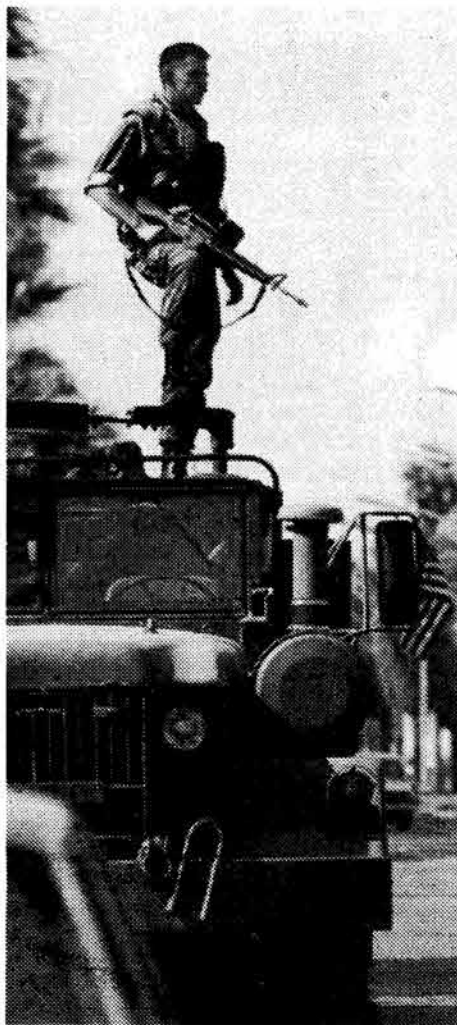


## U.S. out of Lebanon, no aid to rightists!



U.S. marine in West Beirut, Lebanon.

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

A 2,000-member marine contingent is steaming its way toward Lebanon to beef up the 1,800-man U.S. force already in Beirut. The Reagan administration's order to position the amphibious marine detachment off the Lebanese coast came September 1. With this move the U.S. government is deepening its involvement in that country's civil war.

Despite Washington's denials, U.S. troops are already involved in defending the reactionary regime of Lebanese President Amin Gemayel. Four U.S. Marines have died and dozens of others have been injured in recent fighting in Beirut.

The order to reinforce the U.S. troops came just days before the Israeli armed forces pulled back to southern Lebanon. The Israeli troops withdrew from the Shuf Mountains, which overlook Beirut. Israeli forces still occupy southern Lebanon. This retreat — planned for several months — was delayed at Washington's request. The U.S. government wanted Israel to remain in Beirut to stabilize Gemayel's shaky rule. The Lebanese government needs help in crushing the resistance of the Lebanese people. In particular the imperialists hope to disarm the Druse and Muslim population — leaving Gemayel's government with the only army.

But Israeli officials felt the cost was too great to oblige the U.S. request. The Israeli government faces opposition at home to the year-long war in Lebanon. When the Israeli forces moved into Beirut last year and provided cover for the massacre at Sabra

and Shatila, hundreds of thousands of Israelis protested. The Israeli government claimed its policing action in Beirut would end the war sooner. But the war drags on. With each passing day more Israeli youth die in this war. Among the Israeli people there is a growing anger, disgust, and outrage at the costs of their government's policies in Lebanon. The threat that this dissatisfaction would undercut support for the government forced Israeli officials to redeploy their troops.

"Israelis have been deeply divided on the wider goals of the war," commented David Shieler in the September 5 *New York Times*, "but few Israelis opposed the idea of driving the P.L.O. out of southern Lebanon. It seems possible, therefore, that leaving the army to police the south will stir considerably less political ferment than the wider deployment has, especially if Israeli casualties from guerrilla attacks decline and reserve callups decrease."

So, the Israeli government has retreated from its goal of being Gemayel's gendarme. For now, it has reduced its sights to southern Lebanon. The Israeli regime hopes to accomplish there what it has done in the West Bank — carry out a de facto annexation.

But without the Zionist troops occupying the Shuf Mountains the other imperialist troops in Lebanon must be reinforced to shore up Gemayel's government. Besides the U.S. troops, there are 2,100 French, 1,400 Italian, and 100 British soldiers in Beirut. All these forces have been

Continued on Page 2

## Korean plane: U.S. mounts anti-Soviet, prowar campaign

Washington has seized on the downing of a Korean Air Lines jet as the pretext for a new round of prowar and anti-Soviet propaganda.

Brushing aside unanswered questions surrounding the September 1 incident, the White House instantly blamed Moscow for committing a "horrifying act of violence."

After five days of this campaign, conducted by government officials and the media, Reagan gave a televised speech,

### EDITORIAL

using the tragedy to promote Washington's massive military buildup, including the construction of MX missiles.

Behind a hypocritical mask of moral outrage and sorrow, U.S. officials are manipulating the air disaster to bolster their unceasing campaign to line up U.S. public opinion with their war policies.

They are using the incident to divert attention from the U.S. military buildup along the Nicaraguan border, a buildup that is part of the broader U.S. war in Central America which has claimed the lives of thousands.

It also served to minimize the impact of the announcement that 2,000 additional marines were being deployed off the Lebanese coast, as the U.S. gets even more deeply involved in defending the proimperialist regime there.

Within hours of the crash, it was apparent that Washington was preparing to milk the event for every drop of anticommunist propaganda possible.

With few facts at hand, or at least none that were immediately made public, President Reagan kicked off the campaign from his Santa Barbara ranch:

"I speak for all Americans and for people everywhere who cherish civilized values in protesting the Soviet attacks on an unarmed, civilian passenger plane." His statement expressed "revulsion" at this "appalling and wanton misdeed."

Democrats and Republicans alike quickly followed the White House lead.

Walter Mondale, a front-running Democratic Party presidential candidate, called the crash "a murderous deed."

Sen. Edward Kennedy blasted it as "an act of barbarism" and a "cowardly" attack by the Soviet Union. He called for the suspension of all commercial airline flights to the Soviet Union. All anti-Reagan rhetoric was dropped in favor of a united effort to take advantage of this opportunity to advance the bipartisan U.S. war drive.

The *New York Times* rushed into print with a September 2 editorial, "Murder in the Air."

The front-page headline of the *New York Post* that same day screamed, "Soviet Day of Infamy — Slaughter in the Sky," emblazoned in red ink.

Agents of the South Korean dictatorship and local politicians in the United States used the tragedy to whip elements of the South Korean community into a frenzy. New York City Mayor Edward Koch marched with several hundred demonstrators to the United Nations and then to the Soviet Mission.

A predominantly South Korean protest at the Soviet Mission residence on Long Island turned into a mob scene as demonstrators pushed past police lines into the mission compound. Cops reacted "non-violently."

Continued on Page 22

## Arizona march backs copper strikers

BY DAN FEIN

TUCSON — Two thousand five hundred union members marched downtown here on Labor Day to show solidarity with the striking Phelps Dodge copper unions. The march and rally, sponsored by the Arizona AFL-CIO, took place after strikers had been on the picket line for over two months in Ajo, Morenci, and Douglas.

Marchers were divided into union contingents: Carpenters, Steelworkers, Operating Engineers, Electrical Workers, Paperworkers, Laborers, Pipefitters, Machinists, Teamsters, and others. Striking copper workers from Ajo had their own contingent.

Chants during the march included, "Babbitt Scabitt, he's a scab" (Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt called out the National Guard in August to break the strike). As the Steelworkers contingent passed the statue of Pancho Villa, some shouted out, "Viva Pancho Villa."

The marchers filed into the Tucson Community Center to hear speakers. A leader of the American Federation of Teachers began by leading the crowd in chants of, "Yuk, Phelps Dodge; Yuk, Phelps Dodge."

Bob Guadiana, United Steelworkers of America (USWA) staff person, spoke for the Labor Council for Latin America Advancement. He said, "Hispanics have found the labor movement the best vehicle to help us. The enemies of labor are the same as the enemies of Hispanics." He noted, "Those workers who live in the mining towns are the victims of company greed."

Teatro Libertad, a local theater group, sang a number of songs — some in English and some in Spanish — supporting the copper strikers. They announced they would

have a play coming out soon in support of the strike.

Alice Papson, speaking for the Coalition of Labor Union Women, pointed out that the justice of the peace, Helen Gilmartin, who set the \$15,000 bond for the Ajo strikers arrested for "rioting," was on the Phelps Dodge payroll for five years. In addition, it was her son, Sgt. John Gilmartin, who was in charge of the Pima County deputies who made the arrests on August 25.

Papson, who also helps staff the American Civil Liberties Union office, said that they have received calls from high school students in the struck mining towns. The students have been threatened with expulsion from high school for using the word scab on school grounds.

A number of Democratic Party politicians also addressed the crowd. There were some boos as well as applause when they spoke. Alex Lopez, USWA representative and chief negotiator for the Phelps Dodge strikers, denounced Phelps Dodge strike breaking. "Phelps Dodge has fought to break up coordinated bargaining from the beginning. The Kennecott contract, which we hoped would set the pattern, was actually a giveback settlement. We gave Kennecott the right to combine some jobs."

Lopez continued, "Almost two years ago, Phelps Dodge laid off massive numbers of miners because they said copper was only selling for 78 cents a pound. Then they waited until all our unemployment benefits ran out. They made damn sure we were hungry. Then they forced a strike by refusing to go along with the Kennecott pattern, in order to break the union. They are producing copper now, but the price of copper is only 76 cents a pound. Our people are going to hell."

Lopez commented on the speeches given

by the Democratic Party politicians at the rally, "They criticize communist Poland, but they bring in troops to militarize Morenci. Something's wrong."

Lopez said of the Democratic politicians' presence, "When we asked them to form a committee in Washington to investigate the situation in Morenci, they couldn't be found."

All the Phelps Dodge strikers were asked to stand up for applause as a vote of confidence by the rally.

Eric Copland, a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers who works at the Palo Verde Nuclear Generating Station, announced that \$8,227 had been collected for the strike by workers in the construction crafts at Palo Verde. He told the *Militant*, "If we don't unite with

Continued on Page 7

### Planes bomb Managua

**SEPT. 8 — The Nicaraguan capital of Managua was bombed today by two light planes piloted by counterrevolutionaries. One did extensive damage to the terminal of Augusto César Sandino Airport before being hit by ground fire and crashing into the control tower. Both men aboard were killed; no other casualties were reported. The second plane attacked a Managua neighborhood causing no damage and escaped. Story on page 2.**

BY ELIZABETH KILANOWSKI

On Labor Day a team of seven salespeople from the Socialist Workers Party branch in Virginia, Minnesota, participated in a Labor Picnic in Duluth organized by the Duluth Central Labor Body. The picnic was attended by several thousand unionists and their families. The picnic wasn't organized primarily as a political event, but socialist participation gave the unionists a chance to discuss what was on their minds.

The picnic featured the bashing of a foreign car. You got three swings of a sledgehammer for \$1. Our success in sales just a few yards away from the "bashing" quickly showed us that most unionists weren't convinced the anti-imports campaign was the best thing that workers could do to save our jobs.

For example, the president of the Auto Dealership Mechanics local of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) in Superior, Wisconsin, which is currently on strike, bought a *Mili-*

*tant*. He told *Militant* salesperson Warren Simons that he felt uneasy about the anti-imports campaign. The union leader pointed out that he worked on U.S. cars with transmissions made in France and other parts manufactured in other countries.

Simons said he thought that was the heart of the matter — the corporations were multinational and workers had to be too. Workers need to stick together against the real causes of unemployment, Simons explained. The IAM striker agreed.

One farmer that we talked to, who is active in the Dairy Farmers' Association in northern Minnesota, said, "It's the same companies making money off of workers here and in other countries."

One woman said she was skeptical about fighting unemployment by swinging a sledgehammer on a perfectly good car.

Our sales showed that the car-bashing didn't set the tone at the picnic. We sold 66 copies of the *Militant* and three *Young Socialists* — all the papers we had

with us. Most issues of the paper were sold due to the interest in the Phelps Dodge copper strike in Arizona.

Pat Virnig, who sold 19 of the papers, commented that a large percentage of the unionists at the picnic knew about the strike from their local newsletters. Many of them were from District 33 of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and were interested in building support for the strike. These unionists were inspired to hear that USWA Local 1938 on the Iron Range had voted to send \$200 to the striking copper miners.

Many of the workers we spoke with felt we had little hope of solving the problem of unemployment with the present government. In discussing the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom, most unionists thought it pointed in the direction of a winning alliance between workers, Blacks, women, and farmers. We also got a good hearing for the idea of a workers and farmers government.



Militant/Yvonne Hayes  
All over the country, *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial* were sold at Labor Day parades. New York, above.



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# Bomb raid damages Managua airport

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, Sept. 8 — U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries carried out two separate air attacks against the Nicaraguan capital this morning in small civilian aircraft armed with rockets.

The first attack came at 5:40 a.m., according to Sandinista officials interviewed by this reporter at the airport. Two rockets were fired, one causing extensive damage to the terminal. The protocol room — where foreign dignitaries are received — is virtually destroyed, and most of the windows of the terminal building facing the landing field have been blown out.

Commander Luis Carrión and Sub-commander Roberto Sánchez reported that the Cessna plane was hit by anti-aircraft batteries and crashed into the control tower, causing further damage. Both men aboard were killed; they have been identified as a former pilot of Nicaragua's national airline and a deserter from the Sandinista air force. No other casualties have been reported.

Sandinista airport will be closed during the cleanup. Among those who had been scheduled to arrive in Managua today was a U.S. congressional delegation including Sen. Gary Hart (D.-Colo.).

The second attack came at 6:30 a.m. in the Villa Fontana neighborhood in southern Managua. The attacking plane fired two rockets, hitting an empty field, and escaped. The site of the attack is quite near the residence of Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto, who has been a special target of CIA and counterrevolutionary terrorism. Last June Sandinista au-

thorities unmasked a CIA plot to murder D'Escoto by giving him poisoned liqueur. Officials say it is not known whether D'Escoto was the specific target of today's second raid.

It is believed at least one of the planes came from Costa Rica. This is the first time counterrevolutionaries have bombed Managua itself by air; however, there have been several similar terrorist raids before.

In February of 1982 a bomb planted in luggage at Sandino Airport caused exten-

sive damage and killed four persons. On July 19 of the same year, rockets fired from a plane barely missed huge fuel storage tanks in Nicaragua's main port of Corinto. If they had hit, it would have caused a catastrophe costing many lives. Eight days later a plane attempted to attack Nicaragua's only oil refinery, in Managua, but was driven off before it could strike. And on July 28 of this year, two planes rocketed a small island near Nicaragua's main port in what was viewed as a dry run for further attacks.

## Stop U.S. intervention in Lebanon!

Continued from front page  
involved in fighting. Four French soldiers were killed in combat on August 30.

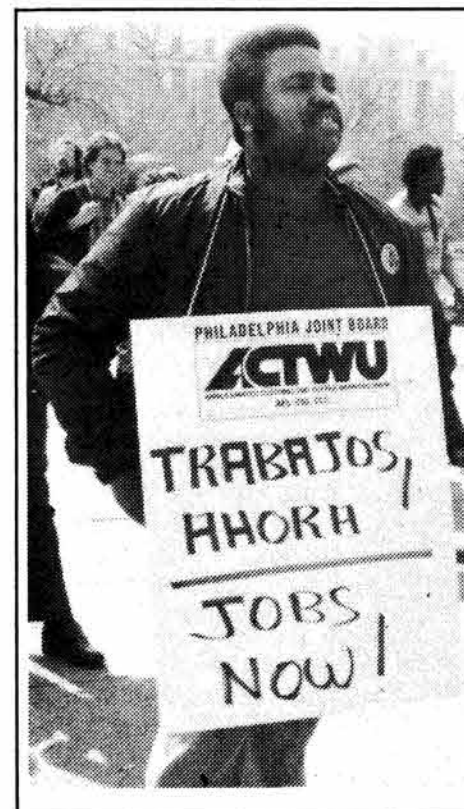
Gemayel's regime clearly needs help. The majority of the Lebanese people reject the Phalangist government. This regime was imposed on them by the Israeli armed forces. It is propped up on the bayonets of imperialist troops and ultrarightist Phalangist militias. The Phalangists are the same pack that massacred Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps a year ago.

When Gemayel sent troops into predominantly-Muslim West Beirut to try to disarm the population, the latest fighting broke out. The Druse and Muslim people make up some 60 percent of Lebanon's population. The Phalangist regime bases itself mainly on the Christian minority in Lebanon. Only a massive invasion force of 6,000 enabled the Lebanese troops to enter

West Beirut. The fighting is continuing today.

Political, social, and economic discrimination against Lebanon's Druse and Muslim population by the government is a daily occurrence. The fight to free themselves from this oppression is what motivates the Muslim and Druse militias. Washington and its imperialist allies in Europe are backing a bloody, right-wing regime against a people in revolt. The Israeli, U.S., French, Italian, and British troops should get out of Lebanon now.

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



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# Nicaraguan bishops oppose draft law

## Church hierarchy's reactionary decision angers many Catholics

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "Bishops' conference proposes 'conscientious objection': No one can be obligated to take up arms for a political party" splashed the right-wing *La Prensa* newspaper across its front page September 1.

Nicaragua's Catholic church hierarchy, in a statement issued August 29, allied itself with the country's most reactionary political forces in opposing the new law on Patriotic Military Service now being discussed before the Council of State. The law would make some form of military service obligatory for all male citizens between the ages of 18 and 40.

The bishops' meeting was held as military attacks against the revolution are being stepped up. Ninety-seven armed clashes with counterrevolutionaries occurred in the month of August alone. And the U.S. war fleet is encircling the country in open preparation for a blockade. However, the bishops maintained their customary silence on the imperialist threat to Nicaragua.

Instead they issued a declaration of war against the *victims* — the revolutionary government and its efforts to improve the country's capabilities for defense.

Echoing imperialist propaganda, the bishops claimed:

- Nicaragua suffers under the "absolute dictatorship of a political party — the Sandinista National Liberation Front."

- Part of the "totalitarian ideology" of the FSLN has been the creation of an "army-party."

- This "army-party" had obliterated the distinction between defending "national sovereignty" and defending the "Sandinista people's revolution."

- And therefore, "no one can be compelled to take up arms to defend such an 'ideology.'"

There are layers in both the working class and peasantry, and especially in the middle classes, that are uneasy or have questions about the institution of military conscription. And it is the intent of the Catholic church hierarchy to try to line up this layer behind a right-wing counteroffensive to the new law.

But in the context of Nicaragua today, — overwhelming support for the gains of the revolution and deep opposition to the imperialist intervention — they are not going to have an easy time.

Reaction to the bishops' statement showed wide understanding that the hierarchy's real target is not so much the FSLN but the *revolution itself* — the masses of Nicaraguans who identify both with Sandinism and Christianity.

Many working-class and peasant Catholics have become fed up with the official church here. They are upset by its lies about government mistreatment of the Miskito Indians; how it worked in cahoots with Pope John Paul II to malign both the revolutionary government and the sectors of the church that support the government; and particularly its indifference, amounting to tacit support, to the counterrevolution.

María Elena Jirón, a member of a Christian-based community here, pointed out that not only had there never been a bishops' conference that went on record in favor of the revolution. But worse, they never did anything when the counterrevolutionaries began littering the countryside with leaflets, claiming that the pope and Jesus Christ were on their side.

While many religious figures have denounced the bishops' statement as "im-



Militant/Michael Baumann

**Sandinista soldiers at Honduran border, ready to repel attacks by counterrevolutionaries who are former members of ex-dictator Somoza's brutal National Guard.**

moral," Wilma Núñez, vice-president of the Supreme Court, went further. She warned the bishops that while their call for civil disobedience has — for the moment — an ideological and political character, when the draft law on military service becomes law, "it will have a criminal character."

All right-wing representatives were absent from the August 31 session of the Council of State, which approved 12 points of the law.

The representative from the Independent Liberal Party (PLI) which forms part of the Patriotic Front of the Revolution (FPR) also abstained from the discussion.

According to *La Prensa* the party's president, Virgilio Godoy (also Minister of Labor), urged a postponement of the debate to permit the right-wing opposition bloc to meet with the FPR.

The FSLN daily *Barricada* reported September 4 that the PLI is now ready to continue discussing the draft in the Council of State.

Apart from the bishops' declaration and the abstention of the right wing from the country's parliament, another ripple of protest has come. This is in the form of long lines of rich kids waiting with their mothers in front of the U.S. Embassy to obtain visas to the United States.

### Discussed by mass organizations

Since the initial presentation of the law August 9, delegates from the mass organizations have organized assemblies of their constituencies in order to discuss and approve the draft law.

One objection from broad layers of the Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE) and the Sandinista Youth (JS) had been that the original version of the law excluded women from two consecutive years of military training and from active service. It limited women to reserve status only.

In the council's discussion many delegates recognized and respected the large number of women ready to join the army at all levels. They also noted, however, that many Nicaraguan women are not ready to take such a step.

After a lengthy discussion, the council approved a section that compromised between AMNLAE's position and what seemed to the delegates to be more in line with Nicaraguan reality today: Women between the ages of 18 and 40 may *volunteer* for military service, requesting either active or reserve duty.

AMNLAE's director of international relations, Ivonne Siú, told the *Militant* that her organization considered the discussion a great landmark for Nicaraguan women. The organization's delegate to the Council of State, Angela Rosa Acevedo, however, voted against the compromise.

While not putting forward a substitute motion, Acevedo told the council that the

role of a vanguard women's organization should be to educate women that defense of the homeland is not voluntary but rather an obligation.

Besides gaining their right to actively participate in-armed forces side by side with men, women, especially members of AMNLAE, gained a lot of respect through their role in the three-week debate.

As passage of the military service law progresses, so too does the U.S.-financed war, which in August alone claimed the lives of 76 Sandinista combatants and 22 civilians.

### Ortega reviews tank unit

Speaking September 2, at the annual day in celebration of the Sandinista army, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega reviewed the army's newly-formed tank unit, made up of some three dozen Soviet T-55s.

## Union paper condemns Marcos for attacks on Filipino workers

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

"In supporting [the Philippine] government, the U.S. is helping to keep in power one of the cruelest regimes in the world," according to the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America (UE) in an article on U.S.-Philippine relations in the Aug. 15, 1983, issue of its newspaper *UE NEWS*. The article, published before the recent murder of opposition leader Benigno Aguino, Jr., by the Marcos dictatorship, condemns the low wages, horrible working conditions, and government repression of Philippine workers. The trade union newspaper highlights the U.S.-backed regime's attack against the Philippine labor movement.

"From 1972," the *UE NEWS* points out, "when Marcos imposed martial law to suppress worker and peasant rebellion against oppressive conditions, until 1980, strikes were banned along with opposition political action.

"The foreign corporations saw a good thing and leaped to use it. Their investments grew from \$163 million in 1972 to \$1.2 billion in 1980."

Meanwhile, opposition to Marcos's dictatorship continued to grow. A strike wave swept the country when martial law was lifted in 1981. In 1979 there were only 49 recorded strikes, while in 1982 there were 260. The increasing militancy and combativity of Philippine workers is terrifying to the owners of the companies that flocked to the Philippines to reap superprofits off the poorly-paid labor there.

The *UE NEWS* cites a UN study that reports that in the semiconductor industry in the Philippines — the second-largest industry in the country — the average hourly

Ortega told the tank unit and some 100 visiting foreign journalists that 197 *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) had been killed in the last 30 days. However, he warned, task forces were still entering from the north and south, targeting the town of Jalapa and provinces of Zelaya and Río San Juan.

Ortega also denounced the recent harassment of a Nicaraguan civilian vessel owned by the Transportation Ministry. While traveling in international waters between Cuba and Nicaragua, the ship was intercepted for several hours by a U.S. ship, which illegally demanded an accounting of the cargo aboard. U.S. military planes flew over the ship, further threatening it.

Summing up the continued U.S. aggression, Ortega explained, "that's why we have these tanks. That's why we have these combatants — to defend our homeland, to defend our people, to defend our revolution from these Somozaists, from the Hondurans, and from the Yankees if they come to intervene in our homeland."

Referring to the U.S. administration, Ortega said, "they want to impose upon us their peace, their democracy, their elections."

"But," he continued, "we are not disposed to accept any condition they want to impose on us — no matter how many ships, planes, or marines threaten to invade our country."

"Our people have already elected their destiny. Our people held an election July 19, 1979."

"Our people, on July 19, elected their historic vanguard — the Sandinista National Liberation Front," Ortega reminded the applauding soldiers. "Our people elected their government, their agrarian reform, their armed forces, and their revolutionary destiny."

Ortega told the soldiers, "We are going to keep our word about the elections in 1985, and the right wing will be able to exercise its right to vote."

But the fact is that "we have already elected a revolutionary path." What we are going to do in 1985, Ortega concluded, is "reelect the revolution and reelect our government."

wage is 48 cents. U.S. corporations like National Semiconductor, Motorola, Intel, Control Data, and Texas Instruments dominate this industry, according to *UE NEWS*. The majority of the workers are women between the ages of 15 and 25.

The electrical workers' newspaper points out that wages and working conditions are even worse in the garment industry, which is the Philippines' major industry.

The paper goes on to say that U.S. military aid to the Marcos regime is used "against the people of the Philippines who are worrying the corporations."

One of these worried corporations is National Semiconductor (NSC). At the NSC plant near San Jose, California, a UE Electronics Organizing Committee recently fought for and won \$8,200 in back pay for a young Filipino worker. Around the same time public hearings were held to investigate racist and sexist discrimination at NSC. Several of those who testified were NSC workers who had been fired because of race, sex, and their union activity. The UE protested these victimizations at the hearings.

Shortly after these events, the *UE NEWS* reports, NSC brought the human relations manager of its Philippines plant to California. The NSC manager, Mina Damien, met with Filipino workers to tell them they were much better off than their brothers and sisters in the Philippines.

Rather than taking the company's advice to "grin and bear it," the union suggested that the wages at the Philippine plants at least be doubled. "Raising the wages there would help workers there to live better," the UE said, "and help us to keep our jobs here."

## Sandinistas Speak

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# Free Puerto Rico, UN committee says

## U.S. militarization of island for Central American wars condemned

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

The United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization on August 24 adopted a resolution calling for an end to U.S. colonial domination of Puerto Rico.

Voting for the resolution were the delegations from Afghanistan, Bulgaria, the Congo, and Cuba. The representatives of the two imperialist countries on the committee, Australia and Norway, voted against. Abstaining were the Ivory Coast, Chile, Fiji, and India.

Whether the resolution, which was drafted by Cuba, Afghanistan, and Syria, will be considered by the UN General Assembly when it reopens September 20 remains to be seen. Last year, the U.S. delegation, through intensive arm-twisting, was able to defeat a Cuban-sponsored resolution to discuss Puerto Rico's status.

Washington is profoundly displeased whenever the issue of Puerto Rico's status is brought before any UN body. It would prefer that nothing be said — much less done — about Puerto Rico's status as a U.S. possession.

In 1981, Charles Lichenstein, the U.S. representative to the UN for special affairs, condemned a similar resolution by the same UN committee. He said Washington "deplores the outcome of [its] deliberations" and "regards the resolution concerning Puerto Rico as an inappropriate and wholly indefensible interference in the internal affairs of Puerto Rico and the United States."

The U.S. government bases its position on 1952 referenda held in Puerto Rico ratifying "commonwealth" status with the United States and on a 1953 UN decision that took Puerto Rico off the UN's list of colonies.

Both of these decisions are a flimsy basis for Washington's position. The "referenda" in Puerto Rico came after massive repression. As many as 10,000 unionists and others who favored independence were imprisoned, many for long terms.

In 1953, at the time of the UN vote, the United Nations did not include more than a handful of former colonies and semicolonies. Because Washington could count on the backing of its allies, it had an automatic majority at the time. With this, the U.S. government was able to prevent advocates of Puerto Rican independence from being heard by the UN prior to the vote taking Puerto Rico off the list of colonies.

By the early 1970s, the addition of dozens of new countries to the UN had changed the relationship of forces enough that the Special Committee on Decolonization decided the case of Puerto Rico should be kept under review. It affirmed that the Puerto Rican people's right to self-determination was not satisfied by its relationship with the United States. In effect, it had decided that Puerto Rico was indeed a U.S. colony.

The Special Committee's resolution for this year contains even more that will displease Washington. It deplores "the statements and decisions of the Government of the United States to enlarge and reinforce its military installations in Puerto Rico and establish new facilities" as well as the increasing use of the National Guard in Puerto Rico and its participation in military maneuvers in Central America.

And it "demands the cessation of all repressive measures against Puerto Rico independence forces, including the intimidatory activities by the federal Grand Jury."

### Hearings held

Prior to the August 24 adoption of this year's resolution, hearings were held by the Special Committee at which a wide range of speakers testified, including representatives of political, legal, and religious organizations in Puerto Rico and the United States, as well as spokespersons of other governments.

The testimony demolished Washington's position. Every speaker gave instances proving that Puerto Rico is totally dominated — politically, economically, militarily, and culturally — by the United States.

The first witness, Olaguibeet A. López-

Pacheco, a representative of the masonic Gran Oriente Nacional de Puerto Rico, pointed out that thousands of Puerto Ricans were imprisoned in 1950 for believing in Puerto Rican independence.

"In 1961," he said, "atrocities committed by the Federal Bureau of Investigation were directed not only against Puerto Rican activists, but also against members of their families."

The United States, he went on, has increased its use of legal instruments, including the grand jury system, to persecute those fighting for independence. "Many persons," he said, "had been jailed for years as common criminals through the use of that pseudolegal fraud."

The next witness, Juan Bautista Pérez, testified to the persecution of his party, the Communist Party of Puerto Rico, by the U.S. and Puerto Rican governments, for fighting for independence.

His passport was in English, despite the fact that his native tongue was Spanish, he said; "I am forced to accept that."

### U.S. investments

Manning Marable, a Black historian, spoke for the Democratic Socialists of America. He pointed out that capital had come to Puerto Rico "on its own terms, with low taxes, low wage rates, no environmental protection laws, little unionized labor, and a puppet state apparatus which would guarantee high profit margins."

Continued on Page 20



Claridad/Miguel Rivera

Pro-independence march in Puerto Rico, 1971. Witnesses at UN Decolonization Committee hearings last month made clear no Puerto Rican political party is satisfied with present status. UN was urged to require U.S. to end its colonial rule, grant island independence.

## 'End colonial domination by U.S.'

**The following resolution on the colonial status of Puerto Rico, submitted by the delegations from Cuba, Afghanistan, and Syria was adopted August 24 by the UN's Special Committee on Decolonization.**

### The Special Committee,

Recalling all its resolutions and decisions concerning Puerto Rico,

Bearing in mind the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960,

Bearing in mind also that the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of the liberator Simón Bolívar, founder of Spanish America's independence and champion of Puerto Rico's independence, was commemorated on 24 July 1983,

Having heard the statements by the representatives of the different trends of Puerto Rican political opinion and of Puerto Rico's social and cultural organizations,

Noting the decisions and resolutions on Puerto Rico adopted by the summit Conferences of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries; by the preparatory meeting for the seventieth Conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, held at Helsinki in April 1983; and by the meeting of the Socialist International held in Albufeira, Portugal, in April 1983;

Recognizing the distinctive Latin American character and identity of the Puerto Rican people and culture,

Concerned by the statements and decisions of the Government of the United States of America to enlarge and reinforce its military installations in Puerto Rico and establish new facilities and plants connected with the military/industrial complex, and by the increasing militarization of the United States National Guard in Puerto Rico and its participation in United States-sponsored military maneuvers in Central America,

Concerned also by the intensification of repressive measures against the Puerto Rican independence forces, including the activities of the federal Grand Jury utilized by the United States as an instrument of pressure and intimidation against Puerto Rican patriots,

1. Reaffirms the inalienable right of the people of Puerto Rico to self-determination and independence in conformity with Gen-

eral Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and the full applicability of that resolution with respect to Puerto Rico;

2. Urges once again the Government of the United States of America to adopt all necessary measures for the full and effective transfer of all sovereign powers to the people of Puerto Rico, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and with the aspirations of the liberator Simón Bolívar in the year of the two hundredth anniversary of his birth;

3. Requests the Government of the United States to assist the Special Committee in the implementation of its resolutions concerning Puerto Rico, in particular with respect to the sending of a fact-finding mission by the Committee to that territory;

4. Deplores all measures aimed at changing the Latin American character and identity of the Puerto Rican people and culture;

5. Deplores further the statements and decision of the Government of the United

States to enlarge and reinforce its military installations in Puerto Rico and establish new facilities and plants connected with the military/industrial complex, as well as the increasing militarization of the United States National Guard in Puerto Rico and its participation in United States-sponsored military maneuvers in Central America;

6. Demands the cessation of all repressive measures against Puerto Rican independence forces, including the intimidatory activities by the federal Grand Jury which were denounced before the Committee;

7. Requests its Chairman to undertake the pertinent consultations with respect to the fact-finding mission referred to in paragraph 3 above;

8. Requests its Rapporteur to present a report to the Committee on the implementation of the present resolution in 1984;

9. Decides to keep the question of Puerto Rico under review.

## Sept. 23 protest to demand UN Puerto Rico discussion

NEW YORK — A demonstration demanding an end to U.S. colonial domination of Puerto Rico is to be held September 23 at 5 p.m. at Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza at the United Nations.

The demonstration, which is supported by a broad range of political, cultural, religious, and Puerto Rican rights organizations and individuals, coincides with the opening of the UN General Assembly, which is to decide whether it will consider the question of Puerto Rico's colonial status.

Participants in the demonstration are expected from New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and cities in New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut.

September 23 is also a traditional date commemorating the liberation of the town of Lares in Puerto Rico from the Spanish colonial regime in 1868.

Demands to be made at the demonstration are:

That Puerto Rico be included for debate on the UN General Assembly's agenda;

Respect of the Puerto Rican people's right to self-determination and independence;

An end to racial discrimination and national oppression of Puerto Ricans;

An end to persecution and political repression of Puerto Rican fighters for independence;

That U.S. armed forces be withdrawn from Puerto Rico, and that Puerto Rican youth and land not be used for U.S. military intervention in Latin America, the Caribbean, and other parts of the world;

An end to the exploitation of Puerto Rican natural resources for the benefit of foreign corporations;

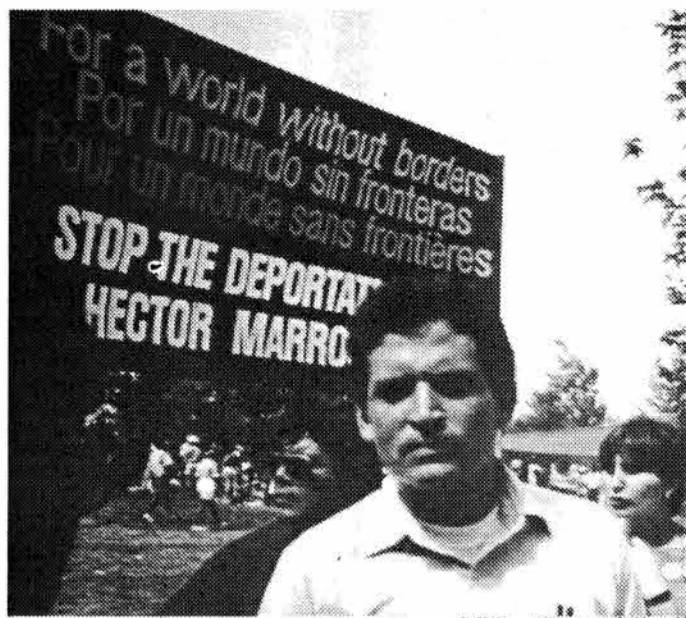
An end to the persecution and repression of the labor movement in Puerto Rico;

Respect for Puerto Rican cultural identity as a Latin American nation, and the right to admission to the UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO);

An end to the massive sterilization of Puerto Rican women.

A vigil is planned outside the UN one day before the demonstration.

For further information, contact the Comité Lares en la ONU, P.O. Box 2792, New York, N.Y. 10163. Telephone (212) 286-0924.



Militant/Duane Stilwell

Héctor Marroquín at August 27 demonstration

# Marroquín: 'I'm fighting for my democratic rights'

## Fight for political asylum winning union support

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — The Political Rights Defense Fund has been waging an energetic campaign to thwart government moves to deport Héctor Marroquín to Mexico. The committee's most effective campaigner has been Marroquín himself.

Since mid-April, he's been on a national tour to publicize and win support for his fight for political asylum. When the tour ends in mid-December, Marroquín will have visited more than 50 cities.

Because he's a socialist and an active opponent of U.S. aggression in Central America and the Caribbean, Washington has been determined to deport Marroquín to Mexico where he faces government victimization because of his political beliefs.

Marroquín's appeal for political asylum is now before the Supreme Court. His claim has been denied by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and an appeals court. This coming term, the Supreme Court is slated to consider another immigration case involving the asylum issue. After it decides that case, the court has indicated, it will determine whether or not it will hear Marroquín's appeal.

Marroquín is convinced a strong enough protest can prevent his deportation. "We're trying to reach everyone," he told the *Militant*, "labor organizations, Blacks, Latinos, women, antiwar groups, immigration projects, civil liberties organizations, and church sanctuary groups."

### Gaining union support

While each of these constituencies is important, he said, PRDF hopes that the fall leg of the tour will see a special effort by local supporters to gain union backing.

"I'm convinced that we can realistically expect to win union support if we really try for it," Marroquín said.

"I'm fighting for my democratic rights," he emphasized, "and a lot more union people relate to that today because their democratic rights are under attack too and they realize it.

"That's certainly true of immigrant workers. We don't have to be told how vulnerable we are in this country and why we need solidarity.

"Latino workers generally see this," he added. "And the August 27 march on Washington made clear that Black people are developing a very deep understanding of the need for a coalition, for solidarity, in the fight to preserve all our rights."

White workers, too, Marroquín said, in increasing numbers see the nature of the mounting antilabor offensive.

And the other big factor, he continued, is the broad working-class opposition to the threat of a new Vietnam in Central America. "Workers feel very sympathetic to someone who's being victimized for opposing this," Marroquín said.

Marroquín said he became aware of the potential union support when he saw the results achieved by the speaking tour of Alejandro Molina Lara, the exiled Salvadoran union leader. Molina Lara has spoken before numerous union bodies across the country.

He has won a broad sympathetic response, detailing the repression in his country and explaining why working people there are determined to be rid of the regime they're saddled with.

"Seeing what Compañero Molina has accomplished in winning union support persuaded me we've only scratched the surface on this in my case," Marroquín said.

But a beginning has been made.

This July, Marroquín spoke before the full assembly of the 8,000-delegate convention of the National Education Association (NEA). Earlier, the union had endorsed his fight for asylum.

Marroquín has also spoken before several locals of the International Union of Electrical Workers, and two locals of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.

He's had several meetings with area officials of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers.

He attended the convention of the United Auto Workers and spoke with a number of officials and many rank-and-file delegates.

In all of his contact with unionists, Marroquín said, the response has been uniformly positive.

At the NEA convention, a number of presidents of state and local affiliates said they would like to have him speak before their members.

"So now it's a question," Marroquín stressed, "of the local committees trying to arrange meetings with the NEA, and other unions as well."

### Talking to workers at plant gates

During the first part of his tour, Marroquín went to plant gates with local supporters in several cities to talk to workers about his case.

"This was very successful," he said. "Especially when it was prepared in advance, with leaflets distributed a day or two before explaining why we would be there and what the case was about. The plant gate visits also helped to build local rallies on the case. I think a lot more of this can be done."

Marroquín has also been greatly encouraged by the support he has won in the Black movement.

When Operation PUSH held its national convention in Atlanta this August, Marroquín participated in the International Affairs workshop and the convention adopted a strong resolution opposing his deportation.

At the convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference held in Washington on the eve of the August 27 march, SCLC president Joseph Lowery endorsed Marroquín's asylum fight, as did four other ranking officials of the civil rights organization.

### Black and Latino support

At the August 27 demonstration itself, a steady stream of people — mainly Black and Latino, Marroquín reports — stopped at the PRDF table and signed the asylum petition.

During the first leg of his tour Marroquín also became aware of new possibilities for support as a result of the growing number of churches providing sanctuary for Salvadoran refugees denied political asylum.

"For people involved in this fight, my case is clearly very much relevant," Marroquín observed. "Tens of thousands of Salvadorans have been forced to flee the terrorist regime in their country," he said. "Yet even though they face certain victimization if sent back, the Reagan administration refuses to give them political asylum because the Salvadoran regime is a 'friendly' one.

"With my case before the Supreme

Court, people recognize that if I win it will be an extremely important victory for all those seeking asylum.

"In San Antonio," Marroquín recalled, "I spoke at two masses at Guadalupe Church, the biggest in the *barrio*. There were over 250 people at each mass. Afterward many of them stopped at a PRDF table to get literature, and to sign a petition demanding I be given asylum."

And, he added, many showed their solidarity with financial contributions totaling more than \$100.

In Milwaukee and Denver, Marroquín also spoke before churches involved in the sanctuary program and, again, got a fine response.

Marroquín also expressed the hope that the local committee would pay special attention to fund-raising to help cope with the heavy expenses of the campaign.

"For one thing," he observed, "many people endorse the case. When they do, if asked, they are usually willing to make a contribution."

### Media coverage of case

He also discussed the media coverage his case has received, which has proven more than anticipated.

## Unions join K.C. Aug. 27 march

BY MARTY PETTIT

Kansas City, Mo. — Two thousand people marched here August 27 in the largest demonstration in recent Kansas City history. The almost four-mile march occurred in 105 degree heat.

The spirited marchers, predominantly working people, continually chanted, "Reagan, Reagan, he's no good: send him back to Hollywood"; "Jobs, not war, U.S. out of El Salvador"; "All fired up, can't take no more"; and "Jobs, jobs, peace, and freedom."

The march was bolstered by strong union contingents. All three United Auto Workers locals in the city sent marshals and marchers. The Service Employees International Union Local 96 had a large contingent also. The Kansas City Central Labor Council had adopted a resolution asking every AFL-CIO local to send at least two delegates to the march. Among those that participated were: Iron Workers, Pipefitters, Steelworkers, Fire Fighters, Communications Workers, and many more. International Typographical Union members from the *Kansas City Star* circulated popular petitions asking support in their fight against the *Star's* unfair labor practices. A contingent from the American Agriculture Movement traveled 500 miles from central Kansas to participate.

Bob Reeds, president of the Kansas City Central Labor Council was a featured speaker at the rally culminating the march. Reeds centered his remarks around the demand for jobs.

Keynote speaker Rev. Wallace Hartsfield, president of the Kansas City chapter of People United to Serve Humanity (PUSH), focused on Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "dream." "There are those who murder dreams," Hartsfield said. "We have to have the discipline for a dream . . . in the streets standing together like today. Today it is still a dream. We must understand that for the realization of our dream, there must be the insistent call for radical change."

"Latino and Black media," he said, "rarely refuse to do a feature on the case."

"But also, we found that if we approached the major media in a nonroutine way, seeking out the right editor and so on, that in almost every city I visited we were able to get at least one news item or sometimes a feature story."

Marroquín's story is certainly newsworthy. In 1974, as a student activist, he fled Mexico after learning he and other students were being falsely accused of "terrorism."

The wisdom of his decision to leave was soon confirmed when two of his student friends were killed by Mexican police, and a third "disappeared."

Marroquín is convinced his beliefs are the basis for Washington's resistance to granting him asylum.

"I've been singled out," he charged, "because I'm a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, because I've been an active unionist, and because I'm doing all I can to help build the movement against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

"For them, Marroquín declared, "that may be good reason to get rid of me. But I think it's good reason for working people to defend my right to stay."

Lloyd Daniels, a community college instructor who spent a year in Grenada, told the crowd that revolutionary war is "often the necessary step toward justice and freedom."

Becky Jaramillo, who works on a local bilingual newspaper, *Dos Mundos*, said, "We can still remember seeing signs posted reading, 'whites only,' 'Blacks go to the back,' and 'no Mexicans or dogs allowed.'"

The local march coalition was cochaired by Rev. "Fuzzy" Thompson of the Martin Luther King Urban Center and Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Joyce Wallace of SCLC, and Peggy Frantz of the American Friends Service Committee.

Over 40 organizations were involved in planning the march. A proclamation endorsing the march was passed by the Kansas City, Missouri, City Council.

## Black teenagers face highest unemployment

Even though the U.S. economy is undergoing a slight upturn, millions of unemployed workers have not benefited from the recovery. For Black workers — especially Black youth — the job situation is actually getting worse. The August figures from the U.S. Labor Department put Black unemployment at 20 percent. Unemployment among Black teen-age males is now at an all-time high of 56.8 percent.

Also increasing is the number of unemployed white teen-age males. That figure rose to 21.1 percent.

The Labor Department report said the overall unemployment level remained steady at 9.5 percent. White House deputy press secretary Larry Speakes said the report shows "a steadily improving jobs picture." He added that the news was "encouraging."

# Labor figures protest firing of 13 auto workers in Britain

## Denounce blacklisting of union militants, socialists

BY CINDY JAQUITH

The employers and major media in Britain have unleashed a red-baiting campaign against the labor movement and militant activists in the unions there. The attack focuses on 13 auto workers fired by British Leyland (BL) because of their union-building activities and socialist views. The 13 worked at BL's Cowley plant in Oxfordshire.

The firings and subsequent antilabor media coverage have met sharp condemnation from figures in the British labor movement, who have defended the fired workers and protested company blacklisting of union militants.

BL announced the firing of the 13 on August 10. All are active members of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU) and four had been elected shop stewards in the union. Several are active in the Labor Party. No complaints had ever been made about their work records.

### Job application pretext

Using a tactic frequently employed in the United States against union activists, Blacks, and women workers, BL issued a news release claiming the 13 were dismissed for falsifying their job applications. But the company told reporters "off the record" that the 13 were members of the International Marxist Group (IMG), forerunner of the Socialist League, British section of the Fourth International.

The story has been front-page news in Britain for weeks. The media has launched a sensationalist campaign to portray the 13 as "moles" and "sleepers" conspiring to secretly worm their way into the union leadership so they could disrupt the Cowley plant. "Amazing red mole plot to seize BL," screamed the headline in the *Daily Mirror*. "Car giant foils red wreckers," shrieked the *Daily Express*.

Reporters were sent by their editors to spy on the fired workers and even pawed through the garbage of one woman who was fired, apparently hoping to find "proof" of the plot to "infiltrate" the Cowley plant.

Big business, meanwhile, began clamoring for tougher hiring policies, more spying on unions and their members, and swift action against strikes.

The August 15 *London Times* reported that: "Personnel managers are being advised to scrutinize very carefully the application forms of men and women seeking jobs, particularly if they show an interest in



Socialist Action  
**Fired union activist Stephanie Grant: "I wasn't part of a conspiracy, it is British Leyland that is conspiring to destroy the unions."**

becoming shop stewards. . . . Private sector companies were stepping up their monitoring systems in the wake of last week's dismissal of undercover militants by BL Cars. . . .

"The Confederation of British Industry [CBI] is advising firms to use their 'utmost vigilance' to combat wildcat strikes." One CBI executive urged employers to "be on their guard when recruiting new workers."

Paul Mackney, president of the Birmingham Trades Council, condemned the CBI executive's statement. "It's a sorry state of affairs when the regional head of the CBI implies firms should politically vet applicants to exclude active trade unionists, socialists, and Marxists," he said.

"Socialists have a right to work," the Birmingham union official declared, noting his concern that "there are already a number of outfits that keep computer files on socialists and provide blacklists." His statement was quoted in *Socialist Action*, the newsweekly that supports the Socialist League.

### Labor figures hit blacklisting

Other labor figures have also pointed out that the issue in the firings is political victimization, despite BL's insistence that false job applications are what's involved.

TGWU regional organizer Brian Mathers said, "If political affiliations prevent individuals from earning a living, then we are in the 1984 of George Orwell. . . . This is a development which every democrat has to oppose."

Phil Holt, a Post Office Engineering Union official, said, "It's amazing that when the U.S. organizes forces to intervene to undermine countries' self-determination, the gutter press rarely comments. But when someone takes a job in industry and calls for social ownership so that

everybody can enjoy the fruits of that, he or she gets branded a troublemaker."

Labor Party figures have noted that the firings of the 13 come in the context of stepped-up company harassment of the union movement as a whole and of left-wing forces inside the Labor Party. "The sackings at BL are an industrial scandal," said Labor Party member of Parliament Dennis Skinner. "The 13 people must be defended, not just for their sakes, but also because this is part and parcel of the bosses' attacks on the unions as a whole. . . .

"We must draw a halt to these witch-hunts, defend the right of activists to work, and defend the organizations that truly represent the interests of the workers."

Labor Party activist Peter Tatchell, himself a victim of such witch-hunting, called the BL firings "tantamount to denying political activists the right to a job. If it's not resisted at Cowley, it's likely to be taken up by other employers, and it could lead to a West German-style *Berufsverbot* [political blacklist]."

In a statement released August 15, the Socialist League said the firings "should be opposed by the labor movement, the trade unions, and all those concerned in defending democratic rights. The sackings should also be strongly opposed by the women's movement, which will have seen the way in which the press particularly singled out for attack women workers at Cowley." Six of the fired workers are women.

"If a policy of systematic exclusions from employment and use of victimization by companies is continued and strengthened there will be a further erosion of democratic rights to add to the many already carried out by this government and BL management," the League warned.

As of late August, the TGWU had appealed the cases of all 13 workers. BL flatly refused to rehire them.

### Antilabor spy outfits

The outpouring of protest against the BL firings has put a spotlight on the systematic surveillance of union activists by industry and provoked debate in the capitalist media over how far to go in extending this spying. The August 17 *Manchester Guardian* reported that since 1979 there have been 1,800 appeals of unjust firings by union activists. Because certain industries are notorious for refusing jobs to prounion workers, the *Guardian* explained, "false names and forged union cards are quite prevalent."

Attention in particular has focused on the reactionary company spy outfit known as the Economic League, which regularly provides employers with political data on workers seeking jobs. The League gets thousands of dollars in contributions every year from major corporations.

This practice of political firings at the Cowley plant is particularly well known. Last year the company fired Alan Thornett, a shop steward and leader of the Workers Socialist League. In 1981 six shop stew-



Socialist Action/David Fowler  
**Member of Parliament Dennis Skinner: "We must draw a halt to these witch-hunts, defend the right of activists to work."**

ards were dismissed for alleged misconduct.

In 1979 Derek Johnson, a longtime leader of the union at BL's Longbridge plant and a member of the Communist Party, was fired. Responding to the new firings at the Cowley plant, Johnson said, "I'm utterly opposed to people being victimized — whether I agree with their views is neither here nor there."

### Time-worn tactic

BL workers at Cowley have a history of militancy. Last April there was a strike of several weeks at the plant. Suddenly, in August, BL "discovered" that it didn't like the job applications of 13 union militants who happen to be socialists.

Many U.S. unionists have had experience with this same tactic. As every employee (and boss) knows, to get a job in the face of massive unemployment and pervasive race, sex, and age discrimination, workers come up with the best job applications they can. But the only time questions are raised by the boss is when the applicant happens to be a union builder, a socialist, or an opponent of racism and sexism in the plant.

In 1980-81, for example, the U.S. Lockheed Corp. in Georgia fired 15 unionists it claimed lied on their applications. A major campaign in defense of the 15 — who were supporters of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party — exposed a massive, systematic effort by the company and federal and local cops to spy on union meetings, on workers in their homes, and on local political demonstrations where Lockheed employees might be present. The ongoing campaign to get the Lockheed workers reinstated has received nationwide endorsement in the labor movement.

As in the United States, the British employers are attempting to intimidate workers fed up with concessions by raising the specter of "reds." At the Cowley plant, for example, workers don't go on strike because of outrageous work conditions, according to BL, but because of "outsiders" who foment disorder.

The campaign in the media has even gone to the lengths of claiming the 13 fired Cowley workers are not workers at all! — but rather "middle class extremists" who are robots in a worldwide "conspiracy" of

Continued on Page 21

### Canadian unionists talk with Nicaragua's Tomás Borge

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## Campaign to free jailed Danish dock worker

An international campaign has been launched to free imprisoned Danish dock worker leader Karl Jørgensen. He has been jailed since May on trumped-up arson charges that carry a possible life sentence. Jørgensen's trial is scheduled to begin in early September.

The charges stem from Jørgensen's participation in a 10-week dock strike last winter. Dock workers around the country walked off the job to protest plans by the Danish government to slash unemployment compensation and other social programs as part of a sweeping austerity drive.

The strike was a bitter one. Police attacked strikers with clubs and dogs. One striker was killed. The dock workers were eventually forced back to work without winning their major demands.

Toward the end of the strike a storehouse

at Esbjerg harbor was set on fire. Two dock workers were arrested by police and charged with the crime. While being held in solitary confinement, the police forced them to name Jørgensen, who had been a leader of the walkout.

Although one of the dock workers later repudiated this accusation, Danish authorities refused to drop the charges against Jørgensen. They are pushing ahead with the frame-up, hoping that a stiff jail term for Jørgensen will frighten other militant workers into giving up the fight against government austerity.

A nationwide campaign to free Jørgensen is being coordinated by the shop stewards in the four big harbors, Copenhagen, Århus, Ålborg and Esbjerg. Jørgensen's union, the Federation of Unskilled Workers (SID) — the largest in Denmark with

320,000 members — has demanded that he be freed.

In the last month leading up to his trial, the campaign is attempting to collect 100,000 signatures demanding Jørgensen's release. More than 30,000 have already been gathered, many at work places and trade unions.

Urgent international protests are needed to aid this campaign. Demands for Jørgensen's immediate release should be addressed to: Justice Minister Erik Ninn-Hansen, Folketinget, DK-1218, København K, Denmark.

Copies of protest messages or solidarity statements should be forwarded to the dock workers in Esbjerg. Their address is: Havnearbejdernes Klub, Mønstringshuset, Cort Adlersgade, DK-6700 Esbjerg, Denmark.

From Intercontinental Press

# Labor Day parade in New York City



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

Employers' anti-imports campaign was echoed in New York Labor Day parade, but some marchers carried antiwar placards, including some from Aug. 27 march on Washington.

BY GEOFF MILLOWITZ

NEW YORK For seven hours, contingent after contingent representing union locals from throughout the New York labor movement marched up Fifth Avenue September 5 in the Labor Day Parade. The parade was organized by the New York Central Labor Council and was one of many "Solidarity Day III" activities sponsored by the AFL-CIO across the country.

Material for the event publicized it as "A rally in support of workers' fight for justice." At the march itself this was manifested primarily in the call for jobs.

A brief rally included national AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland, New York Central Labor Council president Harry Van Arsdale, New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, and Sandra Feldman, executive director of the United Federation of Teachers and the parade's grand marshal — the first woman ever to serve in that capacity.

All the speakers sounded a pro-jobs and anti-Reagan theme which was echoed by floats, signs, and some chants throughout the parade. Feldman stated that the march was "the beginning of the fight we'll make in 1984."

Kirkland too indicated that Election Day 1984 would be the time for labor to settle accounts with the Reagan administration. In his annual Labor Day statement, released over the weekend, Kirkland reaffirmed the AFL-CIO's intention to endorse a presidential candidate at its general council meeting in October. It is widely believed that the choice of the union officials will be Democrat Walter Mondale.

The importance of political action was evident at the parade. Signs carried by the Transport Workers Union proclaimed, "Register and vote. Your jobs depend on it." Others carried by marchers in the Communications Workers of America contingent read, "Political Action Equals Job Security." Signs in the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) contingent stated, "March in '83. Vote in '84." However, as Cuomo's inclusion in the brief speaker's list made clear, at this time labor political action is conceived of only within the confines of the two-party system. The idea of labor running or supporting candidates independent of the Democrats and Republicans was not raised by any union contingents or speakers.

A particular theme of the 1983 Labor Day activities was opposition to foreign imports. Most union officials echo the line of the employers that unemployment is the result of bad trade policies, not the capitalist economic system itself. Foreign car "bash-ins" were projected as major events at a few of the Labor Day activities.

While the anti-imports idea was not so prominent elsewhere in the parade, it was quite noticeable in both the ironworkers' contingent and the section of the march organized by the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). Many ironworkers' signs said "Stop importing steel. Stop exporting jobs." ACTWU signs read "Imports kill jobs."

## Anti-imports theme

While nothing as dramatically reactionary as that took place at the New York parade, the anti-imports theme was very much in evidence. It was promoted most heavily by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union contingent which included a float complete with a smoke-breathing dragon labeled "imports" being slain by workers dressed as knights in armor.

At the same time, more progressive sentiments were reflected in other signs in some of these same contingents. ILGWU Local 23-25, nationally the union's biggest, carried a banner reading "Working together — A union of all nations, all races, all creeds." ACTWU signs called for "Health insurance for the unemployed," and "Jobs not welfare."

Some unions, including ACTWU and others, had organized significant contingents at the August 27 march on Washington the previous week. Some of the spirit of that demonstration flowed over into the parade.

## Impact of August 27

Van Arsdale remarked that those who marched on Washington and the Labor Day marchers shared common goals. Some signs echoed August 27 themes. An American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) District Council 37 banner announced "110,000 New York City employees marching for jobs and peace." Other signs printed by AFSCME read "Jobs for all. Peace for all. Freedom for all. Reagan not at all."

A small contingent from the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE)

carried signs that read "Jobs, equality, peace" and "Save jobs. Stop plant closings." The UFCW contingent featured signs calling for "Jobs, peace, freedom," "Enforce civil rights," and "Keep the dream alive," referring to the 1963 "I have a dream" speech given by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., that was also a theme of the August 27 march.

The peace theme that was an official part of the August 27 march was not an official aspect of Solidarity Day III. Therefore the number of unions that included it on their signs and banners was noteworthy. While specific references to the U.S. war in Central America were few and far between (unlike August 27 where they were more common) a few workers from the fur locals of the UFCW carried Spanish-language signs printed by the union calling for Reagan to keep U.S. hands off Central America.

A similar sign in English was visible on the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) float. The float was primarily a statement of solidarity with workers fighting the union-busting Litton Corp.

The tradition of a Labor Day parade was revived in New York two years ago after a 13-year lapse. The Labor Day 1981 action took on much of the character of the massive Solidarity Day march on Washington, which followed it two weeks later on September 19, 1981. In that respect it echoed many of the more progressive social demands of the labor movement that were a big part of Solidarity Day I, including support for civil rights and women's rights, and general opposition to government policies, especially war spending that takes funds from education and jobs. A particular feature of the 1981 New York Labor Day parade was solidarity with the air traffic controllers who were on strike and under a union-busting attack from the government. This all helped contribute to a militant, spirited march.

This was much less the case at this year's parade. While it was a visible show that there is a very big, and potentially very powerful, labor movement in this city, it was also a reminder of the political problem facing the ranks of labor. Tapping union power and mobilizing a fight for the social changes working people need requires charting a genuinely independent course and not the pro-Democratic Party campaign against Reagan that was projected by the union officials.

## IUE head: we need shorter workweek

William Bywater is president of the International Union of Electronic, Electrical, Technical, Salaried and Machine Workers (IUE). The August issue of *The IUE News* contains Bywater's "Labor Day Message" — "Less Work Time a Must" — to the union's membership. Although the organized labor movement, including the IUE, is not on a campaign to win a shorter workweek with no cut in pay, Bywater's message is significant. It is rare today that a top trade union official says the labor movement should pressure the government to pass legislation to reduce the workweek to spread the available work.

Bywater's message is reprinted below.

Marchers in the first Labor Day Parade held in New York City on Sept. 5, 1882, carried signs advocating the 8-hour work day. They proclaimed: "Eight Hours a Legal Day's Work," "Eight Hours to Constitute a Day's Work," "Eight Hours for Work, Eight Hours for Rest and Eight Hours for Recreation."

A shorter, more humane and more just work day was a goal dear to the trade unionists who built our movement. The fact that the 8-hour day — and less — has long since become accepted practice is one of organized labor's outstanding accomplishments. Achievement of this goal, like achievement of so many other Labor goals, has benefited not only those who carry union cards but millions of other working people as well.

One hundred and one years after the first Labor Day, it's time to ask, Where do we go from here? To me, the answer is clear:

Not only do we reduce the work day from what it now is, but we must reduce the work week, and the work year. The situation we are in demands it.

The U.S. has moved into the age of robots. Major companies like GE, Westinghouse and General Motors not only are installing robots and other numerically-controlled equipment in their plants and offices but are involved in developing and/or producing them.

Unlike past advances in technology, the miracles of the computer age do not promise more employment. Robots make robots. Robots do not make jobs.

With a growing workforce, with an increasing reliance on machines to do the work of humans, and with the persistent problems of imports and structural unemployment, we have a choice: Either the U.S. resigns itself to a mass of perma-

nently unemployed and discontented people living alongside a privileged, employed segment of society or, through our democratic processes, we share the jobs equally throughout the entire workforce.

This is the challenge we face. Our response will determine the future of this nation.

I see a future in which people will work a shorter work day, a shorter work week and a shorter work year. These changes will take time. They must be achieved through collective bargaining but primarily through legislation.

There will be some kicking and screaming from business, but no matter. Business also opposed the 8-hour day. The corporate sector will come 'round. Like everyone else, it has a stake in a society where all working people have the means to pursue happiness.

## Arizona march supports strikers

Continued from front page

copper strikers, they'll be after construction crafts next."

A collection at the rally netted \$2,380 for the strike.

Meanwhile, Phelps Dodge is becoming more aggressive. They added a new demand at the negotiating table — to change the expiration date from July 1 to December 1. The copper unions have always wanted a common expiration date for the different mining companies, to increase their bargaining power. Contract expiration dates now stagger from April to September.

On September 3 Phelps Dodge announced its intention to evict all strikers from company housing. Up until then, the company said it would only evict those terminated for "actions on the picket line." In a letter to Governor Babbitt, George Munroe, Phelps Dodge chairman, wrote, "Since the supply of housing in our mining area is very limited, company housing is provided for workers employed in our operation, but cannot be supplied on a long-term basis to others."

Carlos Camarillo, chief steward of the Operating Engineers Local 428 out of Ajo, told the *Militant*, "This is another scare tactic to get strikers to go back to work. They will have to bodily evict us."

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# Black mayor says: let socialist speak



Militant/Andy Rose  
**Sonja Franeta, SWP candidate for mayor of Birmingham.**

BY MARTIN BOYERS

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — The decision of the Birmingham League of Women Voters (LWV) to exclude Socialist Workers Party candidate Sonja Franeta from a planned mayoral candidates' debate has met with broad opposition.

Incumbent Mayor Richard Arrington and three members of the Birmingham City Council have signed statements urging that Franeta be included in the debate, which will be televised live October 9, two days before the election.

On August 21, the Alabama state convention of the National Organization for Women adopted a resolution in support of Franeta's equal time rights. It stated, "The people of Birmingham will be denied their right to hear all viewpoints. The action of the League of Women Voters is a disservice to the people of Birmingham."

Over 40 NOW convention participants signed an equal-time petition, including Emily Norton, the new state NOW president and a member of Arrington's campaign committee. The petition cites the exclusionary policy the national league has had for years, which bars "minor" candidates from such debates.

The LWV has invited only the two capitalist party candidates, Mayor Arrington and City Council President John Katopodis, to participate.

At first a representative of the Katopodis campaign said that Katopodis had "no objection" to the inclusion of the socialist candidate. Later Katopodis was quoted in the press as reversing his position, due to what he claimed were unfair attacks on his campaign by Franeta.

At an August 23 meeting of the Birmingham

City Council, three members of the council signed a petition denouncing the exclusion. When one of those members proposed it as a council resolution, the move was blocked by former police chief William Meyers. Unanimous consent is required for inclusion of any unscheduled item on the agenda.

Later that day, Mayor Arrington issued a statement saying he supported "the participation of all mayoral candidates" in the October 9 debate.

Arrington, a Democrat, was elected Birmingham's first Black mayor in 1979 after a wave of protests over the police killing of an unarmed Black woman, Bonita Carter.

## Racist campaign

Katopodis has run a thinly veiled racist campaign attacking Arrington's "competence," condemning affirmative action, and defending police shootings. After Bonita Carter's family filed suit against the city for the shooting, Katopodis cynically commented that the city should sue the Carter family for getting Arrington elected.

Katopodis has opened fire on any sign of Black political organization. He accused Arrington of "reverse racism" for supporting an all-Black slate in the 1981 city council election. Katopodis has also tried to make an issue of support Arrington has received from "outsiders," that is, from Black political figures in other parts of the country. In a radio interview, Katopodis blamed "outsiders" for the "violence" in Birmingham in the 1960s!

In face of criticism from Katopodis, Arrington has backed away from his earlier endorsement of an all-Black slate. Arrington has also joined various "law and order" schemes of the police force, reserving his biggest denunciations for "Black-on-Black crime."

The two candidates have signed statements pledging not to use race as an issue in the campaign and have cooperated with a "nonpartisan" committee that is supposed to keep the campaign "fair."

## Strikes spreading

What all this "fairness" talk amounts to is a pact to keep silent on the real problems facing all working people, including Blacks. That is why the big-business politicians and the media are out to avoid any publicized debates involving the socialist candidate. This exclusion occurs just as a series of company-provoked strikes has been spreading in Birmingham.

- The United Auto Workers Local 1155 — of which Franeta is a member — had a six-week strike against Hayes International, turning back a no-increase demand by this booming military contractor.

- The Moulders Union successfully struck Thomas Foundry against a company plan to require a \$25 per day deductible for the first 10 days of hospitalization.

- Coke plants owned by Koppers Co. in Bessemer; Alabama By-Products in Tarrant City; and Jim Walters in Birmingham have been struck by Steelworkers to stop \$2-an-hour pay cuts, the introduction of substandard wages for new workers, and vacation and benefit cutbacks.

## From Pathfinder

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Pickets at Jim Walters and Alabama By-Products have told socialist campaigners that those plants are working nearly full crews of strikebreakers, who are escorted by police past the union lines.

- Thousands of Alabama members of the Communications Workers of America participated in the three-week, nationwide strike to defend job security for telephone workers.

## Franeta supports strikers

Socialist candidate Franeta has been an outspoken supporter of these struggles. "These strikers need and deserve the support of all working people. While Arrington and Katopodis propose giveaways to big business under the pretext of providing jobs, they have been silent on a real struggle to save jobs — the phone strike.

"My campaign supporters are visiting the picket lines and bringing back the facts of these strikes to workers they meet on the job, at the plant gates, and in working-class communities. We have been campaigning for the broadest labor solidarity.

"We are pointing out the Democratic and Republican office holders are revealing which side they are on by providing scabs with police bodyguards."

The increase in labor militancy is reflected at another Steelworkers organized plant, Connors Steel. Over the last year

and a half, the company has squeezed two pay cuts, amounting to over 40 percent, out of the workers by threatening to shut down.

This summer, Connors threatened to close unless the union agreed to no wage increases and the company's right to terminate the contract on 30 days' notice. The termination clause could have eliminated severance pay and other benefits in a shut-down.

The Connors workers rejected this surrender. Following that vote, the company and the major media went on a concerted campaign to blame the union for Connors' decision to shut the plant September 1. The union held a second vote a week later, rejecting the company's demands by an even bigger margin.

Socialist candidate Franeta is optimistic that working people are looking for new answers to the challenges they face. "The League of Women Voters might keep the working-class viewpoint out of the televised debate, but at the plant gates, in the communities, and in the many neighborhood meetings to which I have been invited, the Socialist Workers campaign is continuing to bring the perspective of independent working-class political action and solidarity. Despite the wishes of the wealthy few who run Birmingham, more and more workers are seeing that our program is the *only* realistic one to meet their needs."

## Boston socialist in debate

BY VALERIE JOHNSON

BOSTON — Socialist Workers Party candidate Eloise Linger won a major victory in her fight to be included in a televised debate sponsored by the League of Women Voters and the Greater Boston Chamber of Commerce. The debate will

*'Militant' readers in the Boston area will be able to hear SWP candidate Eloise Linger in a debate with other mayoral candidates on Wednesday, September 14. The debate will be held at 7:30 p.m. at Faneuil Hall. It will be televised live by channels 4, 5, and 7, and broadcast by radio stations WBZ and WEEI.*

take place on September 14.

Linger was excluded from the first debate held on August 17, which sparked a broad protest from the Black community here. Many prominent Black community leaders denounced Linger's exclusion from the debate. Among them was Mel King, who is the only Black candidate in the mayoral race. King refused to participate in the August 17 affair saying, "I feel it is so important that people be given a chance to hear all the candidates."

Both of the major big-business newspapers, the *Boston Globe* and *Boston Herald*, ran editorials against the exclusion. The *Globe* ran another editorial on August 31 calling the decision to include Linger in the September 14 debate "good news."

The *Globe* editorial went on to say, "Surely substantial credit for the change in the format of the scheduled September 14 debate goes to King, who is right in the thick of the mayoral race, according to most polls. By his refusal to participate in the earlier debate and his vow to skip the



Militant/Salm Kolis  
**Eloise Linger, SWP candidate for mayor of Boston.**

second one if Gelber and Linger were again excluded, he kept the issue of access alive. The political process is healthier as a consequence."

The sponsors of the debate had excluded Michael Gelber, a supporter of ultrarightist Lyndon LaRouche, as a cover for their denial of Linger's democratic rights.

The 38-year-old socialist feels that the League of Women Voters and Chamber of Commerce tried to exclude her because of her support to school desegregation, which is being scuttled through attacks on busing, and her call for independent working-class political action. Linger is herself a garment worker at Domenico, Inc. in Lynn, Massachusetts, and a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 397.

## Indiana socialists win court victory

BY DAVE CAHALANE

INDIANAPOLIS — The Socialist Workers Party has scored a victory over the Marion County Election Board, which was attempting to keep the SWP candidates for mayor and city-county council off the ballot in the November elections.

Federal Judge S.U. Dillon ruled unconstitutional a recent Indiana requirement that candidates other than those of the Democratic and Republican parties had to submit signatures on nominating petitions in February instead of September. The ruling was made on September 6.

The SWP had filed the required number of signatures for Bill Warrick for mayor and three city-county council candidates before the February deadline. However,

the Board of Elections rejected as invalid many of the signatures and refused to place the candidates on the ballot. The SWP then filed suit against the election board's procedures in rejecting the signatures as well as the filing date requirement. The judge only ruled on the filing date.

However, he did rule that the SWP had to be allowed time to get 415 more signatures, which the election board claims are needed. Warrick said the party "intends to comply with this, even though we disagree that the validation procedure was correct."

Lawyers for the SWP, he said, had learned from the election board that September 12 is the deadline for the additional signatures.

## Garment workers strike in Atlanta

BY JON BIXBY

ATLANTA — On September 1, 150 workers at Empire Manufacturing Co., a garment factory here, were forced to strike after the company refused to offer a decent contract.

After refusing for two weeks even to bargain with the union, Local 29 of the United Garment Workers of America, the company offered the union a pay increase of only 15 cents an hour in each of the next three years.

The workers, who make an average of only about \$5 per hour, rejected this meager offer and voted to strike.

The union, recognizing that it cannot win the battle alone against Empire, a subsidiary of the highly profitable National Service Industries, has reached out to other forces in the community for help.

Union and nonunion truck drivers have honored the picket lines, despite the company's calling in of police to block this effort.

The strike has also been endorsed by Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity) and by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In addition, the Coalition of Labor Union Women printed a leaflet for the union, which was distributed by a spirited group of unionists at the AFL-CIO Labor Day march in Atlanta.

Most of the workers at Empire are Black women; the others are mainly white and Korean. The union has opposed discriminatory firings of Blacks in the past and recognizes now that all workers, regardless of race, must unite if the strike is to be won.



## Reconquering the heritage of the early Communist International

The following talk was presented July 31 by John Riddell to the Socialist Educational and Activists Conference held in Oberlin, Ohio. Riddell is a member of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (RWL/LOR), the pan-Canadian section of the Fourth International, and a laid-off member of United Auto Workers Local 252. He is on the editorial board of *New International*, the magazine of Marxist politics and theory initiated by leaders of the RWL/LOR and the U.S. Socialist Workers Party, and is an editor of the Monad Press project to publish the record of the revolutionary years of the Communist International.

Tonight we are celebrating the launching of an important new project — publishing the political record of the origins and first five years of the Communist International. This is a joint undertaking by members of the Socialist Workers Party and of our party in Canada, the RWL/LOR. We will be publishing the decisions and debates of the Communist International and the political discussion among its main leaders, focusing mainly on the period from Lenin's first call for the new International in 1914 to the end of 1923.

This project is central to our movement's work of reconquering the political heritage of the early years of the Communist International (often called the Comintern).

For many years now we've noticed that our discussions keep taking us back to this period — the early years of the Communist International. We are pressed in this direction by the revolutionary events in Central America and the Caribbean, where we are witnessing a turning point in modern world history. New proletarian leaderships are emerging there which have led the workers and peasants to power and are leading them to use that power to deepen and defend their revolutions. And they are encouraging the development of revolutionary movements in other countries committed to extending their historic process.

The working class in these countries, just like the workers of Soviet Russia 66 years ago, are making every effort for socialist victory not just in their own countries but internationally, and they are ready to risk all for that goal. For the first time since the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International more than 50 years ago, the vanguard parties of the working class in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada have revived many of the best traditions of the Communist International of Lenin's day.

Revolutionists in the Caribbean and Central America are looking for political guidance in the writings and experiences of the early Comintern leadership. The article by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez in the first issue of *New International* is an example of their efforts to remove some of the distortions and errors that obscure this continuity, and to revive the original ideas of the Russian Bolsheviks. The emergence of these currents, and the achievements and internationalist consciousness of the masses of workers that they lead, create new and favorable conditions for us as well, including our work toward building a world party, a mass international movement that will continue along the trajectory of the early Communist International.

Another experience has led us back to the Communist International — our work in industry. In my branch of the RWL in Toronto, for example, we stumbled on an edition of the *Program of the Red International of Labor Unions* by A. Losovsky, outlining the communist approach to work in industry. It was just what we needed to help deepen our understanding. We also studied the communists' explanation of a working-class strategy against World War I, and found it essential for clearly understanding the working-class approach to the movement in Canada protesting the testing of cruise missiles.

Comrades from many branches of both the RWL and SWP can cite similar experiences. This has been part of the flowering of educational work in our parties that has accompanied our turn to industry. Challenged to explain our basic ideas to coworkers — those attracted to our ideas, those with questions, those who are skeptical — and to participate in and help give leadership to struggles, we have gone back to the writings of previous generations of revolutionists who went through similar experiences.

At our leadership school, comrades have studied Marx and Engels as leaders of the great workers' struggles of



October 1917 Russian Revolution inspired working class in United States, Canada, and around world. Russian workers (above) at strike meeting prior to revolution.

their time and theoreticians of future struggles. Our branches have organized classes to read Lenin's writings on the Bolshevik strategy for the Russian revolution.

We've found that we in industry, despite all the pressures of time and the boss, are in the best position of anyone to study and understand the lessons of past workers' struggles, as presented by the leading Marxists of the time. Books that we read before look different now that we read them as workers, as part of a workers party with fractions in the industrial unions. Ideas that we passed over before have now become central to our work. We've been reconquering the basic ideas of Marxism. And we've found these ideas come alive in our daily work.

This record of all that our class and its toiling allies have learned through their long struggle to overthrow the dictatorship of capital and put the workers and farmers in power is what we call our revolutionary programmatic continuity. It is these ideas that keep us on the road and show us how to proceed in our struggles today.

### Strategy for world revolution

The conquests of the movement led by the Communist International are a central component of that continuity. In addition, the Comintern stands out in the 135-year history of our movement as the prototype of the international our world movement — the Fourth International — is today working for. The Communist International was the third international workers organization, and it stood on the conquests and achievements of the First and Second Internationals. But in several decisive respects it not only went much further, but charted new ground. Many elements of its program and organizational character were new. And its political achievement remains unsurpassed to our day.

For the first time a workers party had led the workers

and peasants in taking and consolidating their hold on political power. The Russian Communist Party stood at the head of the Comintern, and its experience enabled communists to develop and refine their strategy for the conquest of power.

### Transitional strategy

The Comintern worked out the transitional strategy that we employ today to bridge the gap, through class-struggle experience, between present working-class consciousness and the need for workers and farmers to assume power. It subjected modern class collaborationism to a merciless critique and worked out the strategy for the proletarian dictatorship, the most democratic form of government yet seen. It used the living reality of the soviets to educate millions of workers to the teachings of Marx and Engels concerning the state and the revolutionary conquest of power. And it explained the role of the party in leading and organizing workers to carry out these tasks.

The Comintern's policies were founded on its understanding of imperialism, a new phase of capitalism, the period of capitalist decline, of world war, and of colonial uprisings and socialist revolution. Under these conditions even the most backward countries face the possibility of proletarian-led social revolution. Backward countries need not necessarily go through a long and painful period of capitalist development, for revolutions leading to soviet power were now possible in every part of the world.

The existence of the soviet republic in Russia was another new factor. Defense of the first workers state was a prime task of workers everywhere. The soviet state itself was now a factor in the world class struggle, and an ally for oppressed nations against imperialism.

All this was quite a change from the days of the Second International, whose concern had been overwhelmingly limited to the workers' struggle in the advanced capitalist countries. The Comintern had a world enemy — imperialism — and a strategy for world revolution, and it analyzed the interrelationship of the three main components of the world working-class struggle in the same basic terms that we do today.

Together with a world outlook came a world program, which included discussion of measures such as the New Economic Policy to strengthen the workers and peasants alliance on which the Soviet workers state was based. It also included a program for the liberation struggles of colonial peoples, for the struggles of oppressed nationalities, and on the agrarian question, outlining the basis for an alliance between the workers and the farmers in a united struggle for power.

The Comintern was a world party. Lenin noted that the Second International had been by and large a white organization, basically limited to parties in the industrialized countries in Europe or with populations of European origin.

But the Comintern, by its second congress, was becoming a truly world organization, with important representation from the revolutionists of Asia. Lenin said that the 1920 Comintern congress, with its associated Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku later that same year, signified a union between revolutionary proletarians of the industrially advanced capitalist countries and the oppressed masses of the colonial, Eastern countries where the proletariat was young and small.

To gain any feeling for the life of the Communist International we must examine the conditions that gave birth to it. The workers of the most advanced countries were buried in the terrible slaughter of the first imperialist world war. The international socialist movement had collapsed, as socialist parties of most warring countries, rallying behind their rulers, herded the workers into the war. Year after year the war raged on, claiming tens or hundreds of thousands of dead every month, and workers could find no escape. Then the victory of the Russian workers and peasants in October 1917 showed the way out of the imperialist death trap.

### Impact of October Revolution

James P. Cannon, a founder of the Communist League of America, the common root of our two parties in Canada and the United States, told us what that meant for

Continued on next page

**Continued from preceding page**

workers here. "The Bolshevik revolution in Russia changed everything almost overnight," he recalled. "Here was demonstrated in action the conquest of power by the proletariat. As in every other country, [this] shook our movement in America to its very foundation. [It] gave the workers new hope and aroused new interest in [the] theoretical problems of revolution."

A pioneer Canadian communist, Malcolm Bruce, has similar memories of those days, recorded in the book *Canadian Bolsheviks*. "It was like a bolt out of the blue," Malcolm recalled, "like a blinding light when the news came over of the . . . establishing of the Soviet Republic. . . . There was a great uplift amongst the working class. At last they saw that the working class rose in their might and took over the power of a powerful nation and they wondered if it couldn't be done here. . . ." One of Malcolm's Socialist Party comrades came over and shouted, "Malcolm, this is it! This is the beginning of the world revolution!"

And so it was.

Workers around the world reacted in the same way. In Germany and other countries of central and eastern Europe workers decided to end the war in the Russian manner, rising up in revolution, forming councils on the soviet model, turning their guns on their rulers and seeking the road to power.

During 1918 the first communist parties were formed in countries outside the old tsarist empire. Thirty-five delegates, including representatives of a dozen countries outside the old Russian empire, met in Moscow in March 1919 in the first congress of the new Communist International. Despite the capitalist blockade, the word got out. Communist parties formed around the world, some with tens or hundreds of thousands of members.

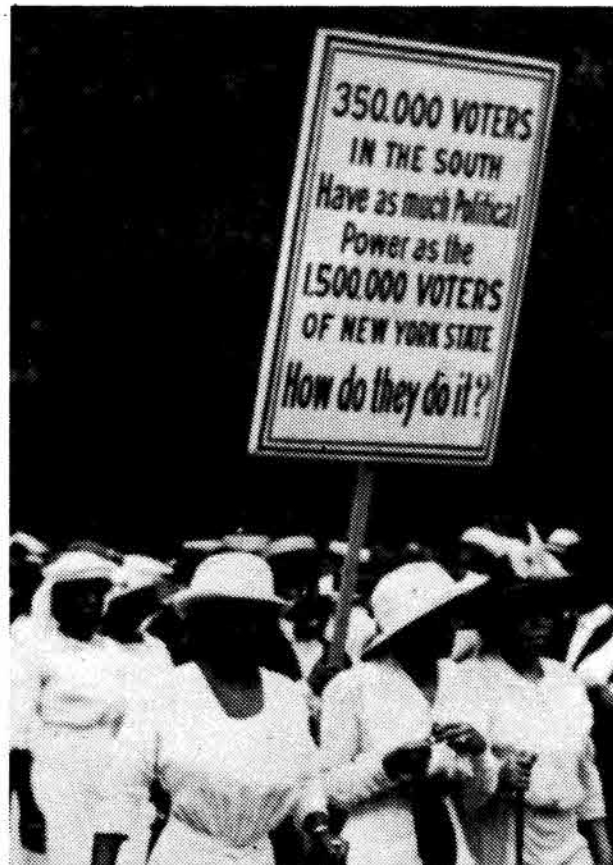
But what did these workers know of the ideas and program of the Bolsheviks in Russia? It was the *action* that they knew about, Cannon recalled, the action of soviet revolution. "It took quite a while for the influence of Bolshevik ideas to come up even with the authority of their action."

**Canadian, U.S. parties**

In Canada and the United States these new revolutionary forces were influenced by ultraleft, sectarian and anarchist views. These workers tended to reject participation in elections and in "nonrevolutionary" unions and to counterpose the need for the seizure of power to any struggle for immediate demands.

Toronto communists announced in 1919, "we do not propose to fritter away our forces in guerrilla warfare with the capitalist class about better conditions under capitalism." Later that year, when Toronto workers went out on a general strike, the support offered by the communists was lukewarm at best. Their leaflet on that occasion began, "The Communist Party of Canada is not opposed to your strike." However, it scolded, "You machinists who made so many splendid machine guns, why did you neglect to provide yourselves with them before you struck? . . . The time is ripe for the battle for power."

The Comintern also attracted forces who had not yet completed their break with reformism. Supporters of the Comintern won majorities in the old social-democratic parties in Italy and Norway. Something not too different happened in France and Germany. Under this pressure quite a number of centrist and reformist leaders developed a sudden enthusiasm for the Comintern. They fought for their old orientation in the new framework. It was not easy for revolutionary workers in these parties to find out what communism was, and to shake free of their old leadership and traditions.



**1917 demonstration in United States by NAACP demanding Black voting rights. Comintern discussed and adopted resolution on Afro-American struggle, drafted with help of U.S. Black communists.**

How could homogeneous Communist parties and a strong international be built with forces of such divergent backgrounds? The Russian Communist Party leaders relied on the persuasive powers of the class struggle itself and the force of example. The meetings of the International heard long and lively debates among the different viewpoints. All the speeches were published. The International became a great school of revolutionary strategy and tactics, in which the best of the workers attracted to the Bolsheviks were able to seize *their* continuity. Through the heritage of the Russian communists they reconquered Marx and Engels.

It's hard for us to get a feeling for those discussions because so little of the material is available to us. One debate we can consult, however, is on the national and colonial question at the second Comintern congress in 1920, reprinted in a two-volume collection available from Pathfinder Press.

In presenting the draft theses, Lenin reports that intensive discussion had led to an important change in the proposed theses. The original draft had called for support for "bourgeois-democratic" movements of the oppressed; the new draft proposed support for "national revolutionary" movements. This drew a distinction between revolutionary movements, which advance the mobilization of the masses, and bourgeois movements, which aim to block and suppress the involvement of the masses.

Even as amended, the theses were opposed by a centrist current, which sought to replace the phrase, "Support the revolutionary liberation movements" with "take an active interest" in these movements.

The Indian delegate, M.N. Roy, protested that this current wished to support only explicitly socialist revolutions, while rejecting support for the revolt of the colonial masses. That position had been a serious weakness of the old Second International.

A delegate from Korea, Pak Chin-Sun, said that "the whole task of the Communist International in the colonial question consists in correcting the mistakes made by the leaders of the Second International."

You can sense the feeling of liberation in these discussions: finally the revolutionary socialist movement had become one with the vanguard fighters of the colonial oppressed.

The congress adopted the theses, with all delegates voting in favor — except for three abstentions — and the International took a great step toward achieving the goal laid down in its statutes of fraternally uniting "people of all colors — white, yellow, and black — the toilers of the entire world." A truly communist International was being born.

**Congress in Baku**

This second congress of the Comintern issued the call for the Congress of the Peoples of the East at Baku, in the Soviet republic of Azerbaijan. Zinoviev called this congress the "complement" and "second part" of the Second Comintern Congress. About 2,000 delegates attended from two dozen oppressed nations across Asia, of whom half or fewer were Communist Party members. You may find it interesting to compare the actual text of the Baku discussions with the portrayal of the congress in the film *Reds*.

You'll see that the appeal for a "holy war" against imperialism was not a mistranslation of something said by John Reed. It was said by Grigori Zinoviev himself, in his main report to the congress. Zinoviev declared:

"Comrades! Much has been said about 'holy war' in recent years. The capitalists, when they were waging their accursed imperialist war, tried to present this slaughter as a holy war, and made many people believe this. When in 1914–1918 they spoke of a 'holy war,' that was a monstrous deception.

"But now, Comrades, you who have for the first time assembled in a congress of the peoples of the East, must here proclaim a real holy war, against the robbers, the Anglo-French capitalists.

"Now we must say that the hour has sounded when the workers of the whole world can arouse and raise up tens and hundreds of millions of peasants, can form a Red Army in the East as well, can arm and organize a revolt in the rear of the British, can hurl fire against the bandits, can poison the existence of every insolent British officer who is lording it in Turkey, Persia, India and China.

"Comrades! Brothers! The time has now come when you can set about organizing a true people's holy war against the robbers and oppressors. The Communist International turns today to the peoples of the East and says to them: 'Brothers, we summon you to a holy war, in the first place against British imperialism!'"

To understand the Comintern theses and resolutions, you need to see the interplay of conflicting views among communists of the day. Unfortunately the Second Congress is the only fragment of that record available to us in printed form.

**Zimmerwald conference**

An example of what we are missing is the discussion among revolutionists during World War I, summarized for us by Farrell Dobbs in the second chapter of his new volume on *Revolutionary Continuity*. I had read the anti-war manifesto of the 1915 Zimmerwald conference many times and seen it as a strong anti-war statement. But only on comparing it to the draft manifesto of the left wing at Zimmerwald, led by the Bolsheviks, did I realize what is missing from the majority statement — for example, the call for socialist deputies in parliament to vote against war credits.

And only on reading Farrell's commentary did I realize that even the left-wing draft fails to contain an unambiguous call for support to revolutionary nationalist movements of oppressed peoples. The Bolsheviks pressed for this stand, but other revolutionists were still opposed to it.

It helps to understand the resolutions when you can read the debate.

Even the errors made in this discussion are instructive. When should we make the break with the pacifists, who formed the right wing of the Zimmerwald movement against the war? What is our military policy — our position on the militia and the draft? How do we approach struggles of oppressed nations? What is the right tactical approach to workers influenced by chauvinism? Should we call for a united states of Europe?

Under the impact of the Russian revolution, almost all the key participants from the left wing and center at Zimmerwald rallied to the Bolsheviks and the Comintern, where their individual strengths and weaknesses were integrated into a team leadership.

As things stand, from the entire debate at Zimmerwald among several currents of revolutionary opinion on several key questions, we have in print in English only the articles of Lenin, one article each by Rosa Luxemburg and Leon Trotsky, and now finally the Left Zimmerwald manifesto and resolution.

**Fight to maintain Comintern program**

After 1923, the Communist International began a process of degeneration under the blows of defeats and retreats in the world revolution and their impact inside the soviet republic. A privileged, conservative, bureaucratic layer began to exert increasing control over decision-making in the soviet republic and Communist Party, as well as in the Comintern, developing into a crystallized social caste by the beginning of the 1930s.

This bureaucratic layer finally substituted Stalinism as its *de facto* ideology, in place of Marxism. The Comin-

\*The Zimmerwald conference, held in Switzerland in 1915, brought together 37 socialist delegates from Europe and Russia to discuss the capitulation of the majority of leaders of the Second International to the imperialist world war. (A second conference was held in Kienthal, Switzerland, in 1916). Against centrist and right-wing currents that opposed a clear break with the reactionary position of the Second International, the Bolsheviks led in the formation of a left wing at Zimmerwald. The resolution and manifesto proposed by that left wing did not win a majority. The manifesto adopted at the conference was signed by the Bolsheviks despite this. They also issued their own declaration, along with some other left-wing delegates, explaining where their differences lay. This declaration, and the resolution and manifesto proposed by the left wing, are reprinted in the appendix to Farrell Dobbs' second volume of *Revolutionary Continuity*.

## New International

**A magazine of Marxist politics and theory**

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tern's program and strategy from the Lenin-led years were twisted or denied. Reformist content was put into revolutionary slogans. The Comintern was changed from an instrument for world revolution into a subordinate diplomatic tool of the Soviet bureaucracy. It became an obstacle to revolution. Most prominent leaders of the Russian Communist Party sooner or later resisted this process. These oppositionists made their stand in defense of the achievements of the Comintern in its Leninist period and against its degeneration under Stalin. But beginning in the late 1920s, they were one by one isolated, expelled, broken or exiled, and ultimately murdered.

In 1933, in the wake of the Comintern's failure to reassess its course in response to the victory of Nazism in Germany, the International Left Opposition led by Trotsky concluded that the Comintern could not be saved, and that a new, Fourth International must be constructed.

Trotsky explained, however, that building the new international did not require any innovations in theory. "When we broke with the Second International," he said, "we changed our theoretical foundations. Now, no; we remain based on the first four congresses" of the Communist International.

He asked his secretaries to pull together all the theses and resolutions adopted by the first four congresses of the Communist International so they could serve as an outline of the positions of the new world organization. The Transitional Program adopted by the founding congress of the Fourth International in 1938 follows closely the Comintern resolutions developing our concept of a transitional strategy.

#### Trotsky applies Comintern politics

Trotsky applied the politics of the Comintern's early years to new and complex situations: the continuing rise of colonial revolution, the triumph of fascism in Germany and Spain, the revolutionary struggle to reinstitute workers democracy in the Soviet Union, and the advent of the second horrible world imperialist war, including German imperialism's invasion of the USSR aimed at overthrowing the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is primarily through studying Trotsky that we have come to know the ideas of the Communist International.

But however lucid his explanations, they cannot replace a study of the Comintern itself. To limit ourselves to Trotsky would be like trying to understand Marx and Engels on the state by reading only Lenin's *State and Revolution*. A good start, but not enough.

Trotsky strongly urged us to study the Communist International. He wrote in 1933 that, "One of the first, most urgent tasks of those organizations that have inscribed on their banners the regeneration of the revolutionary movement consists in separating out the principled decisions of the first four congresses, in bringing them in order and in subjecting them to a serious discussion."

The leadership of the International Left Opposition wrote to the Communist League of America, the predecessor of our two organizations in Canada and the United States, asking that we consider publishing the material from the first four congresses of the Communist International. The national committee voted to do so. The decision was not carried out at that time.

That was 50 years ago. Isn't it about time that we carried out that decision?

Much has changed in that time — but what has not changed is that the decisions of the Communist International remain unexcelled in their rich concrete applications of our revolutionary continuity. But the Comintern record remains unavailable to workers — it's not available in English, French, or Spanish.

We do have the writings of Lenin from this period, which are published in the Soviet Union. We also have our own edition of the writings and speeches of Trotsky for the Comintern in the years 1919-24, under the title *The First Five Years of the Communist International*. We have a useful selection of Comintern documents edited by Jane Degras, as well as a more recent collection from Britain called *Theses, Resolutions, and Manifestos of the First Four Congresses of the Third International*. We have the debates at the Second Congress and at Baku, and at the 1922 Congress of Toilers of the Far East. We have an interesting trade union pamphlet by Losovsky. It is going out of print, and the *Theses, Resolutions and Manifestos* will also be out of print soon, at least for a time.

These volumes are a useful basis for study and educational work. But they are only fragments from the record of the Comintern.

For example, you do not get the real record by reading Lenin, or even by reading Lenin and Trotsky taken together. The Bolsheviks built a broad and powerful Comintern leadership team, which also included Zinoviev, Karl Radek, Nikolai Bukharin, and others. A wide range of comrades shared the key reports and interventions in the discussions.

Even where we have material from the early Comintern available, there can be problems with accuracy. For example, resolutions were frequently circulated in two forms. First there was the draft up for discussion. Then after the congress the editing committee would get to



Presidium at Baku Congress of Peoples of the East. Grigori Zinoviev speaking, with arm raised; to his left, Karl Radek. Comintern sought to unite proletariat in advanced capitalist countries with oppressed masses of colonial world.

work and incorporate suggestions from the congress — just like we do today.

As a result, two versions of many resolutions are still circulating today, and they sometimes get mixed up. The volume of *Theses, Resolutions, and Manifestos* of the Comintern that we have for sale, for example, gives us the preliminary draft version of some resolutions, including the one on the national and colonial question, complete with the reference to supporting "bourgeois-democratic" movements rather than "national revolutionary" movements substituted in the adopted version.

#### Who will do the job?

For 60 years now, the ruling bureaucracy in Moscow has failed to publish the materials from the early Comintern. They clearly do not view it as part of their particular continuity.

Nor is there any other political force likely to do the job. Academic publishers have put out only a couple of overpriced anthologies, which are out of print. There are not enough profits in it for them to do much more. Sectarian groups have published a fragment here and there, but that will not meet our needs. No, revolutionary Marxists who look to the Comintern for continuity and want to pass it on to workers today will have to do the job.

What is this record that we want to publish? What does it look like? First of all there are the debates and resolutions of the four congresses of the Comintern and the resolutions of the Zimmerwald Left that preceded it. All this was published in German, the working language of the Comintern, and parts of it were translated into English. You could think of this as the skeleton of the record. Taken alone, it could make up six or seven good-sized volumes — a very big job just in itself.

We must also consult the records of the Executive Committee of the Communist International. We know how the June 1923 Comintern Executive Committee resolution on the workers and farmers government, the report there by Zinoviev, and the discussion and debates around them have made an important contribution to our understanding.

Then there are the records of the organizations related to the Comintern, such as the Communist Youth International and the conferences of communist women — both of which are descended from revolutionary youth and women's organizations that functioned during the war. The Red International of Labor Unions held two conferences in the period we are talking about and also had its own publications. And there were the congresses of the peoples of the East in 1920 and of the toilers of the Far East in 1922. It's important to remember that the Bolsheviks were trying not only to build an International of revolutionary proletarian parties, but simultaneously an even broader communist-led movement of the toilers and oppressed of the world.

The Comintern also published a magazine in German, English, and other languages, called *International Press Correspondence*, which roughly filled the same role as our *Intercontinental Press*. It analyzed events of the day and kept comrades informed of decisions of the Comintern's leading bodies and on activities of the parties.

Leaders of the Comintern often wrote articles that were part of the International's discussions, even though they were not written specifically for International gatherings or publications. Lenin's pamphlet *Left-Wing Communism — An Infantile Disorder* is the best-known example. It was in the kits of all delegates to the Second Comintern Congress.

This is a big job. We can't say now how quickly we

can do it and when it will be finished. But we can say that this formidable job has to be done, it is necessary, to meet the needs of our parties and of others around the world who share our basic ideas.

Some volumes of documents are larded with introductions and marginal notes attacking Marxism or pleading for the particular viewpoint and political tradition of the publisher. That's not what we have in mind. We think the record of the Comintern speaks for itself, and we want to present it objectively, so it can most readily be utilized by militants of all currents seeking a communist path.

While the main publishing project is in the English language, the Revolutionary Workers League will also be working to make material available in French, and there will be opportunities to run items in Spanish as well in *Perspectiva Mundial*.

We don't know how quickly we can get this job done. But we can now say how we will begin. The Tom Kerry Publishing Fund raised over \$5,000 toward publishing the record of the Comintern. Over a number of years, we are going to have to raise perhaps 50 times this amount. But this fund is the seed money to get the project underway.

#### Initial volume on 1914-19

It permits us to undertake an initial volume on the formative period of the Communist International, the 1914-19 period. This will include the manifestos and resolutions from the conferences of internationalist socialists during World War I at Zimmerwald and Kienthal, and the discussion and debate among revolutionary leaders including Lenin, Trotsky, and Luxemburg on how to fight against the imperialist war, on the need for a new international, and on how and when to break once and for all with the social-patriots and their centrist appendages to build the kind of parties that could lead the toilers to power.

We will also begin a full survey this fall of the materials available and discuss how to proceed after the initial volume.

We will all be involved in this project in one way or another. We will be doing educational work touching on different aspects of the Communist International, and we'll learn a great deal from this work on how our publishing project can best proceed. Many of us will be supporting the project materially. Some of us know German or Russian and can help on translation. Others can help us locate the material we need.

Please get in touch with us if you can participate in any of these ways.

The guidelines for this project are simple. As Trotsky explained in 1934, we build on the accomplishments of the pioneer communists of this century — in theory, politics, and practice. The goal of a new International building on and in continuity with the Lenin-led Communist movement is the program for an entire epoch, our epoch.

We have no special axe to grind, no sectarian scheme, in launching this publishing effort. Our goal is to present the accurate record of the Comintern — its beginnings, its founding, and revolutionary development, and the origins of its decline. And we will seek collaboration with all who share this goal regardless of origins or current political affiliations.

### For further reading

*Theses, Resolutions and Manifestos of the First Four Congresses of the Third International*, 481 pp., \$14.95.

*The Second Congress of the Communist International*, 2-volume set, \$13.90.

*Baku: Congress of the Peoples of the East*, 204 pp., \$4.95.

*First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East, 1922*, 242 pp., \$8.95.

#### By V.I. Lenin

*The National Liberation Movement in the East*, 363 pp., \$2.45.

*Speeches at Congresses of the Communist International*, 176 pp., \$3.45.

#### By Leon Trotsky

*The First Five Years of the Communist International*, 2-volume set, \$6.95 each.

#### By Farrell Dobbs

*Revolutionary Continuity: Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922*, 240 pp., \$5.95.

#### By Ian Angus

*Canadian Bolsheviks: The Early Years of the Communist Party of Canada*, 404 pp., \$8.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Include \$1 for postage and handling.

# How the revolutionary communist movement arose in Iran

BY CINDY JAQUITH

In February 1979 the Iranian people overthrew Mohammed Reza Shah and shattered a dictatorship built up over 26 years by U.S. imperialism. The 1979 revolution was spearheaded by Iran's powerful working class.

In the four years since, the Iranian working class has been searching for the road forward to achieve genuine independence from Washington and to end the national oppression and class exploitation suffered by the Iranian workers and peasants. There is a rich tradition of proletarian struggle in Iran these workers can look back on. It begins with the 1905 Constitutional Revolution in Iran and the emergence of the first Iranian Marxist current.

The early Iranian Marxists were part of the anti-imperialist upsurge that was sweeping the Middle and Far East at that time. The vanguard fighters in these nationalist movements were deeply influenced by the Russian Marxist movement, and the Bolsheviks in particular. Following the October 1917 victory of the Russian revolution, Marxists from Iran, Turkey, India, China, and other countries in the East became part of the world communist movement initiated by the Bolsheviks and known as the Communist (Third) International, or the Comintern.

Iranian communists played a prominent role in the Comintern and in the revolutionary struggle inside Iran. Their experiences are an invaluable part of the heritage today's Iranian revolutionists can reexamine.

The early Iranian communists and their ties to the Comintern are also a source of debate today. They come under attack not only from the imperialists and their Mideast "scholars," but also from the current Iranian government, which distorts and falsifies the revolutionary record of the early communists to derail present-day proletarian fighters.<sup>1</sup>

Within the Iranian left, which is seeking to retrace the roots of Iranian Marxism today, there is also a debate. Many of the same questions the early communists confronted are involved: the relationship between the anti-imperialist struggle and the socialist revolution; the role of bourgeois nationalist figures and of religion; how the proletariat can forge an alliance with the peasantry; how — and whether — to apply the lessons of the October 1917 Russian revolution and of the early Comintern to the task of constructing a proletarian party in Iran.

## Iran under the tsar

At the beginning of the 20th century, Iran was called Persia. It was an impoverished semicolonial country subject to constant plunder by Russian and British imperialists. The Qajar monarchy ruled Iran in name, but the fate of the country's overwhelmingly peasant population was determined time and again by the intervention of bankers and traders from Western Europe and Russia, often backed up by troops.

Tsarist oppression was particularly hated by the Iranian masses. In the early 19th century the tsar had forcibly incorporated the northern part of Iran into the Russian empire. The Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples living in that section of Iran were arbitrarily made Russian subjects against their will. The Russians also extracted immense tribute from Iran in the form of exclusive trade concessions on many of the country's resources.

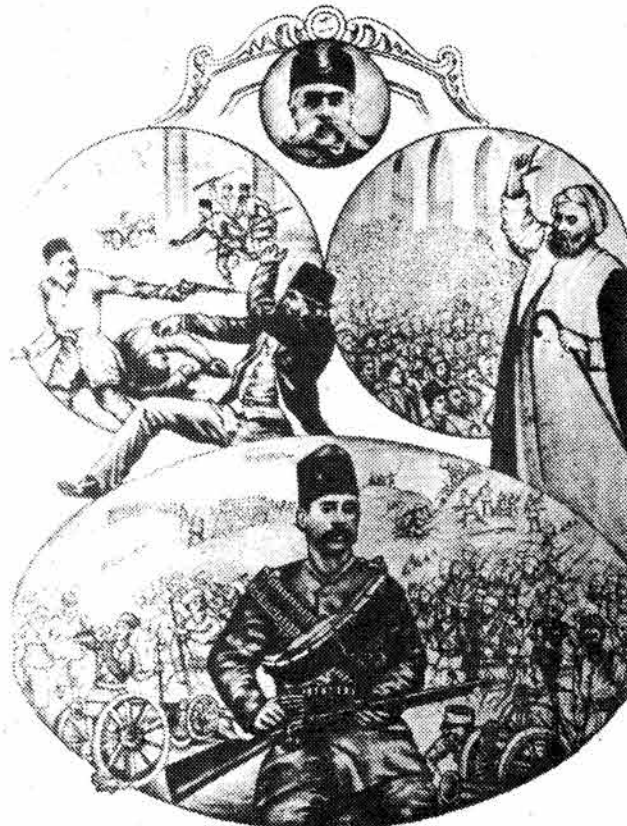
Around the turn of the century, some revolutionary-minded Iranians sought ties with the Marxist movement in Russia, then known as the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. They recognized that the Russian social democrats were leading the struggle to bring down the tsar, which would open up the door to national liberation for Iran.

The Russian social democrats oriented toward Iranian immigrant workers living in Russia, particularly oil workers in the city of Baku on the Caspian Sea. Tens of thousands of Iranians were living there — many were Azerbaijani who had forcibly become Russian subjects; others were peasants driven off their land and compelled to find work in Russia. It was among these oil workers that the first large numbers of Iranian recruits to the Marxist movement came.

In 1904 the Iranian Social Democratic Party (SDP) was founded in Baku.

The Iranian SDP called for the right of workers to or-

1. In June of this year, following the banning of the Tudeh (Communist) Party in Iran, the newspaper of the ruling Islamic Republican Party ran a series of articles on the history of the Iranian communist movement in its newspaper *Jomhuri Islami*. The articles obscured the difference between tsarist Russia and Soviet Russia, presenting both as "imperialistic." *Jomhuri Islami* argued that the early communists in Iran, far from being an integral part of the movement for national liberation, were in fact virtual agents of Reza Shah and the monarchy, and that Lenin and the Bolsheviks betrayed the anti-imperialist movement in Iran.



Graphic depicting 1905 Constitutional Revolution in Iran against Qajar dynasty and Russian, British imperialists.

ganize and strike, for the eight-hour day, a progressive income tax, land to the tiller, free education, freedom of speech, and freedom of religion.<sup>2</sup>

Among the founders of the new party was an Iranian Azerbaijani named Haydar Khan. An electrical engineer, he had earlier joined the Russian social democrats. Haydar Khan later founded the first cell of the Iranian SDP inside Iran, was a leader of the Constitutional Revolution, and became a central figure in the Iranian Communist Party (CP) when it was founded in 1920.

Another Iranian Marxist who became active around this time was an Armenian journalist known as Ahmad Sultan-Zadeh. Living much of his life in exile in Russia, he joined the social democrats there in 1907 and was closely associated with the Bolsheviks. He was to become a prominent leader of the Iranian CP and of the Comintern.

Many others who would later lead the Iranian communist movement first worked with the Bolsheviks in Russia. One was Assadallah Khan Ghafarzadeh, who had helped smuggle Lenin's writings into Russia prior to 1917 and later became the first secretary of the Justice Party, forerunner of the Iranian CP.

## Anti-imperialist struggle in Iran

In 1891–1892 a mass movement erupted against the decision of the Qajar shah to give a British capitalist named Major Talbot exclusive rights to distribute and ex-

2. Only fragments of the writings, speeches, and documents of the Iranian Social Democratic and Communist parties exist in English. Ervand Abrahamian's book *Iran Between Two Revolutions* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1982) contains valuable information on both parties and citations from a few documents. The Jan. 29, 1979, *Intercontinental Press* carried an article on "Nationalism and Revolution in Iran" by Ahmad Heydari and Cyrus Paydar with particularly useful material on the role of the proletariat and nationalities in the revolution. Other citations in this article are taken from English-language volumes on the Bolsheviks and the Communist International (see ad on *ISR* page 3) or are *ISR* translations from the original Persian, primarily from *Historical Documents: The Workers', Social-Democratic, and Communist Movement in Iran, 1903–1963* (Edition Mazdak, Florence, Italy).

port Iranian tobacco. Iranian merchants who stood to lose profits if the tobacco concession went through spearheaded a general strike and mass boycott of tobacco. Islamic preachers, called mullahs, were the most vocal spokespeople for the protests. At one point, even the women in the shah's harem stopped smoking in solidarity. The shah had to cancel the concession.

But British, Belgian, French, and Russian businessmen continued to extract other concessions from the Qajars, enraging the local merchants and plunging the nation into continual economic crisis, for which the peasantry bore the main brunt.

The Iranian merchant class was blocked from expanding its markets and developing industry in the country by the domination of foreign capital, the extreme backwardness of the country, and regressive Islamic law. Political power remained in the hands of a corrupt court and the big landlords. In the provinces, local princes, governors, tribal chiefs, and the Islamic hierarchy held sway, robbing the peasants regularly through the imposition of taxes and dues.

The working class — composed of artisans, laborers, tobacco and oil workers, printers, and servants — was extremely small. It had virtually no unions and no rights.

The country was also divided into several nationalities and minorities, based on language, culture, and religion. There were the Azerbaijanis who spoke Azeri, a Turkish dialect; Armenians, a Christian minority; Persians; Kurds; Arabs; Baluchis; Gilaks; and many others.

Radical merchants and intellectuals, as well as some mullahs, began putting forward the demand for a constitutional form of government to replace the autocracy of the Qajars. They called for the formation of a parliament, adoption of a constitution, democratic rights, separation of church and state, education and modernization, and an end to imperialist exploitation.

In the summer of 1905 the first big protests broke out in the capital of Tehran, raising the demand that the shah dismiss Monsieur Naus, a Belgian who ran Iran's customs office and discriminated against local merchants. These protests were to grow and spread over the next year, inspired in particular by the antiterrorist revolution in Russia that reached its high point in the late fall of 1905.

Sparked by merchants and radical clergy, the protests in Iran soon broadened to include workers, semiproletarians, and women. Rebellions erupted in the provinces as well.

A massive wave of protest swept the country in the summer of 1906 when police tried to arrest a mullah who had given a speech against the shah. The text of his speech captures some of the character of the revolution at that stage:

"... we are reduced to such a condition that our neighbors of the north [Russia] and south [British-occupied areas] already believe us to be their property and divide our country between themselves when they choose. . . . We have no guns, no army, no secure finances, no proper government, no commercial laws. In the whole of Iran we have not one factory of our own, because our government is a parasite. . . ."

"All this backwardness is due to the autocracy and to injustice and to the want of laws," the mullah declared. "Also your clergy are at fault, for they preach that life is short and earthly honors are only human vanities."

"The monarchs," he continued, "despoil you with their power over your property, your freedom, and your rights. And with all this comes the strangers who receive from you all your money, and instead furnish you with green, blue, and red cloth, gaudy glassware, and luxury furniture. These are the causes of your misery, and the great luxury of monarchs, some clerics, and the foreigners."

The scope of the revolution forced the shah to agree to the election of a Constituent Assembly and eventually to a proposed constitution.

## Tabriz anjoman

The capitulation of the shah up to this point was largely due to developments in the Azerbaijani capital of Tabriz. There a revolutionary current was driving the struggle forward far further than the bourgeoisie ever intended. In Tabriz the working class was relatively stronger than in Tehran, the nationalist spirit ran deep, and the social democrats had organized forces.

The Tabriz revolutionaries established an *anjoman*, or council, to defend the revolution from the shah. The *anjoman* was made up of radical merchants, some clergy, a few landlords, and elected representatives of the craftsmen and artisans. It had some similarities to the soviets that arose in the 1905 Russian revolution, but its composition was less working class and it lacked participation by developed political parties.

Participating in the *anjoman* was a group called the Invisible Center, made up of social democrats, radical in-

tellecuals, some merchants, and artisans. At the initiative of the Invisible Center, the anjoman set up a militia called Mujahedeen to confront the counterrevolution.

Food distribution and military defense in the city were taken over by the anjoman. Armed militia members began coming into conflict with local merchants and landowners. In one case they expelled a landlord (who was also a mullah) from the anjoman for participating in an attack on peasants. The base of support for the anjoman shifted more and more to the proletarian districts of the city.

These developments terrified the bourgeoisie and clergy, who now sought to restrain the revolution. Russia and Britain, in a threatening move, signed a joint treaty in 1907 dividing Iran into two zones of influence. The royalist forces gained more confidence in the face of the bourgeois retreat and Russian-British treaty. They began organizing open counterrevolutionary demonstrations aimed at convincing the more backward elements among the masses that the fight for the constitution was anti-Islamic. "Islamic law, not constitutional law," became their slogan.

The Tabriz revolutionaries decided to march on Tehran to crush the rising counterrevolutionary threat. Instead of welcoming them, the bourgeoisie rejected their aid, opening up an opportunity for the shah to retaliate. In 1908 he called in the Russian Cossacks, who bombed the parliament and arrested and executed many revolutionaries. Russian troops also moved into Iranian Azerbaijan. The constitution was annulled.

But this did not stamp out the movement in the rest of the country. The Tabriz anjoman, upon hearing of the Russian Cossack action, promptly declared itself the Provisional Government of Azerbaijan and expelled all faint-hearts on the council. The Society of Guilds, made up of craftsmen and artisans, organized a general strike. The social democrats in Tabriz organized 100 armed volunteers to come in from the Russian Caucasus to aid the Tabriz fighters, training them in the use of grenades.

The military defense of the city was led by Sattar Khan, a former horse trader, and Baqer Khan, a master bricklayer. Social democrats collaborated closely with them and helped command militia units.

The armed resistance spread to other cities — Enzeli and Rasht on the Caspian Sea, Kermanshah in the west, Mashad in the east, Bandar 'Abbas in the south. Artisan guilds played an important role in these cities. Peasant guerrillas were active in some areas, although in others they rallied behind the landlords and the shah.

The Social Democratic Party, while loosely organized and heterogeneous, was active in spreading the rebellion in every city where it had members. Its most prominent figure was Haydar Khan, who led an army of Azerbaijani fighters and was a spokesman for the left wing of the radical democratic forces.

Although the shah eventually agreed to restore the constitution and Constituent Assembly, this was insufficient to quell the nationwide rebellion. Finally in 1911 Russian troops launched a full-scale invasion of Azerbaijan and brought down the provisional government there in a bloody battle. British soldiers invaded the southern part of the country.

The revolution was over and the monarchy remained intact, although severely weakened and unable to exert much control in the provinces.

## Second International and revolution

The Constitutional Revolution was a test for the social-democratic movement on a world scale, then organized in the Second International. How would it respond to this massive outpouring of anti-imperialist struggle in an oppressed nation? Divisions over what to do even appeared among the social democrats in Iran. In 1908 Tabriz social democrats wrote to German social democratic leader Karl Kautsky asking for his advice. They said they were divided over what course to take.

One wing of the party argued that the Constitutional Revolution had "no progressive content" because "it is aimed at foreign capital, the only factor that can develop a national economy in Iran." Blinded by the participation of conservative forces in the revolution, like the Islamic hierarchy, this wing of the party condemned the struggle as one "to stop European civilization."

The other wing embraced the revolution and argued that reactionary views raised within it would be superseded as the revolution deepened. They were for participating fully in the struggle as the most consistent democrats.

The social democrats in Tabriz also sent a letter to Georgi Plekhanov, a prominent leader of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party. The letter outlined a related debate among the Tabriz membership:

One side held that social democrats, then a circle of individuals, should organize as a centralized party to reach and mobilize the working class as a class in the revolution. The workers could not take part in the revolution just as allies of the bourgeoisie, they argued, because the capitalists would inevitably put a brake on the struggle. The most consistent revolutionaries in the fight against



Map of Persia (Iran) and Russian empire at beginning of 20th century. Iranian Marxists won adherents in Russian-ruled city of Baku and the Caucasus, and in northern Iran, where Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples lived.

the monarchy and imperialism would be the plebeian masses.

The other side countered that Iran did not yet have a modern proletariat. Therefore, there was no ground laid for a socialist appeal to the workers, which could only frighten off the more radical elements in the bourgeoisie. Social democrats should enter the ranks of the revolution as individuals, but not seek to organize the workers to march in the forefront of its leadership.

According to the letter to Plekhanov, 28 members of the Tabriz party favored the first approach, 2 the second.

This debate was not unique to Iran. In Russia, where the working class was larger and far more organized and the Marxist movement much more developed, a similar debate occurred. Within the Social Democratic Labor Party there these questions had been at the heart of a split that resulted in the formation of two factions, the Bolsheviks led by Lenin, and the Mensheviks.

Lenin argued that the task of social democrats in Russia was to lead the proletariat in the forging of a worker-peasant alliance that could smash tsarist rule and establish a democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasantry. The bourgeoisie was unwilling to lead the democratic revolution against the tsars and landlords to completion. The Mensheviks disagreed, saying that only the bourgeoisie could lead the democratic stage of the revolution; the proletariat had to subordinate its goals to that of capital or risk the defection of the bourgeois elements from the revolution.

The correctness of the strategy of the Bolsheviks was confirmed in October 1917 when an insurrection of the workers and soldiers, combined with a peasant uprising, established the first workers and peasants government in the world, inaugurating the era of socialist revolution. Meanwhile, following the logic of their perspective, those social democrats who remained Mensheviks sided with the bourgeois counterrevolution in Russia.

## Attitude toward colonial revolt

When the Iranian revolution broke out, many leaders of the Second International took their distance from the magnificent events unfolding there and gave their Iranian comrades the cold shoulder. Sultan-Zadeh, speaking 12 years later in 1920 at the second congress of the Comintern, described what happened to Iranians when they went to the Second International for help in the midst of the revolution.

"At most of its congresses the Second International studied the colonial question and drew up choice resolutions on it which were never put into practice," he recalled.

"What is more, after the first Persian revolution was suppressed by the Russian and English hangmen and the Persian Social Democrats turned for help to the European working class, which was at that time represented by the Second International, they were not even given the right to vote on a resolution on that question."

The Bolsheviks had a completely different approach to the Constitutional Revolution. Lenin praised the Iranian masses and their struggle and denounced the criminal role of the Russian and West European imperialists in crushing it. He explained it was an elementary duty for Russian and European workers to oppose the counter-

revolutionary actions of their governments in Iran.

In 1911 Lenin had an appeal against the Russian invasion of Azerbaijan circulated to all parties in the Second International. The International eventually passed a resolution denouncing the British and Russian imperialists. At a conference in 1912 the Bolsheviks issued a proclamation condemning the Russian action and calling for solidarity with the Iranian masses and especially with the Iranian social democrats, then under fierce attack.

## Lenin on oppressed nations in East

The question of oppressed nations in the East was one Lenin paid particular attention to. The Russian empire was a prisonhouse of nations under the tsar. Overwhelmingly peasant in composition, these oppressed nations suffered extreme exploitation under medieval conditions. On the borders of the tsarist empire were the colonial and semicolonial nations of Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, and other countries also dominated by imperialism. To successfully carry out the revolution in Russia, Lenin recognized that the proletariat would have to advance policies to overcome the oppression of these masses in order to gain their confidence and mobilize their support.

He paid close attention to the many nationalities that were Muslim. Prior to 1916, Lenin wrote a short study of the Pan-Islamic movement among Tatars, Sarts, and Turks in Russia. It appears in his *Notebooks on Imperialism*. He opposed the strategy of Pan-Islamism, which sought to unite all Muslims as Muslims against imperialism, covering up the importance of class differentiations. But he recognized the revolutionary character of the nationalist fervor sweeping these Muslim regions, and its potential in the struggle to bring down tsardom.

When the Russian workers and peasants seized power in October 1917, under the Bolsheviks' leadership, the new Soviet government immediately appealed to the oppressed nations of the region. It issued a declaration titled "To All Muslim Toilers of Russia and the East," which guaranteed these working people full self-determination and the right to practice their own religion and culture. It encouraged the masses of Iran, Turkey, the Arab countries, and India to overthrow the imperialist "enslavers and robbers."

The Soviet government published all the tsar's secret treaties on Iran and cancelled the 1907 Russia-Britain treaty dividing Iran into zones of influence. Economic concessions extracted from Iran by the tsar were renounced and all Russian property in Iran turned over to the government there. The Soviets pledged to withdraw all Russian troops from Iran as soon as possible and called for talks to establish friendly relations with the Iranian government.

At the same time, the Bolsheviks stepped up efforts to build communist parties in Iran and other eastern nations. In a speech to the Second All-Russian Congress of Communist Organizations of the Peoples of the East in November 1919, Lenin explained to delegates that the oppressed masses of the East had become an important factor in world politics. The coming world revolution would not just be proletarian against bourgeoisie, he argued, but would be combined with national wars against imperialism in the colonial world.

Despite the backwardness of the East and its lack of a working class, the perspective of successful national liberation struggles was a real one, Lenin argued. This was based on the existence of Soviet Russia, which would come to the aid of such struggles, and the newly formed Communist International, which could mobilize European workers in solidarity. Also, he pointed out, the Soviet revolution offered Eastern communists a rich example of how to forge a worker-peasant alliance capable of overturning medieval oppression.

In the East, Lenin told the delegates, "we are confronted with a task which has not previously confronted the communists of the world: relying upon the general theory and practice of communism, you must adapt yourselves to specific conditions such as do not exist in the European countries; you must be able to apply that theory and practice to conditions in which the bulk of the population are peasants, and in which the task is to wage a struggle against medieval survivals and not against capitalism."

"You will have to base yourselves on the bourgeois nationalism which is awakening and must awaken among those peoples, and which has its historical justification. At the same time you must find your way to the working and exploited masses of every country and tell them in a language they understand that their only hope of emancipation lies in the victory of the international revolution, and that the international proletariat is the only ally of all the millions of the working and exploited peoples of the East."

## Communists organize in Iran

Even before the October 1917 revolution in Russia, the events there had a big impact inside Iran. With the fall of the tsar in February 1917 open political activity began in Iran. Iranian social democrats in Baku announced the for-

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mation of a new party, the Justice Party. News of its formation spread like wildfire. Iranian workers dressed up in their best clothes and flocked down to the Justice Party headquarters to join up.

The Justice Party began organizing unions in Baku, put out a paper in Azeri and Persian, and sent a delegate to the June 1917 congress of the Bolshevik Party.

By June 1920 the Justice Party had recruited a large number of Azerbaijani and Armenian workers. It convened a congress of 2,000 people at that time in Enzeli, where the delegates decided to change their name to the Iranian Communist Party, identifying with the world communist movement led by the Bolsheviks.

A party program drafted by Sultan-Zadeh was adopted after intense debate. The draft program stated that the victory of the Russian revolution and working-class upsurges in Europe and the United States signaled a deepening crisis for world capitalism. The duty of the Iranian CP was "to fight jointly with Soviet Russia against world capitalism, and to support in Persia all forces opposed to the British and to the shah's government."

The platform called for giving land to the peasants, arming the workers, and organizing unions. It advocated a federal union in Iran of the various nationalities and religious groups and opposed discrimination based on religious belief.

The party also adopted a membership policy. "Wage earners, peasants, doctors, teachers, office clerks, craftsmen, apprentices, household servants, and all who work by hand" were welcome to join. "Clergymen, landowners, merchants, moneylenders, and others who exploit the laboring classes" were barred from membership.

The debate at the congress centered on Sultan-Zadeh's contention that although the working class was very small in Iran, it was possible to pass from the democratic to the socialist revolution without an extended period of capitalist development, due to the weakness of the Iranian bourgeoisie and the proximity of Iran to Soviet Russia, which his resolution called "this great reservoir of revolutionary power that will be of decisive importance for all liberation movements of the oppressed and exploited classes in the Near and Far East."

Haydar Khan, the prominent Social Democratic Party leader, presented a counter thesis. According to Ervand Abrahamian in *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Haydar Khan "counterargued that Iran was moving toward a national rather than a socialist revolution. The document argued that the economy remained precapitalist, the state continued to be controlled by feudalists, the proletariat was lumpen rather than industrial, the peasantry held onto their religious superstitions, the large tribal population was still willing to fight on behalf of its reactionary khans [tribal chiefs], and the petite bourgeoisie, including the clergy, felt threatened by the onward march of British imperialism. Hence . . . the immediate task of the Communist Party was to lead all the discontented classes, especially the peasantry, the petite bourgeoisie, and the lumpen proletariat against foreign imperialism and its local stooges."

(Insufficient material is available to determine to what degree Haydar Khan believed the revolution would be exclusively democratic, and to what extent this debate was over tactics and immediate tasks before the communists. However, shortly after this congress, the CP Central Committee met and replaced Sultan-Zadeh as first secretary with Haydar Khan.)

## Second congress of Comintern

Sultan-Zadeh, in the meanwhile, had gone to the second congress of the Communist International as one of three Iranian CP delegates. There the very questions under debate in Iran were discussed.

Sultan-Zadeh served on the commission that drew up the congress's "Theses on the National and Colonial Question." Lenin was the principal drafter of the document and gave the report on it to the congress.

Among the points Lenin took up in his report was the prospect for socialist revolution among the peoples in backward colonial and semicolonial countries.

"If the victorious revolutionary proletariat organizes systematic propaganda," Lenin said, "and the Soviet government comes to its assistance with every means at its disposal, it is incorrect to assume that the capitalist stage of development is necessary for such peoples."

"We must not only build cadres and parties in all colonies and backward countries, we must not only immediately propagate peasants councils and try to make soviet organizations fit precapitalist conditions, but theoretically the Communist International must also declare and explain that with the help of the proletariat of the advanced countries the backward countries can arrive at soviet organization and, through a series of stages, and even avoiding the capitalist system, can arrive at communism."

Lenin based this perspective on the success of the Soviet government in extending the revolution to backward areas of Russia through the establishment of peasant soviets. This process could now be extended, he ar-



Azerbaijani militiamen defending city of Tabriz during Constitutional Revolution. In white coat is Baqer Khan, with Sattar Khan to his left. Revolution in Tabriz was most advanced expression of proletarian methods of struggle.

gued. A new factor had emerged in the world revolution — the existence of Soviet Russia, which would offer political, economic, and military aid to revolutions in the colonial world.

In the theses on the national question adopted by the congress, the following points were made about colonial and semicolonial countries:

"a) All Communist Parties must support the revolutionary liberation movements in these countries by their deeds. The form the support should take must be discussed with the Communist Party of the country in question, should such a party exist.

"b) An unconditional struggle must be carried out against the reactionary and medieval influence of the clergy, the Christian missions and similar elements.

"c) A struggle is necessary against Pan-Islamism, the Pan-Asiatic movement and similar currents, which try to tie the liberation struggle against European and American imperialism to the strengthening of the power of Turkish and Japanese imperialism, the nobility, the big landlords, the clergy, etc.

"d) Support for the peasant movement in the backward countries against the landowners and every form and remnant of feudalism is particularly necessary. What must be striven for above all is to give the peasant movement as revolutionary a character as possible and wherever possible to organize the peasants and all victims of exploitation in soviets and thus bring about as close a link as possible between the Western European communist proletariat and the revolutionary movement of peasants in the East.

"e) A determined fight is necessary against the attempt to put a communist cloak around revolutionary liberation movements that are not really communist in the backward countries. The Communist International has the duty to support the revolutionary movement in the colonies only for the purpose of gathering the components of the future proletarian parties — communist in fact and not just in name — in all the backward countries and training them to be conscious of their special tasks, that is to say, of fighting against the bourgeois-democratic tendencies within their own nation. The Communist International should accompany the revolutionary movement in the colonies and the backward countries for part of the way, should even make an alliance with it; it may not, however, fuse with it, but must unconditionally maintain the independent character of the proletarian movement, be it only in embryo."

## Sultan-Zadeh's speech

Sultan-Zadeh, who was elected to the Comintern executive committee at this congress, spoke under the debate on the national question. As quoted earlier in this article, he noted the miserable record of the Second International on the colonial revolution. "Today at the Second Congress of the Communist International is the first time this question has been dealt with thoroughly and moreover with representatives of almost all the colonized or semicolonized countries of the Orient and of America," he said.

"The resolution adopted by our commission completely fulfills the expectations of the laboring masses of the oppressed peoples and serves to stimulate and encourage the soviet movement in these countries," he declared. Noting Lenin's remarks on the success of the peasant soviets in Russia, he predicted "the soviet movement must spread quickly in India and Persia, that is to say, in countries where the differentiation between the classes is becoming deeper daily."

Sultan-Zadeh concluded his remarks by raising a question on the theses call for support to national revolutionary movements (which were called "bourgeois-democratic movements" in the original draft). He said:

"The point in the theses that provides for the support of

the bourgeois-democratic movement in the backward countries can, it seems to me, only have reference to those countries in which this movement is in its very early stages. If one were to try to proceed according to the theses in countries which already have ten or more years experience, or in those where the movement has already had power, it would mean driving the masses into the arms of the counterrevolution.

"The task is to create and maintain a purely communist movement in opposition to the bourgeois-democratic one. Any other judgment of the facts could lead to regrettable results."

Sultan-Zadeh's remarks reflected the inexperience of the new Iranian communist movement. The record of successful socialist revolutions in semicolonial countries shows that the proletariat will establish alliances with other classes, most importantly the peasantry, but also at certain points with capitalist forces, in the course of fighting for power. A "purely communist movement" is not an adequate vehicle for mobilizing the oppressed masses to abolish imperialist domination and class exploitation. As the theses on the national question explained, the proletariat must build an independent communist party, but that party must also fight for leadership within the revolutionary liberation movement as a whole.

## Baku congress

From the second congress of the Comintern, delegates went straight south to Baku for the Congress of the Peoples of the East. This gathering, called by the Comintern, brought together some 2,000 communist and non-communist delegates from all over the East. About 200 of those present were from Iran, many of them Azerbaijani. Haydar Khan was a delegate of the Iranian CP and served on the presidium of the congress. Sultan-Zadeh was present as a translator and was elected to the congress's Council on Propaganda and Action.

The goal of the Baku congress was to unite the largest possible number of national liberation fighters around a revolutionary perspective for the struggle against imperialism. The Bolsheviks sought to bring noncommunist delegates closer to seeing Soviet Russia, the Comintern, and the world proletariat as their central allies in the struggle against colonial oppression and to expose the pan-Islamic and other bourgeois nationalist currents as false leaders of the anti-imperialist revolution.

Bolshevik leader Grigori Zinoviev reported to the congress on the recent decisions of the Comintern concerning the colonial question. He sought to inspire delegates with what had been accomplished by Soviet Russia: "From the moment that even just one country has broken away from the chain of capitalism, as Russia has done, from the moment that the workers have put the question of the proletarian revolution on the agenda, from that moment we can say that in China, India, Turkey, Persia, and Armenia it is possible and necessary to begin fighting directly for a Soviet system."

Zinoviev went on to explain: "We address our appeal not only to those who take the standpoint of Communism but also to the nonparty people. We have two streams. One is very fast, impetuous and strong — the stream of the workers proletarian communist struggle in Russia, Germany, France, and Italy, which is everywhere spreading widely.

"But there is also another stream, which is as yet not strong enough, which in some places takes a zigzag course — this is the movement of the oppressed nationalities which have not yet chosen the road they want to follow, do not yet know exactly what they want, but which feel that a strap is chafing their backs, that French and British capitalism are sitting astride their necks.

"We want these two streams to draw closer and closer

together," he explained.

Zinoviev explained that despite their differences with the bourgeois nationalists, the communists supported the revolutionary liberation movements, whose task was "to help the East free itself from British imperialism."

"But," he added, "we have a task of our own to carry out, no less great — to help the toilers of the East in their struggle against the rich, and here and now to help them build their own communist organizations, to explain to them what communism means, to prepare them for a real labor revolution, for real equality, for the emancipation of mankind from every form of oppression."

He closed calling for "A real holy war, against the robbers, the Anglo-French capitalists. . . . May this declaration made today be heard in London, in Paris, and in all the cities where the capitalists are still in power. May they heed this solemn oath sworn by the representatives of tens of millions of toilers of the East, that the rule of the British oppressors shall be no more in the East, that the oppression of the toilers of the East by the capitalists shall cease!

"Long live the fraternal alliance of the peoples of the East with the Communist International! May capital perish, and long live the reign of labor!"

#### Soviet Republic of Gilan

As the Iranian participation at the Baku congress showed, the Soviet revolution was attracting strong support inside Iran, where British exploitation continued and the monarchy remained in power.

Fueling pro-Soviet, anti-British sentiment was a new, humiliating treaty the shah had signed in August 1919 allowing the British to send in advisers and officers to train the army.

In the north of Iran, in the Gilan region on the Caspian Sea, a group of nationalists known as the Jangali Movement began seeking ties with the Soviets. The leader of the movement was a mullah named Kuchek Khan.

Kuchek Khan was not a socialist, but he stood for ousting the British from Iran and overthrowing the monarchy. He saw Soviet Russia as an ally in this task.

In May 1920 the Soviet Red Army moved into Enzeli, one of the areas under Kuchek Khan's influence, to reclaim ships deserted by the Russian counter-revolutionaries. Kuchek Khan met with the Red Army commanders and subsequently announced the formation of a Soviet Socialist Republic of Gilan. The Iranian CP, as well as some radical petty-bourgeois forces, decided to join his coalition government.

On June 15, 1920, Kuchek Khan and other leaders of the Gilan Republic sent a message of solidarity to Leon Trotsky, head of the Soviet Red Army. The message declared that "by the will of the working people, Soviet power has been established in Persia, and this has set about organizing a Persian Red Army along the lines on which the Russian Red Army was formed, in order to destroy the enslavers of the Persian people. Long live the alliance of the Russian Red Army with the young Persian Army. Long live the alliance of the working people of the whole world — the Third International!"

Trotsky wired back: "During the last fifteen years the Persian working people have fought stubbornly for their freedom. By doing so, they proved their right to it in the eyes of the whole world. In the name of the Workers and Peasants Red Army of Russia I express firm confidence that, under the leadership of your Revolutionary War Council, Persia will conquer her right to freedom, independence, and fraternal labor."

The developments in the Gilan region were of tremendous importance to the Soviet government. Russian counterrevolutionary forces were still active in the area, and thousands of British troops were also present nearby threatening to invade Russia. The Iranian government in Tehran still refused to discuss a treaty with the Soviets to withdraw both the Red Army and the British soldiers.

However, the coalition government put together to lead the Gilan Republic was short-lived. Kuchek Khan's perspective was to overthrow the monarchy by convincing landlords and tribal chiefs to join in the revolution. Thus he wanted to limit the extent of land reform demanded by the local peasants.

Because of this, the Iranian CP was sharply divided from the beginning on how to work with Kuchek Khan. Within a short time, the coalition between the CP and Kuchek Khan broke down, although the republic remained, with various factions holding power in different parts of the region.

#### Soviet-Iranian treaty

Meanwhile, an Iranian Cossack officer named Reza Khan began organizing within the shah's army. Later to become Reza Shah, father of the shah toppled in 1979, Reza Khan declared he was against the current monarchy, for ending foreign occupation, crushing all provincial revolts, unifying and modernizing the country, and restoring stability to a nation torn by over a decade of rebellion. His power grew rapidly in the army and his support widened.



Oil machinery workers. Iranian communists helped organize them into unions and to build a nationwide labor federation in 1920s.

Negotiations between the Soviets and Iranian monarchy had stepped up by this time and prospects for a treaty were improving.

On Feb. 21, 1921, Reza Khan marched into Tehran and carried out a coup d'état, leaving the Qajar shah formally in power. Five days later, the Soviets and the new Iranian government signed a treaty.

By March of 1921 the Soviets had succeeded in signing mutual defense treaties with three strategic neighbors, Iran, Turkey, and Afghanistan. This was a major blow for the British imperialists, who had used these countries as bases to promote aggression against Soviet Russia.

The treaty with Iran declared null and void all previous treaties signed with the tsar, renounced the racist tsarist policy toward Iran, and formalized the return of Iranian property held by the tsar. It stipulated that the Red Army would be withdrawn, but if a third foreign power should intervene in Iran to threaten Russia, and the Iranian government proved unable to turn that power back, Russia had the right to send in troops.

This was a giant victory not only for Soviet Russia, but for the Iranian people as well. The British troops were forced to leave Iran and completed their withdrawal by May 1921.

#### Decline of Gilan Republic

Although the Iranian communists had reestablished a united front with Kuchek Khan and other forces in the Gilan Republic in the spring of 1921, the attempt to consolidate and extend the republic failed. With the victory of the withdrawal of British troops from the area, the momentum behind the Gilan rebellion waned — the fight to get the British out had been a central focus of the struggle.

Despite efforts by the CP to organize agricultural workers and peasants, the peasantry as a whole in the region did not rally behind the republic, which grew more and more isolated. Meanwhile, in the rest of Iran, provincial revolts had been crushed. Reza Khan's troops were steadily gaining control throughout the country.

The Soviet troops remaining in Gilan began withdrawing in accord with the treaty signed with Reza Khan. All troops were out by September 1921. The Soviets clearly felt that to keep the Red Army in the area would mean artificially propping up a republic that had lost most of its local popular support.

That summer, Kuchek Khan announced he would march on Tehran and seize power. Soviet diplomats urged him not to. They saw it as an adventure that could only fail, and urged him instead to negotiate with Reza Khan before it was too late.

Kuchek Khan rejected this advice and began his march on Tehran. His forces broke with the local communists soon and turned on them militarily, killing CP leader Haydar Khan in September.

By October, with the Gilan coalition disintegrated, Reza Khan was able to march into the region and smash the remaining rebels. Kuchek Khan was killed.

#### Turn to unions

The Iranian communists reoriented their cadres to the urban working class. CP branches were built in Tehran, Tabriz, Mashad, Enzeli, Isfahan, and Kermanshah. They began publishing local newspapers. Sections for youth, Armenians, and women were established in the party.

Together with the newly formed Socialist Party, the CP helped organize unions and a Central Council of Fed-

erated Trade Unions. This federation grew among oil and dock workers, textile workers, tobacco workers, carpet weavers, teachers, and others. Strikes began to break out.

The CP also championed struggles for women's rights, centering on the fight for secular education for women, against compulsory wearing of the veil, and for the right to publish pro-women's rights newspapers.

The CP grew during this period, mainly among Azerbaijani and Armenian workers. It had little influence among peasants.

Meanwhile, Reza Khan had consolidated his power, secured support from the bourgeoisie and landlords, and crowned himself shah in 1926.

#### 1927 CP congress

In 1927 the CP held its second and last congress. There was a debate over the nature of Reza Khan's regime.

According to Sultan-Zadeh's recollections, one section of the party credited Reza Khan with expelling the British from the country, portraying him as something of a national liberator.

A second grouping argued that Reza Khan's ascension to the throne was the completion of the bourgeois revolution.

A third point of view, held by Sultan-Zadeh, said Reza Khan was in no way a national liberator. His coming to power reflected a decision by the British that this was the best way to protect their interests in Iran.

The key question still facing the Iranian revolution, Sultan-Zadeh said, was the agrarian revolution. The peasants could not achieve this alone; they needed the aid of the urban workers and rank-and-file soldiers. He called for a revolutionary front of the workers, peasants, and petty bourgeoisie.

The resolution adopted by the congress called for economic and technical aid to the peasants and for the distribution of all state-owned land. This demand was combined with an explanation that it was impossible to solve the land question under the shah's regime; Reza Shah, the landowners, and the bourgeoisie were all lining up with the British to hold the peasants back.

The resolution urged peasants to form their own committees and expropriate land. It also called for self-determination for oppressed nationalities.

The Reza Shah monarchy should be overthrown, the resolution said, and replaced with a revolutionary republic. Such a government would guarantee independence from the imperialists, establish friendly ties with the Soviet Union, expropriate the landlords, establish democratic rights and legislation protecting the workers, and give arms to the committees of the workers, artisans, and peasants.

Shortly after this congress, Reza Shah cracked down on all opposition to his regime. He banned newspapers, arrested leaders of the labor federation, outlawed the unions, and encouraged mob attacks on women's rights advocates.

The communists bore the brunt of this repression. Some were killed, many jailed, and a number escaped to the Soviet Union. Sultan-Zadeh was among those seeking refuge in the Soviet Union. In 1928 he participated in the sixth congress of the Communist International there.

But the fraternal relations between Soviet leaders and the Iranian communists, and the revolutionary proletarian outlook of the early Comintern, had degenerated with the death of Lenin in 1924. A bureaucratic caste was being consolidated under Joseph Stalin that alternated between opportunist and ultraleft adventurist policies toward the colonial revolution. Sultan-Zadeh, who questioned these policies, and other Iranian CP leaders became victims of Stalin's purges in the 1930s and were killed.

Within Iran, the shah had successfully dismantled the CP. Virtually all its original cadres were destroyed.

In 1941, when Reza Shah abdicated and the opportunity arose to reconstruct a revolutionary communist party, the continuity with the early Comintern and the Bolsheviks no longer existed. The Tudeh Party emerged instead, based on a class-collaborationist program. It relied heavily on the attractive power of the Russian revolution for Iranian workers and became a mass party. But the Tudeh Party, subservient to the bureaucracy in Moscow, refused to lead the proletarian anti-imperialist upsurge of the 1940s to the establishment of a workers and peasants government. In 1953 a CIA-engineered coup crushed the revolutionary upsurge and Mohammed Reza Shah's reign of terror set in.

It was not until the 1960s that a new generation of revolutionary fighters emerged in Iran, inspired by what was happening in Cuba, Algeria, and Vietnam. By the end of the next decade the shah was gone.

Today's generation of revolutionary-minded workers in Iran not only have the traditions of the early communist movement to build on, but the example being set in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, where Marxist leaderships are applying in action the perspectives of the early Comintern and demonstrating the road forward for the oppressed masses of the colonial and semicolonial world.

# Independent truckers: workers or allies of working class?

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

Since the beginning of this year there have been numerous struggles waged by small farmers and independent truckers. These protests have generated much discussion in the labor movement about what approach to take toward these forces.

Should wage workers treat them as fellow toilers and support their struggles, or should workers shun them for being "small capitalists"?

Many unionists have solidarized with the struggles of independent farmers and truckers. They have sought support from these forces for labor's fights with the employers. These unionists recognize that both wage workers and owner-operators have a common enemy in the capitalist class and a common interest in united action against it.

The *Militant* and its supporters actively backed the strike called by the Independent Truckers Association earlier this year.

The *Militant* has explained that the unions "must recognize the owner-operators as fellow toilers, like workers who own their own tools — their trucks.

But in supporting independent truckers and farmers it is important to recognize not only the points they have in common with workers, but the dissimilarities as well. In order to forge alliances with these other forces, it's necessary for workers to be clear on the contradictions within them and the potential obstacles to unity.

In the wake of the truckers' strike earlier this year, a March 11 article in the *Militant* mistakenly described the independent truckers as "workers — pure and simple."

As owners of their instruments of labor the independent truckers are allies of the working class. But they are not actually members of it.

## Two main classes

In modern capitalist society there are two main social classes, the capitalist class and the working class. What characterizes members of the working class is that they have only their labor power to sell. The capitalists own and sell the products that are produced in their factories. The farmers own and sell the produce they raise on their farms. Workers, however don't own the factories, mines, and mills where they work, nor the machinery in them. Nor do they own the product of their labor.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels applied the term *proletariat* to describe this class of propertyless producers. This class, due to its relationship to production, is the only consistently revolutionary class, they said.

In order to work at all, the worker must find a buyer for his or her labor power. This buyer must be another person or his representative, who owns the necessary instruments of labor. This person or corporation is the industrial capitalist. The industrial capitalists, because they monopolize the means of production, are able to buy the labor power of the workers. They themselves do not have to work. Instead, the capitalist pays the worker a wage that is less than the value the worker produces. The difference between the value produced by the worker and the wage the capitalist pays him or her is the surplus value — the capitalist's source of profit. It is this surplus value that enables the capitalist to live without working.

A pure capitalist society would consist only of the two main social classes, the capitalist class and the working class. Every individual would belong to one or the other. In the real world, however, such pure forms do not exist. There are a series of middle layers that stand between the working class on the one hand and the capitalist class on the other. Together these strata form what is often called the "middle class." However, this "middle class" is in reality a spectrum of classes with conflicting interests. Some of them are natural allies of the capitalist class; others are natural allies of the working class.

Because of the social weight of the two major social classes, the members of the "middle" layers of society cannot simply pursue their own independent class policy. Ultimately they must also choose to ally themselves with one of the two main social classes. In a closely contested showdown between the capitalists and the workers, the choice made by the most important layers of the middle class can decide the outcome of the struggle.

In *Capital* Marx explains that capitalist "political economy confuses, on principle, two different kinds of private property, one of which rests on the labor of the producer himself, and the other on the exploitation of the labor of others." He goes on to explain that "property in money, means of subsistence, machines and other means of production does not yet stamp a man as a capitalist if the essential complement to these things is missing: the wage-laborer, the other man, who is compelled to sell himself of his own free will."

In other words producers who own their means of production, but do not employ wage labor, are not



*Militant*

capitalists. But such persons are not wage workers either. Unlike wage workers, they do have a commodity to sell other than labor power.

Since the development of capitalism the vast majority of such people have lost their means of production and have been transformed into wage workers. A smaller number of such independent commodity producers became what Marx and Engels called "small masters." They employ a limited amount of wage labor while continuing to work themselves. A certain number of these budding capitalists in turn have developed into full-fledged capitalists who no longer have to work but live off surplus value exclusively.

The process of the transformation of small commodity producers into wage workers on the one hand and into capitalists on the other continues today.

## Independent woodcutters

In addition, there are other independent owner-operators who face similar problems and have waged struggles against their exploiters. For example, in the South much of the pulpwood for the paper industry is cut by independent woodcutters. The majority are Black, many of them former sharecroppers.

Woodcutters have to supply a truck, chainsaw, replacement parts, and gasoline. They pay a stumpage fee to landowners for the right to cut wood. They sell wood to a local woodyard operator who then ships it on to a pulp mill. The woodyard operators are capitalized by the big paper companies. Woodcutters are usually in hock, often to the woodyard operators, for payments on their equipment. They are cheated by the woodyard operators who shortstick, i.e., undermeasure, the amount of wood they deliver.

A similar situation exists in the fishing industry, where small fishermen own their own boats and gear but sell their catch to a few buyers who pay as low a price as they can.

As is the case with the family farmers the owner-operators in the trucking, fishing, and wood industry consist of a series of layers.

Not all these layers can be won to united struggle with the workers. Those that are "small masters" and regularly exploit the labor of others generally will not be won to this perspective. Indeed it is "small businessmen," exploiting only a "little" wage labor, who are frequently among the cruelest exploiters.

On the other hand there are those small commodity producers who are losing their instruments of labor. They are deeply in debt. The threat of expropriation at the hands of their creditors constantly hangs over them. They simply have no future as property owners. This plight has become especially acute with the economic crisis facing world capitalism. These debt slaves are the natural allies of the working class among the small commodity producers. In the words of the *Communist Manifesto* they can be revolutionary because "in view of their impending trans-

fer into the proletariat, they thus defend not their present, but their future interests, they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat."

The question of independent truckers and how to approach them is not a new issue for the labor movement. In 1940 Farrell Dobbs, who was then serving as general organizer for the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), was asked to draft a statement for Teamsters Local 710 of Chicago answering an antiunion outfit which claimed to represent the interests of owner-operators. Dobbs was also a leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

In response to the request of Local 710, Dobbs wrote a clear account of the questions involved in this specific situation, which can serve as a general guideline for the labor movement. It is included as an appendix to Dobbs' *Teamster Politics*, published by Monad Press in 1975.

"The individual owner-operator," Dobbs wrote, "is by the very nature of his position a composite in one degree or another of the two distinct factors in the over-the-road motor freight industry — the owners of trucks and the drivers.

"There is the individual who owns one truck which he himself drives. Ordinarily he operates under lease in the exclusive service of one operating company. He represents the owner-operator type of driving service in its purest form and deserves the fullest measure of consideration for his special problems.

"It must also be recognized that even in this group there is a tendency to operate free-lance on a catch-as-catch-can basis. These individuals who operate in this manner are commonly referred to as gypsies, skimmers, wildcatters, etc., and are found hauling for one company today, another tomorrow, and the next day trying to drum up business as a one-man company. They are a serious problem to the industry.

"Even the most clearly defined type of owner-operator has a general tendency toward expansion, and the individual frequently becomes the owner of additional units of equipment. During this gradual process of accumulation he will first acquire one or two more pieces of equipment and will employ men to drive these while he continues as a driver of one of his units. As he continues to accumulate units he hires more and more men. This process transforms him into a combination owner-driver-employer.

"Finally he acquires enough equipment and hires enough men so that he must devote all or nearly all of his personal time to the problems of the management of his operations. He then is no longer in any sense a driver and is transformed into the status of an owner of trucks and employer of men who does business with an operating company as a small fleet owner who hauls by subcontract under a lease system. Yet he continues to pose as an individual owner-operator and is erroneously posed as such by many others.

"Occasionally a small fleet owner succeeds in acquiring the necessary operating certificates and permits and enough direct accounts to enable him to abandon his service under lease to an established operating company to launch his own company. This action, which represents the realization in fact of the secret ambition of every 'gypsy' individual owner-operator, bring into the full light of day the true nature of the employer-employee relationship between the small fleet owner and the men who drive his trucks."

The owner-operators as a whole can exhibit a tendency to waver between classes. They are working people and put in long hours of work — frequently even longer than wage workers. They are subordinate to and cruelly exploited by capital. Many will lose their rigs and be forced to become wage workers again. All this disposes them to identify and side with the truck drivers and the working class as a whole in their conflicts with the bosses.

But there is another side.

The owner-operator is a small property owner. There is always the slight possibility that he can expand and become an employer himself and thus become an exploiter of wage labor. This is, after all, the "American dream."

It is on this basis that the bosses appeal to the owner-operator. You are no longer a simple worker, you are already a budding businessman, they say. Soon you may be an employer yourself. You are better than the wage workers. You are one of us.

The owner-operator is thus pulled in conflicting directions.

If the union turns its nose down on the owner-operators, they will be increasingly alienated from the unionized workers. The bosses will then be able to use the independents against the union.

But if the union defends the owner-operators, welcomes them as fellow toilers, indicates a road of effective struggle, and lends its power to their cause, they will gravitate towards the union and the working class.



# Phone workers beat back AT&T demands

BY MARGARET JAYKO

While the telephone workers strike is over, their struggle for job security and decent working conditions is not. But the strike did put these workers in a better position to continue their fight.

The last of the local agreements between the American Telephone and Telegraph Co. (AT&T) and the Communications Workers of America (CWA) were signed on August 28, bringing to an end the 22-day nationwide strike.

Almost 700,000 Bell employees were involved in the walkout. They are organized primarily by three national unions: the CWA, with 525,000 members; International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), which organizes 100,000 telephone workers; and Telecommunications International Union (TIU), which organizes 50,000 telephone workers.

The strike was forced on the unions by AT&T. After refusing to negotiate seriously for months, "Ma Bell" made a last minute "offer," which demanded big concessions from the unions on most major issues under discussion. This arrogant move, in the face of record \$7.2 billion in profits amassed by AT&T last year, led the CWA executive board to characterize the company's "offer" as "Mickey Mouse proposals."

Among the key issues for the unions were:

- Job security in the face of automation and the Jan. 1, 1984, scheduled break-up of AT&T.
- Decent wage increases.
- Rejection of the company's demand that employees foot a big chunk of the bill for medical insurance.
- No introduction of the lower-paid "service assistant" job category to replace craft workers.
- Measures to reduce the intense stress and harassment telephone workers face, particularly the operators, most of whom are women.

The context for the strike was the takeback contracts that had been imposed on other major unions, such as the Auto Workers, Steelworkers, and Teamsters.

The strike also occurred only months before AT&T is due to "divest" itself of its 22 component companies. These are due to be



Communications workers had spirited contingent in August 27, 1983, march on Washington, D.C. Fight for job security is central to phone workers' battle with Ma Bell.

reorganized into seven regional holding companies.

In addition to jacking up already high phone rates, AT&T is using the impending reorganization to intimidate workers with threats of big layoffs, sweeping changes in work rules, and challenges to the right of the workers to maintain their union organizations intact.

According to the September 5 *Business Week*, Western Electric has "announced plans to close three factories and more than one-third of its 57 distribution and service centers — resulting in the displacement of 11,000 employees. This is in addition to the nearly 40,000 workers let go in the past 40 months."

During the strike, which involved thousands of picket lines at company sites throughout the country, workers faced cop harassment and attacks, arrests, and violence-baiting. The government unequivocally supported the mammoth AT&T against the workers.

The big-business media also played its part in trying to demoralize strikers. It sounded the theme that the highly automated nature of the communications industry means that telephone workers are virtually obsolete. The strike, they said, had practically no impact on service.

This lie was undercut by the large numbers of management personnel who were mobilized to scab on the strike. Despite their presence, operator assistance, repairs, and installations were scarce for the duration of the walkout.

In addition to picketing, the telephone workers held marches and rallies in a number of cities. They also brought a large and spirited contingent to the August 27 march for jobs, peace, and freedom in Washington, D.C.

Union negotiators and company representatives reached agreement on a tentative national contract on August 21, after AT&T dropped some of its more outrage-

ous demands and agreed to a job retraining program. Many details of the settlement have not been made public, and the memberships of the unions have not yet voted on it. The results of the voting by CWA members won't be known until early October. There has been no indication that union members will reject the national contract.

On wages, the new agreement calls for a first-year increase of 5.5 percent, with a 1.5 percent wage hike during both the second and third years of the contract. This modest increase is more than double AT&T's original proposal of 3.5 percent in the first year for the highest seniority workers only.

AT&T dropped the demand that workers pay part of their health insurance coverage. They also retreated on the establishment of the "service assistant" job category.

On the key issue of job security, the contract includes a company-financed plan for retraining workers who are laid off due to automation.

According to the August 27 *AFL-CIO News*, "A \$36-million training and retraining program, funded by AT&T, will provide new skills to workers whose jobs are being phased out or downgraded as well as to employees who want to enhance their career development."

The tentative agreement also calls for termination pay for workers who are laid off due to automation. Workers who are forced to take lower-paying jobs because their former positions have been made obsolete by technology would maintain their current rate of pay for three years before taking a pay cut.

Nothing in the contract, however, guarantees jobs to retrained workers. And the unions will have to fight hard to get the companies to live up to even these few promises.

This fact was underlined by what happened after the tentative national contract was agreed to by negotiators for both sides. There were still 100 local agreements that had to be settled before the strike was over. Instead of these being dealt with rapidly in the wake of the tentative national agreement, AT&T took the opportunity to introduce new giveback demands into local negotiations, thus prolonging the strike by a week.

"After we got back to the table, the company introduced issues that weren't there before," said CWA president Glenn Watts. "They thought they had us in a corner."

But most workers stayed out until the last local agreement was signed, thus foiling Bell's obvious attempt to divide the unions and get concessions.

The local disputes tended to revolve around attempts by the company to change job descriptions, which would result in layoffs, weaken seniority, and tighten up work rules.

The last of these local disputes, involving negotiations between the CWA and Bell Telephone of Pennsylvania and Western Electric's installation division, were resolved on August 28. Most workers returned to their jobs the next day.

## Reagan program angers small farmers

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

Tens of thousands of small farmers are looking forward to this fall's harvest with anger instead of thanksgiving. Financial ruin is driving farm families off their land in numbers not seen since the depression of the 1930s.

Farmers' incomes averaged less than \$8,000 in 1982, pushing nearly one-quarter of them below the official government poverty line. The total debt farmers owed rose to \$215 billion — four times what it was in 1970.

Faced with a desperate situation, many working farmers decided to go along with President Reagan last January when he announced that "help is on the way" for farmers. He outlined a new farm subsidy program that promised to raise farmers' incomes without taxing the federal treasury or driving up consumer costs at the supermarket checkout counter.

The centerpiece of the program was a plan to encourage farmers to take land out of production as a way to create scarcity and thereby drive up commodity prices.

Under the Payment in Kind (PIK) program, as the administration called it, surplus corn, wheat, sorghum, rice, and cotton, now stored by the government, was to be turned over to farmers in proportion to how many acres of those crops they took out of production in 1983. Farmers would then be free to use these government "payments in kind" to feed their livestock or sell on the open market.

In theory, farmers participating in the program are saving operating costs by purchasing less seed, fertilizer, fuel, etc.

In practice, the Reagan farm program assures that the worst-off farmers will continue to teeter on the edge of bankruptcy. Working farmers who sorely need immediate cash or a moratorium on their debts are instead being handed surplus commodities that they may or may not be

able to sell on the open market for a decent price.

At best, the PIK program forced small farmers to take a dangerous gamble this spring when they had to decide whether or not to enroll in the program. On the one hand, if they snubbed PIK and planted all their land, rising prices and a bumper crop might pull them out of debt. On the other hand, not signing up for PIK meant giving up the guarantee of at least some income if the harvest went poorly.

Corn farmers in the Midwest who passed up the PIK option and planted all their land this spring were big losers in the government's equivalent of agricultural roulette. The worst drought in 35 years this summer wiped out a big portion of the corn crop in Iowa, Nebraska, Minnesota, Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio.

Galen Krieg, a corn farmer in Hancock County, Illinois, is typical of small farmers who tried to get out of debt by planting a big crop instead of setting aside land under the PIK program. Far from pulling ahead this year, Krieg says he will be "back where I was five or six years ago," and he is worried about meeting his loan payments.

While PIK served as a cushion for some wealthier corn farmers caught up in the drought, many small farmers who signed up for the program don't credit it with being much help.

Mike Nelson, a 51-year-old soybean farmer in Bowen, Illinois, began this season in bad financial shape and says he won't be helped much by PIK. Phyllis Shirey and her husband in Plymouth, Illinois, put half of their corn land in the PIK program but are still facing bankruptcy.

For cotton farmers in the South and Southwest, PIK turned out to be a cruel — and expensive — joke. After these farmers planted their cotton crop this spring, leav-

ing as much as 50 percent of their acreage unplanted under PIK, the Agriculture Department revealed that it had "overestimated" the amount of government-held cotton it had available to hand out.

To make up for the shortfall, Washington announced that it was commandeering part of the 1983 crop from farmers enrolled in the PIK program.

However, farmers who signed commercial "forward contracts" to sell all their cotton this fall will have none left to be "commandeered." To meet the government's demands they will have to buy cotton on the open market to turn over to the Agriculture Department, who will pay them lower 1982 prices for their trouble.

Rather than helping him out of debt, Texas cotton farmer Fred Klosterman estimated that the government's farm "relief" effort will cause him to lose \$100 to \$200 an acre on his 1983 crop.

The real effect of PIK is to provide a giant subsidy to capitalist farmers. In California's San Joaquin Valley, for example, 50 cotton farms owned by corporations like Bangor Punta, Shell Oil, Chevron USA, and private capitalists will each receive more than \$1 million in surplus cotton.

A small farmer in Firebaugh, California, who idled 91 acres stands to get only 98 bales of cotton. "The rich just get richer in this program," he complained.

Washington also showed its true colors to working farmers this summer by launching a campaign to freeze or cut back the already inadequate price support subsidies farmers are entitled to under a 1981 law. Secretary of Agriculture John Block called the payments "indefensible," and the Senate Agriculture Committee voted in late June to go along with the administration's proposed cuts. Congress as a whole plans to take up the farm subsidy issue later this fall.

# 1973 military coup in Chile: Made in USA

## A decade later, important lessons are being drawn

BY HARRY RING

It was on Sept. 11, 1973, that bombers, tanks, and foot soldiers of the Chilean armed forces unleashed an assault on the nation's presidential palace in Santiago. Salvador Allende, the duly-elected president of Chile, died in the fighting.

In his place Gen. Augusto Pinochet was decreed "president."

The scope of the terror against working people and their organizations under Pinochet has become an international scandal. It was most recently documented in a report: "Chile Since the Coup: Ten Years of Repression."

The report was issued by the Americas Watch Committee, an outgrowth of the Helsinki Watch, which has addressed itself to international civil liberties issues.

The report was prepared on the basis of research done within Chile during the past several years.

(Copies of the report are available for \$7 from Americas Watch Committee, 36 W. 44th St., New York, N.Y. 10036.)

The report bluntly states:

"The coup that brought Pinochet to power was the bloodiest in Latin American history. In one year, as many as 30,000 Chileans were murdered for their beliefs and associations."

Within a week of the coup, Chile's central labor federation was dissolved, as was the elected Chilean Congress. Within six months all activities of political parties were "suspended." The media and the universities were placed under military direction.

The report adds: "The regime's policies toward political parties have not changed over the decade. It began with the intent to physically annihilate and terrorize the left and curb other political sectors, and that remains its practice."

The repression has forced some 200,000 Chileans into political exile.

Torture is as barbaric as it is widespread.

### Domination of U.S. big business

The U.S. government and several big corporations carefully paved the way for the Pinochet coup. But their intervention in Chilean life began long before.

U.S. firms long controlled the Chilean economy. Copper, its main export, was financed mainly by U.S. investors, principally Anaconda Copper and Kennecott. Chile's national phone company was a direct subsidiary of IT&T.

Throughout the 1960s, these companies enjoyed direct White House and CIA cooperation in trying to stem the tide of working-class radicalism then developing in Chile.

Salvador Allende, a leader of the Socialist Party, had run for president several times before being elected in 1970. The first time was in 1958.

In each election, Allende spoke for socialism and favored nationalization of major industries, particularly copper. He also supported an adequate agrarian reform program.

He openly opposed U.S. aggression in Vietnam and was an early partisan of the Cuban revolution.

Allende's election reflected a change in the class relationship of forces much more

favorable to the working class. And it was this that Washington and Wall Street wanted to reverse.

### Safe for capitalism

Chilean capitalists were favored by Washington and U.S. bankers. Between 1962 and 1969, Chile received more per capita U.S. aid than any other Latin American country — a total of well over a billion dollars.

But that was only the public aspect of the U.S. drive to make Chile safe for capitalism in general, and U.S. investments in particular.

Some of the facts of the covert U.S. role in Chile were documented in a 1975 report by a Senate committee headed by Frank Church, then a Democratic senator from Idaho.

The CIA's most important covert propaganda operation was its financial subsidies to the Santiago daily, *El Mercurio*.

With approval from the "40 Committee," a secret presidential cabinet subcommittee, the CIA spent \$1.5 million in support of *El Mercurio* during the period Allende was in office and the paper was the principal voice of the right-wing opposition.

The 40 Committee authorized the funding of *El Mercurio* with the justification that the Allende government was trying to suppress it.

This fake issue was also used in a world wide effort to discredit Allende.

"In fact," the Church committee reported, "the press remained free throughout the Allende period."

The committee added that, according to the CIA, support to *El Mercurio* "played a significant role in setting the stage for the military coup of September 11, 1973."

During the 1970 Chilean presidential campaign, the president of IT&T met with top CIA officials to discuss putting up money to help defeat Allende. The CIA piously assured IT&T it could not accept such funding. However, instead, it provided IT&T with the names of "reliable" individuals in Chile to whom the money could be forwarded.

### U.S. destabilization program

In 1970 after Allende was elected but before the Chilean Congress officially installed him as president, the Nixon administration undertook a direct move to establish a military regime in Chile.

This was decided at a meeting of Nixon, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, Attorney General John Mitchell, and CIA Director Richard Helms.

They conspired with several groups of Chilean military plotters. The initial move was to kidnap the chief of staff of the Chilean army, René Schneider, who favored observing the Chilean constitution.

Schneider was murdered during the kidnapping, but the coup attempt failed and Allende was duly inaugurated.

While Allende was in office, the CIA helped create economic havoc in the country. One particularly damaging action was two lengthy strikes by independent truck owners opposed to Allende.

The CIA denied funding the truckers' strike. But it did admit funding "private sector" groups that subsidized the strike.

Spare parts to Chilean industry were unofficially but effectively embargoed.

It was estimated that by late 1972, a third of the trucks at a major copper mine, 30 percent of the privately owned city buses, 21 percent of all taxis, and 33 percent of state-owned buses in Chile could not operate for lack of spare parts.

U.S. aid to Chile dropped from \$35 million in 1969 to \$1.5 million in 1971.

The Church committee doesn't argue with the government's assertion that the CIA was not "directly" involved in the Pinochet coup. It simply notes that for three months prior to the coup they received full reports on those planning it.

"The goal of covert action immediately following the coup," stated the Church committee, "was to assist the Junta in gaining a more positive image, both at home and abroad. . . . Another goal . . . was



1971: Chilean workers and their allies protest rise of right-wing threats to Allende government.

to help the new government organize and implement new policies."

### Deadly illusion

Salvador Allende and those who supported his policies fell victim to a deadly illusion.

They really seemed to believe that, in Chile at least, socialism could be voted in and that the ruling capitalists — and their army — would not try to prevent it.

Unlike most of Latin America, Chile seemed like an authentic capitalist democracy. From the time it achieved independence from Spain in 1818, constitutional government prevailed, with, reportedly, only three relatively brief periods of military rule.

From 1932 until Pinochet took power, the Chilean military had not intervened openly in politics, and the *illusion* of popular democracy was probably deeper than in any other South American country.

The bloodletting that began in 1973 shattered that illusion.

It was an expensive lesson, but, importantly, the lesson is being learned. Not only by Chileans who continue the struggle and try to assess what happened during the Allende period and after, but also by many other revolutionaries in Latin America and the Caribbean. And, of course, there is broad interest in the issue internationally.

### Drawing the lessons

One valuable contribution to this discussion was made by Schafik Jorge Handal, general secretary of the Salvadoran Communist Party and a leader of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

An English-language version of his pamphlet "Power, the Character and Path of the Revolution and the Unity of the Left," appeared in the Nov. 15, 1982, issue of *Intercontinental Press*.

Handal notes that while the Communist parties have traditionally regarded them-

selves as the vanguard of the working class, in both Cuba and Nicaragua revolutions were made without their leadership.

And, he adds, if the Salvadoran Communist Party had not corrected itself in time, "it could have left us out of the front line of the Salvadoran revolution."

He reexamines what happened in Chile, declaring, "I believe it is a laboratory for us."

In Chile, he says, there was a great deal of debate among the supporters of Allende — the Unidad Popular (Popular Unity), which included the Socialist Party; Communist Party; Radical Party; Social Democratic Party; Independent People's Action; and United People's Action Movement, a left splitoff from the opposition, pro-capitalist Christian Democrats.

What was debated among them, says Handal, was confined to the issue of social and economic program, how far to go with it, and how rapidly.

But, he adds, among them "no one had a solid orientation to really trying to resolve the problem of state power."

That is, the central problem is organizing and arming the masses — politically and physically — to smash the instruments of capitalist repression, which would inevitably turn on the people to thwart realization of their program.

Every Communist Party in Latin America, Handal confirms, had proceeded from the non-Marxist concept that there were, in fact, "two revolutions" to be made. First, helping to establish an independent, democratic capitalist state, and then — in the future somehow — a socialist revolution.

True, he says, they had considered the Cuban experience. But they saw that experience, not as the road ahead, but as "a peculiar exception."

In reality, he adds, Cuba confirmed what Lenin taught; in countries such as those of Latin America and the Caribbean, the democratic, anti-imperialist revolution is the

Continued on next page

## Demonstrations to mark Chile coup

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

This September 11 marks the 10th anniversary of the bloody coup that toppled the government of Salvador Allende in Chile. Despite the brutal repression of the Pinochet dictatorship, there will be massive protests in Chile to commemorate this date. Solidarity actions are also planned in the United States and Europe.

In New York City a march and rally will take place on Saturday, September 10. The demonstration is called in support of the Chilean people, against a new Vietnam in Central America, and in support of the demand "Money for Jobs, Not for War."

The action was called by the Secretariat of Solidarity With Chile, which is endorsed by a wide range of political, community,

and solidarity organizations. A separate leaflet — signed by more than 20 labor leaders — is being distributed to workers, encouraging them to join the protest. The demonstrators will assemble at 12 noon at 34th St. and Broadway and march to Union Square for a rally at 2 p.m.

A number of activities will be held in San Francisco, sponsored by the Coalition in Solidarity With Chile. These include a demonstration on September 10, when protesters will gather at 10:30 a.m. at 24th St. and Mission and march to Dolores Park for a rally at 1 p.m.

In Washington, D.C., a solidarity demonstration will take place on Sunday, September 11. Marchers will gather at 16th St. and Columbia Rd. at 1 p.m. and march to the White House.

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# Mass protests hit Pinochet regime

BY FRED MURPHY

The biggest deployment of troops and police since the Pinochet dictatorship seized power in Chile 10 years ago failed to halt the fourth in a series of monthly mass protests demanding an end to the military regime.

All during the evening of August 11, thousands of youth built barricades and confronted the army in the poor and working-class districts of Santiago, while throughout the city Chileans stood on rooftops, on balconies, or at windows, banging pots and pans, blowing whistles, or ringing bells to back up the increasingly universal demand for democracy and the ouster of Pinochet.

"I am not going to give an inch," the dictator had blustered before the protest, saying that his opponents could "rest assured that Santiago is covered with 18,000 men with orders to crack down hard."

The crackdown came. "During a dusk-to-dawn curfew," the August 13 *Miami Herald* reported, "army patrols roamed the streets of the capital, shooting at curfew violators and firing bullets and teargas grenades into houses where women banged empty pots to protest Pinochet's regime."

Hundreds gathered at funerals for some of the regime's victims the next day. These turned into further protests that were also attacked by the police. Skirmishes continued at bonfires and barricades in the poor neighborhoods.

The dictatorship's show of force cost the lives of at least 26 persons, including several children. More than 100 were wounded or injured, and some 2,400 arrested. But such savagery has only spurred the anger of Chileans, who are suffering the blows of a deep economic crisis and are unwilling to tolerate Pinochet's brutal rule any longer.

## Monthly strikes and protests

The upsurge against the dictatorship began in March of this year when thousands of students and youth demonstrated in Santiago, Valparaíso, and Con-



Chilean students take to streets as police repression fails to hold back rising opposition to dictatorship

cepción to protest the regime's economic policies.

On May 14, the first of an ongoing series of National Days of Protest was called by the Copper Workers Confederation (CTC) and other trade unions. Demonstrators again took to the streets in Santiago as motorists honked their horns in a show of support. Students boycotted classes and parents kept their children home from school.

The working class came to the fore in mid-June. Protests called by the CTC and other unions brought hundreds of thousands into the streets of Chile's major cities on June 14. Two days later copper miners launched a nationwide strike to demand the release of CTC leader Rodolfo Seguel, jailed for his role in the protests. On June 23, coal, steel, concrete, textile, and other workers responded to a call for a general strike.

The June protests were also joined by independent truck and bus owners, farmers, and professionals. These layers include

many who had once been strong supporters of Pinochet but are now suffering the effects of his economic policies. Business failures have reached record levels, and farmers unable to meet crushing debt payments have had their farms seized by the banks.

## Union leaders jailed

Following the June upsurge, Pinochet sought to weaken his opponents with a crackdown on the copper miners and concessions to the independent truckers. CTC leader Seguel and other union officials were held in jail for up to a month while hundreds of miners were fired by the state copper corporation. Meanwhile, debt relief totaling \$120 million was provided to the independent truckers. "The government has been tolerant in facing the two protests that have taken place," Pinochet warned in a June 27 speech, "but that's over with now, gentlemen."

But despite the arrests, maneuvers, and threats, a third National Day of Protest went off successfully in July. According to the July 23 *Latin America Weekly Report*, at 8 p.m. on July 12 "the *caceroleo* (banging on pans and other kitchen utensils), allied with the blowing of whistles and the ringing of bells, seemed to blot out all other sounds in Santiago, including the military music played through army loudspeakers as a countermeasure." The intensity of the noise "encouraged many to brave the curfew and gain the streets . . . while in the outlying *poblaciones* the supply of electricity was interrupted and barricades were set up."

At the jail where trade union and political prisoners were held, "the prisoners joined in at the appointed time with a *cuchareo*, banging their spoons on the cell bars."

Because of the repression aimed at the union leaders, the July and August protests were initiated instead by an informal bloc of several illegal opposition parties. This grouping, now formalized as the Democratic Alliance (AD), includes the Christian Democrats, Radicals, Social Democrats, and one faction of the Socialist Party. The bourgeois parties have vetoed the participation in this bloc of the Communist Party, which is reported to have a substantial clandestine apparatus and to play a role in the neighborhood "commands" that have sprung up to organize the protests.

The perspective of the parties in the Democratic Alliance has been to pressure the military to remove Pinochet, take some of their leaders into a provisional government, and schedule elections. AD leaders warned after the August 11 repression that such events "create an extremely serious chasm between the people and the armed forces, and [are] the fruit of measures adopted by the chief of state, the only one responsible for the situation."

## Washington worried

The mounting protest in Chile has set off alarm signals in Washington. The Reagan administration has begun backing off slightly from its earlier wholehearted support to Pinochet. State Department spokesmen have voiced mild criticism of the repression, and U.S. Ambassador to Chile James Theberge has met publicly with leading Christian Democrats and bureaucrats from the more conservative opposition trade unions. The July 15 *Washington Post* reported a "growing feeling" among U.S. officials "that a failure by Pinochet to shift course could cause internal upheavals leading to civil war."

A new National Day of Protest is set for September 11, the 10th anniversary of the bloody, U.S.-backed coup that smashed an earlier popular upsurge and brought Pinochet to power. The regime is trying to apply those brutal methods once again, but now it is on the defensive.

"We beat pots and they shoot bullets," a woman in the working-class neighborhood of Lo Hemida told the *New York Times* after the latest protests. "They are starting a war that no one can stop."

From Intercontinental Press

# 1973 military coup in Chile: Made in USA

## Continued from preceding page

essential opening stage of the revolution, but "the democratic, anti-imperialist revolution can't be completed, nor can its gains be defended, without going on to socialism."

Handal also makes the important point that it is not the Salvadoran CP alone that is drawing these lessons. He writes:

"There are various parties of South and Central America that accept the challenge of the armed struggle and the unity of the revolutionary forces. This solution to a long crisis in our movement is already being implemented. . . ."

And those who consciously chose the road of struggle for power, as opposed to the Chilean parliamentary path, are helping, too, to draw the lessons.

## Chile and Nicaragua

In an interview received here in mid-August, Sergio Ramírez, member of Nicaragua's revolutionary government, discussed the difference between the U.S.-sponsored coup in Chile and its present efforts to crush the Nicaraguan revolution.

The fundamental element of similarity between Chile and Nicaragua, Ramírez said, "is the imperial will of the United States to reject the existence of all governments extraneous to its interests or its strategic designs."

But, he added, there is also a crucial difference. In Chile, he explained, "what was being dealt with was the conquest of the government by Popular Unity and not the taking of power."

In Nicaragua, to the contrary, he added, the destruction of Somoza's National Guard was "one of the basic conditions of our ascendancy to power."

He added: "The Sandinista Front has the power here. It is people's power. . . ."

Chile was discussed by revolutionary Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop

in a New York speech June 5.

Responding to Washington's demagogic propaganda charges against the Grenadian revolution, Bishop declared:

"When they say to us that elections must be held, and if you don't have elections . . . we can't give you the normal treatment, we say: Salvador Allende of Chile. . . ."

"Salvador Allende of Chile was elected . . . by the people of Chile. Allende did not take power through a revolution. . . ."

"Allende did not form a militia. Allende did not grab any land or property. Allende had no political detainees. Allende did not crush the press. He did not close down the parliament. He did not suspend the constitution. He played by every rule they wrote. But they killed him still."

Some of the most profound observations of the Chilean experience were made while it was still in process by Fidel Castro.

## Fidel's trip

Allende invited Fidel to visit Chile, and he did so for three and a half weeks in late 1971. He toured the country, talking with workers, peasants, and students. He also made some speeches and gave some interviews.

In his farewell speech to the Chilean people, at a Santiago rally where he shared the platform with Allende, Fidel, a visiting head of state, spoke with remarkable candor.

A key question, Fidel told the audience, is "Who will learn more and sooner? Who will develop more awareness faster? The exploiters or the exploited? . . . The people, or the enemies of the people?"

The audience responded, "The people!" Fidel said, "Are you absolutely sure . . . are you completely sure that you have learned more than your exploiters have?"

There were exclamations of "Yes!" Fidel responded: "Then allow me to say

that I don't agree this time with the masses."

He then proceeded to explain why he thought the right wing was gaining ground in Chile.

From there he turned to an explanation of how the revolution had triumphed in Cuba. How they faced the same reactionary forces but had won the masses ideologically and had mobilized them in struggle and armed them for the ultimate confrontation with imperialism and its Cuban agents.

Since then, he explained, Cuba has successfully resisted the might of U.S. imperialism because it had gone on, with the masses, to abolish capitalism.

Describing the deep revolutionary motivation of the Cuban people, Fidel told his Chilean audience what the basis of that unity was. The fact is that "when it comes to defending the country, that country is not divided between millionaires and paupers, between wealthy landowners . . . and miserable peasants . . . between the exploiters and the exploited."

Fidel added: "I'll tell you of an impression [of Chile] that comes from the very bottom of my heart. When I see history in action, when I see these struggles, when I see how hard the reactionaries are trying to demoralize the people . . . I come to one conclusion . . . and that is that I will return to Cuba more revolutionary than when I came here! I will return to Cuba more radical than when I came here! I will return to Cuba more extremist than when I came here!"

Fidel's appeal to the Chilean people to recognize the need for a genuinely revolutionary course is as relevant today as it was then.

On the 10th anniversary of their defeat, the Chilean workers and peasants are again reforming ranks. All of us have a duty of total solidarity with them. And the obligation to learn, as deeply as we can, the lessons of their experience.

# Abortion rights are central to women's equality

One important way in which the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom differed from its 1963 predecessor was the participation this time around of the organized women's rights movement.

This had a positive impact on the march, and on the feminist fighters who were present.

Real support for the struggle of women against their oppression was evident throughout the action. Pro-Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) signs were carried by unionists and members of Black sororities, as well as members of the National Organization for Women (NOW), which had a large and visible contingent.

Rally speakers expressed support for women's rights and referred to women as an important element of the coalition that had come together in support of the march and its demands.

The program of the Coalition of Conscience, which or-



## WOMEN IN REVOLT Margaret Jayko

ganized the march, included support for affirmative action, ratification of the ERA, and passage of the Economic Equity Act, which includes funding for childcare centers.

The march organizers did decide, however, that there would be no speaker on abortion rights at the march. Walter Fauntroy, the national director of the march, told the media that march organizers did not want to include an abortion rights speaker because it "might be interpreted as the march's advocacy of abortion."

Fauntroy said that having such a speaker might hinder the broad unity of forces that had been achieved in support of the march.

I disagree with this decision. Having a speaker to counter Reagan's reactionary propaganda against abortion, and speaking out clearly in defense of the right of women to control their own bodies would have been popular with most marchers.

It certainly was at the 500,000-strong Solidarity Day march on Washington in 1981. At that action, the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) speaker got one of the biggest ovations of the day when

he spoke out against Reagan's attack on women's right to choose abortion.

The fact is, a big majority of the population in the United States is in favor of legal abortion, including religious men and women.

Why?

For one thing, many people remember what it meant for abortion to be illegal, as it was before January 22, 1973. It didn't mean there were no abortions. What it *did* mean was that thousands of women were killed or maimed each year at the hands of back-alley abortionists. A disproportionate percentage of those were Black and Latino women.

Lack of access to safe, legal abortion also meant that racist doctors could more easily force these same women to be sterilized against their wills.

Thousands of pregnant teenagers, unable to obtain abortions, were forced to drop out of school. They were then blamed for turning to welfare as the only means of support for themselves and their child.

Without control over their reproductive functions, women who work — especially those who work at so-called nontraditional jobs such as coal mining — can find themselves out of a job that they fought long and hard to get.

Illegal abortion meant the demoralization of having no control over whether or when to have children.

Illegal abortion was one of the most barbarous tools in the hands of supporters of women's oppression.

That's why Reagan is so zealously antiabortion. He sees how legal abortion has given women confidence to deepen their fight for full liberation.

That's why Democrats and Republicans alike support restrictions on abortion, especially ones that make it hard for poor women and young women to obtain them.

These are the reasons why women fought to legalize abortion. And the cornerstone of this fight was the millions of women who have entered the work force in the last two decades, breaking down many of the reactionary myths about women, including that women's only place is in the home.

These 47 million working women *must* work, and most people today understand and support this. For Black women, this is even more true. It's this irreversible reality of women in the work force which is the bedrock of the fight for legal abortion.

It was the pressure from the majority of people, those who see women's access to abortion as a vital democratic right, that forced the Supreme Court earlier this year to reaffirm its 1973 decision legalizing abortion.



Militant/Anne Teesdale

But if the last decade has taught us anything, it's that we can't be complacent. Gains won can be taken back as long as society is run in the interests of Wall Street, and against the interests of working people and the oppressed.

What's called for now is to redouble our efforts to force Congress to repeal the racist and reactionary Hyde Amendment, which cuts off Medicaid funding for abortions for poor women who want them.

But this struggle can't be pursued without continuing the alliance of women, the oppressed nationalities, and labor that we saw on August 27. Fighting for abortion rights is part of the fight for "jobs, peace, and freedom."

And women's rights fighters should do whatever we can to insure that it's seen that way by all supporters of women's equality.

# UN committee hits U.S. militarization of Puerto Rico

Continued from Page 4

U.S. capital investment jumped from \$1.4 billion in 1960 in Puerto Rico to \$24 billion in 1979, he noted.

Marable called the social costs of U.S. corporate domination devastating to Puerto Rico, pointing out that Puerto Rico, once self-sufficient in food, now imports 80 percent of its needs, mostly from the United States. Unemployment, he said, is between 30 and 45 percent.

The next witness, Federico Cintrón Fiallo of the Unified Committee Against Repression and for Defense of Political Prisoners, said his country had been a U.S. colony since it was seized from Spain in 1898. He denounced the U.S. government's recruiting of Puerto Rican agents to go to Spanish-speaking countries in Central America "where they can mix with the local population."

He also pointed out that the FBI and Central Intelligence Agency are active in Puerto Rico, tapping telephones and running a disinformation campaign about the independence movement.

Philip Oke of the Christian Peace Conference at the UN, pointed out that the Puerto Rican government "is nothing more than a local administration without any semblance of real power or control over its own territory."

Any act of the Puerto Rican legislature, he noted, can "be revoked by the Congress of the United States, any decision by a Puerto Rican court can be reversed on appeal to the [U.S.] judicial system."

### Militarization

José Elías López of the National Liberation Movement decried what he termed the recent supermilitarization of Puerto Rico. His country serves as a base for U.S. military intervention in the Caribbean and Central America, and as a source for recruitment to the U.S. armed forces, he said.

"Nearly 25 percent of Puerto Rican youth had not registered for the [U.S.

draft]," he said, calling this "a tremendous victory."

Deya Díaz, representing Taller de Arte y Cultura, pointed out that 250 families had been evicted from Villa sin Miedo because the region was designated as an industrial site. This was part of a plan of so-called development, she said, that would further make Puerto Rico part of "a military-industrial wasteland."

Diego Román Ramírez from the masonic Gran Oriente Interamericano de Puerto Rico charged that the U.S. government had experimented on Puerto Ricans with the toxic herbicide Agent Orange.

The first speaker on the second day of the hearings was Bishop José Antonio Ramos of the Ecumenical Committee on the Future of Puerto Rico.

His organization, he said, "is of the opinion that under the present commonwealth status of a free associated state, Puerto Rico has achieved a greater degree of self-government in its internal affairs."

However, he said, "the present status has not resolved the colonial nature of Puerto Rico in its relationship to the United States, which was defined by the U.S. Supreme court in 1901."

It is "quite evident," he said, "that the various political parties in Puerto Rico which advocate either statehood, independence, or commonwealth status recognize the unresolved nature of Puerto Rico's political status and the prevailing colonial conditions."

He urged that the UN include the question of colonial status of Puerto Rico on its agenda for discussion, and that the UN require the U.S. "to end its colonial rule over Puerto Rico in conformity with Resolution 1514 of 1960."

### Puerto Rican initiative

Wilma Reverón, director of the International Information Office for the Independence of Puerto Rico, said her office was concerned about the attitude of the U.S. media, which she said ranged from indif-

ference to distortion of the Puerto Rican situation.

An example she gave was a *New York Times* story that portrayed the Puerto Rico discussion last year at the Special Committee as a Cuban stratagem, despite the fact that those who spoke were Puerto Ricans, and that their appearance was a genuine Puerto Rican initiative.

Carlos Gallisá of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party called on the committee to appeal for a halt to repression in Puerto Rico and to send a mission of its own to Puerto Rico to confirm the charges made that it is a U.S. colony.

Juan García Passalacqua testified that his organization, the Puerto Rican Bar Association, had come under legal attack because it was appearing before the UN to defend Puerto Rico's right to self-determination.

Eunice Santana, a minister of the Disciples of Christ Church and a representative of the National Ecumenical Movement of Puerto Rico, gave as an example of "the cruel fact of life" of colonialism the chemical killing of fish on the island of Vieques by the U.S. Navy. Fisherman on the island, she said, are resisting war games held in the area.

After the testimony, Raúl Roa-Kouri, the Cuban UN delegate, introduced the resolution. He said that the "power which once occupied Cuba and now occupies Puerto Rico was denying the nature of its military presence and its domination over Puerto Rico."

He denounced the sending of Puerto Rican National Guardsmen to Honduras, near the Nicaraguan border, for military maneuvers.

He pointed out that even the governor of Puerto Rico, Carlos Romero Barceló, has himself admitted that Puerto Rico is a colony.

Jaime Hermida Castillo, representing the government of Nicaragua, said the "right of self-determination takes precedence over any prerogatives the colonial

powers have arrogated to themselves."

It has been argued, he said, that Puerto Rico is "an internal affair of the United States. But Latin America is not the backyard or property of the United States. Puerto Rico is a part of the great family of Latin America, in the same way that the Malvinas Islands are."

With its stepped-up military activity, he said, the United States is "turning Puerto Rico into a base for subverting Latin America."

Johnny Makatini of the African National Congress (ANC) also spoke. "The fate of the people of Puerto Rico," he said, is "no different than the fate of the people in southern Africa." He said the United States was "virtually blackmailing and intimidating the international community over Puerto Rico, much as it is doing in southern Africa."

But, he added, "An idea whose time has come is stronger than the most powerful armies in the world. Thus, the people of Puerto Rico will not forever be held back from liberation."

## LITERATURE ON GRENADA

**Forward Ever! Speeches of Maurice Bishop** — 287 pp., \$6.95

**Grenada: Revolution in the Caribbean** — by Sam Manuel and Andrew Pulley, 35 pp., \$0.95

**The Grenada Revolution at Work** by W. Richard Jacobs, 15 pp., \$0.50

**Grenada: A Workers' and Farmers' Government** — 36 pp., \$1.75

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

**Fun and games in Guatemala** — A major U.S. maker of miniature golf courses boasts its new



**Harry Ring**

one in Guatemala City is doing a brisk business. It may be, a news release states, "the only one in the world where some patrons come to play accompanied by armed body-

guards." The golf course provides added service: "Gentlemen with machine guns stand at the gate while the kids putt."

**Who did what** — Lt. Col. Guion S. Bluford, the first U.S. Black in space, followed by three years Armando Tamayo Méndez, the Afro-Cuban who participated in a Soviet-Cuban space flight. Responding to comments that Bluford had proven himself, comedian Bill Cosby commented the real breakthrough was by the government. "The people who have allowed him to make the mission," he said, "are the ones who passed the test."

**The long view** — EPA administrator Ruckelshaus says he favors an "evolutionary" approach to solving the acid rain problem.

**And all that jazz** — Miguel Facussé, a wealthy Honduran industrialist, told a U.S. reporter Honduras will need a lot more U.S. dollars. "We are fighting," he explained, "for free enterprise, democracy, and all that stuff."

**Who knows?** — "I think we'd all agree that sexual intercourse is a major cause of pregnancy." — Barry Wood of Citizens for Moral Decency.

**Mr. Marks meets Mr. Dollars** — The Metropolitan Museum of Art is displaying a segment of the vast art collection of Baron Hans Heinrich Thyssen-Bornemisza. A placard indicating the baron's family tree notes that his grandfather, August Thyssen, a steel magnate, had been the Andrew Carnegie of Germany. Enquired the baron: "Who was Andrew Carnegie?"

**P.S.** — When the ruthless steel baron, Andrew Carnegie, died, one comment was that while he made millions in steel he never saw a blast furnace till he died.

**The peacekeepers** — Hearings were held in Torrington, Wyo., on Air Force plans to base MX missiles in the area. Each time officials referred to the MX as the "Peacekeeper," a local resident honked on a duck horn. He was given a suspended \$100 fine for disturbing the peace.

**Feature that** — The *New York Times*, which projects the image of being a purveyor of indispensable information, recently reported that Dorothy Hammerstein, whoever she may be, recently held a small dinner party and wore tangerine silk pajamas to match her apricot dining room.

## CALENDAR

### CALIFORNIA

#### San Diego

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

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

#### Seaside

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

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

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

### MINNESOTA

#### Virginia

**Working Women and the Fight for Women's Rights.** Speaker: Elizabeth Kilanowski, Minneapolis delegate to 5th National Conference of Women Miners, laid-off steelworker, member of Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 16, 7 p.m. 112 Chestnut St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

### NEW YORK

#### Albany

**Nicaragua: Eyewitness Report and Slide Show.** Speaker: Héctor Carrión, Young

## Puerto Rican Working Women

NEW YORK — A conference entitled "Puerto Rican Working Women — Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow" is to be held Sunday, September 11, from 2-4 p.m. at Teatro Cuarto, 175 East 104th Street (between Lexington and 3rd Avenue).

The conference is being held to support the September 23 demonstration at the United Nations to demand discussion of Puerto Rico's colonial domination by the U.S. It is sponsored by the Women's Task Force of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights, a major civil rights organization.

Speakers include Genoveva Clemente, Iris Jackson, and Isabel Malavet.

Other events supporting the demonstration include art exhibits, dances, and a vigil. Child care provided. Call (212) 866-6721 for information.

Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Nicaragua. Fri., Sept. 9, 8 p.m. 23 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

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

#### Brooklyn

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

#### Manhattan

**Solidarity With Arizona Copper Miners. Eyewitness Report.** Speaker: Rich Stuart, former member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1938, *Militant* reporter at Arizona copper miners strike. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Sept. 10, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

**Solidarity With Struggles of the Chilean People.** Speaker: Chilean exiled leader; music by Roy Brown and others. Sun., Sept. 11, 4 p.m. Taller Latinoamericano, 19 W. 21st St. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Committee for a Free Chile. For more information call (212) 864-2347.

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

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

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

**Rummage Sale.** Fri., Sept. 16, 2 p.m. to 6 p.m.; Sat., Sept. 17, 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. 141 Halsey St., 2nd fl. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### OHIO

#### Cincinnati

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

#### Toledo

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

more information call (419) 536-0383.

### TEXAS

#### Dallas

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

#### Houston

**Why the U.S. Needs War.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Sept. 17, 7 p.m. 4806 Alameda.

## A Black for president in 1984?

Continued from back page

Sutton argued. Furthermore, the campaign is limited to running in the primary and gaining a base to negotiate with other contenders.

Sutton also cited figures showing Blacks could have changed the outcome of the last presidential election had more Blacks been registered to vote in the South. "Carter could have been president," he concluded.

Janice Dorlaie began by drawing a connection between the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom and the debate about a Black presidential candidate. The same forces who abstained or lent half-hearted support to the march oppose a Black presidential candidate, she argued.

Dorlaie said the August 27 march will help forge a coalition of "Blacks, Browns, and progressive people" who must also unite their forces in the 1984 elections.

She supported the idea of a Black presidential candidate because "Black people are looking for hope and want a Black candidate." But, she explained, the NBIPP has not taken a formal position on this question or on a Jackson campaign.

Jackson's attempt to renegotiate a relationship with the Democratic Party, however, won't work, she said, "because the Democratic Party has always sold Blacks out."

"The central issue is war. And the Democratic Party has sold us out every time. [President Woodrow] Wilson was elected on an antiwar platform and took us into World War I. [President Lyndon] Johnson declared a phony 'War on Poverty' and 30,000 Black youth died in Vietnam."

"Whether Jackson sells his vote to Glenn or renegotiates with Mondale, the net result is the war will escalate in Central America."

"We won't say don't vote for Jackson," Dorlaie concluded, "but we are urging the Black electorate to struggle with Jackson so that our needs and not those of the Democratic Party are met."

In the discussion that followed, the overwhelming sentiment of the audience was clearly opposed to Johnson's perspective. For Blacks in the audience, Mondale, a native of Minnesota, was not seen as a significant improvement over Reagan. Many agreed with Jesse Jackson's assessment that "Mondale acts like he has a Ph.D on Black people." They were critical of Mondale for not supporting Harold Washington's mayoral campaign in Chicago. Johnson's attempts to defend Mondale were not well received.

In Sutton's opinion, "Mondale is moving to the right. Just because he was a lib-

eral a year ago doesn't mean he will be now."

### WISCONSIN

#### Milwaukee

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

The discussion also made clear that most people, unlike Johnson, did not think that a vote for Jackson would be divisive. One person in the audience pointed out that, "It's useless to say we shouldn't split the Democratic Party. The vote has already been split. That's the meaning of Chicago. We've gone beyond this point whether we recognize it or not."

The other major issue the discussion took up was the independent character of Jackson's effort. A number of people were concerned about getting the Black community to insure that Jackson would pursue a campaign independent of the Democratic Party. They asked, "How can we keep this campaign as a Black campaign that will put the needs of the Black community first, so we won't have to depend on the Democratic Party?"

At the end of the forum, following a very lively debate, everyone agreed that whatever the outcome of the Black presidential candidacy, an important discussion has begun in the Black community.

## Labor protests firings of British auto workers

Continued from Page 6

socialists to hold jobs in industry like other workers and help build the labor movement.

Thus the August 16 *Guardian* declared, "it is reasonably well known in left-wing circles that the IMG at its 1980 conference decided to 'turn to industry.' It set up a jobs in industry commission and was under instructions to do so by the United Secretariat of the Fourth (Trotskyist) International." The *Guardian* also mentioned that members of the U.S. Socialist Workers Party are active in industry and in building industrial unions.

The protests in Britain against the firing of the 13 Cowley workers have pointed out that the problem is not socialist "infiltrators" in the factories, but company infiltration of spies and finks to frame up militants and bust the unions.

Fired Cowley worker Stephanie Grant stated at a news conference there was no "plot" involved in her getting hired at the plant. Like millions of other British workers, she needed a decent job and at Cowley she could earn twice as much as she had previously. "I wasn't part of a conspiracy," she declared. "It is British Leyland who is conspiring to destroy the unions."

# U.S. wages anti-Soviet campaign

Continued from front page

lently" as they were pummeled by the crowd.

One can imagine the bloodbath the cops would have carried out had this been a union picket line or a protest against the U.S. war in Central America.

Other imperialist governments, especially Japan's, also took their cue from Washington. The Soviet Union was denounced in the most extreme terms possible — no doubt with an eye toward gaining more domestic support for the imposition of U.S. nuclear missiles in Western Europe.

## Facts undermine Washington

The hallmark of the worldwide propaganda avalanche was the unqualified acceptance of the White House claim — supposedly based on U.S. spy reports — that Moscow shot down the airliner without warning after it had "strayed" over sensitive Soviet military installations.

The facts, Washington brusquely maintained, were not in question — Moscow had committed an act of premeditated, cold-blooded murder.

Realizing, however, that the truth of any statement made by the U.S. government is an open question as far as most people are concerned, Reagan came up with a tape that allegedly proved everything in the U.S. story.

This 11-minute recording is supposedly the voice of the Soviet pilot that shot down the plane.

This tape, which is so muffled that no one except the White House claims to be able to decipher it, has made the rounds. It's been played to congresspeople, on U.S. television, at the United Nations, and the official transcript was printed in the *New York Times*.

It was the centerpiece of Jeane Kirkpatrick's speech to the United Nations Security Council on behalf of the U.S. government. And it's the key evidence that the U.S. is presenting of its version of what happened to the airliner.

But even if one takes this tape and the official U.S. translation of it for good coin, the only way in which it backs up Washington's version is that it shows that the plane that crashed *did* have lights on, something which the statements by the Soviet press and government deny.

With or without the tape, it's the facts that began to undermine Washington's case against the Soviet Union. Even the *New York Times* was forced to admit on September 5 that the actual story to date "raised new questions about an already confusing episode." On September 7 it printed an article titled "Points of Contradiction on Airliner."

Korean Air Lines officials explained, for example, that the KAL Boeing 747 was equipped with what is known as a triple-redundant navigation system that made it very unlikely for the plane to accidentally stray more than 300 miles off course for over two hours.

The September 6 statement by the Soviet government and the news releases from the Soviet news agency Tass dispute many of the facts as they are presented by Washington.

- Moscow said that the jet had been flying without navigational lights and had refused to respond to radio contacts from Soviet ground control.

- According to Tass, Soviet aircraft "repeatedly tried to establish contacts with the plane using generally accepted signals. . . ." The Soviet aircraft also tried to "take it [airliner] to the nearest airfield in the territory of the Soviet Union. The intruder plane, however, ignored all this. Over Sakhalin Island, a Soviet aircraft fired warning shots and tracer shells along the flying route of the plane."

- The Soviet Union forced the U.S. to admit that a U.S. Air Force RC-135 reconnaissance plane (which is a converted Boeing 707) flew "close to" the Korean Air Lines flight and at one point "crossed paths" with the passenger jet, according to the *Washington Post*.

This took another hunk out of the credibility of Washington's propaganda campaign. Attempting to downplay the significance of the U.S. spy plane, Democratic Senate leader Robert Byrd of West Virginia complained, "I'm sorry it [RC-135] was even mentioned."

## Cover for U.S. war

The statement from the Soviet government and the press releases from Tass have emphasized the way the U.S. government has shamelessly manipulated this incident to advance the U.S. rulers' war drive.

Washington's purpose in launching such an unrestrained publicity offensive is another attempt to chip away at working people's deep-seated opposition to a new Vietnam. The same goal underlies the U.S. rulers' ongoing propaganda campaigns around the Soviet army's intervention in Afghanistan and the events in Poland, both of whose "memories" Reagan invoked in his televised speech.

Portraying the Soviet Union as an "evil empire" and scare stories about a "Soviet-Cuban-Nicaraguan axis" threatening U.S. security is the standard fare today to justify U.S. war moves.

The September 5 *New York Times* reported, "Congressional liberals as well as conservatives [said] that the brutality of the Soviet attack would lend more credibility to President Reagan's basic contention, as one side put it, 'that the only kind of persuasion the Russians understand is force.'"

And since liberals and conservatives alike see "Russians" all over Central America and the Middle East, it's not too hard to figure out where this political campaign is going.

The U.S. government's feigned outrage and grief over the tragic loss of life aboard the airliner is nothing more than a hypocritical sham.

Where are the wails of grief over the murder of more than 600 Nicaraguans in the past month at the hands of CIA-orchestrated counterrevolutionary attacks?

Where are the tears for the tens of thousands of Salvadorans slaughtered by troops financed, trained, and "advised" by the Pentagon.

Where is Kennedy's, Mondale's, and Reagan's outrage over the millions of Indochinese people murdered by the barbarous regime in Washington?

When CIA-trained terrorists blew up a Cuban jet over Barbados in 1976, taking 73 innocent lives, there was no outcry from Congress. Instead of blaring headlines condemning the murderers, the big business press covered it up.

And what about the 1973 Israeli downing of a Libyan commercial airline flight over the Sinai? The U.S. media parroted the Israeli government's lie that the Libyan jet had ignored orders to land and that warning shots had been fired by Israeli fighters. The airliner's flight recorder later revealed that it had been shot down with no warning whatsoever.

Did the imperialist media question the "morality" or truthfulness of the Israeli regime? Was there an international outcry for sanctions against Tel Aviv? No.

And working people will never forget that the same area of the world where the Korean jet went down is where Washington carried out one of the most heinous acts in the history of humanity — the dropping of the atomic bomb on Nagasaki and Hiroshima.

## Paranoia?

Editorials since the crash have suggested that the Soviet Union might have overreacted.

The *New York Times* editorialized, "The Soviet leaders are admitting an unhealthy paranoia about their borders, displaying the aggressiveness born of their insecurity. . . ."

But to the degree that the Soviet Union reacts to intrusions across its borders, it's because it is threatened by a U.S. military noose.

Land and sea-based nuclear missiles surround the Soviet Union.

The Pentagon maintains tens of thousands of troops in Western Europe and South Korea.

And this fall, Washington is going ahead with plans to station Pershing I and cruise missiles in Europe.

The Far Eastern area where the Korean jet crashed is a particularly important military target for U.S. imperialism and the site of unrelenting U.S. and South Korean air and sea provocations.

And U.S. Air Force planes routinely fly along the Soviet border near the strategic military bases on the Kamchatka Peninsula and Sakhalin Island.

The Pentagon regularly holds large-scale military maneuvers in that region, and recently announced plans to move a squadron of F-16 fighters to northern Japan, just a few minutes' flying time from Sakhalin Island.

In his September 5 speech, Reagan announced that Washington would work with other governments and restrict the landing rights of the Soviet airline Aeroflot. He also announced the suspension of bilateral talks on cultural exchange and other questions.

The White House is using the UN as a forum to internationalize this anti-Communist, prowar campaign.

The heart of Reagan's speech was a pitch for Congress to vote more money for the U.S. war machine. He urged the lawmakers to "ponder long and hard the Soviets' aggression as they consider the security and safety of our people, indeed, of all people who believe in freedom."

The government propaganda offensive is not making big headway with most working people in the United States. There are a lot of questions about the facts, a lot of suspicions about the White House version of events, and, especially, a lot of concern about war.

The overwhelming majority of people in this country are against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. They oppose the deepening involvement of the U.S. Marines in Beirut. And they're not for pouring millions and billions more into the war budget.

Washington's reactionary campaign is not in the interests of working people. That's why we oppose this campaign, and all the measures that have been taken against the Soviet Union by Washington and other imperialist governments.

# Mother Jones: 'Save Mexican freedom fighters'

Monad Press has recently published the collected speeches and writings of the labor militant Mother Jones (1830-1930). The title of the collection is *Mother Jones Speaks*. It is edited by labor historian Philip S. Foner. The 724-page book can be purchased from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. The price is \$14.95 plus 75 cents for postage and handling.

Mother Jones was an organizer for the United Mine Workers of America and was associated with the Socialist Party.

Printed below are excerpts from an article she wrote in the socialist newspaper, *Appeal to Reason*,

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

on Feb. 20, 1909. It was titled "Save Our Heroic Mexican Comrades!" and was addressed to "Socialists and Trade Unionists of America."

Mother Jones championed the struggle of Mexican revolutionaries against the brutal U.S.-backed dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz. The dictatorship was forced out by revolution in 1911. This is an appeal on behalf of four Mexican revolutionaries imprisoned in the United States.

From out of the bastle of capitalism in California and Arizona comes the appeal of our Mexican comrades and brothers, Magon, Villarreal, Rivera, and Sarabia, our Mexican comrades who have been bravely fighting for liberty in Mexico, are behind dungeon bars, the victims of the persecution of the Mexican dictator, aided and abetted by the hirelings of capitalism in the United States.

These valiant defenders of the people's rights are charged with having violated the neutrality laws of this country, a flimsy excuse for their incarceration. The real reason is they espoused the cause of their enslaved people and could not be bribed or intimidated to betray them.

Being driven from their own country by the hounds of the dictator, they went to St. Louis, where they organized the junta of the Mexican liberal party and there began the publication of a paper exposing the whole diabolical conspiracy of the two governments to establish a system of mutual co-operation in the interest of the capitalist class by keeping the Mexican workers in a state of industrial peonage.

The Standard Oil company, the Southern Pacific Railway company, the Philip (*sic*) Dodge Copper company and others heavily interested in the exploitation of Mexico all feared they would lose their grip if the liberal party should be allowed to rise in that country.

Let it be understood that Mexico today is an absolute despotism. Díaz rules with an iron hand, concealed in a glove of velvet.

Díaz is surrounded by an army of spies who do his bidding without question. Criticism of his tyranny is treason, followed by imprisonment or death.

It is against this blood-stained despotism that our Mexican heroes, who have been lying in our jails these past fifteen months, have made their fight, and they have made it under circumstances which would have appalled and disheartened less resolute and unconquerable spirits.

There is not a doubt that Rockefeller, Morgan, Harriman and other Wall Street pirates are backing up the persecution of these Mexican patriots. They are the holders of Mexican bonds and the owners and exploiters of Mexican interests and they, of course, lend a ready hand to Díaz in keeping his hordes of peons in slavish subjection. Any uprising of the slaves would be a menace to the interests of our American capitalists and that is why the capitalist press is either silent while those outrages are being perpetrated or gives its influence to Díaz in crushing out the spirit of liberty among his subjects.

This crew of commercial pirates dictates to presidents, cabinets and congresses. The house of lords, known as the senate, consists of its special representatives. The courts are its private possession. Governors, legislators and other public officials are all under its domination.

When it is understood that the wages of these peons, hundreds of thousands of them, is 15 to 25 cents a day for making gigantic fortunes for American, English and Mexican capitalists, it can be readily understood why the rising spirit of revolt is to be crushed and why Magon and his co-patriots are to be shot to death or buried alive in some hellish dungeon.

Comrades and fellow workers, let us all unite in a determined effort to rescue these patriots from their impending fate. All they have done is to rise in revolt against the despotism of Díaz and this is not only their right but their duty to do and for this they ought to be honored by every liberty-loving citizen of the American republic and especially by the organized workers who themselves know what it is to be persecuted for the sake of serving the masses in servitude.



## A Black for president in 1984?

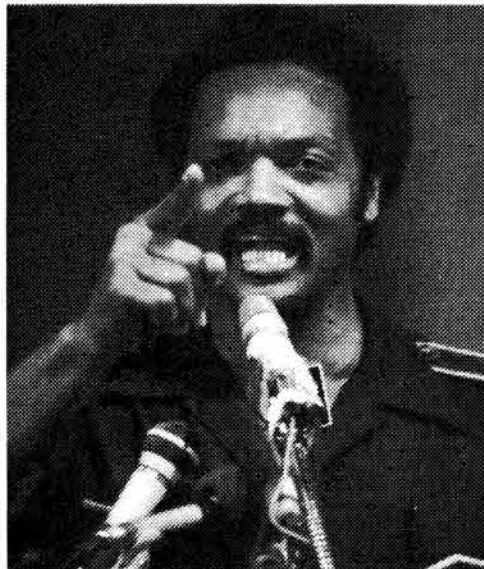
BY SUSAN APSTEIN  
AND AUGUST NIMTZ

MINNEAPOLIS — Should Jesse Jackson run for president in 1984? Does his campaign split the Democratic Party? Is defeating Reagan the most important goal for Black people? Does the Democratic Party defend Black rights? Can a new coalition of Blacks, Latinos, unionists, and others elect a candidate that will fight for their needs?

These were the main questions debated here at a community forum, "Should There Be a Black Presidential Candidate in 1984?" sponsored by the Twin Cities chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) on August 19.

A broad range of views was represented on a panel that included Nellie Stone Johnson, a member of the Democratic Party National Committee and an activist in the Twin Cities labor movement and Democratic-Farmer Labor Party. She is playing a prominent role in local and national efforts to help Walter Mondale win the Democratic nomination for president. Other panelists included Lloyd Sutton, an organizer for PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity) in Minneapolis-St. Paul; and Janice Dorlaie, the NBIPP candidate for Minneapolis city council in the 5th Ward. Yusef Mgeni of the Malcolm X Pan-African Institute chaired the forum.

Johnson expressed the view that now is not the time for a Black presidential candidate. Blacks must continue to lay the groundwork for the possibility of a future Black candidate by electing more Blacks to

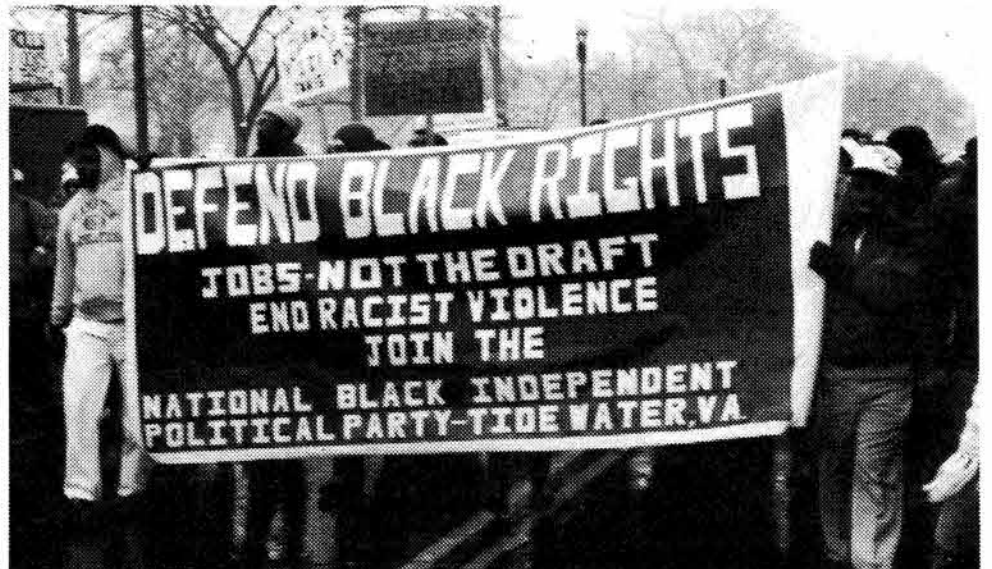


Jesse Jackson (left) favors Black Democrat running for president. National Black Independent Political Party opposes supporting Democrats, Republicans, but currently has no position on a Black running for president in 1984. Both views were discussed at Minneapolis forum.

Congress and local government, according to Johnson. In response to questions from the audience Johnson admitted she views a campaign by Jackson as a threat to Mondale and divisive for the Black community.

"I'm for Mondale because our main drive is to get rid of Reagan," she said. The key task facing Black people, in her view, is to elect a candidate who could defeat Reagan.

Sutton argued that now *is* the time for a Black presidential candidate to run. Polls



show that 77 percent of Black people favor this. Blacks understand that something must be done *now* to address the crisis Blacks face, Sutton explained.

"We need more than just anti-Reaganism," Sutton said. "The Republicans write us off but the Democrats take us for granted. Our issues must be heard." Sutton explained that the Democratic Party is no longer even addressing the needs of Blacks.

"Only a Black Democrat will see that

Black issues are put on the front burner," he continued. We understand that a candidate who is Black would fight for our rights, and be able to affect the program of the Democratic Party "if we are brokers, and not beggars," Sutton explained.

At the same time Sutton emphasized that Jackson's campaign takes place within the framework of the Democratic Party. Seventy-five to 90 percent of Blacks vote for the Democratic Party and are loyal to it.

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## Chrysler and UAW reach tentative 2-year contract

BY MALIK MIAH

On September 6 the United Auto Workers' (UAW) 160-member Chrysler Council approved a tentative two-year contract agreement between the union and Chrysler Corp.

The agreement will be voted on by the union membership in one week. The original contract was to expire on Jan. 15, 1984. The new agreement runs until Oct. 15, 1985.

According to initial news accounts, the new tentative contract includes a wage increase of \$1 an hour retroactive to August 15 when the new contract would have gone into effect if an earlier set of negotiations in July had been successful.

It restores the 3 percent annual wage increase and quarterly cost-of-living pay adjustments that were given up as part of the terms for \$1.2 billion in government loans in 1980 and 1981 to save Chrysler from bankruptcy.

It also restores pensions given up in the 1979 take-back contract. One-half will be restored in September 1983 and the other half in September 1984.

The total package will give the 56,000 U.S. workers, if approved, an hourly wage increase of \$2.42 over the next two years.

The 9,000 Canadian Chrysler workers also will vote on a similar tentative contract reached by the UAW's top leadership in Canada.

Owen Bieber, president of the UAW, said the new contract will give Chrysler workers pay "equity" with their counterparts at General Motors and Ford. Currently Chrysler workers are paid about \$2 an hour less than those at GM and Ford.

In fact "equity" will not occur since GM and Ford contracts expire in September 1984. The new contract will likely lead to new wage increases for GM and Ford workers.

Initial reaction from rank-and-file Chrysler workers appears to be in support of the contract — but not with great enthusiasm. "We'll be behind GM and Ford in 1984, but I guess it takes a long time to build back up," said one worker at Chrysler's Trenton, Michigan, plant.

Most workers had clearly hoped to get immediate wage parity — that is, at least \$2 an hour wage increase plus other benefits given up in 1979.

Chrysler management, on the other hand, expressed satisfaction with the new contract. Thomas Miner, Chrysler's vice-president for industrial relations, said the new agreement would cost \$100 million more than their July proposal to the union.

At that time Chrysler agreed to an immediate wage increase of \$1 an hour and a one-year contract, but no wage parity. The union favored a two-year agreement leading to wage equity with GM and Ford workers. Chrysler rejected the proposal as too expensive, and broke off negotiations. Chrysler now says the new contract is acceptable.

Furthermore, Miner said, Chrysler now expects the union to help raise workers' productivity without a large increase in the number of new workers. "We have to improve our productivity," Miner said, "and we're not going to be bashful when we talk to the union about that."

The context of the new tentative agreement is an upturn in the business cycle that has led to an increase in the sales of new cars. This, in turn, has boosted profits for U.S. auto companies over the last year.

The aborted July negotiations occurred with the news of Chrysler producing their biggest quarterly profits ever — \$275 million; and Chrysler President Lee Iacocca's announcement of the decision to pay back \$800 million to the government's Loan Guarantee Board. The payment was the last of \$1.2 billion in loans guaranteed by the government and was paid seven years ahead of its due date in 1990.

That news led the UAW officials to request a contract opener with the aim of winning wage parity for Chrysler workers. The rank and file especially expected some immediate benefits from Chrysler's new found wealth — which they correctly perceived was a result of their concessions.

"Chrysler might try any gimmick to keep us from getting our \$2. We might have to strike," said a worker at Chrysler's Warren Stamping plant outside of Detroit. That was a common sentiment at the time.

Under that pressure from the membership, the UAW top officials demanded a better contract from Chrysler — one they could get the rank and file to approve.

Until the tentative contract provisions are fully published, it is not clear how much the union was able to take back from the company. But it is obvious that tens of thousands of workers permanently laid off since 1979 will not return to work.

In 1979, it should be remembered, there were 130,000 Chrysler workers. Today there are only 56,000 in the United States and 9,000 in Canada. Even if all the laid-off workers that Chrysler says it may call back over the next few months return — an estimated 25,000 — it will leave at least 40,000 auto workers out of jobs.

Furthermore, the nearly \$1.1 billion in wages and benefits given up since 1979 are forever lost, and it will take a fight to reverse many of the bad work rules imposed on the workers since the first concession contracts.

Whatever the outcome of the voting on the new proposal, Chrysler workers are feeling more confident because they know the auto giant is rolling in money due to their concessions.

## Black poet wins political asylum

BY MALIK MIAH

"He is a prime target. I find that Professor Brutus has established a claim for asylum in the United States and I am granting it."

Supporters of renowned Black poet and longtime opponent of the racist South African apartheid regime, Dennis Brutus, broke into applause when Chicago Judge Irving Schwartz issued that ruling on September 6. He ruled that the Immigration and Naturalization Service's attempt to deny Brutus political asylum was unjustified.

"I'm very pleased, of course," said Brutus afterwards. "It's been a very long struggle and it's not ended yet."

The INS announced that it would appeal the court's decision.

The ruling represents a major victory for all those seeking political asylum in the United States, particularly from countries with which the United States has friendly ties, such as South Africa and Haiti.

The INS had sought to exclude Brutus based on secret classified charges. Neither Brutus nor his attorneys were allowed to see this information. The implication was

that Brutus was a subversive.

Brutus, a professor of literature at Northwestern University, on the outskirts of Chicago, has been a life-long opponent of the apartheid regime. Born in Zimbabwe, Brutus was raised in South Africa. Due to his political activity, in 1961 the white minority government ordered him not to speak on political issues. In 1963 he was jailed in the notorious Robben Island prison. In 1965 he was released and became an exile.

Brutus was also the main international leader of the successful campaign that resulted in South Africa's suspension from the 1964 and 1968 Olympics and its expulsion after 1970.

After former British Rhodesia became independent Zimbabwe in 1980, Brutus ran into difficulty in renewing his passport. Using that as a pretext, in 1981 the INS began deportation proceedings against Brutus.

The court's ruling places Brutus' fight for political asylum in a favorable light and will give encouragement to others such as Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born Socialist Workers Party member, who is fighting deportation too.