. intervention in Central America, to trade unionists and farmers."

In several cities, the unionists spoke alongside representatives of the National Black Independent Political Party.

In St. Louis, Freeman spoke alongside Carlos Welte, vice-president of the Missouri Agriculture Movement. Another farmer from Puxico, Missouri, drove in with him for the rally.

### History of harassment

The fired unionists met many workers who had themselves been targeted by their employers or the government.

"In Milwaukee," David recalled, "I was able to meet with Jon Melrod, who was involved in a case very similar to mine. He was fired from his job at American Motors for distributing literature against speedup, although the company claimed that he was fired for falsifications on his application." Melrod fought his case through the National Labor Relations Board and won back his job.

David also reported a meeting he had with unionists in Two Harbors, Minnesota, north of Duluth. "They related to me some of the history of the unions up there, where the companies had worked hand in hand with the government to break strikes of the railroad workers and iron miners. It's an area where the union tradition is extremely militant, and they've had to put up with company-government harassment for many years. So they were quite eager to support our case."

### Doors are open

In almost every city, the fired unionists met with officials of the IAM, UAW and other unions.

"They wanted to sit down and talk," Savage reported, "not only talk about the case but talk about all the attacks against the union movement and what can be done about those attacks."

"They see this case as representative of the attacks the government is making against the unions' right to speak out, and of the company and government collaboration they see happening today."

Many union activists, Beckley reported, expressed "appreciation for PRDF and what that means — that in most situations where things like this happen there isn't a chance to respond in the way that we're responding."

David agreed. "There's a need to begin to fight back," he said, "and there's a sense that the work of the Political Rights Defense Fund is very important in that effort."

# Mason brings solidarity to Mexican workers

BY MIGUEL PENDAS

TIJUANA, Mexico — A highlight of Mel Mason's tour of the San Diego area was a one-day trip to the poorest working-class neighborhoods — the *colonias* — of Tijuana. Mason is the socialist city councilman from Seaside who is running for governor of California as an independent.

Colonias are makeshift neighborhoods created by the worst-off workers and unemployed who have nowhere else to live. Tijuana, near the U.S.-Mexican border, exemplifies the kind of conditions created by U.S. imperialist oppression. It has hundreds of thousands of *colonos* among its population of over a million. Over the years they have been involved in bitter struggles against the government and its ruling party, the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI).

Mason's tour was organized by the Mexican Revolutionary Workers Party (MRT).

We visited Colonia Sanchez Taboada, where nearly all homes are tiny wooden shacks in extremely run-down condition. Some places are worse, made of tin and plywood.

Occasionally, you will see a stucco building. The colonos informed us that the privileged few who get these places are PRI supporters.

What's more, they added, Sanchez Taboada is not the most impoverished of the colonias. "This is the lap of luxury compared to some of the others," one person said. Some colonias are so run-down they cannot even be reached by car.

Our first destination was the headquarters of the CUCUTAC (Comité Unión de Colonos Urbanos de Tijuana

— Asociación Civil), the independent, fighting organization of the colonos. CUCUTAC organizes about 17 of Tijuana's estimated 200 colonias.

We met Catalino Zarala and Luz María Uribe, two CUCUTAC leaders who ran for office on the PRT slate in the recent elections.

On the wall of CUCUTAC's headquarters is a poster in solidarity with the people of El Salvador.

The word was passed around about Mason and soon there were over 20 colonos jammed into the tiny wooden building to meet him. The warmth of their welcome was impressive. It is obvious that there is not enough to eat here, but a delicious meal for the whole group was prepared in our honor, consisting of chicken, beans, rice, and fresh corn tortillas.

Speaking through a translator, Mason explained the purpose of his visit: to learn about the conditions of life of Mexican working people, and to bring support to their struggles on the part of his campaign.

One California Democrat running for governor made a showy campaign trip as far as the border, and then turned back. Mason is the only one to actually solidarize with the working people of Mexico in their homes.

Mason asked what were the main problems they faced. The answers came quickly: no sewer system, no drinking water, no paved streets; in some parts, not even electricity; urban transit is inadequate, and many never use it because they cannot afford it; the schools provide a terribly inadequate education.

When American charity organiza-

tions donated truckloads of clothing and furniture to the colonos, they were distributed by the PRI supporters, who sold them. The stories go on.

Gilberto, one of our guides, explained Sanchez Taboada is formed principally of people who were driven from another part of town near the riverbed of Rio Tijuana. They had been squatting there for more than 20 years. According to Mexican law, after five years in the same place, a person is entitled to the land.

But the PRI wanted the land for an expensive development. When the people refused to leave, a dam was opened and the floods washed away their houses and possessions. They were not compensated for the land. Today, a giant shopping center, complete with

Sears, stands where the old colonia used to be.

At the conclusion of the Tijuana tour Mason was interviewed in the offices of *Zeta*, a daily newspaper. Mason, who has been campaigning against U.S. oppression and exploitation of working people throughout the world, including Mexico, called for an open border between Mexico and the United States. He said that his campaign has been demanding the same rights for undocumented workers in the United States that citizens have.

The Tijuana trip concluded a tour of the San Diego area. During the tour, Mason campaigned at the NASSCO shipyard in San Diego and spoke at a backyard barbecue rally where \$800 was pledged to the Mason campaign.



Militant/Rosalie Majka

Residents of colonia in Tijuana told Mason (second from left) they had no sewer system or drinking water and, in some places, not even electricity.

## CALENDAR

### NEW YORK CITY

Salute Nelson Mandela  
Benefit Concert

Fri., July 30  
123 W. 71st St.  
Grace & St. Paul Lutheran Church

6:30 p.m.

Donation: \$5; \$3 for students

Ausp: African National  
Congress of South Africa  
— Youth Section

### GEORGIA

#### Atlanta

**Celebrate and Defend the Cuban Revolution.** Speaker: Malcolm Gonick, recently returned from Cuba. Slide show on Cuba today. Party to follow. Sat., July 24, 7:30 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

### KENTUCKY

#### Louisville

**Celebration of Nicaraguan and Cuban Revolutions.** Picnic, speeches, and party. Sat., July 24, 4 p.m. 1215 Keswick Blvd. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**Celebrate the Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.** Speaker: State Representative Mel King. Music, poetry, dancing. Sat., July 24, 7 p.m. Old Cambridge Baptist Church, 1151 Mass. Ave., Cambridge. Donation: \$5. Ausp: July 26th Coalition. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Celebrate the Cuban Revolution: Benefit for Michigan Socialist Workers Campaign.** Speakers: Tim Craine, SWP candidate for governor; others to be announced. Slides, refreshments, entertainment. Sat., July 24, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Michigan Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**Money for Jobs, Not for War. Socialist Campaign Rally.** Speakers: Cathie Fitzgerald, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress; Rashaad Ali, former SWP candidate for mayor of New Orleans; Keith Brown, Young Adults for Freedom; Debrah Witley, community activist. Childcare provided. Sat., July 24, 7:30 p.m. Dixon Inn, 12th and Baltimore. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Kansas City 1982 Campaign. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

#### St. Louis

**Eyewitness Reports: Latin American Workers and Farmers in Power.** Slide show and reports from Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. International food and music. Sun., July 25, 6:30 p.m. open house, 7:30 p.m. program. 6223 Delmar. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign '82. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

### NEW MEXICO

#### Albuquerque

**In Concert for Cuba.** Featuring Noel Nicola, renowned musician of Cuban New Song Movement, and Ayocuan. Thurs., July 29, 8 p.m. Student Union Ballroom, University of New Mexico. Donation: \$4 in advance, \$5 at door. Ausp: July 26th Coalition.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Celebrate the 29th Anniversary of Moncada.** Featuring Noel Nicola, one of Cuba's most renowned musicians of the New Song Movement. Sat., July 24, 8 p.m. Washington Irving Auditorium, 16th St. and Irving Pl. Tickets \$10 and \$5. Ausp: Committee for July 26. For more information call (212) 260-8244 or 477-5891.

#### Emergency Teach-in and Mass Rally to Oppose U.S.-Israeli Invasion of Lebanon.

Speakers: Zehdi Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization representative to the UN; Arnaldo Ramos, Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Vanessa Redgrave; Lea Tsemel, Israeli peace activist; Professor Edward Said, Columbia University; Professor Richard Falk, Princeton University; Eqbal Ahmad, Institute for Policy Studies; Elias Khoury, Lebanese novelist and literary critic; Alexander Cockburn, *Village Voice*; representatives of Lebanese National Movement, African National Congress. Sun., July 25.

Teach-in 1 p.m., rally 6 p.m. Hotel Diplomat, 108 W 43rd St. Ausp: November 29 Coalition. For more information call (212) 695-2686.

### Schenectady

**Workers and Farmers Should Run the Country! Socialist Workers '82 Campaign Invites You to Rally to Kick Off Petitioning Drive.** Speakers: Mohammed Oliver, chairperson, SWP statewide campaign; Pat Mayberry, candidate for 23rd Congressional District, member of Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 904; Peter Thierjung, candidate for lieutenant governor, member of Sheetmetal Workers Local 417; Jane Harris, reporter for *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Militant* in Nicaragua; representative of American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; others. Sat., July 24, 8 p.m. Holiday Inn, Franklin Room, Nott Terrace. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Mayberry for Congress '82 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (518) 374-1494, 463-8873, or 383-2006.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Winston-Salem

**Defend Democratic Rights! Activists Speak Out.** Speakers: Steve Craine, Socialist Workers Party; Alfred Warren, Alliance of Concerned Citizens of Stokes County; Sister Mary McClintock; John Butz, draft non-registrant; Stuart Hutchinson, Carolina Resist the Draft; Lewis Pitts, southern regional vice-president, National Lawyers Guild. Sat., July 24, 7:30 p.m. 216 E 6th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

### OHIO

#### Cleveland

**Celebrate the Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution.** Speakers: Darryl Tukufu, Ohio state cochair, National Black Independent Political Party; Norma Ruiz, Nicaraguan activist; representative of Union of Palestinian Students; Alicia Merel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate; Louise Haberbusch, SWP candidate for 20th Congressional District. Traducción al español. Sat., July 24, 8 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$2. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Film: Cuba and Fidel.** Celebration of anniversary of Cuban revolution. Speaker: Seth Rockwell, Socialist Workers Party, former volunteer worker in Cuba. Sun., July 25, 7:30

p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Pittsburgh

**Picnic to Meet the Socialist Candidates.** Food, sports, entertainment. Sat., July 24, 12 noon to 10 p.m. South Park, Sevens Pavilion off Corrigan Rd. Donation: \$5 adults, \$2.50 children and unemployed. Ausp: Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**Emergency Teach-in and Mass Rally to Oppose the U.S.-Israeli Invasion of Lebanon.** Speakers: Zehdi Terzi, Palestine Liberation Organization representative to the UN; Vanessa Redgrave; Lea Tsemel, Israeli peace activist; representatives of Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, Lebanese National Movement, African National Congress. Sat., July 24, 4:30 p.m. teach-in, 6:30 p.m. Middle Eastern dinner, 8 p.m. rally. Marie Reed Training Center, 2200 Champlain St. NW. Ausp: November 29 Coalition. For more information call (703) 820-9797.

### WISCONSIN

#### Milwaukee

**Stop U.S.-Israeli Aggression in Lebanon!** Speakers: Anan Jabara, president, Palestine Aid Society; Dena Aronson, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee student; Robert Dees, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., July 25, 7 p.m. University of Wisconsin Student Union, Wisconsin Room. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

### VIRGINIA

#### Tidewater

**Rally to Stop Reagan's War Drive.** Speakers: Ali Abed, Arab-American Association of Virginia; Kibwe Diarra, June 12 Antiwar Movement (JAME); Charlie Roberts, Nicaragua Network; Carl Wallace, pastor of First United Church of Christ in Hampton; John Wood, Young Socialist Alliance, draft resister. Statement by Enten Eller, being prosecuted for refusing to register. Fri., July 23, 7 p.m. 1017 Todds Lane, Hampton. Ausp: Tidewater JAM. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

# The Sandinista revolution: an inside look

*Sandinistas Speak* by Tomás Borge, Carlos Fonseca, Daniel Ortega, Humberto Ortega, and Jaime Wheelock. Pathfinder Press, 1982, New York. 160 pages \$4.95.

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

*Sandinistas Speak* presents a concise view of the determined struggle of 2.5 million workers and farmers in Nicaragua who met a U.S.-backed military dictatorship in a head-on confrontation and liberated their country.

In the context of the imminent invasion of Nicaragua by U.S.-backed Honduran troops and Nicaraguan counterrevolutionaries, this book is a useful tool for refuting the imperialist slander campaign leveled against the workers and farmers of Nicaragua.

The speeches, documents, and interviews presented in this collection detail the goals, the strategy, the

## BOOK REVIEW

development, and the consolidation of the first workers and farmers government in Latin America since the Cuban revolution.

The book begins by introducing the reader to the historic program of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), a program hammered out from the experiences of over a century of struggle against Yankee imperialist aggression.

At the heart of this program, presented to the Nicaraguan people in 1969, was the goal of taking political power "by destroying the military and bureaucratic apparatus of the dictatorship and to establish a revolutionary government based on the

worker-peasant alliance and the conversion of all the patriotic anti-imperialist and anti-oligarchic forces in the country."

To reach this goal the program outlined a series of measures. These included: the people establishing power through structures on the national and local level, workers control over the factories and other wealth expropriated, a massive agrarian reform which would take the land from the landlords and distribute it among the poor farmers, and a planned economy putting an end to the anarchy of the capitalist system of production.

Other proposals were: a literacy campaign, the formation of unions, establishment of an independent foreign policy — independent of Yankee imperialism, the dismantlement of the Somozaist National Guard and the formation of a people's army. This program, outlined 10 years before the revolution that overthrew Somoza, is being realized today in the flesh as the revolution deepens.

The book also includes an article written in 1969 by Carlos Fonseca, one of the founders and central leaders of the FSLN since its founding in 1961.

Fonseca places the revolutionary prospects in Nicaragua in a historical context. He discusses how Nicaragua was ravaged by British and U.S. domination since the 1830s, and chronologically lists the military and economic attacks against Nicaragua up to the 1960s.

Fonseca then presents the evolution and maturity of the three revolutionary currents that eventually unified to emerge as the FSLN and lead the Nicaraguan revolution.

He starts from the framework that Nicaragua needs a "socialist revolution, a revolution that aims to defeat Yankee imperialism and its local agents, false opportunists, and false revolutionaries." Noting the tremendous influence of the Cuban revolution,

Fonseca traces the break of revolutionary Sandinism from the reformism of Nicaraguan Stalinism represented by the Nicaraguan Socialist Party. The Stalinists called for political subordination of the masses to the anti-Somoza bourgeois opposition. Fonseca predicted then that it would be only a matter of time before the "youth and people of Nicaragua would begin to distinguish between the false Marxists and the true Marxists."

This is followed by an interview done by Marta Harnecker, the exiled Chilean journalist, with Humberto Ortega, a leader of the FSLN and commander in chief of the Sandinista People's Army. Ortega explains the strategy and political factors that resulted in the triumph of the Sandinista revolution.

Ortega explains that "The crux of victory was not military in nature, it was the masses' participation in the insurrectional situation. . . . I myself feel it is very difficult to take power without a creative combination of all forms of struggle wherever they can take place: countryside, city, town, neighborhood, mountain, etc., but always based on the idea that the mass movement is the focal point of the struggle and not the vanguard with the masses limited to merely supporting it."

And with regard to the Sandinistas' approach to other sectors in opposition to Somoza, Ortega emphasizes that "without a flexible, intelligent, and mature policy of alliances on both the national and international levels there would have been no revolutionary victory."

This collection also features a speech by Tomás Borge, the Nicaraguan minister of the Interior, "On Human Rights in Nicaragua"; a statement by the FSLN directorate on the role of religion; a speech by Jaime Wheelock, minister of agricultural development, "Nicaragua's Economy and the Fight Against Imperialism"; and a number of other articles.

# The roots of the Irish liberation struggle

*Ireland Unfree*. Edited by Martin Mulligan. Pathfinder Press, Australia, 1981. 158 pages, paper, \$5.95. Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, New York 10014.

*Freedom Only Comes if You Take It!* A speech by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey. 24 pages, \$1. Available from New York H-Block/Armagh Committee, 135 West 4th St., New York, New York 10012.

BY MARC LICHTMAN

Last year, 10 young Irishmen, who had been jailed for their participation in the freedom struggle, gave up their lives on hunger strike because they refused to accept being labeled as criminals by the British

## BOOK REVIEW

colonial government. They and hundreds like them in Northern Ireland had been sentenced to long prison terms after trials in special, juryless courts with special rules of evidence.

Most were convicted solely on the basis of forced

confessions. On the basis of these convictions, the British authorities insisted that the hunger strikers were ordinary criminals.

*Ireland Unfree* is a recent book that explains why these 10 young men fought, and why they died. It is a short collection of essays, most of which first appeared in the Australian socialist newsweekly *Direct Action*, providing coverage of the hunger strike and historical background.

One essay deals with the "Great Famine" of 1845-49. When blight hit the potato crop, the staple diet of Irish tenant farmers, 1 million people died of starvation or disease, and at least another million more were forced to emigrate. But few history books tell that during the "famine" more than twice as much food as was needed to feed the starving population was exported by greedy landlords, under protection of British military escorts.

*Ireland Unfree* also includes a biographical sketch of James Connolly. A Marxist, Connolly was a revolutionary workers leader and a central figure in the 1916 Easter uprising against the British in Dublin.

Three examples of hunger-striker Bobby Sands's prison writings are included in this collection, as is

Owen Carron's graveside tribute to Sands. Carron was later elected to fill the seat in British Parliament vacated by Sands's death.

The longest essay in the book describes how the campaign in support of the prisoners' demands developed into the largest mass movement in all Ireland since the 1920s. It shows the positive evolution that the Provisional Irish Republican Army went through, after initially viewing such a campaign as a diversion from the armed struggle.

*Freedom Only Comes if You Take It!* is the transcript of a speech given by Bernadette Devlin McAliskey in November 1981 in New York.

Much of her speech is concerned with the question of violence and social change. McAliskey points out that the British government showed its utter contempt for the democratic process after hunger-striker Bobby Sands was elected to the British Parliament. First they let Sands die on hunger strike, then they promptly changed the law so that no prisoner could ever run for Parliament again.

McAliskey explains the importance of demonstrations and participation in elections as tactics that can involve the masses in the struggle for a free and united Ireland.

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**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

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## Are child labor laws 'inconvenient'?

"The current law is inconvenient for an employer."  
That's how Labor Department spokesman Gordon Shay explained the Reagan administration's proposal to ease up on regulations restricting child labor.

Labor Secretary Raymond Donovan tried to be more diplomatic. "These changes," he said, "are designed to increase job opportunities for 14- and 15-year-olds, and to make it easier for employers to understand and comply with our rules."

Here is an administration that is cutting back on funds for education, is attacking the student aid and affirmative-action programs that enable many Black and Latino youth to continue their schooling, and is slashing job opportunities for all kinds. You don't have to be a cynic to start looking for the catch when Donovan starts talking about the plight of unemployed 14- and 15-year-olds.

The fact is that the new regulations proposed by the Labor Department July 16 are an attack on the rights of young people and on the labor movement as a whole.

The new regulations would allow employers to hire youth of 14 and 15 during regular school weeks for a workweek of 24 hours instead of the current 18 hours. They would also extend the kinds of work 14- and 15-year-olds are allowed to do, and make it easier for employers to legally pay fulltime students sub-minimum wages.

There are certainly many 14- and 15-year-olds who will end up working some extra hours. In fact, there may also be 12- and 13-year-olds who would avail themselves of the chance if they could. The reason is simple: according to the Census Bureau, almost one out of every five children in the United States is living in a family whose income is below the poverty level.

But the problem of poverty won't be solved by lowering the legal working age. On the contrary, the only reason the bosses want to hire younger workers in the first place is so that they can pay rock-bottom wages.

Nor will encouraging young people to drop out of school help to alleviate poverty. Yet that's the real effect of moves to lower the legal working age.

Labor Secretary Donovan pretends that he is doing the youth a favor, that he is trying "to increase job opportunities for 14- and 15-year-olds."

But imagine what the attitude of the bosses would

be if they had to pay union-scale wages and full benefits to these youth. The only favor that is being done is for the employers. They get to pay the minimum wage — and less; they don't have to worry about paying retirement funds, health insurance, vacation pay, Social Security, and unemployment insurance; and they get a nonunion workforce, one that is less aware of its rights and less likely to organize against bad working conditions.

What the capitalists want is to establish a new pool of superexploited labor. And they won't stop with 14- and 15-year-olds.

It is widely recognized that the attempt to rehabilitate child labor is an attack on the whole labor movement, part of the attempt to force down the wages and conditions of the entire working class. Thus, the AFL-CIO leadership has come out strongly against the new proposals. "This fits a pattern," one AFL-CIO spokesman declared. "The objective is to cut wages and to fire daddy and hire junior."

The Labor Department proposal is also part of a broader pattern of attacks on the social rights of the working class that have been won by the workers over the past 150 years of struggle.

Like the demands for a shorter workweek and free public education, the fight against child labor was one of the essential battles that the working class had to fight as a precondition for other advances. The attempt to pave the way for the return of child labor fits in with the capitalist offensive against free public education, with the assault on Social Security, and with the gutting of government agencies that regulate and put limits on the right of big business to poison consumers and destroy the environment in the search for ever-greater profits.

The program of the capitalist rulers is to subordinate everything to their greed for profits. Their solution to the crisis of their system is to boost the profitability of American industry by dismantling the social gains that working people have won through more than a century of struggle.

Thus, laws against child labor are "inconvenient for an employer."

But such laws are essential for the working class. The requirements of the private-profit system are coming more and more visibly into conflict with the fundamental needs of working people.

## Many Davids are fighting U.S. Goliath

In recent years the struggle waged by the people of Vieques, a Puerto Rican island that has been used by the U.S. Navy for target practice, has become increasingly well known. Unexploded bombs and shells litter the island's beaches, a deadly threat to the population. The fishing industry and the local economy that is dependent on it are being destroyed. And the people of Vieques object to their island being turned into a base for aggression against the peoples of El Salvador, Nicaragua, Grenada, and other countries in Central America and the Caribbean.

But the fact is that Vieques is not alone. In the Marshall Islands, there is also a broad-based protest against the U.S. armed forces in progress. The Marshall Islands have been ruled by Washington since their capture from Japanese forces in 1944. The islands were used as a testing area for nuclear weapons from 1946 to 1963 — a practice that destroyed atolls such as Bikini.

Currently, Kwajalein Atoll is the headquarters of the U.S. Pacific Test Range, the target area for missiles fired from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California.

Washington is trying to impose a Compact of Free Association on the Marshallese. This agreement would allow the Pentagon to continue operating the Kwajalein missile range for 50 more years and would make the islands an exclusive U.S. military preserve for an indefinite period. An expanded \$1 billion U.S. military base is planned.

But the Marshallese have other ideas. More than 800 demonstrators have set up tent camps on Kwajalein to protest the occupation of their land by the U.S. military. One leader of the protest said she wished that "all nuclear weapons testing at Kwajalein would stop forever."

Islanders have scheduled a vote in August on whether the testing should be continued. However, U.S. officials have announced that such a "straw vote" will be ignored.

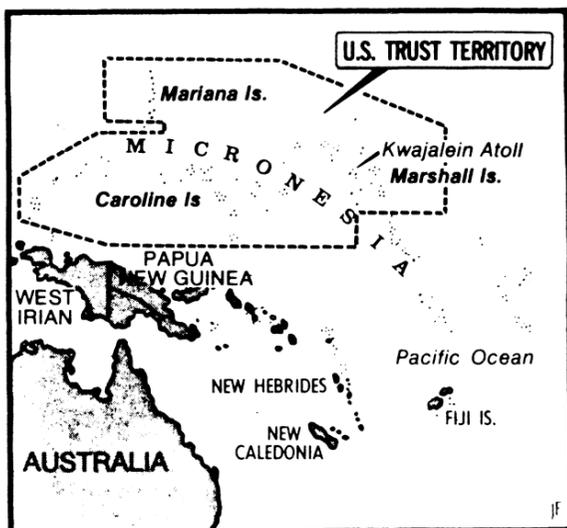
Hawaii is another area where the U.S. military is coming into conflict with the population. Hawaii is the headquarters of the U.S. Pacific Command, which

directs all U.S. armed forces in Asia and the Pacific. A greater percentage of Hawaiian land is under military control than in any other of the fifty states.

But protests against the estimated 3,100 nuclear weapons stockpiled on crowded Oahu, and against such actions as the testing of nerve gas only 14 miles from Hilo, Hawaii's second-largest city, have begun to take place.

The Pentagon probably thought it had found a perfect solution to such problems when it undertook the construction of its main Indian Ocean base on the island of Diego Garcia. There, before work began, all 1,200 islanders were dumped in the slums of Port Louis, some 1,400 miles away on the island of Mauritius.

But the Diego Garcians are protesting too, demanding the right to return to their home.



Among the missiles tested by the Pentagon at the U.S. Pacific Test Range on Kwajalein atoll has been the MX. These tests have been opposed by the island population, but Washington refuses to recognize the right of the Marshall islanders to determine how their land will be used.

## Frederick Engels on effect of child labor on the working class

On July 16 the U.S. Labor Department proposed that restrictions on child labor be eased. Such restrictions on the exploitation of children — restrictions that limit the ability of the capitalists to exploit the labor force as a whole — are the result of 150 years of struggle by the workers movement.

The following selection on the effects of child labor is excerpted from Frederick Engels's *The Condition of the Working-Class in England*, published in 1845 (available from Pathfinder Press for \$3.45).

From the beginning of manufacturing industry, children have been employed in mills, at first almost exclusively by reason of the smallness of the machines, which were later enlarged. Even children from the workhouses were employed in multitudes, being rented out for a number of years to the manufacturers as apprentices. They were lodged, fed, and clothed in common, and were, of course, treated with the utmost recklessness and barbarity. . . .

Gradually the increasing competition of free work-people crowded out the whole apprentice system. . . . The number of children in the mills di-

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

minished somewhat, and the age at which they began to work rose a little; few children under eight or nine years were now employed. Later, as we shall see, the power of the state intervened several times to protect them from the money-greed of the bourgeoisie.

The great mortality among children of the working-class, and especially among those of the factory operatives, is proof enough of the unwholesome conditions under which they pass their first years. . . . At nine years of age [a child] is sent into the mill to work 6½ hours (formerly 8, earlier still, 12 to 14, even 16 hours) daily, until the thirteenth year; then twelve hours until the eighteenth year. . . .

It is not to be denied that a child of nine years, even an operative's child, can hold out through 6½ hours' daily work, without anyone being able to trace visible bad results in its development directly to this cause; but in no case can its presence in the damp, heavy air of the factory, often at once warm and wet, contribute to good health; and, in any case, it is unpardonable to sacrifice to the greed of an unfeeling bourgeoisie the time of children which should be devoted solely to their physical and mental development, withdraw them from school and the fresh air, in order to wear them for the benefit of the manufacturers.

The bourgeoisie says: if we do not employ the children in the mills, they only remain under conditions unfavorable to their development; and this is true on the whole. But what does this mean if it is not a confession that the bourgeoisie first places the children of the working-class under unfavourable conditions, and then exploits these bad conditions for its own benefit, appeals to that which is as much its fault as the factory system, excuses the sin of today with the sin of yesterday? And if the Factory Act did not in some measure fetter their hands, how this "humane," this "benevolent" bourgeoisie, which has built its factories solely for the good of the working-class, would take care of the interests of the workers! . . .

The report of the Central Commission relates that the manufacturers began to employ children rarely of five years, often of six, very often of seven, usually of eight to nine years; that the working-day often lasted fourteen to sixteen hours, exclusive of meals and intervals; that the manufacturers permitted overlookers to flog and maltreat children, and often took an active part in so doing themselves. . . .

But even this long working-day failed to satisfy the greed of the capitalists. Their aim was to make the capital invested in the building and machinery produce the highest return, by every available means, to make it work as actively as possible. Hence the manufacturers introduced the shameful system of night-work.

Some of them employed two sets of operatives, each numerous enough to fill the whole mill, and let one set work the twelve hours of the day, and the other the twelve hours of the night. It is needless to picture the effect upon the frames of young children, and even upon the health of young persons and adults, produced by permanent loss of sleep at night, which cannot be made good by any amount of sleep during the day.

# Shultz: from Bechtel to the State Department

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

What do Secretary of State George Shultz, former CIA heads Richard Helms and John McCone (McCone is also a former head of the Atomic Energy Commission), and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger have in common?

The answer is that, besides being high officials of the U.S. government at one time or another, they

## AS I SEE IT

have all been employed by the Bechtel Group Inc. In 1978, shortly before the revolution that overthrew the shah, Bechtel hired Helms as a consultant for its Iranian operations. Shultz, before his recent appointment as secretary of state, was president of Bechtel.

The Bechtel Group Inc. got its start about 85 years ago as a construction company. Today the California-based firm is at the center of a huge financial empire that operates across the face of the globe.

Unlike most corporations its size, Bechtel's stock is not traded on the stock exchange. It does not issue financial statements. The extent of its earnings is secret. Forty percent of the stock is held by the Bechtel family through Sequoia Ventures. This makes the Bechtel family, now led by Stephen Bechtel, Jr., chairman and chief executive officer of the firm, among the richest in the world. The rest of the stock is owned by the corporation's top executives.

Bechtel Group Inc. is actually a holding company. It owns four corporate "daughters" that specialize in petroleum engineering, power engineering, and civil engineering and mining. The fourth arm of this corporate octopus hunts out areas to invest the firm's

surplus cash. Last year Sequoia Ventures bought an 80 percent interest in the investment banking house of Dillon, Read & Company, establishing Bechtel's control of this powerful Wall Street firm.

The transformation of Bechtel from a modest construction company to a giant financial and industrial combine has been closely linked with government contracts, including with the U.S. government. In the 1930s, Bechtel had major contracts in building the Boulder Dam. During World War II, Bechtel grew rapidly, feeding on fat war contracts. It built "liberty ships" to carry cargo and transport troops.

After World War II, the firm went into the oil pipeline and nuclear power business. It emerged as the leading builder of nuclear power plants, having more than 40 percent of this market. The company also profited from the near-meltdown at Three Mile Island by getting a contract on the cleanup. In 1977 Bechtel purchased a 15 percent interest in the Peabody Coal Company, the nation's largest coal mining company. It also has considerable interests in land bearing oil and natural gas.

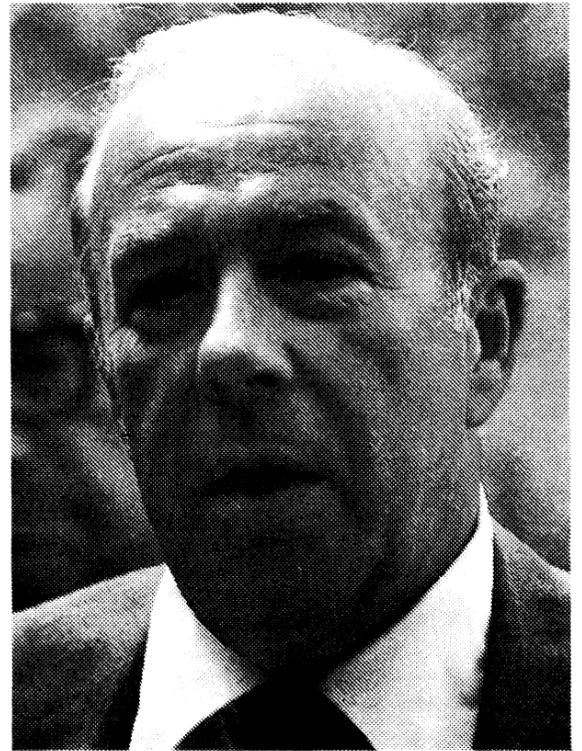
Last year the firm reported an income of \$11.4 billion, a jump of 50 percent over the preceding year. Bechtel is now among the 30 largest industrial companies in the United States.

About half of Bechtel's business is outside the United States. This gives the company a considerable interest in U.S. foreign policy.

The media have paid a great amount of attention to Bechtel's ties with certain Middle Eastern governments, especially Saudi Arabia. There has been speculation that the rise of Shultz to the office of secretary of state will make U.S. foreign policy somehow "more pro-Arab."

Actually, Bechtel's extensive business interests in the Middle East give it a vital stake in maintaining

the right of U.S. imperialism to exploit and oppress working people in the Arab countries. Stephen Bechtel may be a good friend of the Saudi monarchy, but he is no friend of the Arab people. And neither are his hirelings, including Reagan's new secretary of state.



George Shultz

## LETTERS

### No water

July 18: It's 98 degrees, and has been all week. I just hauled two pails of water (36 pounds) up five flights of stairs. Last night, I defrosted the refrigerator and got half a bucket — enough to flush the toilet. This morning I did my laundry in New York. The hydrants on Bergen Avenue were open. People filled buckets with rusty water and kids threw it at passing cars.

The army is trucking in tanks of drinking water from Bayonne. The lines aren't bad. There's a certain camaraderie, and everyone takes their turn. Sidewalks look like a bucket brigade. A motorcyclist rides by with four plastic jugs slung across his shoulders. Families fill plastic garbage pails and wheel them away in shopping carts.

All the bars and restaurants in Jersey City and Hoboken have been shut down since yesterday. Grocery stores have limited hours and aren't allowed to sell any food prepared on the premises. Signs in store windows say "Closed by order of the Mayor."

It's summer in Jersey City and nearly 300,000 people have been without water for four days. A 72-inch diameter main ruptured on Thursday. They shut off the flow above Hoboken to dry out the pipe so they could repair it. The radio says no water until Monday; no pressure until Tuesday; no drinkable water for 36 hours after that.

It's the second time in three months, and it won't be the last. After all, says the mayor, the pipes are 80 years old — what do you expect? We can't afford to replace the whole system.

That's the logic of Reaganomics. First it was school lunches and Social Security. Now it's running water and flush toilets. Maybe Reagan plans to balance the budget by bringing back the outhouse. He's making Jersey City an example — just like PATCO.

I hope I at least get a T-shirt that says "I survived the siege of Jersey City."

Sue Hagen  
Jersey City, New Jersey

### 'Unite for Peace' rally

I was pleased to see your coverage of the June 12 "Unite for Peace" Rally at Peace Arch Park on the Canada-U.S. border.

However there was one inaccuracy in the article I am writing to correct. The speaker on behalf of labor was Jim Kinnaid, president of B.C. Federation of Labour, not "Ed Kennard, executive director of the Central Labor Council of B.C."

Monica Jones  
Vancouver, Canada

### It's a living

In their efforts to "fight crime" and disrupt political groups, the police make no secret of the fact that they value informers quite highly.

Most Americans, on the other hand, would tend to rate these people rather lower on their list of desirables. Indeed, most Americans can recall having disposed of better things than informers with a can of Raid.

A fellow recently unearthed by WCBS-TV would seem to offer one explanation of why most Americans feel this way.

According to the New York Police Department, Kenny O'Donnell had been doing some absolutely "top shelf" informing for them over the last several years. For this they paid him \$11,000 and periodically coughed up for his rent, phone, and utility bills (particularly galling to anyone who lives in

this city and knows what one of those bills looks like).

Apparently, though, all this wasn't enough for Mr. O'Donnell. Having reached the top shelf, he decided to help himself to what was on it.

During the period he informed for the police, said WCBS, Kenny O'Donnell also committed at least 10 armed robberies. Each of these he duly reported to his employers in the department. Police refused to prosecute because they thought O'Donnell's services too valuable to lose.

O'Donnell is typical of the sort the police and spy agencies manage to recruit.

FBI informant Timothy Redfearn, for instance, burglarized the home of Socialist Workers Party members in Colorado. By way of supplementing his income, Redfearn would also break into and enter the homes of people who had nothing to do with politics.

Then there is the case of Larry Grathwohl, whom the media have recently made frequent use of in their overheated campaign to hold the Cubans accountable for every shot fired in the Western world.

Grathwohl claims "terrorist" groups in this country are trained in Havana. He says he knows this because he was once a member of those groups.

Larry Grathwohl, of course, was never a member of any group. Larry Grathwohl was an FBI informer.

Larry Grathwohl, meet Kenny O'Donnell. Kenny, Larry.  
J. Hunter  
New York, New York

### Aging

I found your issue of July 16, 1982, most informative, but I am writing to complain about the use of one word, aging, in the article on page 13, "GE's 'most important product': record of a war-profiteering corporation."

Having just celebrated my 47th birthday, I am well aware

that all of us are aging, and that aging shouldn't be used in a pejorative sense. I am completely with you in your criticisms of Reagan's ideas and actions, but don't criticize his age. Not all of us aging people are reactionary; many of us become more radical as we grow older; and to equate age with conservatism is non-productive. I hope you agree.

Best of luck with your future issues.

Judy Trenholme  
Montclair, New Jersey

### Receiving the truth

I am at the moment incarcerated. I'm just writing to express my thanks to you for allowing me to receive the truth of what is going on in the country and the world. Without the *Militant* newspaper you send me each week, I would surely be ignorant to things going on today that are important. We very much appreciate your kindness.

A prisoner  
Jefferson City, Missouri

### Correction

The *Militant* erroneously reported in the July 23 issue that the Vietnamese government had declared it would withdraw 25,000 troops from Kampuchea this month.

The figure of 25,000 was based on the July 10 *Economist's* speculation of how many would be withdrawn.

The government of Vietnam has simply announced that it will withdraw a number of its troops from Kampuchea in July.

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

### Sick of capitalism? . . .

#### Join the Young Socialist Alliance!

The Young Socialist Alliance is active in the struggle against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, against racist attacks, and in defense of unions and women's rights.

The YSA has a unique contribution to make to these struggles. We explain that *capitalism* is the source of our problems. We advocate a government that acts in the interests of the *majority* — a workers and farmers government.

With a government that's on our side, we can construct a socialist society based on human needs.

The YSA is a national organization of young workers, students and unemployed youth that brings these revolutionary ideas to the thousands of young people who are eager to hear them.

We are part of an international movement of young people who have a realistic alternative to the barbarism of capitalism.

Joining the YSA is the best thing a young person can do with their life.

- I want to join the Young Socialist Alliance  
 I want more information on the YSA

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_ City \_\_\_\_\_  
State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_ Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Clip and mail to YSA, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014

## Killing of youth outrages Ala. Blacks

### Cop responsible for shooting is suspended with pay

BY HEIDI FISCHER

BESSEMER, Ala. — The cold-blooded killing of an unarmed Black youth could "blow the lid off Bessemer," say some Black leaders in this industrial suburb of Birmingham.

Twenty-year-old Henry Ware, Jr., was shot to death July 3 in his neighbor's backyard by Bessemer cop Billy Ray Smith. Police say Smith mistook Ware for someone involved in a knifing incident. After Ware's death, the cops admitted he had no involvement in the incident.

Smith's reward was suspension with pay while an investigation is conducted. Residents of this majority-Black town are outraged.

The *Militant* talked with Joe Stevenson, who was at home the night Smith chased Ware into his backyard and shot him.

Stevenson told us this Black neighborhood is made up of retired or laid-off steelworkers, many from the shut-down Pullman Standard plant where he himself had worked for 15 years. The young people "just hang out" because there are no jobs in this community, Stevenson said. Bessemer has the highest unemployment rate in Alabama, officially around 24 percent.

Ware was best friends with Stevenson's two teenage sons. He had never been in trouble with the law. But he was afraid of Bessemer cops and that's why he fled them that night.

"Bessemer has a reputation," said Stevenson. "There's always been fear of Bessemer police, especially after the 'cattle prod trial.'" Acquittal of the cops in that infamous torture case "made the cops more aggressive," he said.

Last May a three-week trial heard detailed testimony of how the Bessemer vice squad, under the direct supervision of the police commissioner, brutalized Black prisoners to extract confessions. Standard techniques included beatings, shocks with electric cattle prods, stabbing with hypodermic syringes, and firing blank cartridges at prisoners after death threats.

The cops called the torture sessions "prayer meetings." An all-white jury refused to convict them.

Smith was indicted for obstructing justice in the cattle prod case after he tried to frame up two potential witnesses. He was acquitted. Ware was a relative of one of the cops' victims who testified against them.

Stevenson told us he heard the car chase that ended in his backyard. As he ran out the front door to see what was happening, he heard the shot behind his house that killed Ware. Before he could reach Ware, he was grabbed by three cops, who slammed him up against a car.

When Stevenson asked to see what was going on in his backyard, two cops with guns pointed straight at him, hammers cocked, told him to shut up.

"One cop said, 'Nigger, we told you once keep your mouth shut. If you open it again, we're going to blow your brains out.' I believe another whisper and they'd have shot me."

It was clear from what Stevenson witnessed that night that the cop could see Ware clearly and was close enough to reach out and grab him. But instead Smith shot him in the chest at close range.

Under community pressure, the sheriff's department "investigated" the shooting. They found Smith had no cause to shoot, but refused to find him guilty of any wrongdoing. They turned the case over to the district attorney for

a grand jury to decide.

Rev. Abraham Woods, Jr., president of the Birmingham Southern Christian Leadership Conference, promised mass meetings and demonstrations will be held if justice isn't done.

Joe Stevenson told us he thinks authorities are turning the investigation over to a grand jury to wait for things to cool off. "They'll let it lay around, and then they'll drop it."

For justice to be done, Stevenson said, "the city should fire the officer, the family should be well paid, and Smith should be charged with murder. If the grand jury doesn't turn in an indictment, people ought to demonstrate and picket these folks." Suggesting a business boycott, he said, "You can hurt them if you just keep the money in your pocket."



Joe Stevenson (left) tells *Militant* reporter Heidi Fischer how cops threatened to kill him for trying to aid victim of police killing.

## 1,500 protest racist Bklyn. murder

BY RAÚL GONZALEZ

BROOKLYN, N.Y. — On July 18, 1,500 people rallied in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn to protest the racist murder of Black transit worker Willie Turks. On June 22 Turks and two co-workers were attacked by a mob of from 15 to 20 white youths. Chanting "niggers get out," the racist thugs beat Turks to death.

The march began at the predominantly Latino and Black Marlboro housing projects with a brief rally. The rally was chaired by Minister Michael Amam-Ra of the National Black United Front. Sonia Simms Bey, a resident of the projects, was the first speaker. Both of her daughters have been victims of racist attacks in the area. She appealed to residents of the projects to join in the rally and march. Hundreds did.

Dennis Dixon, who along with Willie Turks and Donald Cooper was attacked by the racist mob, also spoke. He explained what happened that night, how the three transit workers got off work and stopped at the Ave. X Bagel Shop where they were set upon by racists. "I've been through Texas and have seen some prejudiced people," he said, "but this was the most vicious attack I've seen in my life. . . . I've never seen racism like this."

State Senator Major Owens also spoke. He placed the blame for Willie Turks's death squarely on New York City Mayor Edward Koch and President Reagan.

Minister Michael followed by saying, "The blood that flows from Gravesend flows straight to Wall Street, to City Hall, and to Washington, D.C."

Following the brief rally, over 1,000 people marched down to the site of the murder on Avenue X. Chanting "Reagan, Koch, you can't hide! We charge you with genocide!" and "All fired up, won't take it no more!" the widely representative march stepped off.

The Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the National Black United Front (NBUF) led the march. A contingent of 30 transit workers marched behind a banner reading, "End Racist Violence — Justice for Willie Turks." Many more transit workers marched throughout the crowd. At least half of the marchers were white.

As the march moved down Avenue X over 1,000 white residents of the area crowded the intersections. Hundreds of police were present and had erected barricades in such a way that none of the

white residents of Gravesend could enter Avenue X. Members of the American Legion Post 1437 acted as monitors among the white bystanders and discouraged any incidents. The situation was tense when Rev. Daughtry stepped up to speak.

He directed his remarks to the white residents of Gravesend who were watching from rooftops, balconies, and the street. Daughtry stated that he had spoken to community leaders in the area who said they deplored Turks's murder but were angry that the entire community was being branded as racist and

given a bad name.

"I told them and I tell you," he exclaimed, "you can give this community an image to be proud of by taking a strong public stand against this racist murder and all racism and . . . by standing up tall for human rights and dignity." Many of the white residents broke into applause.

Following this the march moved back to the projects where speakers and music went into the evening. Residents of the projects felt the march would improve things, but hoped it was not a one-shot deal.

## NY socialists set petitioning

BY SUSAN JACOBSON

NEW YORK — On July 27 Socialist Workers Party campaign supporters will start a month-long effort to collect 59,000 signatures to put candidates on the New York ballot and reach workers and farmers with an alternative in the November elections.

The SWP candidates are Steve Wattenmaker for U.S. Senate; Diane Wang for governor; Peter Thierjung for lieutenant governor; and Patricia Mayberry, Veronica Cruz, Eva Chertov, and Susan Zarate for U.S. Congress.

The petition drive will answer the latest attempts by the New York Democratic and Republican parties to keep opposition candidates off the ballot. On July 3 a new law went into effect chang-

map of the new districts so that voters know what candidates they can consider or petition for. Election board officials told representatives of the SWP campaign that to find out the new districts they would either have to draw a map themselves from the complicated text of the law or consult election officials in each of the state's county offices.

The context for these tightened ballot restrictions, which buttress the capitalist parties' monopoly in the elections, was pointed out by SWP candidate Wattenmaker. "Unemployment is soaring," he said. "In New York City alone, there are more than a quarter of a million workers seeking jobs. Black and Latino youth are hit the worst."

"Farmers in New York are also trapped in the economic crisis. It's estimated that 5,000 of the state's dairy farms may go under by 1985," he said.

Candidate Wang referred to a recent debate between Democratic contenders for governor, Edward Koch and Mario Cuomo. "Neither one had a word to say about the wars raging in Central America or the Middle East," she noted. "The socialists are the *only* antiwar candidates in the race."

The SWP campaign is organizing to petition statewide — on street corners, at unemployment offices and union halls, at county fairs and at migrant farm workers' camps upstate.

Wattenmaker will tour the state to report on his recent fact-finding trip to Nicaragua.

Working with the New York chapters of the Young Socialist Alliance, the campaign is preparing a series of educational presentations on the problems of New York farmers, the war in the Middle East, and other issues.

**Petitioning to put Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot in New York will begin July 27. Those who would like to join this effort can call (212) 226-8445 or 852-7922.**

ing the election calendar, petition requirements, and district boundaries — all to favor the two parties of big business.

The dates for petitioning were changed with less than a month's notice, leaving the socialist campaigners little time to prepare.

Meanwhile, signature requirements for the Democratic and Republican candidates were drastically reduced, with the excuse that petitioning time before the primaries was cut.

The new law changes boundaries for all the congressional districts. The Board of Elections has refused to print a