

Nicaraguans organize to defeat contras

BY BILL GRETTIER

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Nicaragua is a country at war. It is fighting an army of mercenaries — known as the *contras* — who are armed, organized and financed by the U.S. government.

The people of Nicaragua, led by their workers' and peasants' government, are organizing both to confront the ongoing attacks by the *contras* and to prepare for the possibility of a direct military assault by U.S. troops in the future. They are confident they can defeat both.

Big blows dealt to contras

The Nicaraguans opened a major offensive against the mercenaries at the beginning of this year. Brigadier Commander Hugo Torres told reporters July 18 that in the first six months of 1985, 2,300 *contras* had been killed.

The *contras* infiltrate Nicaragua from base camps across the borders in Honduras and Costa Rica. Commander Torres estimates that there are now 9,000 of these mercenaries, 3,000 presently in Nicaragua.

The largest of the mercenary groups is the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), based in Honduras. The FDN commanders are former members of the hated National Guard of Anastasio Somoza, the dictator who ruled Nicaragua until he was overthrown in 1979. Most of the FDN chiefs are known and despised within Nicaragua for their atrocities against the people during the Somoza tyranny.

The FDN has nine "regional commands," each made up of two to four "task forces." A task force, at full strength, has 300 men.

The FDN regional commands are concentrated in the mountainous north-central part of Nicaragua: Region I (Nueva

Continued on Page 5

South African racists stage treason frame-up

BY FRED FELDMAN

Sixteen opponents of apartheid were placed on trial in Pietermaritzburg, South Africa, on charges of treason. If convicted, they could face death sentences.

The 16 are leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF), an anti-apartheid coalition of 600 community organizations, unions, women's groups, student organizations, and others. It has a membership of about 2 million.

The UDF has been an organizer of many boycotts, massive funeral processions for victims of apartheid, and other protests.

The 16 are charged with forming an alliance with the outlawed African National Congress, which has wide sympathy and support in the Black townships and reservations. Twenty-two other leaders of the UDF face treason charges as well.

Those on trial include Archie Gumede and Albertina Sisulu, the UDF joint presidents. The trial opened August 5.

Albertina Sisulu is the wife of Walter Sisulu, who with Nelson Mandela was convicted of treason 21 years ago. These two African National Congress leaders are still in prison.

The opening of the trial followed the August 1 murder of Victoria Mxenge, a leader of the UDF and defense attorney for the 16. Anti-apartheid fighters in South Africa are convinced that she was the victim of government-backed death squads, which are increasingly active.

The trial of the 16 is the latest move by the apartheid regime in its effort to intimidate and brutalize opponents of the racist system. As of August 6 the government has imprisoned — according to its own figures — more than 1,400 people and 24 have been killed since the state of emergency was proclaimed for 36 urban areas July 20.

The government's repression has drawn a sharp response from the National Union



Government troops move to attack Capetown protest against racist apartheid system

of Mineworkers, an all-Black union representing workers in South Africa's most important industry. After a meeting of 450 voting union delegates, general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa set an August 25 strike date if the demand for a 22 percent wage increase is not negotiated. The union also wants an end to wage differentials and job discrimination in the mines.

White mine workers currently receive at least five times the pay of Blacks. This represents a major gain for Blacks from the 20-to-1 ratios that were common before the Black union was formed.

Union officials predicted that at least half the country's 550,000 miners would honor a strike call, and said it would affect 70 percent of gold mines and 20 percent of coal mines.

Gold exports account for half of South

Africa's foreign earnings. The country is the world's leading gold producer and some 400,000 Blacks are employed in gold mines.

Ramaphosa said the union would also strike if the apartheid regime went ahead with threats to expel migrant workers to other African countries. The regime has said it would carry out these deportations if economic sanctions are imposed on South Africa. Ramaphosa said migrants from other parts of Africa make up 40 percent of NUM members. (See article on page 11.)

He also said that the NUM would initiate boycotts of white-owned businesses in mining towns unless the regime lifts the state of emergency decree. Effective boycotts, strongly supported by the Black auto workers union, are still under way in cities in the eastern Cape Province.

The apartheid regime and the mine owners have struck hard at the NUM over the past year. Seven miners were killed and at least 400 were injured during a walkout by 64,000 miners in September 1984. Another died during a strike in April, which ended when two mining companies fired 15,000 miners.

On August 3 more than 2,000 Black mourners in Zwile, South Africa, defied a ban on outdoor funeral services. Despite the threatening presence of soldiers and cops in armored vehicles wielding automatic rifles, shotguns, and whips, they buried 11 young victims of the apartheid regime.

Continued on Page 11

Congress offers no relief to farmers

House and Senate subcommittees have been haggling all summer over the contents of the 1985 Farm Bill to be presented to Congress for a vote this fall. The 1981 Farm Bill expires October 1.

Every four years Washington lawmakers go through this ritual of attempting to piece together legislation incorporating a wide range of agricultural interests. For weeks

price level at which the government would offer support loans and other assistance to farmers, the administration hoped to lower the prevailing market price of U.S. farm exports.

The proposal called for phasing out government payments to farmers and reducing funds for credit, soil conservation, and rural electrification. These measures, Agriculture Department officials conceded, would mean less income for farmers per unit of each crop sold, thus forcing thousands of farmers off the land.

Reagan supporters never had much chance of getting their full program through Congress. But it has strengthened their position in the horsetrading going on in the Congressional agriculture committees that are preparing the new farm bill.

According to a report in the July 24 *Christian Science Monitor*, the compromise shaping up "will probably restrain federal spending, which has risen to the highest level in history during the last four years. But with thousands of farmers on the financial ropes, almost no one involved expects drastic cutbacks."

The basic price support policies of the 1981 Farm Bill will be retained, but the price levels at which government loans and payments are offered will be reduced. Both Democratic and Republican legislators, the *Monitor* reported, "are coming together behind what a senior House Democratic aide calls a 'transition' approach. 'We have to send [farmers] a signal that this is a period of adjustment,' says the aide."

During this adjustment, the bill "would

not rescue farmers who have fallen deep into debt," the *Monitor* predicted.

A recent Agricultural Department study shows that 45 percent of price support and other payments last year went to 12 percent of all farmers with sales above \$100,000. The proposed payments in the new bill would also give the lion's share of benefits to the best-off farmers, not those most in need.

Continued on Page 22

EDITORIAL

they juggle formulas for lowering commodity price supports and the amount of land that should be taken out of production. Well-heeled lobbyists, representing dairy processors, grain merchants, meat packers, and other big profiteers in the food industry, stalk the Capitol's halls buttonholing legislators in order to influence the final package.

In this entire process, however, one voice is not listened to — the voice of working farmers. The views of men and women who till the soil and tend livestock, producing a big share of the country's food and fiber, are not considered. It should come as no surprise then that the new bill, as it is currently shaping up, will not serve the interests of working farmers any better than the 1981 legislation.

Earlier this year, President Reagan's administration unveiled, with great fanfare, a new farm program that aimed to make U.S. farm products more competitive on the world market. By drastically reducing the

Cuba hosts broad conference on Third World foreign debt

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

HAVANA — "We are waging a struggle for national liberation," declared Cuban President Fidel Castro in his closing speech here to the Meeting on the Foreign Debt of Latin America and the Caribbean. We are not waiting for the masses to develop a socialist consciousness, he said. Latin America must lead the fight today for the independence and sovereignty of the peoples of the entire Third World. "We have the right to determine our own future free of plunder," he said.

While the slaves, who created the wealth of today's imperialist exploiters, had to purchase freedom from their masters, Castro declared to thunderous applause, "we must conquer our freedom without compensating our oppressors."

The five-day meeting ended here in the early morning hours of August 4. More than 1,200 delegates were present from 31 countries of the Caribbean and Latin America. The political breadth of the participants and the character of the democratic discussion were unprecedented. No one could remember anything even remotely similar held anytime, anywhere in the hemisphere.

Among the delegates were more than 100 trade union leaders and representatives of peasant organizations, 115 heads of parties and other political organizations, plus representatives of hundreds of other political groups. There were 50 delegates representing various women's organizations. Castro announced at a press conference the

Continued on Page 6

BY PETE McDERMOTT

PITTSBURGH — Before the Wheeling-Pittsburgh steel strike began July 21, socialist workers in Pittsburgh were working to establish regular plant-gate sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, its Spanish-language sister publication, at some of the main industrial plants and coal mines in Western Pennsylvania where Wheeling-Pittsburgh's main plant is located. We have had sales at two garment factories organized by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU); two coal mines organized by the United Mine Workers; and several steel mills organized by the United Steelworkers.

Workers at some of these plants and mines outside of Pittsburgh

live in the same communities, and closely follow each other's struggles against the bosses.

On the picket line at the struck Wheeling-Pittsburgh mill, for example, workers were very interested in a *Militant* article about the recently negotiated national outerwear contract agreed to by the ILGWU. They wanted to see what they could learn from it to better fight against their own boss.

Workers at the Homestead, Clairton, and Edgar Thompson steel mills where we sell the *Militant* have been hit with layoffs and face more attacks on their wages and benefits.

Before the Wheeling-Pittsburgh strike steelworkers at Homestead told *Militant* sales teams some of

their thinking about their struggle. One worker said, "All the mills will eventually be shut down in the Mon Valley, and there's nothing that can be done about it."

Another felt that "People should go out on strike at Wheeling-Pitt and call the company's bluff" in its demand for concessions from workers.

Other steelworkers we talked to thought that if their mills would get a continuous caster or other technological advances, their jobs would be saved. The fact that Wheeling-Pittsburgh has some of the most modern steel-producing facilities and was still going for more concessions was another topic of discussion.

We recently sold the *Militant* at the Clairton steel mill where

United Steelworkers members had set up an informational picket line protesting U.S. Steel's contracting out jobs to nonunion workers. Three of these workers got copies of the *Militant*.

The efforts of *Militant* sales teams to get out the truth at plant gates about the attacks on U.S. workers and Washington's war moves against Nicaragua have not been looked upon kindly by the steel bosses. At the Allegheny-Ludlum mill in Brackenridge, Pennsylvania, for example a company security guard called local cops to prevent a *Militant* sales team from selling in front of the plant. The local cop physically threatened sales-team members, confiscated their *Militants*, and threatened to arrest them.

Seeing this as an attack on all workers' rights to read and discuss political ideas, socialist workers are organizing with others to fight against this violation of democratic rights. The American Civil Liberties Union has agreed to take this case and a longtime worker in the plant also volunteered to help.

He told the *Militant* supporters, "While I don't agree with everything you say, I agree with your right to say it."

Most of the steel mills we sell at in this area are located in small towns like Brackenridge, and local cops in all of them are at the beck and call of the steel owners. This fight at Brackenridge can have an impact on other towns where similar attacks on workers rights have occurred.

SWP wins court ruling on ballot rights in Seattle

BY LISA HICKLER

SEATTLE — A victory for democratic rights was won here when the federal appeals court ruled in favor of the Socialist Workers Party in its lawsuit against Washington state election law. The SWP sought to overturn legislation passed in 1977 restricting ballot access for what the law calls "minor" parties — alternatives to the Democratic and Republican parties. The ruling was made July 17.

The three-judge panel called the 1977 law "dramatic" and "draconian." The judges said that Washington citizens were being denied the fundamental "opportunity to organize, campaign, and vote outside the framework of the dominant political parties," and that the law was therefore unconstitutional.

The SWP's attorney, Daniel Hoyt Smith, had pointed out in court briefs that the effect of the 1977 law was the virtual elimination of minor parties from the general election ballot for statewide office.

The law required that minor parties run in primary elections against major party

candidates. Only those candidates receiving one percent of the total vote cast for all candidates qualified for statewide ballot.

Prior to 1977, minor parties were required to hold nominating conventions in order to select a candidate for the general election ballot. The new law kept the same procedure, but now the nominating convention qualified minor party candidates only for the primary ballot.

The socialists and their attorney were unable to find a single other state that required a party to receive a certain percentage of votes in order to qualify for the general election ballot. [In 1982, an SWP-initiated lawsuit struck down a similar system in Michigan.]

Washington Secretary of State Ralph

Munro told reporters he was "sorry to see the ruling." Munro said that the state is considering appealing the decision.

The court victory was front-page news in Seattle. The *Seattle Post-Intelligencer* quoted SWP spokesperson Dan Fein who said, "We don't think it's just a victory for Socialist Workers candidates, but it opens up the door and makes it easier for Black political parties, labor union parties, and others to get on the ballot."

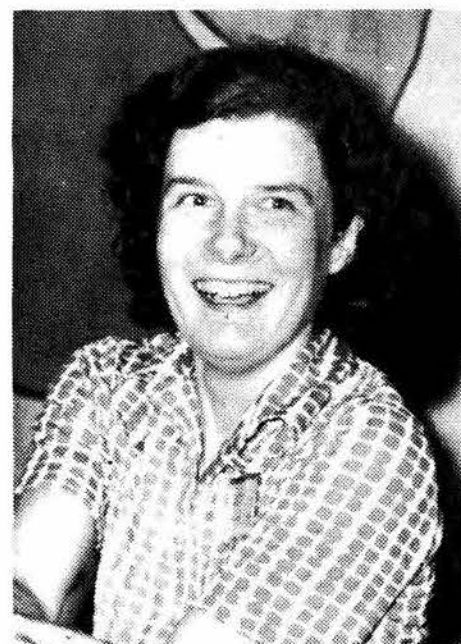
A representative for the Seattle SWP debated Secretary of State Munro on a twenty-minute KING radio show. The socialist pointed out that, "Just now, as the U.S. rulers are waging an unjust war against the people of Nicaragua, and we see our unions being busted, and the rights of women and Blacks under attack, we

need alternative parties on the ballot. The Democrats and Republicans offer no solutions to these pressing social problems."

Canadian socialist was dedicated fighter

Joan Newbigging, for many years a leader of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), Canadian section of the Fourth International, died in Montreal July 31 after a long fight with cancer.

Born in 1942, Newbigging joined the Canadian section in 1965 and for nearly 20 years served on its Central Committee. She had recently been the editor of *Socialist Voice*, the RWL's English-language newspaper, and continued to work in the party's national office until shortly before her death.



Militant
Joan Newbigging at 1973 convention of Canadian League for Socialist Action, predecessor of Revolutionary Workers League.

Jury acquits New York 8+ of conspiracy

NEW YORK — The trial in federal district court here of nine political activists on charges of conspiracy ended in acquittal. However, all but one of the defendants, known as the New York 8+, were convicted on lesser charges of possessing

Taylor, and José Ríos.

The defendants denied any conspiracy. They charged that they were on trial for their political activity.

The jury in rejecting the conspiracy charges acquitted José Ríos of the only charge against him.

The other defendants still face sentencing on the lesser charges. These charges carry a maximum of 5-10 years each. The U.S. attorney said the government "will press for substantial prison terms." Sentencing is set for October 1.

The prosecution's case rested on the testimony of Howard L. Bonds, a government informer, who claimed that he participated in a "plot." In summing up the case to the jury, defense attorney Lennox S. Hinds said that the defendants were engaged in political action. He called Bonds a "governmental provocateur."

At a press conference after the verdict was announced, the defendants characterized the conspiracy charges against them as "a government conspiracy" against Black revolutionaries.

New U.S. maneuvers to begin in Caribbean

The United States government will begin new military maneuvers in the Caribbean this September in St. Lucia.

The new maneuvers, code named "Exotic Palm," will involve an unknown number of U.S. warships and soldiers as well as 500 soldiers and cops from Jamaica and from the eastern Caribbean nations of Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, St. Kitts-Nevis, and St. Lucia.

The participants will include the armies of Barbados and Jamaica (the only countries in the Eastern Caribbean with regular standing armies), as well as the regional participants in the U.S.-trained Special Service Units.

Attention subscribers

This is the last issue of the *Militant* before our two-week summer break. The next issue will be the one dated September 6.

weapons and using false identification. The verdict was announced August 5.

The defendants were charged with "conspiring" to commit robberies and jail breaks, not with carrying them out. No such actions ever occurred.

The defendants in the case were Coltrane Chimurenga, Roger Wareham, Omowale Clay, Ruth Lateefah Carter, Yvette Kelley, Viola Plummer, Collette Pean, Robert

The Militant tells the truth — Subscribe today!



That way you'll get facts about Washington's war against working people at home and abroad: from El Salvador and Nicaragua, to embattled workers and farmers in the United States. Read our proposals on how to stop the bipartisan U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean and the employer offensive here. Read our ideas on what it will take to replace this system of exploitation, racism, and sexism with a system that's in the interest of working people.

At the plant gates, picket lines, and unemployment lines, the *Militant* is there, reporting the news, participating in the struggle. To subscribe today, fill out the attached coupon.

Enclosed is: ☐ \$3 for 12 weeks ☐ \$15 for 6 months
☐ \$24 for 1 year ☐ A contribution

Name _____
Address _____
City/State/Zip _____
Telephone _____
Union/Organization _____
Send to Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, NY 10014

The Militant

Closing news date: August 6, 1985

Editor: MALIK MIAH

Managing editor:

MARGARET JAYKO

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Susan Apstein, Fred Feldman, Andrea González, Pat Grogan, Arthur Hughes, Cindy Jaquith, Tom Leonard, Karen Newton, Harry Ring.

Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for air-mail rates to all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

USWA faces hard strike at Wheeling-Pitt

BY SALLY MORROW

PITTSBURGH — The 8,600 members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) who have been forced on strike by the owners of the Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. are preparing for a long, difficult battle.

The workers at nine mills walked out July 21 after Wheeling-Pittsburgh — the country's seventh largest steel producer — tore up its contract with the USWA and imposed major cuts in wages, benefits, and rights. This included a \$5.85 cut in wages and benefits, gutting of seniority provisions, and elimination of the grievance procedure. The company used a federal bankruptcy court ruling as the pretext.

Union members explain that legally the company's arrogant action in unilaterally dissolving the contract, which was due to expire in July 1986, constitutes a lockout.

The walkout is solid. Although the company is keeping the plants open, in hopes of starting a back-to-work movement, executives admitted July 31 that no worker had crossed the picket line.

Growing solidarity

Solidarity is beginning to be organized by the rest of the USWA. Union officials have voiced strong support for the strike, and USWA President Lynn Williams walked picket lines as the walkout began.

The strike was a major topic of discussion at the District 31 conference in Chicago July 26-27. The district — the largest in the union — voted to send a busload of workers to a solidarity rally projected to be held at the Monessen, Pennsylvania, mill on August 26. Large rallies in support of the Wheeling-Pittsburgh workers have already taken place in Cleveland and Warren, Ohio.

U.S. Steel Chairman David Roderick has made it clear that all the big steel companies stand behind Wheeling-Pittsburgh in trying to impose devastating concessions on the steelworkers.

In a news conference in Pittsburgh he stated that U.S. Steel, the largest employer in the steel industry, would seek to get any cuts in labor costs negotiated by Wheeling-Pittsburgh.

As he put it, "Whatever rates are negotiated by the Steelworkers over time, that's obviously the rates that we would have to have to remain competitive. Those are the rates that we would intend to have and those are the rates that we will have."

USWA contracts with five other steel companies expire in July 1986. Unlike previous negotiations, the USWA will be bargaining company by company. This weakened position is a result of the steel bosses ending national coordinated bargaining last May.

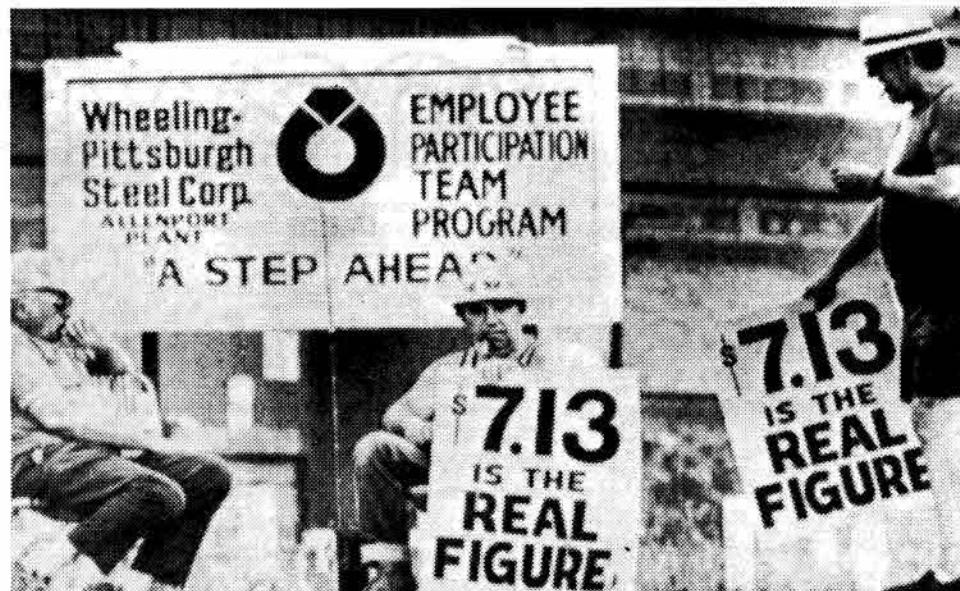
The outcome of the fight against Wheeling-Pittsburgh will have a direct impact on the outcome of these other contract battles.

Wheeling-Pittsburgh: union buster

A leaflet distributed by the union explains, "Union people built this country and union people are today under attack as never before."

"The newest union buster is Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corporation. The company is trying to use its financial position to wipe out 50 years of progress for the United Steelworkers of America."

"The Steelworkers have tried to help the company. We sacrificed \$120 million. The



AFL-CIO News

Picketing workers reveal real hourly pay before taxes under offer imposed by company. Wheeling-Pittsburgh and capitalist media try to create impression that company offered \$17.50 an hour.

company wants to bleed us for \$500 million more by:

"Slashing wages \$3 to \$4 an hour. Taking away two weeks vacation. Eliminating holidays, premium pay, incentive pay, and supplemental unemployment benefits. Making us pay \$4,000 a year for medical treatment. Doing away with our seniority and our grievance procedure."

"If that isn't enough, Wheeling-Pitt says it will cut everything even more any time it wants to."

"What the company is saying is: No contract. What we're saying is: No contract, no work. If the company beats us, you could be next."

"Wheeling-Pitt, union buster. If the Steelworkers lose, you lose."

On August 3 *Militant* correspondents went to Steubenville, Ohio; Wheeling, West Virginia; and Charleroi, Pennsylvania — cities near Wheeling-Pittsburgh mills.

We found strong support for the walkout among USWA members and other workers.

In Steubenville, Ohio, the USWA held a solidarity parade and rally August 3. It also had a booth at a street fair, staffed by the wives of strikers. They distributed literature put out by the union to explain the issues in the strike. They also sold sandwiches to raise money for the strike.

Many of the other booths at the street fair had union literature on the fight with Wheeling-Pittsburgh. "Go Steelworkers" bumper stickers were everywhere — on cars, clothes, and strollers.

Literature and bumper stickers were available from many local businesses as well.

A Black steelworker from the Steubenville mill said he thought it would be a long strike. "It isn't just our fight," he said. "It's an attack on all steelworkers and all workers."

"It started with PATCO," he explained, referring to the air-traffic controllers who faced government strike-breaking and union-busting in 1981.

A woman staffing the USWA booth said, "It looks like the strike will last a long time because neither side wants to give up. What's needed is support from other unions all over in order for it to end sooner. People have to realize that this strike af-

fects everyone."

She was very pleased that USWA Local 1124 from Massawan had sent people to the rally. There was one of their signs up at the USWA Local 1190 union hall in Steubenville that said, "Concessions are below our lifestyle. Local 1124 Massawan with you all the way."

'Go steelworkers'

In Charleroi, Pennsylvania, wives of Steelworkers were distributing literature and "Go Steelworkers" bumper stickers at a shopping mall.

A Black woman whose husband is a 94-year-old retired steelworker said her husband felt the retirees were being held hostage to force the workers back to work. Wheeling-Pittsburgh did not make a \$5.7 million pension-fund payment in late July, attributing this to the strike. Union officials accuse the company of trying to scare the workers with talk of terminating the pension plan.

The woman commented, "Blacks fought hard to get into Wheeling-Pittsburgh and worked hard, and now we have no pension."

A worker from the General Motors Fisher Body plant near here supported the walkout, commenting that the companies "just want more and more. You've got to make a stand somewhere."

A steelworker at the picket line in Wheeling, West Virginia, said, "Three times we've taken wage cuts. Now they want us to work for \$5 an hour."

Another said, "What I got 13 years ago when I started is more than what they're offering now."

The company and the big-business

Kanak independence fighters stage 5-day blockade of mine

BY GEORGE KAPLAN

Fighters for Kanak rights and independence for the South Pacific island nation of New Caledonia have staged a five-day blockade at the Thio nickel mine. The blockade, which reportedly ended August 3, protested stepped-up attacks by French colonial forces against Kanak people in Thio.

New Caledonia was conquered by France in 1853.

Thio has been a center of resistance to the French occupation and of support for the Kanak Socialist National Liberation Front (FLNKS), which has been leading the independence struggle.

While the French government issued a statement claiming that "the situation has completely settled down" in Thio, the political office of the FLNKS revealed in an August 5 statement that the situation is still "extremely grave."

The statement was distributed to the U.S. media by Susanna Ounei, an official representative of the FLNKS who is soon to begin a speaking tour to twenty U.S. cities.

"On July 29 the French colonial paramilitary police initiated a campaign of terror directed against the Kanak population of that area," stated the FLNKS. "Act-

media have tried to undermine solidarity by giving a false impression of the contract Wheeling-Pittsburgh tried to impose. They use the figure \$17.50 an hour to describe the offer without ever explaining what the real hourly wage rate is.

"When the strike started all the media was against us," one picketing steelworker in Wheeling said. "They tried to make it seem like we're all making \$17.50 an hour. My real wages would be more like \$7.60 an hour."

Another commented, "They're trying to make it look like we're highly paid. Even before the company forced us out we were living from paycheck to paycheck."

Answers corporate mythology

A leaflet distributed by USWA Local 1190 is a reprint of a letter from the local's executive board to the Steubenville *News Register* answering company propaganda. It begins: "A corporate mythology has been created in the Ohio and Mon valleys. It's been created by company executives and local newspaper editors to conceal the true facts concerning the work stoppage at Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel."

In response to the company's line, "Why would anyone refuse to work for \$17.50 an hour," the leaflet explains:

"Wheeling-Pittsburgh is not offering its employees \$17.50 an hour. That is the average cost incurred by the company for each hour worked. It includes things like pensions, insurance, workers and unemployment compensation, social security taxes, employees' state and federal income taxes, etc. The bottom line is, if Wheeling-Pittsburgh employees accept the company's offer, their average take-home pay will be somewhere between \$5.50 and \$6 an hour."

The letter to the editor concludes, "Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel employees in the steel communities of the Ohio and Mon valleys have a choice. We can let wealthy stockholders keep the common stock of a large Delaware-chartered steel corporation. And we can let them rob us of over a half billion dollars so they can pay off their debts to the big banks and insurance companies with our wages, benefits, pensions, and community purchasing power."

"Or we can fight to keep what has been handed down to us over three generations of blood, sweat, and tears in the steel mills and steel communities of the Ohio and Mon valleys."

As this letter indicates, the issues in this first major steel strike since 1959 are life-and-death ones, for the union movement and for all working people. Solidarity should be expressed loud and clear by the labor movement and other organizations of the oppressed and exploited. Adopting support resolutions, giving money, and joining picket lines is a good way to begin.

Garment workers back steel strike

BY ANNA SCHELL

CHARLEROI, Pa. — This Mon Valley town, near the Allenport and Monessen Wheeling-Pittsburgh (WPS) steel mills, is the location of Charland Sportswear Company, a garment factory organized by the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU). Many wives, relatives, and friends of Wheeling-Pittsburgh steelworkers are employed here.

Union members are discussing how we can support the Wheeling-Pittsburgh workers. "If people don't stand behind them it's going to affect all of us. They deserve our support," said one worker. There was agreement with this sentiment.

Our union recently held off an effort to cut the shop minimum to \$3.85 per hour. Many workers think attacks like the one

against Wheeling-Pittsburgh workers are going to spread. After the president of U.S. Steel said they would demand the same pay cuts as Wheeling-Pittsburgh obtained, a woman coworker said, "It looks like everyone is going to be on strike. The whole area is going to be desperate."

Another woman drove her van to work with a big sign painted on it. It read, "The federal government gives WPS the power to deny human rights. We gave enough. Carney [a top officer at Wheeling-Pittsburgh] must go." She said her boyfriend, who is a WPS worker, painted the sign.

Many women in our plant also have bumper stickers which say, "Go Steelworkers."

ing in their own self-defense the Kanaks built barricades in the street and blockaded the large nickel mine in Thio."

The FLNKS revealed that the paramilitary police attacking the Kanak people in Thio "have now been joined by the French colonial army" and that shootings and other repressive actions "are still continuing."

According to the August 1 issue of the Paris *Le Monde*, French sharpshooters were given orders at one point to shoot protesters in Thio in the event of a clash with colonial cops.

The FLNKS voiced strong support to the Committee of Struggle in Thio. It called on "all the Committees of Struggle throughout Kanaky (New Caledonia) to initiate actions of support and solidarity."

It pointed out "the hypocrisy of the French government which, while claiming to seek accommodation in New Caledonia, in life moves to intensify the repressive actions against the Kanak population."

The statement concluded by calling on international opinion "to stand against the criminal actions of the French government, which while pretending to defend the human rights of Blacks in South Africa, attacks the human rights of the Kanak people in its own colony."

Nicaragua contras: creatures of the U.S. government

Ex-leader describes CIA control of mercenary army

BY HARRY RING

The August 5 issue of the *New Republic* magazine features an important exposure of the U.S.-organized counterrevolutionary force, the *contras*, now invading Nicaragua.

Entitled, "Confessions of a contra — How the CIA masterminds the Nicaraguan insurgency," it's written by former contra leader Edgar Chamorro, along with Jefferson Morley.

From 1982 to 1984, Chamorro was a director of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN), the principal contra group.

Chamorro's revelations confirm that the *contras* are creatures of the U.S. government.

Most of the contra leaders are ex-members of the late dictator Anastasio Somoza's murderous National Guard. They want to wipe out the Sandinista revolution and its social gains.

But, as Chamorro demonstrates, what they say and do is determined by Washington. They are a hired proxy force, substituting for U.S. troops.

They are, in sum, a mercenary army.

Chamorro is a member of a wealthy family that was influential for many years in Nicaragua. He describes himself as a distant cousin of Pedro Chamorro, the editor of the daily *La Prensa*, who was assassinated for his criticisms of Somoza.

At the peak of the fighting in June 1979, a month before Somoza fell, he split for Miami. There he became involved with Nicaraguan emigrés opposed to the Sandinista revolution.

Meanwhile, former members of the National Guard, led by Enrique Bermúdez and based in Honduras, were engaged in border skirmishes with Sandinista troops.

Chamorro confirms that the ex-Guardsmen were being trained by Argentine military officers.

(After Washington backed Britain against Argentina in the Malvinas War in 1982, the Argentine officers quit the Honduran assignment.)

Meanwhile the CIA moved to unify some of the contra forces.

Soon after the groups were united, the CIA invited Chamorro to become a member of the directorate of the Nicaraguan Democratic Force.

The directorate made its debut at a December 1982 press conference.

None of the directors, Chamorro says, had ever worked together before.

In fact, he adds, "I hadn't even met Enrique Bermúdez, the former National Guardsman who commanded the contra troops in Honduras, until the rehearsal the day before."

The "rehearsal" he refers to was directed by Tony Feldman, the CIA agent in charge; a Feldman assistant, Thomas Castillo; plus two lawyers to brief them on the U.S. Neutrality Act. This act is supposed to bar private citizens from waging war on another country from U.S. territory.

A practice question: "Where have you been getting your money?"

"Say your sources want to remain confidential," advised Feldman. Chamorro adds, "a truthful and very clever answer."

"Have you had any contact with U.S. government officials?"

The CIA agents agreed they couldn't finesse that one. "We simply had to lie."

(The press conference was held not in Miami, but in Ft. Lauderdale "to avoid the risk of demonstrations in Miami.")

For the press conference, the FDN directors wrote a statement of aims and purposes. The CIA scrapped it.

The statement, Chamorro explains, "was mostly about the right to private property and was very anticommunist."

On reading it, CIA agent Castillo shook

his head, declaring, "Shit, who wrote this? It sounds like all you want is to get back what you lost. You have to write something more progressive, more political. We'll get someone from Washington to help you."

"George" was flown in from Washington and wrote a new draft.

Chamorro observed, "The Americans, I began to realize, like to make all the crucial decisions."

Chamorro became a full-timer for the FDN at \$2,000 a month plus expenses.

He moved to Tegucigalpa, Honduras, to handle the FDN publicity operation — along with "George" from the CIA.

Chamorro says he favored civilian control of the FDN. He was concerned that the ex-Guardsmen didn't grasp "the political dimensions of the struggle."

"The Argentine officers who trained them," he writes, "had told them, 'We're the only people in Latin America who have beaten the communists in a war. The way to win is to fight a "dirty war," like we did in the 1970s.'"

It wasn't just the Argentines. Chamorro comments: "I got a sense of what the CIA plans did not include as I attempted to improve the *contras*' image. Especially in my first year, it was standard contra practice to kill Sandinista prisoners and collaborators."

While the CIA saw to it that the cutthroat ex-Guardsmen had the upper hand in the FDN, the agency also saw to it that nobody but it ran the show.

"Needless to say," writes Chamorro, "the civilian directors of the *contras* did not gain control of the military... we didn't even gain control of the budget. It took six months just to get a Nicaraguan keeping the books (one of the Argentines had been doing them up till then)."

"And even then we could only approve the budget for troops supplies, for logistical goods such as gasoline and rented trucks, and for political efforts."

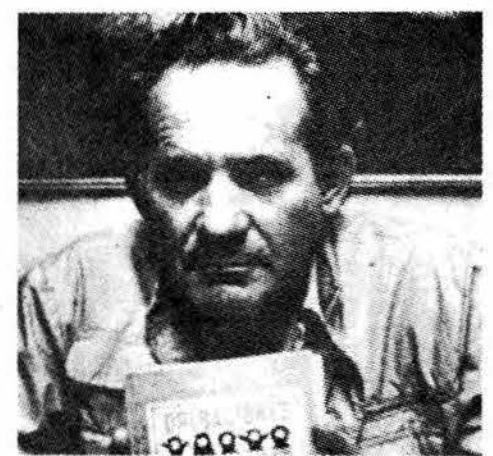
"We were never given the right to decide either how much we could spend on weapons or what kind of weapons we wanted."

"I'm not sure the CIA even let Bermúdez in on these decisions."

The CIA definitely runs the war.

Chamorro writes: "At 2 a.m. on Jan. 5, 1984, George woke me up at my safe house in Tegucigalpa and handed me a press statement in excellent Spanish. I was surprised to read that we — the *contras* — were taking credit for having mined several Nicaraguan harbors."

"George told me to rush to our clandestine radio station and read the announce-



Ex-leader of *contras* Edgar Chamorro with CIA terror manual in Miami.

ment before the Sandinistas broke the news.

"Of course, we played no role in the mining of the harbors. This was not unusual. The CIA often gave us credit (or perhaps blame) for operations that we knew nothing about."

"The CIA employed its team of 'Latino assets' to bomb the Sandinista petroleum tanks in... Corinto in October 1983."

Chamorro became discouraged because the CIA was not interested in promoting a genuine civil war in Nicaragua with what he saw as "democratic" aims.

"The Americans wanted an army they could control," he says. "They didn't want to make an insurrection that was not under their control."

To indicate the overhead cost of this approach, Chamorro cites the case of the contra attack on the town of Ocotal in June 1984.

Timed to coincide with the visit of Secretary of State George Shultz to Nicaragua, the *contras* attacked Ocotal with the aim of taking this northern city.

But the people's militia and other local forces rallied to fight back and, in three hours, forced them to retreat until the Sandinista People's Army arrived on the scene. Twenty-two *contras* were killed.

Assessing the Ocotal experience, Chamorro says, "I thought we should try to capture a town but the CIA said it was impossible. In a way they were right. People in Nicaragua still half believed the Sandinistas were getting better. They weren't ready for another change. Our troops took the town of Ocotal once for a few hours, but the people didn't rejoice to see us..."

"They didn't speak out for the FDN and our soldiers didn't know how to talk to them. That was the price we paid for not emphasizing democratic goals..."

Chamorro says he now favors a political dialogue among Nicaraguans and declares, "The first step toward national reconciliation must be the abolition of the contra army."

He adds: "When I joined the *contras*... I thought the United States and the CIA wanted to restore the promise of the Sandinista revolution. Now I think they are very pro-counterrevolution. I am convinced that the contra cause for which I gave two years of my life offers Nicaragua nothing but a return to the past."

Internationalist women resident in Nicaragua call for solidarity

BY ELLEN KRATKA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "To defend the lives of Nicaraguan men and women is to defend our own lives," said a Venezuelan woman attending a meeting of 300 women here called an Encounter of Internationalists, Contributors, and Foreign Women Residents in Nicaragua. It was sponsored by AMNLAE, Nicaragua's national women's organization. The meeting occurred on July 27.

The theme of the meeting, announced on a large banner in the hall, was "Women of the world: for the right to life and the future of our children, Nicaragua struggles for peace."

Glenda Monterrey, general secretary of AMNLAE, recalled all the women who

could not be present because they had to remain active at their jobs, some in the most remote regions of the country. She urged solidarity with Salvadoran, Guatemalan, and Chilean women, with women from the Mideast and Africa, with women from around the world who "struggle to preserve peace and liberty."

Doris Tijerino, president of the Women's and Continental Front Against Intervention, spoke next. Tijerino, who played a leading role in the insurrection that toppled the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza in 1979, recently became head of the national Sandinista Police.

Tijerino, who holds the honorary title of guerrilla commander as well as the military rank of commander, explained that the U.S. government opposes the Nicaraguan revolution because, among other things, "We have demonstrated that women are a vital force in the transformation of society."

She outlined a series of proposals that the Continental Women's Front, with the support of AMNLAE, is making to the women of the world. She urged those present to organize activities in their countries to get out the truth about the Nicaraguan revolution and the problems it is facing due to the U.S.-sponsored counterrevolutionary war.

Women, Tijerino concluded, should join with men, organizing and mobilizing against intervention into Nicaragua and Central America.

Following the speech, women from more than a dozen countries rose to give greetings to support the work of various chapters of the Continental Front.

There was especially enthusiastic applause for women from El Salvador, Chile, Honduras, and Costa Rica.

Abortion rights pamphlet now available in Spanish

El Aborto: Derecho Fundamental de la Mujer (Abortion: Fundamental Right for Women) is the latest Spanish language pamphlet by Pathfinder Press.

The 46-page pamphlet contains three articles answering questions on the fight for abortion rights including why abortion is a basic right for women, why the Catholic church hierarchy opposes these rights, and why Marxists defend them.

The pamphlet also includes an interview with Dr. Henry Morgentaler, the Canadian abortion rights activist. Morgentaler has been tried and acquitted four times as a result of his efforts to provide safe abortions for women in Quebec and Ontario.

The pamphlet costs \$.95 and can be ordered by writing to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 (please include \$.75 for postage and handling).

This pamphlet represents an important new tool in the fight to defend abortion rights for all women.

Estelí militia, army repel contras

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

LA TRINIDAD, Nicaragua — Some 200 mercenaries, armed and financed by the U.S. government, were defeated when they attacked this town of 10,000 on August 2.

The counterrevolutionaries, or *contras*, met stiff resistance from about 30 Sandinista militia members. An intense three-hour battle ensued. The mercenaries were driven out when a company from the Sandinista Army's Irregular Warfare Battalion arrived.

The attack was one of a series of recent military assaults made by the mercenaries in this area, which is part of Estelí Department. On July 28, *contras* ambushed a Sandinista Army company, killing 29 soldiers. In the following days they damaged two bridges, one of them on the Pan American highway seven miles north of Estelí. Both bridges will be repaired soon.

When the *contras* attacked La Trinidad, "they didn't accomplish their key objective, which was to be able to say they'd taken the town, even if they had to leave an hour later," said Lt. Ricardo Centeno, head of the town's militia battalion. They also didn't achieve their secondary objective,

he said, "destroying grain silos and a bridge just north of town."

With reports coming in of strange movements in the surrounding hills, the La Trinidad militia was put on alert the night of August 1. Lt. Centeno spent the night at the command post. He was there with about a dozen men when 50 or 60 *contras* opened fire from across the town square at 5 a.m.

Juan Pablo Manera led the small militia squad that successfully defended the grain silos. "We were nine. We resisted more than two hours," he said proudly.

The 30 militia members fought the much larger invasion force until army troops arrived and drove out the *contras*. Eight militia members were killed, as were the head of the Sandinista Defense Committee, four members of the Ministry of the Interior, two children, and another civilian.

The mercenaries suffered much bigger losses. Thirteen of them were killed in the fighting in La Trinidad itself. As they were chased out of the area, they took many more casualties. By the evening of August 2, the army reported at least 67 *contras* dead, 16 captured, and an unknown number wounded.

Nicaraguans organize to defeat contras

Continued from front page

Segovia, Madriz, and Estelí provinces) and Region VI (Jinotega and Matagalpa).

For several years, this has been the main war zone. But recently the scene of some of the fighting has shifted more to the south and east.

On Nicaragua's southern border, the U.S.-backed mercenaries of Edén Pastora's Revolutionary Democratic Alliance (ARDE) has taken hard blows from the Sandinistas. In late May and early June, Sandinista army troops cleared the ARDE contras out of a series of camps along the border, including their most important camp in Nicaraguan territory.

On the Atlantic Coast, there are also small units of MISURA and MISURATA, contra groups involving Miskito Indians.

Torres explained that the CIA-organized mercenaries have long had the goal of capturing a major Nicaraguan city or town in order to proclaim a "provisional government" that could provide cover for increased U.S. intervention. The Nicaraguan workers and peasants, however, have successfully turned back every attempt of the contras to do this.

The mercenaries have no hope of gaining broad popular support. They generally avoid confrontations with the Sandinista army. Their attacks are instead aimed against economic targets and, above all, against civilians.

In recent weeks, since receiving a boost in financial aid from the U.S. Congress, the contras have staged a series of bold terrorist attacks on civilians in several parts of the country.

Role of draft

Prior to 1984, Torres said, Nicaragua's main defense against the contras was regular militia units organized within the war zones and volunteer militia battalions mobilized from other parts of the country. These forces were backed up by the Sandinista army, which was relatively small at that time.

In 1984, Nicaragua established its Patriotic Military Service — the draft — to bolster military defense.

Thousands of young draftees — affectionately called "Sandino's cubs" — have been organized into powerful Irregular Warfare Battalions, or BLIs. Trained in search-and-destroy operations, the BLIs are more experienced, more mobile, and have greater fire power than the militia forces they supplant. The BLIs have been a key element in the success of this year's Sandinista drive against the contras.

The pace of the draft call-ups was quite rapid in early 1985, and has since fallen off sharply. But military leaders stress that the draft has not been ended. The rhythm of the draft, they say, will depend on the army's personnel needs. For now, the rapid initial deployment of the BLIs makes it possible to concentrate more on building local militia and army reserve units.

Preparations for direct U.S. intervention

The successes of the Sandinistas in pushing back the contras have played an important role in blocking Washington from using U.S. troops directly against Nicaragua.

The Sandinista leadership does not consider a U.S. invasion inevitable. At the same time, they are continually preparing for it, recognizing that the strongest possible defense is the best way to prevent intervention.



Militant/Michael Baumann
November 1983 demonstration in Jinotega supported draft to strengthen defense of Nicaragua

The massive incorporation of workers, peasants, youth and women into the militias is a key part of this preparation. On July 13, Defense Minister Humberto Ortega announced that more than 200,000 guns have been distributed to the people. The big majority are in the hands of the militia members, outside the regular army.

The Sandinistas believe the Reagan administration will not be able to convince the U.S. people to support a prolonged war against Nicaragua. To avoid social problems at home, the U.S. troops would have to produce quick successes in Nicaragua. The Sandinistas are organizing to make this impossible.

Political explanation and military and civil defense training for the Nicaraguan people is laying the basis for massive resistance by the Nicaraguan people if the U.S. invades. Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge explained such resistance would be somewhat like the popular underground struggle carried out by the masses that led to the 1979 revolution. But Borge also pointed out the difference between today and six years ago: "The difference is that now the people of Nicaragua are in power. Now we have rifles and tanks and artillery."



Nicaragua's Sandinista People's Militia is central to defense of that country against U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary war.

U.S. behind Costa Rica's border charges

BY BILL GRETTHER

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan government says the U.S. government is behind the deteriorating relations between it and the government of Costa Rica. Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega said August 2 that "outside forces are at work, promoting tension and creating artificial incidents, to spread the war in Central America and find a pretext for direct military intervention against Nicaragua."

Relations between the two Central American countries had reached a low point after a border incident July 26. Nicaragua charged that three unidentified planes from Costa Rican territory violated Nicaraguan airspace. Costa Rica claimed that planes from Nicaragua had attacked Costa Rica. When Nicaraguan President Ortega responded that Costa Rica was being "pressured" by the U.S. government, which seeks a military solution in Central America, a Costa Rican presidential spokesperson denounced the description as "slandorous."

Meanwhile the Sandinistas have continued to press for dialogue to improve relations. In a letter August 2, President Ortega proposed to his Costa Rican counterpart, Luis Alberto Monge, that the two countries should select their delegations and move promptly to hold discussions in Panama in early August.

Ties between the two nations have been strained for some time. In May, the Nicaraguan army launched "Operation Sovereignty," a military campaign to drive U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary forces out of the southern part of the country. The operation involved several major battles, an exerted effort to push the mercenaries out of Nicaraguan territory. They fled across the San Juan River into Costa Rica, where they have bases from which they attack the Nicaraguan army.

In a protest note August 2, acting Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Nora Astorga accused the Costa Rican government of violating international law by giving the mercenaries a free reign in their attacks against Nicaragua. "It is really impossible that the Costa Rican authorities are unaware of these facts," she said.

To prevent border incidents, Nicaragua has suggested the establishment of a demilitarized zone under international supervision on both sides of the Nicaraguan-Costa Rican border. The proposal was made two months ago, after two Costa Rican civil guards were killed in an ambush while investigating a report of Sandinista army troops in Costa Rican territory. Nicaragua condemned the ambush as a setup by the counterrevolutionaries.

The Costa Rican government denounced Nicaragua in the Organization of American States, while Nicaragua had proposed that the nations of the Contadora group — Mexico, Panama, Colombia, and Venezuela — should mediate the dispute instead.



Militant/Michael Baumann
Nora Astorga

The OAS agreed to hear the charge and named the Contadora nations to see the investigating commission. The final report stated that the guardsmen had been killed by shots from the Nicaraguan side of the border. But it said it could not determine who had fired the shots, since Nicaraguan

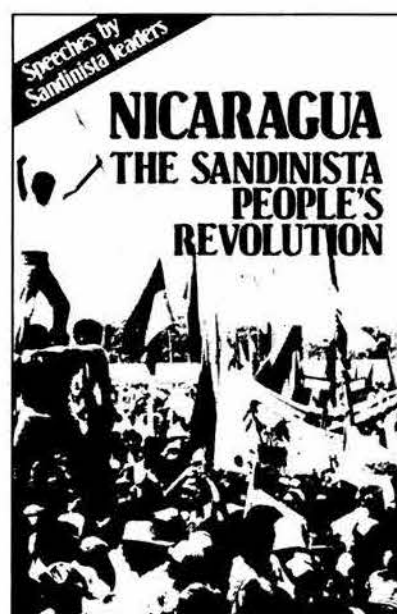
government troops and counterrevolutionary forces were both present.

On the basis of the commission's report, Costa Rica called for the OAS to censure Nicaragua. The OAS declined, advocating instead that the two countries should resume talks. Nicaragua welcomed the decision, describing it as a loss for no one and a victory for peace.

The Sandinistas received further backing in a July 22 statement by the Contadora group, supporting negotiations between Nicaragua and Costa Rica. The Nicaraguan government has repeated the proposal for a demilitarized zone as a way to bring peace. The Sandinistas have also reiterated that they would implement it unilaterally on the Nicaraguan side if Costa Rica is not interested in discussing it.

So far, however, no government has yet expressed its willingness to participate in such a project without the agreement of the Costa Rican government. But a number of countries are interested in supporting the Contadora peace initiatives in Central America, Ortega reported in a meeting with construction workers here July 30. These include Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, and Peru.

What they're saying about Nicaragua: The Sandinista People's Revolution Speeches by Sandinista leaders



This is an outstanding collection of statements by the Sandinista leaders to their own people. It gives a far more accurate sense of the special character of the Nicaraguan Revolution than the numerous interpretative studies that have been published. Reading through this one makes it clear that the Reagan Administration's effort to destroy the Sandinistas is one of the worst crimes against humanity ever committed in this hemisphere.

Richard Falk
Professor of Political Science
Center of International Studies
Princeton University

This new collection contains more than 40 speeches by leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution. 400 pages, \$7.95 (include \$.75 for postage and handling). Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014.

'We struggle for national liberation'

Cuba hosts broad conference on debt; Latin American, Caribbean unity stressed

Continued from front page

day after the meeting. He said there were also 90 delegates from religious groups, 40 military officers, numerous businessmen, academic figures, scientists, artists, and representatives of the press.

Despite a concerted effort by Washington to prevent Latin American and Caribbean governments from participating in any semi-official manner, the presidents of both Argentina and Bolivia sent personal representatives, Ecuador was officially represented, and a Nicaraguan government delegation was headed by Vice-president Sergio Ramírez.

Guillermo Ungo, president of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), and Fermán Cienfuegos, a comandante of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), represented El Salvador.

Significant also was the representation from throughout the Caribbean islands and the recognition that the English-, French-, and Dutch-speaking peoples of the Caribbean are also part of Latin America.

In closing the continental meeting, Castro took the floor simply as the last speaker, from the host country, presenting the positions of the Cuban government. There was no final declaration issued. None had been planned, and none was needed, Castro noted.

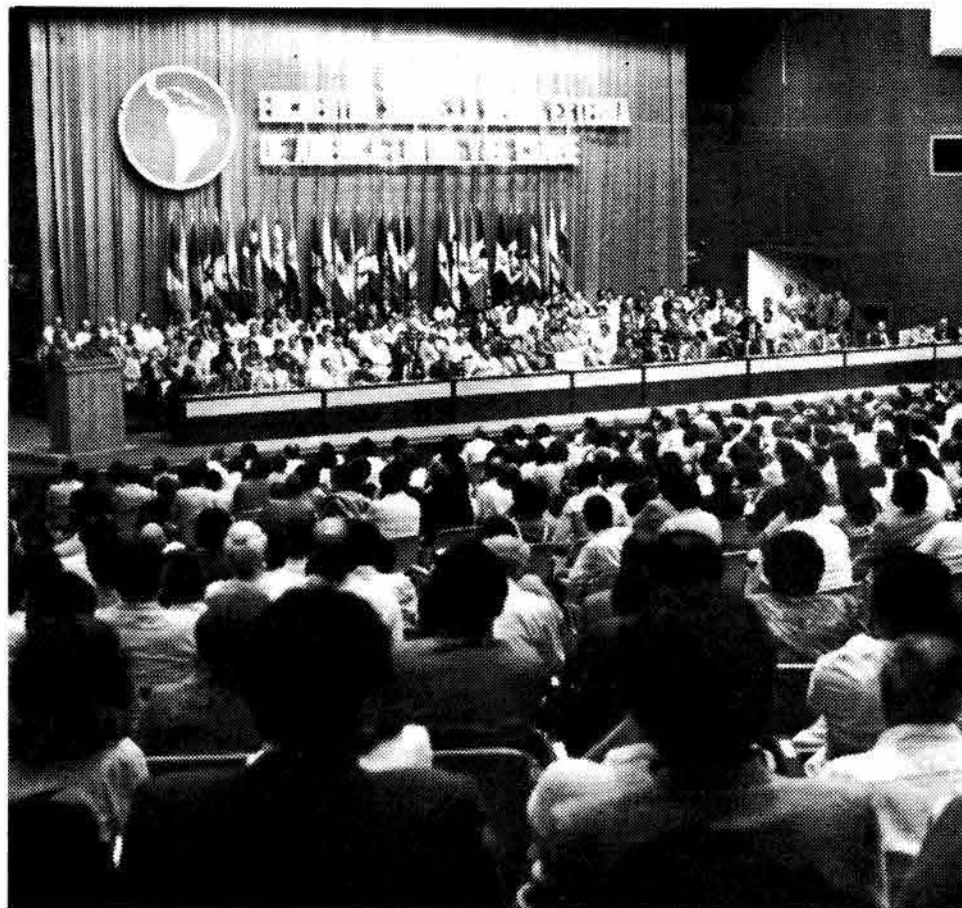
The conference had accomplished its purpose. This was to increase awareness of the economic and social catastrophe facing the peoples of the region who are today being crushed under the weight of a collective foreign debt of some \$360 billion.

The Latin American debt is today larger than was the foreign debt of all Third World countries combined six years ago. As virtually every speaker who took the floor agreed, the debt is "unpayable and uncollectible." The discussion at the conference focused on how to respond.

The tone of the conference was one of fraternal discussion, not polemical confrontation. There was a pervasive sense of strength through unity, expressed by the meeting itself. The historic identity of the Latin American and Caribbean peoples — their common afro-indio-latin roots, and their common struggle today — was felt by all present. Within that context, a real discussion took place, focused on several points.

First was the issue of whether or not it is economically possible for some countries to pay some portion of their debt. Second was the question: even if it were possible to pay, should we pay? And third, what kind of forces must be organized, unified, and mobilized in order to impose the will of the Third World debtor nations on the imperialist banks and their governments?

Castro addressed himself to each of



More than 1,200 delegates from 31 countries attended Meeting on the Foreign Debt of Latin America and the Caribbean, including leaders of unions, peasant organizations, political parties, women's groups, businessmen, and church groups. Democratic, fraternal discussion took place on what to do about foreign debt that is crushing peoples of Third World.

these issues in his closing remarks.

Much of the discussion concerning whether it is economically possible to pay any portion of the debt was centered around the decision of the newly installed Peruvian government of Alan García Pérez to earmark a maximum of 10 percent of gross export earnings each year for servicing Peru's massive debt of \$14 billion. Interest alone on Peru's debt is currently running at \$1 billion a year. Interest and principal payments due this year amount to 120 percent of Peru's anticipated foreign exchange earnings.

During the conference, numerous prominent figures, such as former Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley and Anselmo Sule of Chile, head of the Latin American Bureau of the Socialist International, pointed to the Peruvian example as the realistic and responsible road for the debtor nations, both economically and politically.

In his closing remarks Castro emphasized that Peru could count on the maximum solidarity of all Latin American and Caribbean countries as it took what-

ever steps were necessary to respond to Washington's threats and actions. He praised the Peruvian leaders for the calmness with which they had handled the announcement on August 2 that the U.S. government was suspending economic and military aid to Peru.

He also denounced the attempts being made by Washington and its news agencies such as the Voice of America to counterpose the Havana conference to the actions of Peru's new government. The Havana meeting, Castro insisted, could only strengthen Peru's hand and help all who were standing up to Washington's imperial demands.

Debt really unpayable

Castro also used part of his intervention to explain at length why he remained convinced that the "10 percent" road was an illusion. "I listen with great respect to all those who argue that, yes, it is possible to pay," Castro commented. "But I still do not believe so. Even in those few cases where it may seem possible, it is not."

"I get blamed for saying the debt is un-

payable," Castro joked. "But it is really not my fault. It is the mathematicians who are responsible." Simple math, he said, understandable by any grade-schooler, proves the debt is unpayable.

He then went on to demonstrate, with several variations, that if the 10 percent formula were applied by all of Latin America and the Caribbean for 20 years, the end result would be a collective foreign debt of five times its current size.

Not only would the Latin American people have handed over \$20 billion in tribute to the imperialist banks, but unpaid interest on their crushing debt load would generate new, unpayable debts, rapidly snowballing to several trillion dollars. "That," said Castro, "is our brilliant future. That is what mathematics proves."

The debt is a cancer, Castro concluded, "a cancer that multiplies, that spreads throughout the body, that destroys the body. It requires a surgical removal. Nothing short of surgery can solve the problem. You cannot leave a single malignant cell in the body, or it will metastasize, the tumor will be reproduced, and the body destroyed."

That is why, Castro noted, there is no technical formula that can cure the disease imperialism has created. "It must be surgically excised. There is no other solution. Anything else is simply not facing reality."

New economic order

Throughout the conference, speakers frequently reiterated that cancellation of the foreign debt was only one of several steps that must be taken to change the crushing exploitation of the Third World peoples. Without a change in the unequal trade relations and the integrated, coordinated development of the economies of the region, the gap between the imperialist nations and the underdeveloped countries will only continue to widen.

That gap, Castro pointed out, is today increasing like the distance between two vehicles, one of which is moving at 10 kilometers an hour while the other is traveling at 150 kilometers an hour.

Moreover, it was frequently noted, the resources to cancel the debt do exist. A small percentage of the billions of dollars now devoted to expenditures on weapons systems and war preparations would be sufficient to cancel the foreign debt of the entire Third World, as well as provide significant development resources. If adopted, such policies could have a positive impact on dealing with unemployment and inflation in the imperialist countries, it was pointed out.

The result, Castro argued, would not be the salvation of capitalism. "There is no possible salvation for capitalism," he noted. But "the problem is that we should not die before capitalism does."

Their morals and ours

A second theme running throughout the discussion was the political question of whether the people of the Third World have a responsibility to pay debts incurred by governments and individual businessmen, or whether justice and morality are on the side of those who say "even if we could pay, we should not pay."

In a section of his closing remarks that was reminiscent of his 1979 speech to the United Nations on behalf of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, Castro noted that posing an obligation to pay the debt today is like holding an infant responsible for the debts of its parents, or asking a father to finance the assassination of his own children.

We owe the oppressors nothing, Castro noted, because it is we who created their wealth, it is they who are indebted to us.

United front against imperialism

The third theme of the conference discussion that Castro addressed dealt with Washington's attempt to pit the governments of Latin America and the Caribbean against each other and the need for exploited working people throughout the continent to take the question of the foreign debt in hand and make it their own.

The efforts being made by the Cuban
Continued on next page

In 'IP': Why U.S. dropped A-bomb on Japan

In August 1945 Washington dropped the first atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, killing well over 100,000 people. It claimed that it had done so to force Japan's surrender and to "save lives" from a prolongation of World War II.

In the August 19 *Intercontinental Press*, Will Reissner looks behind this myth at the real reasons why Washington dropped the bombs.

Japan, Reissner explains, was already on the verge of military defeat months before, and its leaders had offered to surrender on the same terms that were later accepted by Washington. But the U.S. rulers rejected the initial Japanese offer, and decided to first drop the bombs. Why?

To head off further Soviet military advances in Europe and Asia that would have given more impetus to the struggles of working people.

Thus, Reissner writes, the bombing of Japan "was the opening shot of the U.S. cold war against the Soviet Union. It was intended as a demon-

stration to Moscow that Washington had developed an awesome new weapon of unimaginable destructive power and had no qualms about using it."

The same issue of *IP* also includes an article by Patti Iiyama on the internment camps set up in the United States during World War II for those of Japanese descent.

Intercontinental Press is a biweekly that carries more articles, documents, and special features on world politics — from Europe to Oceania and from the Middle East to Central America — than we have room for in the *Militant*. Subscribe now.

Enclosed is ☐ \$7.50 for 3 months, ☐ \$15 for 6 months, ☐ \$30 for 1 year.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Clip and mail to *Intercontinental Press*, 410 West St., New York, NY 10014.

INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS
Inprecor

South Africa
Black Protests
Defy 'State of Emergency'

40 Years After
Hiroshima and Nagasaki
Why Truman
Used the Bomb

Havana Conferences Discuss
Latin American Debt Crisis

Garment workers make gains in Nicaragua

BY SETH GALINSKY

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — As the loudspeaker announced that a tour of North American workers had arrived to express their solidarity with the Nicaraguan people, applause broke out throughout the plant. We were visiting ENAVES, the National Clothing Enterprise of Nicaragua, which employs 1,500 workers.

Our two-week tour of Nicaragua this spring was sponsored by Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tours, Inc. Those of us who worked in garment shops in the United States were impressed by the working conditions in the plant. They were better than those U.S. workers have despite Nicaragua's economic difficulties resulting from the aggression organized by the U.S. government and decades of imperialist domination.

ENAVES produces school uniforms, shirts and pants and military uniforms for Nicaraguan soldiers who are defending their country from the CIA-backed mercenaries.

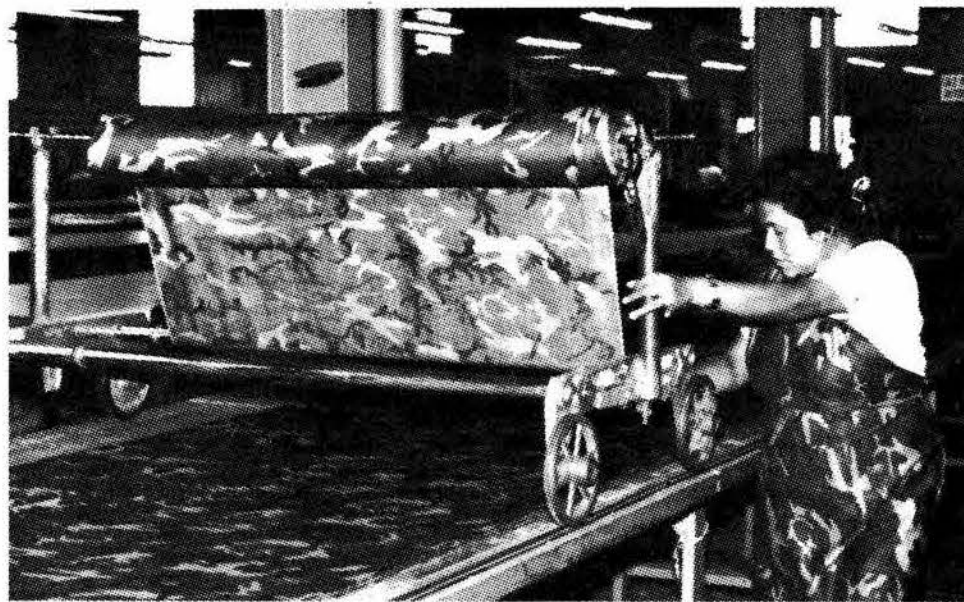
Margarita Jarquín, member of the labor relations commission of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) at the plant,

explained to us that conditions were much improved over what they were before the July 1979 defeat of the U.S.-backed tyranny of Anastasio Somoza.

At that time, ENAVES was owned by North Americans. "Under Somoza, if you complained, they fired you," Jarquín told us. Pregnant women who took time off from work to have their babies often found themselves without jobs when they returned. Union organization was illegal.

Now, workers here are members of the CST, which meets once every two months. Close to 90 percent of the workers attend union meetings, Jarquín said. Workers also participate in the administration of the factory.

The change from a privately owned company under Somoza to a state-owned enterprise has not been easy. The new management improved the organization of the work by adding helpers to the various operations. But at the same time, they did not change the piece rates paid for the various operations. What this meant was that some workers doubled and tripled their wages, while their helpers' wages remained the same, increasing wage dispar-



Militant/Holbrook Mahn

ENAVES garment factory in Managua

ity in the plant. There have also been some problems with poor administration.

Jarquín explained that when there are problems with an administrator — administrators are appointed by the state — first the union talks to the administrator, suggesting ways to resolve the problem. If the administrator does not respond, he or she can be removed. "We had to remove an administrator just once," Jarquín told us.

Benefits for women have expanded tre-

mendously since the Sandinista revolution. In Nicaragua, all pregnant women have the right to three months' paid maternity leave. At ENAVES, they are also given an extra payment of 2,000 cordobas [U.S. \$71] to buy milk, diapers, and other things a baby needs.

ENAVES has an air-conditioned health clinic on the company property. A gynecologist is available in the mornings and in the afternoon a general practitioner is present. These services are free.

Extremely low-cost child care is also available for women at ENAVES. But workers told us that the center is far away, and the union is trying to get one built at the plant.

When we visited the cutting department (where cloth is cut into pieces for sewing), we were surprised to find that half the workers were women. In the United States, cutters are relatively better-paid and are almost exclusively male. Jarquín told us that it was only after the revolution that so many women became cutters.

When a worker here is hospitalized, he or she is paid 50 percent of the regular salary. When sick, a worker gets up to one week's pay.

Workers at ENAVES also have the right to study for two hours a day at company expense. The CST encourages workers to take advantage of this to increase their basic educational skills. Most of the teachers are fellow workers.

We left ENAVES impressed with the improvements the Sandinista revolution has brought to these workers.

Seth Galinsky is a garment worker in Los Angeles and a member of International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union Local 1482.

'We struggle for national liberation'

Continued from preceding page

government to increase awareness on the question of the debt, the need for a new economic order, and the need for Latin American economic coordination and integration, Castro insisted, are in no way counterposed to anyone or any group seeking to find a solution to the economic problems of the region. They are not counterposed to the efforts of the so-called Cartagena Group, which represents the governments of the 11 biggest debtor nations of Latin America and the Caribbean. To the contrary, they strengthen the Cartagena Group in its negotiations with the imperialist banks and agencies.

What is important, he argued, is to broaden the forces involved in the struggle.

The only objection we make to the Cartagena Group, Castro stated, "is that it has not expanded to include all Latin American and Caribbean countries, like this meeting in Havana. The argument is used," he continued, "that the Cartagena Group are the main debtors. But this world is not a world of 'main debtors' and 'non-main-debtors.'"

"Let the present Cartagena Group lead, let it be the coordinating body, a leading committee, the founders, whatever. Let other countries join them."

"In our meeting here each country has voice no matter whether it has 250 million or 100,000 inhabitants. It is a country. It has its anthem, its flag, its own rights, and it has to be respected."

Moreover, Castro emphasized, no government can fight alone, without the support of its own people and the solidarity of the peoples of the entire Third World.

"To the extent that the ideas we are discussing here leave the ivory towers, to the extent that these ideas become the ideas of the masses, of the peoples of all strata, to the extent that these ideas become the ideas

of the workers and peasants and of the students of Latin America, these ideas will sooner or later triumph," he concluded.

"We are hiding no cards up our sleeves," the Cuban president said. "We have a clear-cut, straight-forward strategy. Part of that strategy has been to create awareness."

That is why, he emphasized in his press conference the following morning, Cuba has organized five sizable international gatherings in Havana in the last eight weeks — with women, with journalists, with communist parties, with trade union leaders, and the broadest and most representative of all, the continental meeting just concluded.

"In raising the banner of the foreign debt and the economic crisis, Cuba is not defending any narrow interest of its own," Castro insisted. Nor is this something new. Cuba began raising this issue more than 15 years ago, he noted, when Latin America's foreign debt was not even \$30 billion, and no one else was even discussing it.

"Today, however," he noted, "it is the people of Latin America and the Caribbean who are taking the banner into their own hands. Cuba has no wish to be the standard bearer now that the flag has been passed into the surest hands, those of the people."

Solidarity with Nicaraguan people

The question of the foreign debt was the central and unifying concern of the Havana meeting. But as all those present were fully aware, the economic aggression of U.S. imperialism throughout the region is today combined with Washington's massive support for and financing of the war being waged against the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador. Expressions of solidarity were numerous throughout the conference, and many delegates noted that the battle in Central America is a battle for the future of

all Latin America and the Caribbean.

The breadth and character of the meeting itself, the strength of the Latin American and Caribbean unity and consciousness expressed there will not go unnoted in Washington, as the U.S. rulers weigh the consequences of any direct U.S. military intervention in the region.

Likewise, as the Havana meeting confirmed, there can be no doubt of the historic change that has occurred in the relationship of socialist Cuba to the rest of the region. Despite 26 years of unceasing effort by imperialism to isolate and destroy the influence of the Cuban revolution, it is Cuba that is today showing the way forward in a historic battle to defend the interests of the people of the entire region, of the entire Third World. Nowhere else but Havana could such a broad, democratic, and representative gathering have taken place.

The success of the continental Meeting on the Foreign Debt of Latin America and the Caribbean is a sign of the future, not the past. Nowhere is this being noted with greater concern than in Washington.

Indian leader fights frame-up

BY ERLING SANNES

BISMARCK, N. Dak. — Leonard Peltier has asked the Eighth U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, St. Louis, Missouri to reverse a District Court ruling that denied him a new trial.

Peltier, 40, an American Indian Movement activist, is serving two life sentences for the June 26, 1975 deaths of two FBI agents killed during a shoot-out on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. Throughout his eight-year quest for a new trial, Peltier has maintained that his 1977 conviction in U.S. District Court in Fargo, North Dakota, was a frame-up and that he is innocent.

In documents presented to the Appeals Court on July 25, 1985, Peltier's attorneys maintain that the government suppressed crucial ballistics evidence at the 1977 trial that showed a gun Peltier was alleged to have carried on the day of the shoot-out could not have been the weapon that caused the death of the two FBI agents.

The evidence in question was an October 2, 1975 FBI teletype that said the AR-15 rifle uncovered by the government "contains a different firing pin" than the rifle used to fire the shell casings recovered at the scene of the shooting.

In 1984, the Circuit Court of Appeals ordered Judge Paul Benson to give Peltier an evidentiary hearing to determine whether a new trial should be granted. Even though the 3-day hearing, held in Bismarck, North Dakota, in October 1984, demonstrated that the FBI had suppressed the ballistics

evidence, Judge Benson denied Peltier a new trial. In a 20-page order issued in May 1985, Judge Benson said the government's failure to turn over the teletype to the defense "did not adversely affect the outcome of the trial."

The defense was not aware of the teletype at the 1977 trial. It was only discovered among thousands of pages of documents the defense obtained through the Freedom of Information Act several years later.

Peltier's attorneys maintain that shortly after the shoot-out the FBI focused on Peltier as a principal suspect and thereafter conspired to manufacture evidence against him in an effort to secure his conviction.

"We ask only that a new jury be permitted to believe, as the FBI did, that the murder weapon had been eliminated by the government ballistics test," John J. Privitera, one of Peltier's attorneys told the *Militant*.

Raul Salinas, coordinator of the St. Louis, Missouri Leonard Peltier Support Group, told the *Militant* that a 24-hour-a-day courthouse vigil began in St. Louis on July 14, when a large crowd gathered to show their support and demand a new trial for Peltier. The vigil will continue until Peltier's 41st birthday on September 12.

From September 3 through 11 "Peace and Justice" walks are planned from three major U.S. federal prisons — Springfield, Missouri; Leavenworth, Kansas; and Marion, Illinois — to the courthouse in St. Louis.

NEW

FIDEL CASTRO
SPEECHES 1984-85



WAR & CRISIS
IN THE
AMERICAS

13 recent speeches and interviews by Fidel Castro covering the U.S.-backed war against Nicaragua; prospects for defeating a U.S. invasion; the international debt crisis; the political situation in Latin America; and Cuba's recent "revolutions" in the economy and in defense. Includes interview with *Excelsior* on the need to cancel Latin America's \$360 billion debt. 280 pp., \$6.95

To order, send \$6.95 plus .75 postage and handling to: Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., NY, NY 10014.

Denver rally defends Goodman

BY MICHAEL CHAMBERLAIN

DENVER — Unionists and other defenders of democratic rights participated in a rally here July 27 in support of Sally Goodman's fight against government harassment.

Goodman, a member of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 766, works in the maintenance department of Martin Marietta's military production plant here. For the last three years, the Defense Investigative Service (DIS), a spy arm of the Defense Department, has carried out a harassment campaign against Goodman. DIS charges that she is a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, an associate of known members of the Socialist Workers Party, and a lesbian. In April of this year, when Goodman refused to answer unconstitutional questions about her personal life or her political beliefs, the DIS suspended her security clearance.

The July 27 rally was part of a campaign to win back Goodman's security clearance.

The rally, held in the UAW Local 766 hall, was opened with a message from the

local's president, Bob Killian. He promised the continued support of the local union in Goodman's case. Charles Carter, national vice-president of the American Federation of Government Employees, also sent a solidarity message.

Speaking at the rally was Linda Spear, president of the Central Denver chapter of the National Organization for Women, and James Joy, the executive director of the Colorado American Civil Liberties Union.

Héctor Marroquín, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance who has been fighting for eight years to win his right to live and work in this country free from fear of deportation, also spoke. He told the rally that the U.S. government's attacks on undocumented workers were part of their larger spy and terrorist scare campaign. Its aim, he said, was to intimidate opponents of the U.S.-backed war in Central America and supporters of democratic rights.

A report on the broad support the Goodman case had won at the recent national conference of NOW in New Orleans was

given by Eileen Thournier, one of Goodman's coworkers. (See accompanying article.)

Peter Fisher, a worker at General Dynamics-Electric Boat Division in Connecticut, sent a message. Fisher had successfully defended himself from similar attacks three years ago.

Goodman closed the rally by explaining, "They want to make an example of me — to teach all Martin workers a lesson. The lesson is, don't speak out about your ideas, don't listen to different ideas, and don't defend people who are victims of repression. But many workers are drawing a different lesson," Goodman continued. She explained they are learning the need to fight back against these attacks.

"Members of my local," Goodman concluded, "are conducting a campaign of Tools to Nicaragua. I think most workers would have been too intimidated to participate if my union and other organizations and individuals had not supported me from the start."



Militant/Salm Kolis

Sally Goodman

NOW activists back political rights in war industry

BY EILEEN THOURNIER

DENVER — Hundreds of women participating in the national conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) July 20-21 in New Orleans signed petitions demanding that the Defense Investigative Service reinstate Sally Goodman's security clearance.

The petition also called for NOW to support other individuals with similar cases in the future and to publicize Goodman's case in local chapters.

Goodman's case provoked discussion among conference goers. Many of these women spoke about their experiences with harassment by the companies or the government because of their political ideas or sexual orientation.

In addition to signing the petition many participants became endorsers of the case. Among the new endorsers were Deborah Chernoff, a leader of the successful 10-week strike of Yale clerical and technical workers and members of the executive board of Local 34 of the Federation of University Employees at Yale; Felicitas Lily Melgoza, president of the Negotiating Committee of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 1-78-A; Doris Lowe, secretary-treasurer UFCW Local 373; Sara Nelson, director of the Karen Silkwood Fund; and Clark Johnson, director of the Department of Human Rights of the International Association of Machinists.

For more information about the Goodman case write to Political Rights Defense Fund, 25 W. 3rd Ave., Denver, Colo. 80223.

Employer greed closes Portland plant

BY CONNIE ALLEN

PORTLAND, Ore. — Columbia Sportswear announced July 22 that they were shutting down their sewing factory and that workers there would have no jobs in 90 days. Columbia is an open shop where the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) was just recognized three years ago and was forced to strike to win a contract. The company has fought the union all the way, and as one women worker said, "It wouldn't be worth working here if it wasn't for the union."

The plant shutdown has generated a discussion about imports and what causes workers in the United States to lose jobs. The leadership of ACTWU is on a national campaign to restrict imports, which includes blaming low wages paid to workers in other countries for the loss of union jobs in the United States. In our discussion, some workers at Columbia accept this narrow and false view. Others say the bosses' greed for profits is the problem for workers everywhere.

One worker said, for example, the company is closing the plant "because it's cheaper to manufacture overseas and Gert (plant owner Gertrude Boyle) doesn't care about people here."

Another worker said the owner "wants to import the coats we make. They don't want to pay us the money we're making and they want cheaper labor."

Another point of view was that "it's the never-ending greed for profits. The bosses will go anywhere they can to make a bigger buck; if it's another state, another country, or just reopening with another name to bust the union and slash wages. Working people everywhere have to stick together. Our labor makes them rich and we should have the right to a decent job and a living wage. We can only win these rights if working people stand united."

"It was just greed, her closing down the plant. She doesn't care about working people. We have a new name for her — Greedy Gert," was the opinion of a union member who has worked at the plant three to four years.

One woman thought the plant is closing because "Oregon's business climate is overbalanced toward labor and a lot of businesses are folding. If they can move some place they can make a bigger profit it's worth it to them."

Breaks and lunch time became impromptu meetings about what the union could do to fight the plant closing. Everyone had ideas for letting the public know what kind of company Columbia was. When it was discovered that Columbia was a sponsor of a local jazz festival, workers circulated a leaflet at the event. It was titled, "Columbia Sportswear says: Jazz but not jobs." The leaflet also announced an informational picket line in front of the plant for the following Monday to protest the plant shutdown.

The July 29 informational picket line was held at lunch time and received a lot of coverage in the local media. The most popular chant was "Ten million dollars and



Militant/K.C. Ellis

Workers at Columbia Sportswear protest owner's decision to close plant.

still she hollers," referring to the profits of the owner.

Another important discussion took place in the plant on a lunch break where workers sat down and wrote a list of demands to raise in negotiating the plant closure.

The key issue was forcing the company to live up to the contract and keep everyone working for the full 90 days with no fake "temporary" layoffs.

"I think we should get three extra months of insurance paid and the pregnant

women should get maternity benefits," was one worker's opinion.

Another worker was concerned that "the company should abide by its contract with the union and help us relocate to other comparable jobs. It would be a lot better for us if they close with the union contract terms."

Connie Allen works at Columbia Sportswear and is a member of ACTWU Local 128.

Kansas rally protests farm foreclosure sale

BY DUNCAN WILLIAMS

GOVE, Kan. — Some 100 farmers and their supporters participated in a rally here to protest the foreclosure sale of Darrell and Margaret Ringer's land.

The July 22 rally was opened by Darrell Ringer, a leader of the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA). He announced that the charges against himself, his wife Margaret, and Dave Jensen had been dropped. These charges were brought as a result of a February protest action against a previous foreclosure sale, that of the Jensen farm.

The rally included a broad array of activists from Kansas, Iowa, Missouri, and Colorado. Speakers included Rev. Fuzzy

Thompson from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in Kansas City; Perry Wilson, Sr., whose farm in Missouri was foreclosed in April; Richard Aldrich, a representative of District 70 of the International Association of Machinists, which organizes aircraft and agricultural-implement workers in the area, Carlos Welty of Missouri American Agriculture Movement (AAM); George Naylor of Iowa Farm Unity Coalition; and Ava Bates, a Black farmer from nearby Hill City, Kansas, whose farm was foreclosed two years ago. The rally was chaired by Roger Allison of NAFA and Missouri AAM Grassroots. Greetings were heard from Rev. Jesse Jackson and from Rep. John Conyers of Michigan.

Speakers urged support for various farm bills currently before Congress and called for an investigation of the federal credit system.

In his remarks Ringer explained that while supporting legislation and legal action, "we're not going to sit and wait for the bigwigs to solve the problem."

He pointed to the hypocrisy of the U.S. government which "tells us what they [the Sandinistas] are doing in Nicaragua is wrong" while "foreclosure is U.S. farm policy."

At the sale following the rally, several bids were entered, including bids higher than the first bid from the Federal Land Bank. After the last bidder, who had been given one hour to arrange cash payment, failed to return the U.S. marshal informed the Ringers that the sale had not gone through. But the next day the marshals announced that the land had been sold to the Federal Land Bank.

Roger Allison and several other speakers pointed to the August 17 rally in Kansas City as the next step for farmers fighting back. This rally is organized and supported by farm groups, the Kansas City Greater Central Labor Council, the United Auto Workers Community Action Program, individual unions, Operation PUSH and SCLC in Kansas City, and other civil rights groups.

Proceeds from the rally, called "Defend the Family Farmer — Come Break Bread with the People Who Put it on the Table," will go to a defense fund set up by NAFA to defend farmers fighting foreclosure. For information, call (816) 842-5454.

Puerto Rican group backs Marroquín

The National Executive Committee of the National Congress for Puerto Rican Rights (NCPRR) voted at its June meeting to reaffirm that organization's support for Héctor Marroquín's fight to live in this country free from fear of deportation.

Marroquín, a member of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance, has been fighting the U.S. government attempt to deport him for eight years.

In a letter to protest the continued stalling of the U.S. government in issuing Marroquín the necessary paper to live and work in this country, Diana Caballero Pérez, the president of the NCPRR, wrote, "We reaffirm our continued support for Mr. Marroquín's determination to remain in the

United States. The government action against him represents one more regressive step in the legitimate efforts of Puerto Rican, Chicano and Latin American immigrant workers to live and work in the United States.

"As a student activist in Mexico, he was the target of repression in his homeland. It is ironic that in fleeing to the United States, his application for residency status after 11 years here should be endangered as a result of his exercise of first amendment rights...."

"We call upon... the Immigration and Naturalization Service to halt deportation proceedings and grant Héctor Marroquín the resident status to which he is entitled."



Militant/Will Reissner

Québec workers demonstrate against austerity. New magazine will contribute to discussion in Québec on working-class program and strategy.

First issue of 'Nouvelle Internationale' comes off press

French-language Marxist journal

The following is a translation of the introduction to the first issue of *Nouvelle Internationale*, the French-language sister publication of *New International*. Michel Prairie is a leader of the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire of Canada. He coedits both the English and French-language magazines with Mary-Alice Waters, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party of the United States. The translation from the French is by the Militant.

BY MICHEL PRAIRIE

Nouvelle Internationale is a journal of Marxist theory and politics aimed at working-class militants and all those who are struggling against capitalist exploitation and oppression. It will take up the most important questions of program, strategy, and organization confronting those building communist parties today in North America and elsewhere in the world.

As its name indicates, *Nouvelle Internationale* is an internationalist journal. It will deal with political questions facing the toilers of Québec, English Canada, the United States, and other advanced capitalist countries. It will discuss the struggles of the oppressed peoples of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. And it will take up the gains made by the toilers of the workers' states — where capitalist exploitation has been abolished — as well as the problems that still confront them.

Within this framework, *Nouvelle Internationale* will pay special attention to the revolutionary struggle that today grips Central America and the Caribbean. Events in this region are now the center of world politics. Since 1979 the Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, and Grenadian workers and peasants have proved that the Cuban revolution of 1959 was not an accident of history, but rather the beginning of a new historical stage in the struggle against imperialist exploitation and oppression in the Americas. The Cuban revolution marked the beginning of our own revolution.

The October 1983 invasion of Grenada and the escalation of the war against Nicaragua carried out by *contras* organized, financed, and supplied by the U.S. government remind us that imperialism, and above all U.S. imperialism, is determined to maintain its bloody domination of that region of the world. The stakes in the fight to prevent a direct U.S. invasion of Nicaragua are substantial for all peoples struggling for their national liberation, be they in Québec, New Caledonia, Ireland, or South Africa, and for all workers and farmers in North America and worldwide.

Nouvelle Internationale is published under the joint editorship of a leader of the Revolutionary Workers League, the section of the Fourth International in the Canadian state, and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, the fraternal organization of the Fourth International in the United States. Reactionary U.S. laws prevent the SWP from affiliating to the Fourth International.

Nouvelle Internationale will contain articles written by leaders of the RWL and SWP, as well as by other leaders of the Fourth International. It will also translate or reproduce articles and documents that are part of the revolutionary heritage of the international communist movement. In addition, *Nouvelle Internationale* will contain documents presenting the viewpoint of

other revolutionaries on communist strategy, which is the subject of a wide-ranging international debate among those fighting to end capitalist rule.

In this discussion the leaderships of the Cuban Communist Party and the Sandinista National Liberation Front have an important and special contribution to make. Indeed, they are the first revolutionary leaderships since the Bolsheviks took power in Russia in 1917 to consistently and over an extended period of time use the new state power to deepen the revolutionary mobilization of the workers and peasants in their own countries and advance an internationalist and proletarian foreign policy. This was also the policy and orientation followed by Maurice Bishop in Grenada prior to his overthrow in October 1983 by a counterrevolutionary faction within the New Jewel Movement. This coup opened the way to the criminal U.S. invasion of the island a few days later.

Nouvelle Internationale is the French-language counterpart of *New International*, four issues of which have appeared up to now in English. The publication of *Nouvelle Internationale* will make available to the French-speaking population of Québec numerous articles and documents that have up to now been published only in *New International*.

Nouvelle Internationale will be a tool for building a truly multinational communist party in the Canadian state. Its publication responds to a particularly real need today in Québec, where an important debate within the workers' movement has just begun. This debate centers on the results of the last 25 years of struggle against capitalist exploitation and national oppression, and on the bankruptcy of the class collaborationist policy carried out by the leadership of the labor movement toward the Parti Québécois, a bourgeois nationalist party.

The workers and farmers of Québec are a decisive component of the exploited producers on a pan-Canadian scale. Over the last 35 years, Québec workers have been in the vanguard of working-class struggles in Canada, both through the scope of their battles and the social impact of their demands. This militancy was unquestionably stimulated by the simultaneous development of a powerful movement for Québec's national and linguistic rights that deeply shook the Canadian imperialist state. The struggles of the Québec working class have been an essential component of the national struggle, and vice versa. The two are often combined, as during the spontaneous general strike of June 1972.

The articles in this first issue of *Nouvelle Internationale*, and those that will appear in subsequent issues, are a contribution to the discussion now beginning in Québec, which will encompass all the fundamental features of the pan-Canadian struggle of the working class against its enemy, the Canadian imperialist bourgeoisie. Among the chief questions that this discussion must address are the program and strategy required to unify the working class on a pan-Canadian scale; the importance of forging a class alliance of workers and small farmers, that is, of all the producers exploited by the Canadian ruling class; the decisive character of Québec's struggle for national independence for the pan-Canadian working class; as well as the importance of international solidarity with our

brothers and sisters who are struggling in Central America and other parts of the world.

Nouvelle Internationale will also utilize the experiences of the class struggle today to advance the thinking of workers in Québec and English Canada on the strategy needed to transform our unions into real weapons of class struggle capable of advancing the political battle to take power out of the hands of Canadian imperialism and establish in Ottawa a government of the New Democratic Party [Canada's trade-union based labor party] and the Québec labor movement. Motion today toward this goal requires a struggle for the Québec trade unions to break completely from the bourgeois and reformist policies of the Parti Québécois and to launch their own political party, a party struggling for this entire perspective. Only in striving to advance along this road can the multinational, pan-Canadian party that our class needs to put an end to its exploitation be built.

In this framework, *Nouvelle Internationale* will certainly be an important political resource for all other francophone peoples in North America: Acadians, Franco-Ontarians, Franco-Manitobans, other francophones who live in Canada outside Québec; and the immigrant Haitians of Montreal, New York, Boston, and Miami. We hope that *Nouvelle Internationale* will meet with interest in other French-speaking parts of the world, as well.

This first issue of *Nouvelle Internationale* takes up the historic continuity of Marxism as it relates to one of the most important questions of strategy confronting the working class in its fight to put a definitive end to its exploitation by the bourgeoisie: the alliance of workers and exploited farmers in the revolutionary struggle for power.

The first two articles were written by two leaders of the SWP and have already appeared in English in the *New International*.

The article by Mary-Alice Waters traces

the political continuity of the struggle for revolutionary governments of workers and farmers over the last 150 years. It begins by recalling what Marx and Engels said on this subject in the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, written right on the eve of the revolutionary wave that swept Europe in 1848. It then examines the principal lessons drawn by Marx and Engels from this profound revolutionary experience. It examines the experience of the Paris Commune of 1871, the first government of exploited producers to see the light of day, even if it survived only briefly. Waters's article then takes up the political and strategic gains of the Russian revolutions of 1905 and 1917. It ends with a study of the work done by the Bolshevik leaders of the Communist International between 1919 and 1923 to extend the lessons of the Russian revolution, and to generalize on an international scale the struggle of the revolutionary governments of workers and exploited farmers in the epoch of imperialism.

The article by Jack Barnes, "Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today," takes up many of the same questions but from a different angle. It starts by pointing to some of the strategic lessons that the Cuban and Central American revolutionaries have drawn from their own experience of struggle over the past quarter century. Similar lessons are being drawn today by other revolutionaries. Thus, there is a political convergence of those in the Americas and elsewhere who are fighting today to build communist parties capable of bringing the exploited masses to power. The article looks at some aspects of the communist continuity of the international workers' movement in the light of these concrete experiences of the past century and a half. (It should be noted that this article was written before the coup by a counterrevolutionary group who overthrew the workers' and farmers' government in Grenada, murdered Maurice Bishop and other revolutionary leaders, destroyed the New Jewel Movement, and opened the road to the U.S. invasion of October 25, 1983.)

The articles by Mary-Alice Waters and

Continued on Page 18

Subscribe to:

Nouvelle Internationale/New International

Nouvelle Internationale

- ☐ In Canada, 3 issues for \$14 (Canadian)
- ☐ In U.S., 3 issues for U.S.\$10, 1 issue for \$4.50

Make checks payable to Nouvelle Internationale. Send to: Nouvelle Internationale, C.P. 280, Succursale de Lorimier, Montréal, Canada, H2H 2N7.

New International

- ☐ In U.S., 4 issues for U.S.\$12
- ☐ In Canada, 4 issues for \$18.50 (Canadian)

Make checks payable to New International. Send to: New International, 14 Charles Ln., N.Y. 10014

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Country _____

Name _____
Address _____
City _____ State _____ Zip _____
Country _____

Chevron oil company profits from apartheid

BY ANÍBAL YÁÑEZ

SAN FRANCISCO — Chevron, the multinational oil giant, does not intend to bow to pressure from divestment activists and get out of South Africa, according to the corporation's chairman, George Keller. Chevron does business in South Africa through Caltex, a petroleum refining and marketing company owned jointly with Texaco. Caltex operates a 90,000-barrels-per-day refinery in Cape Town, South Africa, according to the *Oil & Gas Journal*, an industry trade magazine, and has some 2,000 employees in South Africa, about half of whom are Black or Coloured (of mixed race).

Keller defended the company's South African activities at a Chevron stockholders' meeting May 7. According to Keller, Caltex is working "to improve conditions under which [Blacks and Coloureds] work, the jobs to which they may aspire, and has absolutely no segregated conditions."

A glowing public relations piece on Caltex's South Africa operations appeared in the March 11 *Newsweek*. It said that company programs provide housing, subsidized mortgages, and tuition for white and "non-white" employees.

Denis Fletcher, the white South African who is chairman of Caltex, was quoted by *Newsweek* saying, "We will continue to work as we have in the past, setting the very best example as an employer in South Africa." Presenting itself as an enlightened employer trying to reform apartheid, Chevron would like to quiet criticism at home and maintain stability in South Africa.

This desire to maintain stability in South Africa is part of a bigger picture. With the acquisition of Gulf Oil, Chevron now has an interest in 6 onshore and 15 offshore oil fields in Africa and is the operator of all 21.

Before the acquisition, Chevron already had a 20 percent interest in five Nigerian oil fields, exploration activities in Chad, and oil-field developments in the Sudan. So, as Chairman Keller has put it, "the melding of Chevron and Gulf's activities on the [African] continent creates an excellent operational fit." This merging means Chevron now also has interests in Zaire and Angola, and has expanded its Nigerian operations.

According to the *San Francisco Chronicle*, Keller told company stockholders that "only three developments could force Chevron out of South Africa — if its operations there became unprofitable with no prospect of a turnaround, if a revolution occurred, or if the U.S. or South African government forced the company out."

So, Chevron's corporate tops are vowing that they will stay in South Africa and continue to reap profits under apartheid.

Fletcher, as Chevron's man in South Africa, says, "Caltex is not in a position to actively go out and oppose the government on government policies." He would like to give the impression that business is business, and must remain aloof from politics.

But the record of the oil giants in this re-

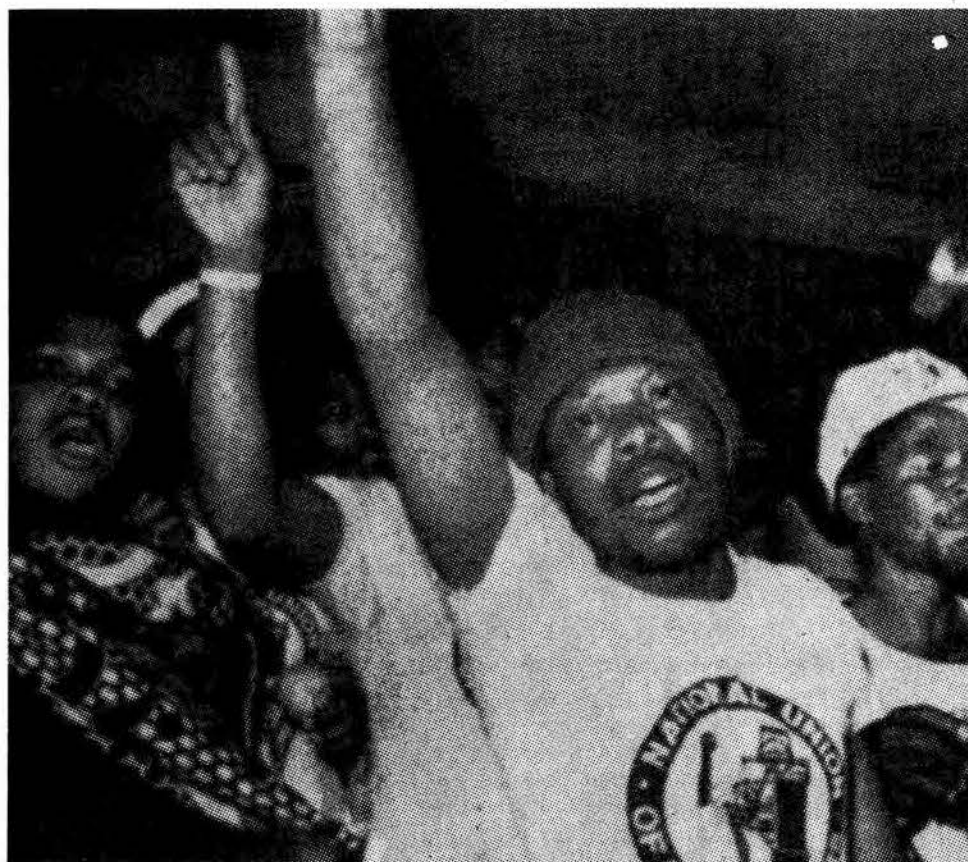
gard is too revealing. Business is business, and they will intervene in politics whenever they like.

In the 1930s, Chevron's predecessor, Standard Oil of California (Socal), joined all other major U.S. oil companies in a boycott of Mexican oil after Mexico nationalized the oil industry to reclaim its own natural resources. In the 1950s, Socal supported British Petroleum in a two-year boycott of Iranian oil when it was nationalized by the government of Mohammed Mossadegh. Along with the other oil giants, they set out to teach the Iranians a lesson which culminated in a CIA-organized coup in 1953 that ensured oil companies their profits.

The owners of the oil companies have been, are, and will be deeply involved in politics. They say they won't get involved in politics with regard to South Africa because they can live — profitably — with apartheid.

Chairman Keller told company stockholders that he did not anticipate anything forcing Chevron out of South Africa "in the short or medium term." Furthermore, as the apartheid regime's crisis deepens, the argument is raised that the withdrawal of U.S. businesses from South Africa will only hurt the Black majority and that U.S. companies like Caltex contribute to social justice. But as those in South Africa who are struggling and giving their lives for freedom point out, you can't condemn apartheid and at the same time invest in the South African economy. U.S. businesses like Chevron's Caltex in fact help prop up apartheid and their investments are not in the interests of Blacks or social justice, but in the interests of profits, pure and simple.

U.S. opponents of South Africa's racist system can help isolate the apartheid regime and give moral, political, and material support to the struggle by stepping up



South Africa's Black unions are fighting apartheid while U.S. oil companies such as Chevron profit from and live in peace with South Africa's racist regime.

the pressure on giant U.S. companies like Chevron, demanding it divest now.

"Labor joins protests against South Africa's brutal repression" was the headline of a recent article in *OCAW Reporter*, the journal of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union. It highlighted savage attacks against South Africa's Chemical Workers Industrial Union and reported that the AFL-CIO has said that if South Africa refuses to change its racist policies, "the U.S. should boycott its goods, bar new in-

vestment, pursue complete disinvestment, and sever all social, cultural and diplomatic ties."

Union members all over the U.S. can and should become involved in Free South Africa coalitions and organize educational and protest activities in our union locals as labor's contribution to this fight for human dignity.

Aníbal Yáñez is a member of OCAW Local 1-5.

Central American unionists to tour U.S.

BY VALERIE JOHNSON

BOSTON — In response to the deepening U.S. war drive in Central America, a "Central America Labor Leaders East Coast Tour" has been initiated for the fall. The letter explaining the tour mailed out to various labor unions states, "Within the labor movement in particular, there has been active discussion about the impact of U.S. Central American policies on the trade union movement and workers rights both here and abroad. While a growing number of U.S. trade unions have spoken out against U.S. military involvement in the region, many questions remain unanswered about the conditions and events affecting workers and their unions in Central America."

Major trade union federations of El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua have agreed to send representatives to participate.

These union leaders will present their perspective on the growing escalation in the war in Central America through public forums, meetings with U.S. trade unions and union officials, and media interviews.

The delegation includes: Francisco Acosta from El Salvador, currently U.S. and Canadian representative of his labor federation; FENASTRAS; Marta Alicia Rivera, representative in the U.S. of the National Association of Salvadoran Educators (ANDES); Sebastian Castro, head of North American Relations for the International Relations Department of Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), the largest union federation in Nicaragua; Miguel Cienfuentes from the National Committee of Trade Union Unity (CNUS) of Guatemala; and a representative from the union of Honduran Workers (FUTH). FUTH is comprised mainly of industrial workers in urban areas of Honduras and is part of the leadership of the movement against the militarization of Honduras by the United States.

The initial sponsors and the itinerary of the tour are: Central America Solidarity Association Labor Committee, Boston (Oct. 15-22), New Jersey Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in Central America and El Salvador (Oct. 23-

30), Philadelphia Labor Committee on Central America and the Caribbean (Oct. 31-Nov. 6), Delaware Labor Committee, Wilmington (Nov. 7-10), the Washington, D.C. area committee on Central America and the Caribbean (Nov. 11-16), Massachusetts Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in Central America, Western Massachusetts Labor Committee on Central America, and Providence Labor Committee on Central America in Rhode Island.

According to the East Coast tour office, endorsements include William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists; Kenneth Blaylock, president of the American Federation of Government Employees; Henry Nichols, president of the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees; and Ed Clark, International vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

Planning for the tour in the greater Boston area has gotten under way recently. Initial local unions that have endorsed the tour include Service Employees Interna-

tional Union locals 1475 and 509, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 402, the Massachusetts State local of District 1199, and the Massachusetts Labor Committee for Peace and Human Rights in Central America. The Massachusetts Labor Committee is sponsoring a reception for the delegation to meet with area labor officials.

The individual union officials who are endorsing the tour include Nancy Finkelshtein, president, Massachusetts Teachers Association, and Domenic Bozzotto, president of Local 26 of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees. A public citywide event is planned in Boston. Delegation members will be addressing the ACTWU Joint Board meeting, the United Electrical Workers New England District Convention, local union meetings, and other regional, state, and local labor gatherings.

For further information on the tour and how your union local can become involved, contact the organizations listed above or write EAST COAST TOURS, c/o Patty Williams, P.O. Box 38, Brookline, Mass. 02146. Telephone (617) 277-7259.

IUE local at GE plant in Massachusetts raises aid for CST

BY VALERIE JOHNSON

BOSTON — The Sandinista Workers Federation (CST), the largest union federation in Nicaragua, appealed to the labor movement worldwide to initiate a Peace and Solidarity campaign in July.

A response to the CST campaign is underway in the General Electric plant (GE) in Lynn, Mass., organized by members of the International Union of Electronic Workers (IUE) Local 201. Union members have contributed close to \$500 for aid to Nicaraguan unionists.

A letter signed by a number of IUE 201 members, including a shop steward, is being circulated. The letter states in part: "We understand how important union-to-union solidarity is, including international solidarity. We are completely against the Reagan Administration's interference in your country's affairs, and its support for the *contra* war against your country. We are sending the enclosed check as a token of our solidarity with your struggle as workers and trade unionists for peace and a better life for you and your children."

Calif. IAM local supports CST appeal

BY SYLVIA HANSEN

SAN DIEGO — The Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) recently issued an appeal to trade unions throughout the world asking for solidarity with Nicaraguan workers. The appeal included a request for financial contributions that would be used to help offset the destruction caused by *contra* (counterrevolutionary) attacks in that country. These attacks have the full backing of Washington.

One of the U.S. union bodies responding to the appeal was International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1125. Local 1125 represents workers at a General Dynamics military production plant here. The union's decision was reported in a recent issue of the local's newsletter as follows: "Members at the July 11th meeting also voted to contribute \$100 to the Nicaragua Solidarity Fund, a fund set up and administered by leaders from many different U.S.

unions including the IAM, AFSCME, AFT, UFW, ACTWU, and the Steelworkers. The stated purpose of the fund is to provide humanitarian aid to Nicaraguan unions whose members suffer greatly from the policies of the Reagan Administration. The letter signed by these U.S. labor leaders states, "For four years, gangs of 'contras' armed and trained by the CIA have invaded Nicaragua and carried out kidnappings, rapes, sabotage, and murder. The toll for the Nicaraguan people has reached 8,500 casualties, including over 4,000 killed, many of them women, children, and the elderly."

Other unions wishing to express their solidarity with the CST, which is the largest trade union federation in Nicaragua, can send support statements and financial contributions to: Nicaragua Solidarity Fund, c/o ACTWU, 975 SE Sandy Blvd., Room 108, Portland, Ore. 97214.

Behind apartheid system in South Africa

South Africa has been on the front page of the news nearly every day this year.

But amid the reports of growing Black rebellion and escalating racist violence by the South African government, there are few facts about the apartheid system the Black majority are fighting to eliminate.

Below are excerpts from the book *South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt* by Ernest Harsch. In these excerpts Harsch describes both the apartheid system and its origins. For more information on the book see ad on this page.

The word *apartheid* — an Afrikaans expression that literally means separation or segregation — was first coined in 1929. It did not come into popular usage until the 1948 elections, when the National Party of D.F. Malan adopted it as a campaign slogan. Since then, the term has come to denote the Nationalist regime's entire system of racist rule.

The adoption of apartheid as official policy with the victory of the National Party in 1948 represented an important watershed in the evolution of South African society. This shift was a direct result of the rapid industrialization of the 1930s and 1940s, which had drawn tens of thousands of Blacks to the urban centers, swelling the Black slum areas and fueling militant struggles around the country.

The expansion of South Africa's capitalist economy thus required adjustments in the overall system of white control. To keep the lid on this increasingly urbanized Black population, the Nationalists institutionalized, extended, and systematized all aspects of white supremacy and Black oppression to a far greater degree than any previous regime. Segregation in particular was elevated into a central pillar of capitalist rule. While 49 explicitly racial laws had been placed on the books in the four decades before the National Party took office, the number trebled to 151 in the period between 1948 and 1971.

Segregation, of course, was no recent innovation. It was rooted in the very substance of South African society, in the enormous gulf between the rulers and the ruled.

Although many apartheid theorists and ideologists claimed to see near-total geographical segregation as an 'ideal,' the actual measures enacted by the Nationalist regime have been aimed at a very different target: maintaining control of the Black population within a white-dominated society.

The biggest problem the apartheid regime faced in its drive to strengthen white supremacy was securing control of the cities. The dangers to continued white rule that urban Blacks presented were obvious, but the white mineowners and industrialists could not do without them. They were dependent on cheap Black labor. So Pretoria sought to keep the economic advantages of maintaining a large Black working class, while at the same time eliminating the political disadvantages. To that end, the Nationalists have conducted a perpetual war against the ability of urban Blacks to organize politically — through systematized segregation, the tightening of the pass laws, the extension of the migratory labor system, the removal of "superfluous"

or "undesirable" Africans, and outright repression.

[E]ntire Black communities [were] uprooted from their traditional neighborhoods, often in the central cities, and trucked out to new segregated townships on the outskirts.

Throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, a series of other measures chipped away even more of the remaining residential rights of urban Africans, disqualifying tens of thousands. Those who were caught living in the cities without proper authorization were jailed, fined, or expelled to the reserves. It was exceedingly difficult for Africans to move from one city to another, or to change employers. If they lost their jobs, they could be evicted.

The key instrument for controlling the African population and enforcing the laws that regulate daily lives is the pass.

The pass is one of the most graphic examples of how the apartheid system tries to dehumanize Africans. All Africans over the age of sixteen must have a pass and carry it with them at all times.

Failure to produce an up-to-date pass on the spot is punishable by fine or imprisonment. Hundreds of Africans are arrested each day for violation of the pass laws.

The myriad laws, ordinances, and regulations that govern the lives of Blacks from the cradle to the grave are not the result of racist attitudes or sentiments that are somehow inherent to whites. They exist for the



Street in Soweto, a Black township in South Africa

simple reason that they are profitable. They materially benefit the white employers, factory owners, and landlords, who use the system of racial oppression to keep down Black wages and living standards and thus substantially increase profits.

Blacks, in fact, are allowed to do little except work. The white expropriation of most of the land has left Blacks propertyless, with no recourse but to sell their labor power, the only thing of value that they have left. The development of Black businesses has been stifled by legal restric-

tion and a white economic monopoly. The overwhelming majority of Blacks thus belong to the working class. The basic function of townships like Soweto is to serve as dormitories for the Black workers who keep the economy running; they are economic appendages of the "white" cities. The whole system of apartheid — the pass laws, "influx control," industrial legislation, the African reserves (Bantustans) — has one central goal: to keep the reins on South Africa's large and powerful Black working class.

S. Africa threatens neighbor states

BY FRED FELDMAN

In response to growing support for sanctions against the apartheid regime, South African Prime Minister P.W. Botha has threatened reprisals against neighboring African states.

In a July 29 statement, he threatened that South Africa might expel hundreds of thousands of Blacks who migrate from other African countries to work in South Africa, particularly in the mines. He threatened cancellation of other economic ties with African countries.

He also threatened stepped-up military action against opponents of apartheid in neighboring countries.

Botha's threats came after representatives of the U.S. and British governments used their veto power to block passage of a resolution that would have "required the Council to consider mandatory economic and political sanctions against South Africa if its government failed to end apartheid," according to the July 27 *New York Times*. The Security Council then adopted a resolution urging milder sanctions, with the U.S. and British delegates abstaining.

Far from criticizing Botha's threats, the U.S. government has been silent. Capitalist politicians and newspapers like the *New York Times* seized on them as a pretext for opposing an end to U.S. investment and other economic sanctions against South Africa.

An article in the August 2 *New York Times* warned that if South Africa retaliated in this way against sanctions, "The black-ruled neighbors would suffer most, but there would also be some losses — probably bearable — for an isolated South Africa."

It is true that the South African ruling class possesses a powerful imperialist economy, dominated by big corporations with huge amounts of capital. This wealth has been accumulated through the brutal exploitation of Black workers and farmers within South Africa and also beyond its borders.

This wealth and economic power enables the South African capitalists to exploit, oppress, and impose ties of dependency on countries like Mozambique, Angola, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Lesotho, and others.

Some 288,000 Black migrant workers are employed in South Africa's mines, driven there in part by high unemployment rates in their own countries. Their earnings are important to the economies of countries like Botswana and Mozambique. Mozambique has needed South African investments to build a major hydroelectric project. The Mozambican capital of Maputo is

a port from which many South African goods are exported. Zambia, Zimbabwe and others have important trade relations with South Africa. South African rail lines carry a large part of Zaire's exports and imports.

Yet many of these countries are in the forefront of those advocating sanctions.

In the view of the Black masses of Southern Africa, the struggle to put an end to apartheid is worth the difficulties which the South African rulers could impose.

Furthermore, the moves threatened by Botha would be costly for the South African rulers. The South African capitalists do not import workers or have other economic dealings with these countries because they are charitable, but because these dealings are highly profitable. For instance, the expulsion of migrant workers would deal a blow to the apartheid regime's mining industry.

If Washington was concerned about the problems South Africa could cause its neighbors in the event of sanctions, it could easily counter them. Washington could provide these countries with massive eco-



conomic aid to overcome underdevelopment. It could take over their debts to capitalist banks so that they are not bled dry by loan sharks. It could break all ties with the South African rulers.

The U.S. government has no intention of acting in that way. It stands with the South African regime in seeking to stem the anti-apartheid struggle in South Africa and in trying to roll back the struggles of other peoples of Southern Africa for independence and development.

South Africa stages treason frame-up

Continued from front page

Although the apartheid regime's regulations allow only a minister to speak at funerals, a dozen people spoke. Their denunciations of repression challenged an edict that forbids mourners to "attack, criticize, propagate, or discuss any form of government, any principle or policy of a government of a state, any boycott action, the existence of a state of emergency, or any action by a force or a member of a force."

"These children were shot down for speaking up for the truth," said Buziswa Fazzie of the Port Elizabeth Women's Organization and the UDF. Her husband has

been detained under the state of emergency. She said the murders were retaliation for the Black boycott of white-owned Port Elizabeth businesses.

Ten of the 11 Zwide youth were killed since the state of emergency was announced. But several of their names do not appear in the official lists of those killed.

The headmaster of a local high school in a speech to the funeral described how some were murdered. He said police invaded the school, shot two teachers, assaulted two others, and then opened fire on students who sought to escape.

INS seizes N.J. sanctuary refugee

On August 6 agents of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) arrested a Salvadoran refugee who had been given sanctuary at St. Michael's Church in Piscataway, New Jersey, since September 1984.

The refugee, known as "Ramón," was seized by the INS agents one block from the church grounds as he was picking up his daughter from a day-care center.

St. Michael's Church has been giving sanctuary to Ramón, his wife, three chil-

dren, and his brother. A large number of community activists have been taking turns staying with the refugee family since they gained sanctuary.

One activist in the area told the *Militant* that the arrest of Ramón is seen as connected with the INS's attempts to force refugees to give testimony in the up-coming Arizona trial of 12 religious figures charged with transporting and harboring "illegal aliens."

Ramón was moved on August 7 to the INS Detention Center in Brooklyn, N.Y.

SOUTH AFRICA

White Rule, Black Revolt

by Ernest Harsch

352 pp. \$7.95

Order from Pathfinder Press
410 West St.,
New York, NY 10014

Include .75 for postage and handling

The employers' ideological offer

Introduction to 'Cosmetics, Fashion, and the Exploitation of Women'

The following article is based on a report adopted by the May 1985 meeting of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee. It will be published as the introduction to the forthcoming book, *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women* by Joseph Hansen and Evelyn Reed, to be released by Pathfinder Press in the fall. It is copyright © 1985 and reprinted by permission of the publisher.

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

In 1954 a sharp debate broke out among members of the Socialist Workers Party over the relationship of the marketing of cosmetics and fashions to the oppression of women. This controversy began in July of

SPECIAL FEATURE

that year, when *Militant* editor Joseph Hansen, using the pen name Jack Bustelo, wrote an article headlined, "Sagging Cosmetic Lines Try a Face Lift." This is the first item reprinted in this collection. It was a popularly written piece of socialist education, exposing how the owners of the big cosmetic companies play on women's insecurities and fears to sell their commodities and rake in profits.

The *Militant* article prompted a stream of protesting letters to the editor over the next several weeks. Readers charged that Bustelo was ridiculing women, that he was challenging the right of working-class women to strive for "some loveliness and beauty in their lives," and so on. Bustelo responded in the *Militant* letters to the editors column, evoking another round of letters.

At that point, the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party decided that the substantive political questions emerging from this at-first seemingly minor controversy merited a more extensive discussion than could be aired in the letters column of the *Militant* and opened an organized debate in the party's internal *Discussion Bulletin*.

This book, *Cosmetics, Fashions, and the Exploitation of Women*, constitutes the record of this important chapter in the history of the Socialist Workers Party — a chapter that came to be known as the "Bustelo controversy."

While the use of cosmetics hardly seems to be a topic of world historic importance, this discussion was neither frivolous, nor an academic sociological dispute. It was a profound expression of the struggle to maintain a proletarian party and Marxist program throughout the cold war and anti-communist witch-hunt of the early 1950s.

Three decades later, women will recognize in the matters discussed here many of the same problems, pressures, and prejudices that they still confront and struggle to surmount today. Revolutionary-minded workers, male and female, will find the material collected in this book of particular interest, as they try to understand the political situation in the United States and the ways in which all working people are touched by the many-sided economic, social, political, and ideological offensive of the employing class and its government. This material provides an instructive example of how ruling-class values and norms find expression even within the most conscious layers of the working-class movement, especially in periods of political reaction and retreat.

The record of this discussion is also an education in leadership methods. It shows how the SWP leadership sought in an objective and pedagogical way to clarify the underlying issues, thus helping party members be more conscious of the prevailing pressures, and better able to combat them.

Postwar reaction

The first half of the 1980s, of course, cannot be equated with the late 1940s and

the 1950s. The U.S. rulers came out on top of the imperialist heap at the end of World War II, with their main capitalist rivals devastated. The stalemate of the postwar strike wave in the United States, following the crushing of a workers' upsurge in Western Europe, ushered in a long period of economic expansion during which broad layers of U.S. working people were able to wrest significant concessions from the bosses.

At the same time, however, the Soviet Union emerged victorious over German imperialism, and the colonial revolution exploded throughout Asia and Africa. The workers and peasants of Eastern Europe and China overthrew their capitalist rulers and advanced to the creation of workers' states, putting an end to landlord-capitalist domination in vast new areas of the globe. The response of the imperialist powers to this mortal threat was to launch the cold war against the Soviet Union and attempt to militarily crush the national liberation forces in Korea and Vietnam. Some figures at top levels of the U.S. government gave serious consideration to using nuclear weapons against the people of those two countries, and thus to repeating the horrors inflicted on the civilian population of Hiroshima and Nagasaki a few years earlier.

In the United States, the domestic side of the cold war was an anticommunist witch-hunt. It was aimed first and foremost at destroying the unity and combativity of the industrial unions born in the great labor upsurge of the 1930s. Through the witch-hunt, the employers sought to create the conditions for an extended period of intensified exploitation of working people and accelerated capitalist expansion.

As the 1940s came to an end and the 1950s began to unfold, a process of depoliticization of working-class fighters took hold within the unions. There was less and less motion in the labor movement around social questions and no real political life independent of the employers' parties. As a result of these conditions, members of the Socialist Workers Party became more and more politically isolated; the party was forced into a largely semisectarian existence.

That was the political context in which the debate over cosmetics, fashions, and women's oppression broke out in the SWP. It registered the impact of one important ideological front of the U.S. rulers' political offensive during that period of reaction.

During World War II women had been incorporated into the labor force in larger numbers than ever before, including into many jobs previously closed to them. This brought significant changes in the way that both women and men thought about women's place in society. It broadened the social and political horizons of tens of millions of women who had previously been bound to the stultifying confines of the home. The deliberate promotion during the

postwar years of the "feminine mystique," as it later came to be known, was aimed at rolling back these changes in attitudes about women's proper role. It was aimed at reinforcing the idea that women — whether or not they are part of the labor force — should first and foremost be wives, mothers, and housekeepers.

Women were not the only target of this reactionary political and ideological assault waged through the press, schools, and churches. It was aimed at reversing the attitudes toward women among members of both sexes. But its impact on women was different. The goal was to force women to internalize the pressures on them, to accept and promote their own oppression.

Through the "cosmetics" debate that took place in the Socialist Workers Party, we get a glimpse of the diverse, if not-so-subtle, ways in which this pressure affected even very conscious women — and men.

Profound changes since 1950s

Since the early 1950s there have been profound changes in the economic and social conditions facing women in the United States. The domestic and international po-

litical situation has been vastly altered, as well.

Most importantly, the accelerated expansion of capitalism in the postwar years brought with it an even greater incorporation of women into the labor market. In 1950, 33.9 percent of women over 16 years of age were in the labor force. By 1960 that figure had risen to 37.7 percent. In 1970 it was 43.3 percent. And by 1983, more than half of all women — 52.9 percent — were in the labor force. During that 33-year period, the percentage increase of women who were in the labor market was slightly more than the percentage increase during the 70 years between 1890 and 1960!

Significance of industrial unions

Such gains in entering the work force are particularly significant when they result in women becoming integrated into the union movement, especially into the more powerful industrial unions. There women are covered by contracts that guarantee them wages and conditions equal to those of other workers in the same job category, male or female. Of course, women in the unions still have to fight discrimination, prejudice, sexist harassment on the job,

"The employers' goal is to force women to internalize their dependency — to blame themselves, not the social relations of production, for the economic and social problems they face."

litical situation has been vastly altered, as well.

Most importantly, the accelerated expansion of capitalism in the postwar years brought with it an even greater incorporation of women into the labor market. In 1950, 33.9 percent of women over 16 years of age were in the labor force. By 1960 that figure had risen to 37.7 percent. In 1970 it was 43.3 percent. And by 1983, more than half of all women — 52.9 percent — were in the labor force. During that 33-year period, the percentage increase of women who were in the labor market was slightly more than the percentage increase during the 70 years between 1890 and 1960!

Women today account for 43 percent of the labor force, as composed to 29 percent in 1950.

Of decisive importance to bolstering women's self-confidence and breaking through traditional barriers has been the incorporation of greater numbers of women into industrial jobs. The categories used by government statistical bureaus make it difficult to obtain fully reliable figures, but the trend is nonetheless clear.

For example, while the number of men categorized as "blue collar workers" increased by 29 percent between 1950 and 1981, the number of women in such jobs went up by some 61.5 percent; this increased the percentage of workers in such job categories who are women from 15.4 percent to 18.6 percent over that thirty-one-year period.

The increase is even more noticeable in the subcategories of "operatives" (assemblers, punch and stamping press operators, welders, sewing machine operators, truck drivers, fork lift operators, etc.) and "craft" workers (carpenters, electricians, sheet metal workers, tool and die makers, mechanics, etc.). Among operatives, the number of men went up by 8 percent between 1950 and 1981, while the number of women grew by 35 percent; this increased the weight of women in such production jobs from 27.4 percent to 32.3 percent.

In craft positions, the gains for women are especially striking, since they had been largely frozen out of such jobs until recently. The number of men holding such jobs went up 65.1 percent between 1950 and 1981; the number of women leapt by 327 percent. The percentage of women in the crafts is still small, but it has grown

and "reclassification" schemes to downgrade wages and conditions for women and other more recently hired workers. But the relationship of forces for women to wage such battles for equal treatment is far better than in nonunion jobs, let alone than in the isolation of the home.

Other important changes also occurred during the postwar period. For the first time ever, advances in medical science gave women access to birth control methods that were relatively safe and certain, and that were under their own control, not that of a man. Women won broader access to education and training programs.

Increasing labor productivity, and capitalism's penetration of expanding new arenas of production and distribution, created a mass market in the imperialist countries for household appliances and prepared foods. While women have hardly escaped from their domestic slavery, their work load has been eased. A wide range of such commodities have now become incorporated into the historically determined — and changing — value of labor power, to that extent raising the living standards of workers and their families.

The inexorable development of capitalism creates real — and ultimately insoluble — problems for the exploiting class. Capitalist expansion and the lash of competition dictate the incorporation of larger and larger numbers of women into the labor force; this tends to drive down the value of labor power by heightening competition among workers for jobs.

The capitalists' increasing purchase of women's capacities as wage laborers, however, inevitably brings in its wake greater economic independence for women, further disintegration of the family, and greater need for the appliances and prepared foods noted above. All this tends to raise the value of women's labor power, to raise the wages they can command in the labor market on average, other things being equal.

Through their experiences in the work force, women in growing numbers also begin to think in broader social terms and to act as political beings. They become increasingly class conscious. They play an expanding role in the labor movement, and in struggles by the unions that can wrest higher wages from the employers and push up the value of labor power for the entire working class.



Joseph Hansen

Offensive against women today

Economic and social developments such as these, combined with the political changes of the 1950s and 1960s — above all, the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements — were essential preconditions to the “second wave” of feminism that exploded onto the scene at the beginning of the 1970s. As a result of these women’s liberation struggles, further broad changes have taken place over the last fifteen years in women’s attitudes toward themselves and their place in society, as well as in the views of men on these matters.

It is these shifts in the social conditions of women since World War II, and the changing attitudes accompanying them, that underlie the recurring political and ideological campaigns by the employers against the politicization of working-class women, such as we saw in the late 1940s and 1950s and are once again living through.

Today the employers are making a concerted political effort to roll back, or at least slow down, some of the changes in consciousness about women’s place in society. They are taking aim at concrete gains won through hard struggle in the 1960s and 1970s, such as abortion rights and affirmative action programs. The aim of the rulers and their government is not to drive women out of the labor force, but to undermine their political self-confidence and make them more willing to acquiesce in attacks on their wages, working conditions, and equality on the job. In this way, the employers can hold back the increase in the value of women’s labor power.

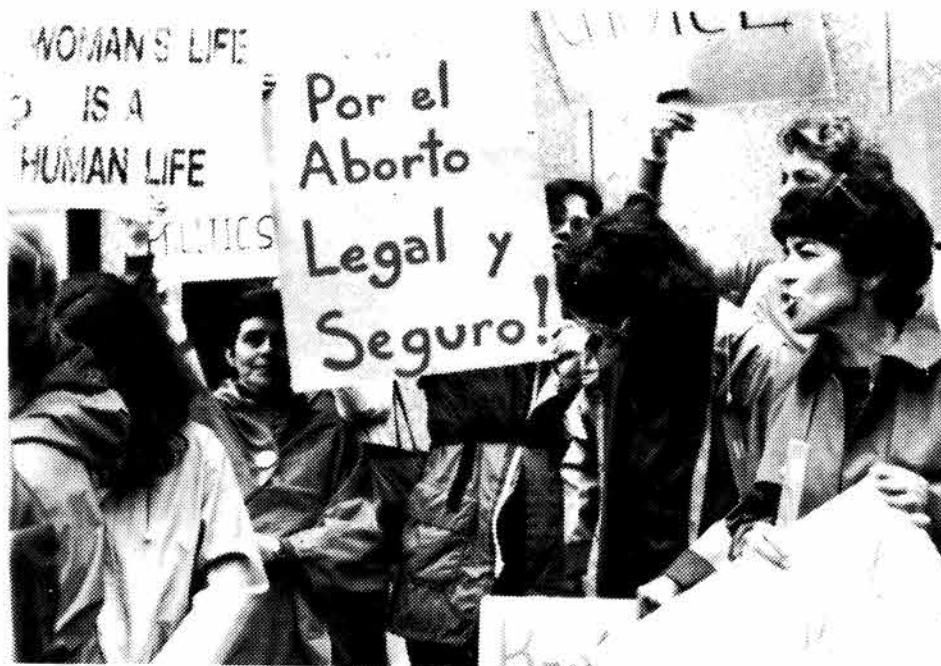
Attacks on women’s rights

The current attacks on women’s rights are not an isolated phenomenon. They are part of the broader offensive that the U.S. capitalist class has been waging for more than a decade to fundamentally shift to their favor the relationship of forces between capital and labor that was established following the post-World War II strike wave. The target is all working people, and all those whose race, sex, or national origin is used by the ruling class to single them out for intensified exploitation and special oppression.

This intensifying capitalist offensive began with the 1974-75 world recession and picked up steam with the 1980-82 recession. It is directed against the wages, job conditions, democratic rights, and organizations of the working class. It is aimed at heading off any progress toward political independence by the working class — toward any notion that labor should develop and fight for its own positions on social and political questions, independent of and opposed to those of the bosses and bosses’ parties.

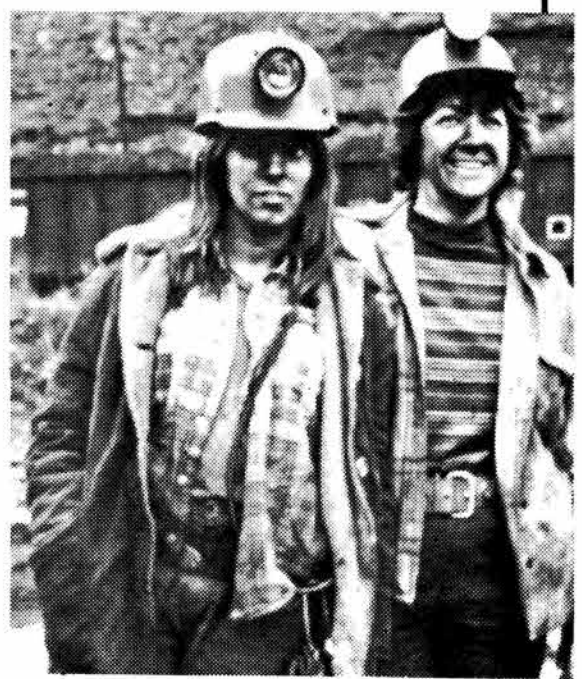
This offensive has been registered in a rightward shift of the entire bipartisan structure of capitalist politics in the United States. It has been accompanied by a sustained ideological offensive aimed at dividing the working class more deeply along the lines of race, sex, age, “skill levels,” language, and national origin. A special goal has been to reverse gains won by Blacks and women, who over the previous period fought their way through some of the barriers that have kept them confined to second class status in capitalist society in general, and within the labor force in particular.

Parallel to this domestic offensive has been an escalation of imperialist aggression abroad, especially in Central America and the Caribbean. As part of the U.S. rulers’ preparations for war, there has been an enormous increase in U.S. military spending. We have seen a constant barrage of anticommunist propaganda, directed above all against Nicaragua, Cuba, and the Salvadoran freedom fighters, but also against Angola, Vietnam, and other countries and national liberation forces. This has been accompanied by a growing domestic spy hunt and antiunion “industrial security” campaign. Through this political drive, Wall Street and Washington are trying to convince working people in the United States that U.S. foreign policy is in our interests.



Militant/Pat Grogan

Left, June 1985 New York protest. Attacks on abortion rights have been major part of offensive against women’s rights. Right, women coal miners. Since early 1950s, number of women in industrial jobs has grown by over 60 percent; this has been “of decisive importance to bolstering women’s self-confidence and breaking through traditional barriers.”



One result of this sustained economic and political offensive, with all its reactionary ideological offshoots, has been a deepening class polarization in the United States. Not everyone is suffering from the policies that the employers are putting into effect. To the contrary, tens of millions of individuals in middle-class and professional layers are benefiting from these policies. Layers of relatively more privileged workers, part of the aristocracy of labor, have also improved their situation — even if the insecurities and pressures that are common to their class also bear down on them. To varying degrees, all these social layers are being pulled to the right politically.

On the other hand, the big majority of workers and working farmers are taking stiffer and stiffer blows, and the bosses’ offensive has run into resistance. There have been fights against two-tier wage scales, bank foreclosures on struggling farmers, and U.S. military intervention in Central America, and in defense of Black rights, women’s rights, and immigrants’ rights.

All of these are labor issues — issues on which the labor movement must have its own policies and defend its own class interests and those of its allies. All are questions on which there is reflection, concern, and a growing willingness to take action. Broad and growing sectors of working people — on the farms and in the factories — are becoming aware that there are interconnections among these many battlefronts.

So far, defeats and setbacks for working people have outnumbered victories in the decade since the beginning of the bosses’ offensive. But that has not put a stop to such struggles. To the contrary, the combativity and tenacity of the Arizona copper miners in the 1983-84 strike against the Phelps-Dodge corporation; the determination of the Hormel meat-packing workers in Austin, Minnesota; the numerous strikes in the airline industry; the wave of protest actions against farm foreclosures — these examples are an indication of the willingness and desire of working people to fight back. These struggles are taking place despite the broad collapse of the top union leadership in the face of the bosses’ assault, and despite the default of the leaderships of the established Black, Hispanic, and women’s organizations on whom the labor officialdom’s capitulation weighs so heavily.

The class polarization, and the experiences that are generating it, give an impulse to the radicalization of the most combative workers. But these same developments also embolden rightist proponents of national-chauvinist, racist, anti-Semitic, antiwoman, and antiunion prejudices, as well as other reactionary ideas.

This is the political context in which we should now take a closer look at the character, weight, and place of the attacks on women’s rights by the employers and their government.

When the bosses go on a stepped-up offensive to shift the relationship of forces in their favor, they single out special targets as part of this broad frontal assault. One of these is always the advances and changes taking place in women’s social status. The employers take special aim at the advances of working-class women, but the barrage is borne by all women. Every woman belongs to the second sex.

The attack on women’s rights is fundamental to the success of the capitalist offensive. It is one of the important ways in which the rulers work to deepen divisions within the working class. It helps the bosses keep the labor movement shackled to a narrow trade union perspective, instead of thinking in broader social terms and acting politically to advance the interests of the oppressed and exploited. It is one more obstacle along the road to independent working-class political action.

The employers are determined to roll back changes in the way women think of themselves, and how men see them too. The aim is to undermine working-class women’s consciousness of themselves as workers, as part of the working class, and instead to heighten their consciousness of themselves as women — not in the feminist sense, but in all the retrograde ways that are drummed into them from childhood.

The employing class seeks to reinforce — and to make women internalize — the prejudices about women’s proper place and domestic role. Such prejudices go back millennia — and are progressively undermined by the rise and development of capitalism as it thrusts women out of the home and into the labor market.

The capitalists’ offensive against women’s rights is not aimed at driving women out of industry. That is historically precluded. The percentage of the work force that is female has been rising, from one plateau to another, ever since the beginning of the industrial revolution. Instead, the bosses’ aim is to make women more vulnerable to increased exploitation. The goal is not to push women out of the labor market, but to push them down.

In a period such as this, the owners of capital need an expanded pool of unemployed workers, what Marx called an industrial reserve army of labor, in order to intensify competition among workers and drive down wages. The employers need to make sure that this reserve army is reconstituted on an enlarged base, and women have always been an important component of its “troops.” Hundreds of thousands of women were forced into its ranks during the 1980-82 recession, eroding some of the employment gains they had previously won.

The bosses’ ideological campaign seeks to reinforce the idea among both sexes that women are really only marginal workers, temporary workers, part-time workers, home workers. Women are only a “second” wage earner in the family. The prop-

aganda is aimed at convincing women to acquiesce to unemployment with less resistance and resentment, by telling them that they “normally” aren’t meant to be working anyway. In periods of rising joblessness, there are always assertions by ruling class “opinion molders” that unemployment statistics are artificially high, since women shouldn’t really be counted as unemployed in the same way as men, the “main breadwinners.”

The goal is to force women to internalize their dependency, to cause them to blame themselves, not the social relations of production, for the economic and social problems they confront every day. The goal is to make women bear the guilty belief that their children are being permanently damaged by “abandonment” in child-care facilities, or turning into lonely latch-key delinquents. Rather than demanding — as a right — equal access to high-paying jobs previously barred to them, women are pushed toward being grateful for any job. At any wage.

Part of the rulers’ strategy is also to break down the ties and intensify competition between, on the one hand, women who are fighting their way into nontraditional jobs, and, on the other hand, Black workers, who constitute a large proportion of the politically more conscious, vanguard layers of the working class. Since women are getting jobs that men “ought” to have, they are allegedly responsible for the high rate of unemployment of Black males, especially. The employers also attempt to pit white women and Black women against each other.

Offensive takes many forms

Because the advances in women’s status in the 1960s and 1970s were so broad, and the changes in consciousness so sweeping, the counteroffensive against women’s rights in the last few years has been all the more concerted. It has taken numerous forms.

- The defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment.

- The onslaught against abortion rights — from the withholding of government funds; to the bombing of clinics; to the propaganda, day in and day out, that abortion is murder, murder, murder. State, local, and federal legislation and court rulings have placed more and more restrictions on abortion rights, and government officials are seeking to make deeper inroads.

- Glorification of the family, built around the theme of women’s special fulfillment of themselves as mothers. Supermom is in. That she often works a full-time job is accepted. But it’s only when she comes home, we are told, that her real responsibilities, and her true possibilities for fulfillment, begin. Supermom makes sure her kids — and husband — don’t suffer too much for her selfish absorption in her own

Continued on next page

Ideological offensive against women

Continued from preceding page

life. And, deep down, she has a lot of doubts about whether she's doing the right thing. Isn't this "new woman" wonderful? How many guilt-tripping articles like that have been published in the last few years?

• The concerted drive to roll back affirmative action gains, to foster the "white-male" backlash against Blacks and women. Once again, the goal is not to push women out of the few niches they have secured in job areas previously closed to them, whether in the mines or the steel mills. The goal is to deepen divisions and competition, heighten insecurity, and promote the idea that women don't really have the right to be there. In short, to keep down the value of women's labor power — and thereby that of the class as a whole.

Decline of the women's movement

The counteroffensive to roll back women's confidence and combativity, and to change male workers' view of their female co-workers, has been registered in a decline of the women's movement. The thousands of small circles of feminist activists have disappeared. The few groups that have survived concentrate largely on specific interests such as health or art. Others have been drawn into reactionary cam-

fective fightback. The prospects of the fight for women's liberation are not independent of the historic course of the working-class movement, even if women's rights battles can and do surge ahead on occasion and help show the way forward.

All the conservatizing pressures described above have been bearing down on working people for close to a decade now. And they have come down with a special weight on women. This is not an argument for pessimism about the future. To the contrary, there are already some small signs of a change in direction, of new struggles on the horizon. It is simply a statement of fact about the past ten years, and it provides an explanation for a number of significant and well-documented social and political phenomena that mirror the enforced retreat of women: the sharp increase in childbearing among women in their thirties; the rise in teenage pregnancy rates; the flight by many liberals, including prominent feminists, from an active and outspoken defense of abortion rights; and the similar retreat from defense of affirmative action quotas for women and Blacks.

Women in industry

Women who are full-time industrial workers and part of the organized labor



Evelyn Reed

“The class struggle is a movement of opposition, not adaptation, and this holds true not only of the workers in the plants but of women, as well. . . .”

paigns demanding more cops as an answer to the continuing reality of rape, or calling for censorship laws as the way to deal with pornography. Beginning in 1977 the National Organization for Women has been turned more and more into an electoralist appendage of the capitalist two-party system.

The last time a sizeable women's rights action occurred in this country was 1978 — seven years ago. That was the July 9, 1978, march on Washington called by NOW to demand an extension of the deadline for ratification of the ERA. There has been no significant women's liberation action since then, despite the potential that existed around the ERA, especially, and the growing desire of women to act in defense of abortion rights.

That situation won't continue indefinitely. There is growing pressure for a change. Already there are indications of a pickup in organized protests responding to the escalating attacks on women's right to abortion.

But the fact remains that there is no mass fighting women's movement in the streets or anywhere else today. There is not the kind of movement from which women gain confidence as they fight for their rights, as they fight to change things that vitally affect their lives. The kind of mass women's movement through which women can learn and grow in self-confidence from their own experiences in struggle. That doesn't exist today. The women's liberation forces are on the defensive, not the offensive.

This situation is not unique to the United States. It is a phenomenon that, to varying degrees, marks virtually all the capitalist countries where the women's movement had a significant impact in the 1970s. The reasons for this decline of the women's movement are also fundamentally the same elsewhere, rooted in the beginning of the capitalist austerity drive in the 1974-75 recession, and the incapacity of the officialdom of the labor movement to mount an ef-

movement are in the best position to resist the conservatizing pressures that all women are subjected to by the economic and political offensive of the ruling class. Such women are likely to have a higher degree of self-confidence that comes from knowing that they can sell their labor power and survive without economic dependence on a man; this gives them some small element of independence in making important decisions that affect their lives. They have acquired at least the beginning of class consciousness through understanding that they have a better chance at improving wages and working conditions by joining together with fellow workers to defend themselves against the employer. Moreover, despite the bosses' attempts to foster animosities toward them by male workers, women in industry frequently work alongside men in job situations where each depends on the other and relations of mutual confidence more easily develop.

If women who are workers are less susceptible to right-wing demagoguery and reactionary "solutions" to their problems, however, they are nonetheless not immune. They are constantly fighting the bosses' attempts to convince them and their male co-workers that they are not really workers; that they are women first and foremost, for whom being part of the labor force is only a temporary condition; that the really important thing for them is that they will at some point leave the labor force to raise a family. Home, husband, and children are what defines a woman's true identity.

This kind of reactionary, anti-working-class propaganda affects even the most conscious women and men, including those who are Marxists, those who belong to a revolutionary workers' party. That is why it is helpful to look back at the 1950s and learn how the reactionary offensive against women's rights in that period found an echo inside the Socialist Workers Party. This will help us to understand some of the

pressures we are experiencing today, and to arm ourselves to deal with them more consciously.

The 'Bustelo controversy'

At the end of 1953, the Socialist Workers Party — under the pressure of the cold war witch-hunt conditions — suffered one of the deepest splits in its history. It cut through the basic cadre of the party, taking 25 percent of the National Committee and some 20 percent of the membership.

This was the context in which the "Bustelo controversy" erupted in the SWP a few months later. The dispute was triggered by publication of the article "Sagging Cosmetic Lines Try a Face Lift" published in the July 26, 1954, issue of the *Militant*. The article, written under the pen name Jack Bustelo by *Militant* editor Joseph Hansen, noted that the recession was cutting into the cosmetics industry's profits, since women who were unemployed were buying fewer of its products. The merchants of "beauty," he explained, had announced their plans to revive profits through a calculated campaign to con and terrify women into buying more cosmetics.

Bustelo wrote: "The Toilets Goods Association reports that after 13 years of steady gains, cosmetics manufacturers' sales suddenly plunged in the first quarter of 1954 — right when unemployment took a steep jump." In response, he explained, the big cosmetics dealers were projecting "Operation Big Push." "Toni, for example, has announced its third new cosmetic in three months, a face cream that no words can describe except Deep Magic."

Bustelo then went on to explain how the owners of these capitalist outfits exploit women's insecurities to try to make them buy cosmetics.

The letters of outrage and indignation began arriving on the *Militant* editor's desk in a matter of days, and the debate raged in the pages of the *Militant* for several weeks. Hansen was probably not surprised. In all likelihood, he wrote the article because he was aware of the kinds of reactionary pressures that were finding echoes within the party. If so, his aim was true.

"Beauty is predominately monopolized by the wealthy," one reader said. "The wealthy are beautiful because the workers are wretched." Moreover, the fact that working-class women strive for beauty "has a progressive aspect," this reader argued, "because it is part of the rebellion of women against a position which denies to them part of their rights as human beings."

Bustelo replied with a short, to-the-point letter on beauty, class society, and historical materialism. "I do not believe," he wrote, "that 'beauty is predominately monopolized by the wealthy,' and that the 'wealthy are beautiful because the workers

are wretched.'

"It appears to me that you might just as well say that 'morality is predominantly monopolized by the wealthy,' and that the 'wealthy are moral because the workers are immoral.'" The standards of beauty, Bustelo pointed out, like the standards of morality, are determined in the final analysis by the ruling class. And, he added, "I think most of the customs and norms of capitalist society are ridiculous and even vicious, including the customs and norms of wealthy bourgeois women."

Bustelo's reply provoked further outraged responses, which are reprinted in this collection. Several readers wrote in defending the use of cosmetics as a basic economic necessity for working women to get a job and keep a man. They argued that the SWP should defend woman's right to use cosmetics.

The last letter printed in the *Militant* accused Bustelo of "third period" Stalinist sectarianism, since, according to the reader, Bustelo advocated "the concept that a woman should be satisfied with ill fitting, poor quality clothing, or that her hair and makeup do not matter because there are more important things." That, said the reader, is the same thing that the bourgeoisie tries to convince workers of, so that they won't demand the same products that the rulers consume.

"Of course," the reader argued, "these standards are bourgeois standards, but they are the norms the women have to meet. . . . If the women want these things, they should have them, and we have to support them in their struggle to get them. . . . It is part of the struggle of women to emancipate themselves from the status of household drudges and to acquire an individuality of their own."

Political implications of differences

As the character and political implications of these differences became clearer, the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party decided to organize the debate and let it unfold further. In October 1954 a *Discussion Bulletin* was published containing other letters and critical articles that had been submitted to, but not printed in, the *Militant*, along with major replies by Evelyn Reed and Joseph Hansen, again using the name Jack Bustelo. The full scope of the reactionary pressures coming in on the party are even clearer in this material reproduced from the internal bulletin.

A party member by the name of Marjorie McGowan, who belonged to the Los Angeles branch, said it most clearly. McGowan left the SWP very soon after writing these articles, and it is not difficult to see some of the reasons why. Her letter began by extolling "the revolution in technology and science," that, according to

Continued on Page 23

Readings on women's liberation

Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State
by Frederick Engels, 191 pp, \$3.45

Problems of Women's Liberation
by Evelyn Reed, 96 pp, \$2.95

Sexism and Science
by Evelyn Reed, 190 pp, \$5.95

Woman's Evolution
From Matriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family
by Evelyn Reed, 491 pp, \$9.95

Is Biology Woman's Destiny?
by Evelyn Reed, 32 pp, \$.75



PROBLEMS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION
A Marxist Approach

EVELYN REED

Order from Pathfinder Press
410 West Street

New York, NY 10014

Enclose \$.75 postage and handling

Salvadoran air force rains fire, death on countryside

Pentagon provides the weapons

On June 1... a bombing started... [in the] department of Cuscatlan by the Salvadoran air force. It was about 5 a.m. and my family and myself had not gotten up yet when it started. We had to leave the house we live in and seek a refuge in the bushes. The planes that day threw some six bombs just near the place where I used to live. ... I could see four wounded people. ... I came out and saw an old man wounded in his head, arm, and elbow; a woman 38 years old with a wounded leg; a 30-year-old man with a wounded arm and with his buttock blown off; a boy with a wound in his right side; all of them wounded as a result of fragments from the explosion of a bomb.

— Alicia Coto's testimony at the offices of the Archdiocese of San Salvador on June 13, 1984.

BY MARGARET JAYKO

A full-scale war — including daily bombings — is being fought out in much of El Salvador's countryside. A "general state of conventional war" is how a United Nations resolution described it last year.

This war has escalated sharply since the end of 1983, when the U.S. government feared that its puppet regime might actually be toppled by El Salvador's workers and peasants. Washington has responded by dramatically increasing the number of U.S. military personnel, U.S. military hardware, and U.S. dollars that it provides to the Salvadoran government.

The major U.S. news media, which is owned by big business, doesn't report much about this war. And the little they do report is designed to back up Washington's claim that the government of President José Napoleón Duarte is bringing peace and progress to El Salvador, and is isolating and defeating the "terrorists" of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

This news blackout prompted journalist Alexander Cockburn, writing in the June 1 issue of the liberal newsweekly *The Nation*, to ask, "How is it that over the past two years the United States has been or-

ganizing, supplying, overseeing, and in many cases actually executing the heaviest bombing and most ferocious aerial war ever seen in the Americas and not one coherent report of the extent, viciousness, or consequences of this campaign has appeared in any major U.S. newspaper or magazine?"

"Since the middle of 1983," Cockburn reported, "an aerial war has been responsible for most of El Salvador's 500,000 internal refugees and for many of the 750,000 refugees outside the country's borders." This is out of a total population of 5 million.

El Salvador has the largest air force in Central America — compliments of the Pentagon. It has almost doubled in size in the last year. The 49 combat helicopters, five AC-47 gunships, nine A-37 attack jets, and at least 10 push-pull spotter planes that fire rockets can rain a lot of death and destruction on a country as small as El Salvador. Nonetheless, more helicopters and AC-47s are on the way.

As news has begun to leak out about the extent of the air war, the July 18 *New York Times* and July 19 *Washington Post* ran articles acknowledging its existence. The articles' main purpose, however, was to cover up the extent and brutality of the war, claiming that the bombs are rarely dropped on civilian targets.

In *The Nation*, Cockburn described what he called "the basic techniques" of the air war. These include: "demolition and fragmentation; the dropping of 500- and 750-pound iron bombs, many fitted with nose rods to convert them to 'antipersonnel' devices; incendiary bombing, using Israeli-supplied napalm and U.S.-supplied white phosphorus; machine gunning, with A-37 fighter bombers, AC-47s, Huey and Hughes helicopters. A U.S. intelligence battalion based in Honduras flies OV-1 planes over El Salvador on frequent intelligence missions; their observations are processed by the Pentagon and fed within two hours to the Salvadoran Air Force by the local U.S. supervisors. U.S. pilots oversee the resulting missions and frequently take



Air force gunner over Guazapa. Washington is increasing its military intervention in El Salvador in order to prop up Duarte dictatorship, crush popular insurgency.

part in them."

The Salvadoran air force is dropping an average of 129 bombs a month, according to U.S. figures.

The antipersonnel devices attached to the iron bombs that Cockburn mentioned have been described by survivors: "They cut off everything at ground level — trees, crops, livestock, people."

U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Thomas Pickering, has denied the use of napalm by the Salvadoran armed forces.

Rank-and-file Salvadoran soldiers say otherwise. One member of the U.S.-trained Atlacatl Battalion informed a Pacific News Service reporter that incendiary bombs are used routinely in advance of major ground operations. "Usually we drop incendiary bombs before we begin operations in the area," a soldier with the 5th Infantry Brigade said. "By the time we enter the area, the land has been burned over and the subversives pretty well toasted."

A woman who survived one such attack clarified who these "subversives" were: "I was outside my house when the bomb fell. I could not see anything because of the black smoke and could not get air. Everything was on fire. My two children burned to death."

'Bombing is indiscriminate'

"The bombing is indiscriminate," said Cockburn, "designed to terrorize the people it has not killed into taking flight. The Salvadoran Army contributes regular massacres, to accelerate this flight. In honor of South Lebanon in 1982, Colonel Sigifredo Ochoa speaks of an 'Israeli solution': establishing free-fire zones which, journalists are told, contain no 'people,' only 'terrorists.' Conforming to this inhumanity, Ochoa's troops have prevented relief organizations from getting food and medical supplies to the desperate victims trapped inside those areas."

About 2,000 civilians have died in these air raids since January 1984.

The bombing is focused on the one-third of El Salvador's territory, especially in the east and the north, which is controlled by the FMLN. The main point is to try to undercut the popular support that the FMLN has among the workers and peasants in the countryside by making life dangerous and difficult in those areas.

There's also been an increase in army action on the ground, which has the dual aim of terrorizing and displacing the rural population and dealing some direct military blows to the FMLN. The army routinely destroys crops, livestock, homes, tools, and water supplies during these raids. It also rounds up and removes much of the civilian population.

In June, the army carried out a major offensive in the eastern province of Morazán, which is a rebel stronghold. It has also launched sweeps in the northern province of Chalatenango and in the Guazapa Volcano area in the central province of Cuscatlán.

The army's week-long offensive against Morazán, which began on June 14, was one of the largest offensive actions by the army thus far in the war. Thousands of soldiers were supported by almost the entire air force.

A June 18 broadcast by Radio Venceremos, official radio station of the FMLN, called on "human rights organizations to direct their attention" to the events in Morazán, which borders Honduras. The government's elite battalions had arrested many civilians and set fire to their land, the rebel radio reported. Salvadoran and international correspondents were banned from the area by the government in order to cover up crimes committed by soldiers.

The Salvadoran government also wanted to hide the fact that Honduran soldiers are aiding the Salvadoran army in these attacks.

The FMLN's Radio Farabundo Martí broadcast a letter sent to Duarte from residents of northern Morazán condemning the army's actions, which forced more than 2,000 people to flee.

"On June 14 soldiers of the national army, after a heavy bombing, were mobilized throughout the entire northern sector of this department. ... The army officers intimidated and threatened us to make us abandon our homes and lands. ... The officers said it was a military operation for us to leave the area; that we were responsible for giving supplies to the guerrillas. They told us that the army had to evict us from our homes because we were like water to the fish; that is, if we were not in the area then the guerrillas would have to leave."

"They warned us that if we did not abandon the area we would suffer the same fate as the residents of El Mozote in 1981, all of whom were killed for not abandoning that canton. They told us that planes would soon begin dropping 700- and 1,000-pound bombs; that we had to leave because our land belonged to Honduras and had to be turned over as soon as possible to the Honduran army."

Army targets Guazapa

The area of the Guazapa Volcano has been a consistent target of the regime's armed forces because it is the FMLN-controlled area closest to the capital city of San Salvador.

An article in the August 15 *New York Review of Books* described the life of peasants in the hamlet of Consolación on Guazapa. "Its inhabitants can't tell you exactly how often this year U.S.-supplied A-37 jets have made the earth near Consolación shudder with deafening bombs. The days and the bombs have blended together in their minds in a long haze of panic. They can't specify how many people died this year in Consolación from bombing — maybe fourteen, maybe fifteen."

"Marta Alicia Herazo, twenty years of age, of Consolación, remembers how the bombing started in the middle of the afternoon of April 22. Soon after, army troops descended on the hamlet, spraying machine-gun fire. Almost every resident has some relative who is a rebel fighter, but the hamlet itself, the residents said, is not an FMLN base."

The author of the article, Julia Preston — who is not sympathetic to the FMLN — asked Herazo: did the soldiers burn houses during the April attack?

"No, Herazo says, the houses had already been burned by the army in 1984. Did they burn crops? No, the crops were burned in an earlier sweep this year."

Preston pointed out that, "The army says the people of Consolación — about 270 in all — asked to be 'rescued' from the guerrillas. The villagers don't dispute that they left their homes voluntarily. 'There was nothing left there for me to hold on to,'" one woman explained to Preston.

Duarte admits that indiscriminate bombings went on at one time, but claims that they have stopped since he ordered the air force last September to hit only targets clearly identified as military objectives. No officers have been tried for killing innocent civilians in any bombings.

However, as one foreign military observer told Preston, "There certainly are areas where the army feels the guerrillas are the main inhabitants, and some areas they don't think there is anything but guerrillas."

State of Black businesses today

Continued from back page

Such a comparison was offered in the June 30 *Los Angeles Times* by Earl Ofari, author of the book, *The Myth of Black Capitalism*.

Ofari points to the smallness of the \$2.6 billion in sales by the top 100 Black businesses when compared to the \$1.8 trillion in sales of the Fortune 500.

He notes that the Lukens Co., a machinery firm that was very last on the list of 500, enjoyed sales of \$416 million, far outpacing the combined \$380 million sales of the three top Black companies.

And the Kellogg cereal company, 143 on the Fortune 500 list, employs more workers than the top 100 Black enterprises

combined.

Moreover, Ofari reports, the 100 top Black companies have little in common with the great majority of Black businesses, which are largely "mom and pop" operations.

He cites a Commerce Department profile of a typical Black business "as a sole proprietorship, with no full-time paid employees and with an average of \$37,000 in gross receipts."

Taken together, the numbers indicate that there's little merit to the argument that the development of Black capitalism can make a meaningful contribution to achieving full equality for Black people in this country.

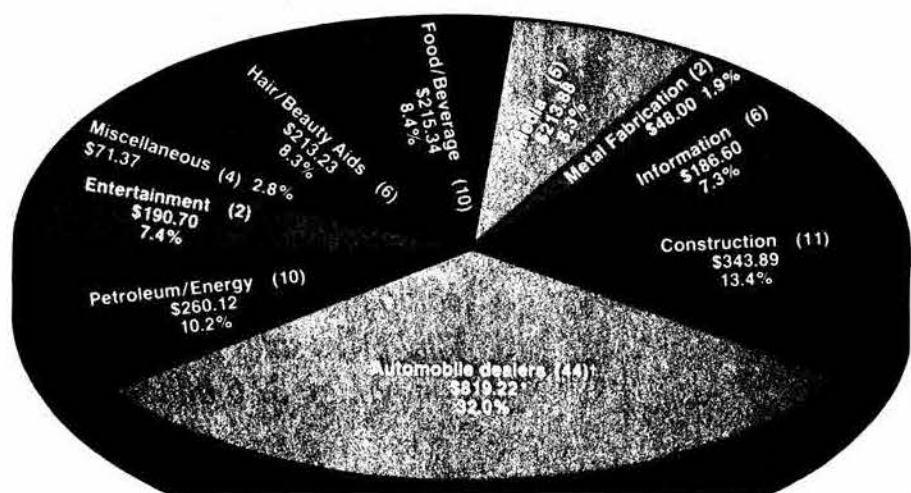


Chart shows top 100 Black companies divided by industry, number of companies in each category, and income in millions of dollars.

Why the U.S. and Japan went to war

World War II not in interest of workers, farmers of either country

BY PATTI HIYAMA

On August 6, 1945, the United States became the first and only government to drop the atomic bomb on people. The effects on the Japanese city of Hiroshima were devastating. The shock wave and fireball resulting from the nuclear reaction annihilated 10 square miles of Hiroshima, melting granite, and imprinting shadows of people and objects on the ground. It generated fires miles from the center of the explosion, and produced whirlwinds that fanned the flames so powerfully that they burned over four square miles after the initial blast. More than 100,000 people, including U.S. prisoners of war, perished instantly. Thousands more died later of burns, shock, or radiation poisoning.

Three days later the U.S. government dropped a second atomic bomb on Nagasaki. It killed 35,000-40,000 people and flattened the center of the city.

Between these two bombings, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan on August 8 and invaded Japanese-held Manchuria.

On August 10, 1945, the Japanese government announced that it would surrender, ending World War II formally on September 2.

The war culminated decades of interimperialist conflicts between the rulers of the United States and Japan over which imperialist power would win domination of the Pacific.

What is the history of this conflict? What led to the war in the Pacific?

Reasons behind WW II in the Pacific

World War II was presented by the government of the Allied powers (U.S., Britain, France) as a war for democracy against fascism, for the "four freedoms" — freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear.

In spite of this high-flown rhetoric, the real roots of the war lay in the struggle between the ruling families of the major imperialist powers for control of the world's major resources and markets. This interimperialist struggle pitted the U.S. and British rulers against the ruling families of Germany, Italy, and Japan.

This struggle for political and economic domination of the Pacific was fought on many levels. Just as in Europe, the Pacific war did not serve the interests of the workers and farmers in any of the countries. They were merely the cannon fodder for the ruling families of both Japan and the United States.

The war in the Pacific was also a war of national liberation fought by the oppressed and exploited people of China against the attempts of Japanese big business to bring China forcibly into its orbit. And the war also marked the beginning of the end of open European colonial domination of Asia.

This article will only discuss the interimperialist war between Washington and Tokyo.

Imperialist division of Asia

The Japanese rulers were one of the latecomers in the imperialist plunder of the world. After feudalism was officially abolished in 1871, Japan moved quickly to become a major capitalist power. At first, the process of industrialization was given a boost by the government, which financed the construction of model factories. These were then sold at bargain prices to private entrepreneurs. With few competitors and tremendous opportunities, a small number of individuals known as *zaibatsu* (financial magnates), such as Mitsui and Mitsubishi, came to dominate most enterprises. They maintained close relations with government officials.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Japanese capitalism had begun to consolidate a strong empire with significant colonies.

It began expanding its territory with acquisition of the Ryukyu Islands, seized from China in 1874; the Kurile Islands, ceded by Russia in 1875; and the Bonin Islands, colonized by Japan and recognized as Japanese territory by the United States and Britain in 1875.

As early as 1876 the Japanese government indicated its intent to control Korea when it signed the Treaty of Kanghwa, which opened two Korean ports to Japan. In 1894, the Japanese government fought a war with China and decisively defeated the Chinese army. It won all the rights enjoyed by the European colonial powers in China and acquired rich colonial territories — Formosa, the Pescadores Islands, and the Liaotung Peninsula in south Manchuria. Chinese hegemony in Korea was eliminated. Japan soon began to dominate Korea politically, economically, and militarily, formally annexing it in 1910.

But the European colonialists were not prepared to acknowledge Tokyo as an equal power in the imperialist scramble for China. They forced Japan to return Liaotung Peninsula to China only five days after the treaty was signed in 1895. The Russian, British, German, and French ruling families then proceeded to carve up China for themselves, creating spheres of influence.

The other colony that the Japanese government was able to acquire in this period was Taiwan, which was formally transferred from China in 1895. It took four to six years for Japanese troops to subdue the nationalist guerrilla fighters and establish control over the island.

The U.S. ruling families also launched an expansionist drive to obtain colonial

possessions in the Pacific at the end of the nineteenth century. Hawaii was invaded by U.S. Marines in 1893. It was formally annexed in 1898 to protect the property of U.S. landholders, who by then had seized three-fourths of the islands.

In 1898-99 Washington also won Wake, Guam, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and Cuba as booty from the Spanish-American War. Even after this conquest, it took nearly a decade and 40,000 lives to crush the Filipino guerrilla struggle for liberation that ensued.

The U.S. rulers now had intermediate islands as fueling stops that could facilitate their main ambition in the Pacific — the penetration, and ultimately the domination, of the potentially vast China market.

The U.S. rulers now made the "Open Door" the core of its foreign policy in the region. The Open Door policy insisted on equal access to Chinese markets by the imperialist powers. The U.S. capitalists believed that, with their economic superiority, they did not have to challenge the existing special interests and spheres of influence of the European capitalists.

The Japanese ruling class, however, altered the balance of power in Asia in 1905 with its stunning victory over the Tsarist government in Russia, thus dramatically announcing its arrival among the ranks of the imperialists. The Russian government was forced to recognize Japan's primacy in Korea and to surrender its economic and political interests in Manchuria. The ability of an Asian nation to defeat one of the European powers was an inspiration to the oppressed and exploited people of Asia.

Many nationalists in fact initially supported Japan against the European colonialists. This changed after experience exposed Japan's propaganda of "Asia for the Asiatics" and a "greater East Asia co-prosperity sphere" with a self-sufficient economy developing under Japan's benevolent leadership as cover for Japan's domination.

Two powers contending in Asia

Between 1905 and the Second World War, the history of the Pacific was dominated by the struggle between the U.S. and Japanese imperialists for economic, political, and military control of the region.

During World War I Japan joined the Allies (Britain, France, United States, and Russia) in the first imperialist war. It "seized the opportunity of a thousand years" to grab Germany's possessions in Asia — Shantung Province and the Marshall, Mariana, and Caroline Islands in the Pacific.

The tsarist empire was removed from the imperialist competition by the October 1917 revolution of workers and peasants led by the Bolsheviks.

The two remaining rivals in Manchuria, Japan and the United States, were able to arrive at an understanding in 1917. The Lansing-Ishii accord reaffirmed the Open Door policy of "equal opportunity for commerce and industry." The U.S. government recognized Japanese territorial acquisitions from Germany and "special interests" in China. The agreement averted open war between the two for the time being.

At the Versailles Peace Conference two years later in 1919, the Japanese government managed to hang on to the German colonies it had seized during the war, despite vehement opposition from the U.S. rulers. This was a blow to the U.S. attempt to break down the spheres of influence in China, because Japanese capitalists simply took over the German interests there without opening them to economic penetration by others. But in spite of this settlement, with millions of dollars due in war credits, the U.S. ruling families became creditors to half the world and leaped forward to become the dominant imperialist power in Asia.

In an attempt to modify Japanese influence in the Pacific, the imperialist powers banded together in the Washington Conference from November 1921-February 1922. This conference was the only serious attempt in the first decades of the twentieth century to settle peacefully the interimperialist rivalry in the Pacific. The rulers of

Japanese American soldiers in WW II

Go For Broke: A Pictorial History of the Japanese American 100th Infantry Battalion and the 442d Regimental Combat Team, by Chester Tanaka. Richmond California, Go For Broke, Inc., 1982, 172 pages, \$34.95, hardcover.

BY MORRIS STARKSY

This book is about the Japanese Americans (*Nisei* or second generation) who fought in the U.S. Army during World War II. It is a collection of remarkable photographs and personal reflections organized around an historical narrative.

The author, Chester Tanaka, volunteered for the army in 1943 and served with the 442d Regimental Combat Team. He

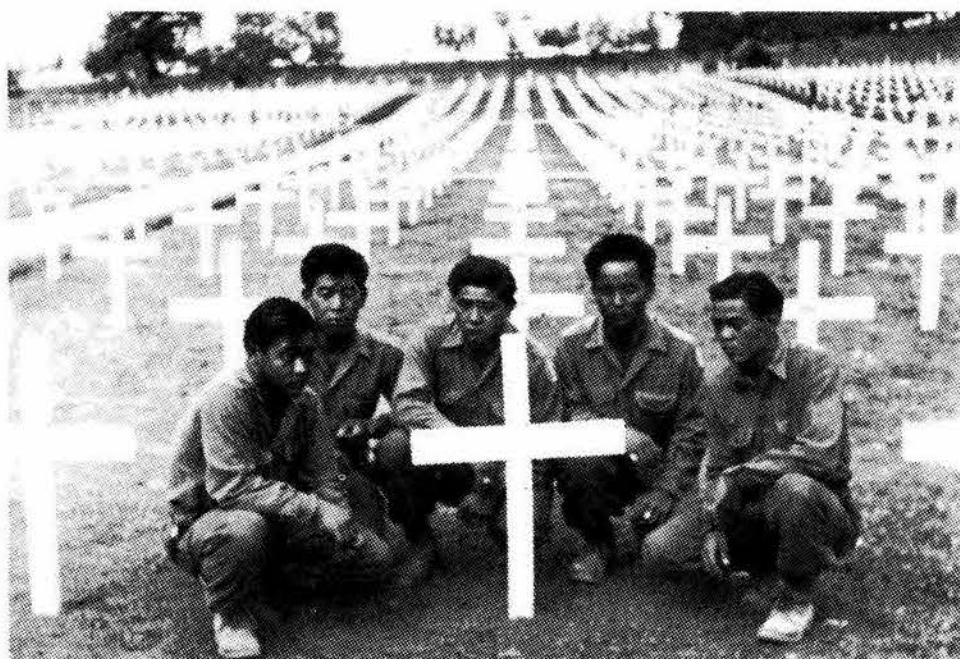
BOOK REVIEW

was one of the few men to survive all five of that unit's campaigns against German forces in France and Italy.

Go For Broke is a very patriotic book. Tanaka shared the view of many *Nisei* during World War II that if they proved their loyalty to the United States, despite racist injustice, they would earn the respect of the government. This book is the record of the military exploits of the "most decorated unit in United States military history," through seven campaigns against the "toughest troops the Nazis could throw at them."

Although *Go For Broke* paints a picture of how the Japanese Americans of the 100/442d earned the respect of the government by proving their loyalty to the United States in combat, a very different picture — one not intended by the author — emerges from the pages of the book. We see quite clearly how U.S. imperialism cynically utilized the loyalty of these Japanese Americans and used them as cannon fodder in its war against German imperialism.

In the process of earning 9,486 Purple Hearts for being wounded in action and 18,143 individual decorations for bravery,



Members of the 442d Combat Team with fallen comrades

the 442d with a top field strength of 4,500, in which a total of 18,000 served, suffered a 314 percent casualty rate. "Go For Broke" was their slogan, based on a Hawaiian craps shooter's term for "shoot the works." And that was what they did; they were proving their loyalty to the United States with their blood. They hoped that their record would help to free their relatives and friends from the concentration camps.

Executive Order 9066

On February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, stripping 112,000 mainland Japanese Americans of their rights and freedom. In the spring of that year, the U.S. government assembled and shipped off to concentration camps the entire Japanese American population of California, Oregon, and Washington. Two-thirds of those removed and interned were citizens of the United States by birth. None of them was indi-

vidually charged with a crime against the United States. They were simply ordered to report for internment and faced heavy criminal penalties for refusing to do so.

The evacuation of Japanese Americans from the Pacific Coast states was not a wartime mistake, overzealousness, or a misunderstanding about their loyalty. On the contrary, it was a conscious policy based on racism and plunder. It was preceded by a media campaign aimed at isolating Japanese Americans by associating them with "the enemy" and raising the specter of spies and saboteurs.

Tanaka points out that in Hawaii, 3,000 miles closer to Japan and under martial law, the 160,000 Japanese Americans were not rounded up and put into concentration camps. Indeed, their constitutional rights were respected to a greater degree than on the mainland. The difference was not a matter of loyalty. While Japanese Americans comprised only about one-tenth of 1

Continued on Page 21

the United States, Britain, France, and Japan signed a Pacific treaty that established their alliance and also recognized each others' possessions in the Pacific.

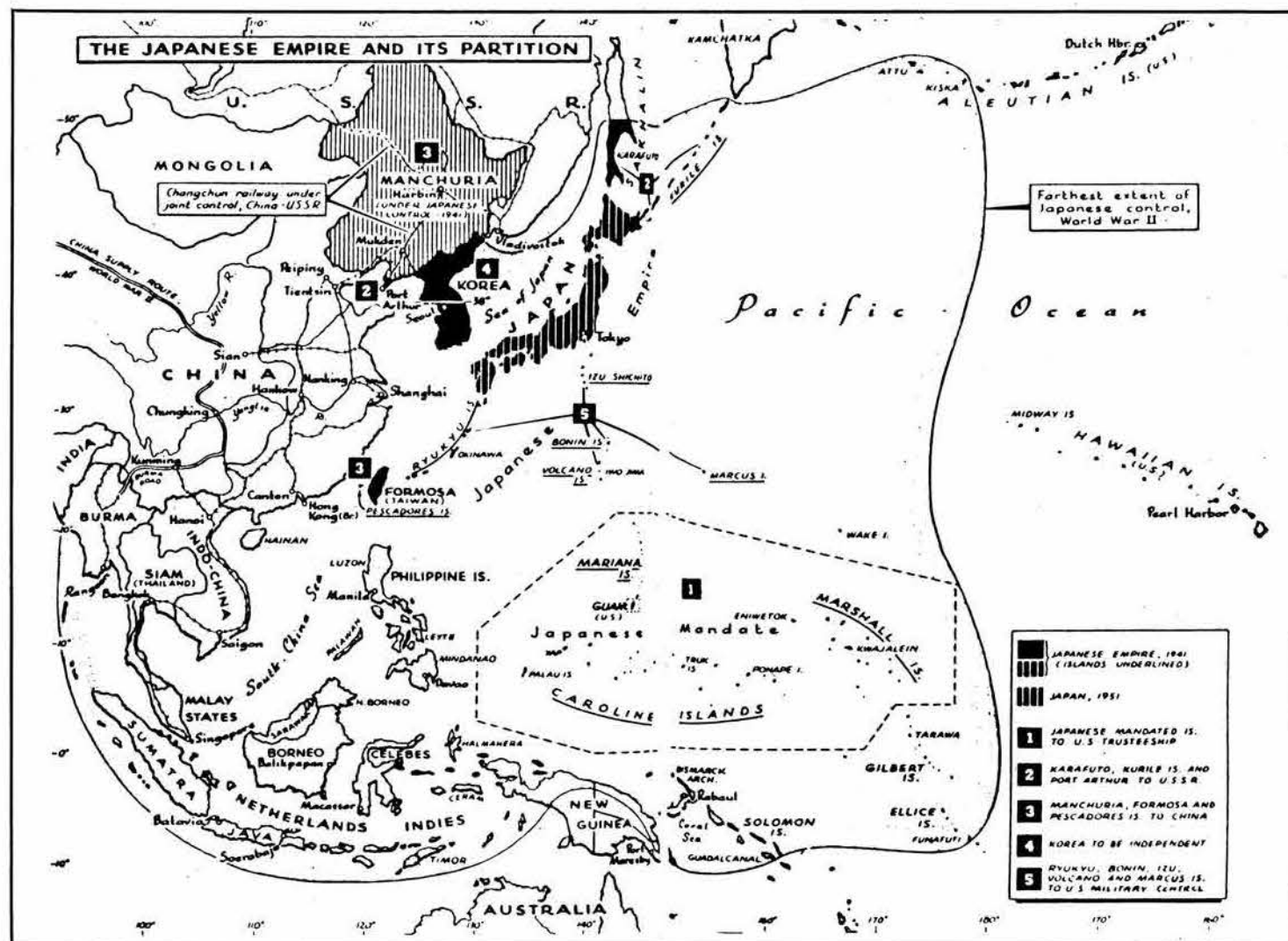
In other treaties, the Japanese government was forced to return Shantung to China, limits were set on naval ship construction, and the political and territorial independence of China was recognized (within limits). These treaties served to recoup some of the losses suffered by the other imperialists from Japan, while substantially improving the U.S. position at the expense of the other ruling families.

U.S. bankers and investors found the Chinese republic too unstable and instead invested heavily in the flourishing industries of Japan, which in turn invested increasingly in mineral-rich Manchuria. By 1930, 70 percent of all foreign investment in China was shared equally by Britain and Japan, compared to only 6 percent for the United States. U.S. exports to Japan, though, were at twice that rate, and by 1935 Japan was their third largest overseas customer, dependent on U.S. oil and strategic material imports.

The obstacles to establishing trade unions and a mass working class party in Japan at this time were great. The working class was not concentrated in large factories and was not a large percentage of the population. In 1920, for instance, only 19.7 percent of this population was in industry, and this figure fluctuated a great deal due to economic instability and low wages.

The dispersal of the working class in Japan — then a country of about 56 million people — made it weak and difficult to organize.

Workers remained almost completely unorganized until after World War I. Membership in the trade unions never exceeded



Map shows Japanese colonies during and after World War II

the high of 7.9 percent reached in 1931, and the actual number never went beyond 420,589 in 1936. Over one-third of the unionized workers were seamen. Most of the rest were workers in small and medium enterprises, especially printing and metalworking. Major industries like textiles, railways, electrical manufacturing, and mining were virtually unorganized.

These membership figures are not even that meaningful, since the largest federa-

tion, *Sódomei*, evolved into a company union after its leadership expelled all the unions associated with the Communist Party in 1925. It formally renounced strike action in 1937, and in 1940 submerged what was left of the union movement in the government-sponsored *Sampó* (Patriotic Industrial Association), which actively sabotaged the interests of the working class.

Just as in this period the *zaibatsu* were able to increase their profits at the expense of the workers due to their lack of organization, so the landowners were able to increase their holdings and income at the expense of small and medium-size farmers. Half of the population of Japan as late as 1930 was engaged in agriculture. Most of them were peasants forced into partial or complete tenantry and dependent on unmechanized agricultural methods and labor-intensive hand tools. High land taxes forced the farmers to take off-the-farm jobs in the villages or to send family members to work in the cities or both in order to keep from starving. In particular, nearly half of these tenant farmers relied on the production of raw silk as their secondary source of income, which was disastrous during the Depression when prices fell sharply.

After World War I the landholders consolidated their monopoly on the land at the expense of small landholders, who were forced to become tenants by mortgage foreclosures. As conditions worsened, tenant-farmer distress became translated into action. The number of tenant-landlord disputes over rent taken to court increased, from 408 in 1920 to 2,751 in 1925, and broke new records yearly until 1936.

As courts consistently ruled against the tenant farmers, they became aware of the struggle of workers in the cities, learning tactics of union organization from leaders with previous experience in the labor movement. A few years after the first major national union of workers was formed, the Japan Farmers' Union was established in 1922 by Social Democrats and soon reached a peak of 67,876 members.

The key question for the farmers as well as for the workers in Japan was leadership. The tenant farmers were bound to their land, traveled little, and were relatively inexperienced in organizing collective action. They repeatedly sought the help of labor groups to form a political liaison for joint labor-farmer struggles.

The ruling families in Japan used both repression and concessions to divide the already-weak organizations of the working class and farmers. Through these methods, the influence of the Social Democrats and the Communist Party was kept minimal.

The Communist Party never exceeded 1,000 members prior to 1945. It frequently fell below 100 because of the incessant mass arrests that began a few months after its founding in 1922 and continued every

year throughout the 1930s.

The Social Democrats were won over to politically support ruling class policies, including its expansion in the Far East, by such concessions as the 1925 Universal Manhood Suffrage laws. All political organizations of the workers and peasants remained small with no mass influence.

The weakness of the worker and farmer organizations made it possible for the Japanese capitalists and landlords to carry out the militarization of labor, the centralization of power at the expense of the workers. The ruling families passed laws that mobilized the entire personnel and material resources of the nation. This gave the government immense powers to employ or discharge workers, regulate their wages and working conditions, censor all press and media information, and place vital industries under its direct operation.

They used the emperor to appeal for national unity in the interests of imperialism and to support the military dictatorship. Unlike the German and Italian rulers, the Japanese capitalists did not need a mass fascist movement to destroy the workers' and farmers' organizations, which were extremely weak and ineffective already.

World War II was disastrous for the Japanese workers and farmers. They faced terrible hardships caused by conscription, obligatory labor, food shortages, and, later, bombings. There was little organized resistance to the ruling class from workers from 1937 on. However, working people, especially requisitioned workers, expressed their opposition in individual acts of desertion, absenteeism, destruction of equipment, and deliberately making products that were defective. While the number of strikes fell, the number of work stoppages due to sabotage increased by about as much as the strikes fell.

In 1931, the Japanese government began to take further steps toward expanding its empire in the Far East. Using the pretext of an incident in Manchuria, Japanese troops invaded, overcame feeble resistance, and set up a puppet state, Manchukuo, which became a virtual province of Japan.

In 1934 Tokyo closed the open door in China with its announcement of the *Amau Doctrine*. Japan claimed the right to oppose loans or any other support by other nations to China and denied China the right "to avail herself of the influence of any other country to resist Japan."

Then Japanese troops invaded China in 1937. When the Nationalist government headed by Chiang Kai-shek refused to surrender, a puppet government headed by a rival of Chiang, Wang Shing-wei, was set up in Nanking.

The tripartite pact of Germany, Italy, and Japan was signed in 1940. The pact recognized Japanese hegemony in Asia and each signatory agreed to help any attacked

Continued on Page 21

Lenin: 'Japan and America will fight for the right to loot'

The following is an excerpt from a December 1920 speech by V. I. Lenin, the central leader of the Bolshevik Party that led the workers and peasants to power in Russia in October 1917. The speech was given to a meeting of party activists in Moscow.

Lenin explained that the underlying economic and political reasons that led to the first imperialist war in 1914 had not been settled by that war's end. To the contrary, the outcome of the war had planted the seeds for a new inter-imperialist war. He specifically cites the prospect of war between the ruling families of the United States and Japan over control of the Pacific.

Lenin explained that until capitalism was overturned worldwide, the workers and peasants in Russia, in defending themselves, would find it necessary to take advantage of the antagonisms that exist between imperialist governments. In his speech, he demonstrated how this policy had been effective in Europe and the possibilities for applying it in Asia.

* * *

Are there any radical antagonisms in the present-day capitalist world that must be utilized? Yes. The first, the one that affects us closest, is the relations between Japan and America. War is brewing between them. They cannot live together in peace on the shores of the Pacific, although those shores are three thousand versts [approximately 2,000 miles] apart. This rivalry arises incontestably from the relation between their capitalisms. A vast literature exists on the future Japanese-American war. It is beyond doubt that war is brewing, that it is inevitable. The pacifists are trying to ignore the matter and obscure it with general phrases, but no student of the history of economic relations and diplomacy can have the slightest doubt that war is ripe from the economic viewpoint and is being prepared politically. One cannot open a single book on this subject without

seeing that a war is brewing. The world has been partitioned. Japan has seized vast colonies. Japan has a population of fifty million, and she is comparatively weak economically. America has a population of a hundred and ten million, and although she is many times richer than Japan she has no colonies.

Japan has seized China, which has a population of four hundred million and the richest coal reserves in the world. How can this plum be kept? It is absurd to think that a stronger capitalism will not deprive a weaker capitalism of the latter's spoils. Can the Americans remain indifferent under such circumstances? Can strong capitalists remain side by side with weak capitalists and not be expected to grab everything they can from the latter? What would they be good for if they did not? But that being the case, can we, as Communists, remain indifferent and merely say: "We shall carry on propaganda for communism in these countries." That is correct, but it is not everything. The practical task of communist policy is to take advantage of this hostility and to play one side off against the other. Here a new situation arises. Take the two imperialist countries, Japan and America. They want to fight and will fight for world supremacy, for the right to loot. Japan will fight so as to continue to plunder Korea, which she is doing with unprecedented brutality, combining all the latest technical inventions with purely Asiatic tortures. We recently received a Korean newspaper which gives an account of what the Japanese are doing. Here we find all the methods of tsarism and all the latest technical perfections combined with a purely Asiatic system of torture and unparalleled brutality. But the Americans would like to grab this Korean tidbit. Of course, defense of country in such a war would be a heinous crime, a betrayal of socialism. Of course, to support one of these countries against the other would be a crime against communism; we Communists have to play one off against the other.

SWP condemns fraudulent use of party name

BY LARRY SEIGLE

A group falsely claiming to be part of the Socialist Workers Party has begun functioning publicly in recent weeks. This fraudulent misuse of the SWP's name is an attack on the democratic rights of the SWP and of its entire membership.

It is also a provocation that gives the government an additional argument to try to justify its use of FBI informers and other spying and disruption measures against the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance. This is especially dangerous in face of the legal battles to protect democratic rights that the SWP and YSA are currently involved in.

The new group is called Socialist Unity. It is one of three organizations that emerged from a faction that split from the SWP in 1983. The other two groups are called Socialist Action and Fourth Internationalist Tendency.

In a founding declaration, which has been circulating publicly in several cities, Socialist Unity asserts: "In effect, the Socialist Workers Party is now divided into four distinct political tendencies, the SWP, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, Socialist Action, and Socialist Action (minority tendency)." The formation called "Socialist Action (minority tendency)" subsequently took the name Socialist Unity.

This attempt by Socialist Unity to pass itself off as part of the Socialist Workers Party is a deliberate challenge to the right of the membership of the SWP to organize the party as it sees fit, and to decide party policy. This right necessarily includes at its very heart the right of the membership to decide who speaks and acts in the name of the party, and who the members of the party are.

Without the fundamental democratic right to decide the basis of membership and to determine who meets that standard, no organization based on voluntary association can function.

By falsely claiming to be a part of the SWP, Socialist Unity is engaged not only in a political fraud, but also in an effort to negate the decisions of the party membership and elected leadership bodies.

Equally damaging to the SWP's rights is the assertion by Socialist Unity that, in fact, the SWP no longer exists. What is

known as the SWP is, they claim, only one of four components, each a legitimate part of the "Socialist Workers Party."

If the decisions of the SWP membership and elected leadership bodies can be overturned by an outside force, and the right to speak in the name of the SWP usurped, the very right of the SWP to exist is undermined.

Los Angeles lawsuit

The SWP is currently involved in a protracted battle to defend precisely this right against a sustained attack by a federal judge in Los Angeles, in collaboration with lawyers and a well-bankrolled organization out to disrupt the SWP and drain it of resources. Federal District Judge Mariana Pfaelzer has claimed that the courts have the right to decide who can be a member of the SWP, and whether or not the elected leadership bodies of the party are functioning properly.

Pfaelzer is the judge in a lawsuit filed by Alan Gelfand, who worked as a lawyer for Los Angeles County. Gelfand entered the SWP in 1976 to disrupt it from within. He was expelled from the party in 1979 after he filed a legal brief in federal court charging that the SWP has been taken over by the FBI. This slander is at the heart of an international disruption campaign being carried out against the SWP and the Fourth International, the international organization that the SWP helped to found in 1938. This disruption operation is the principal activity of the Workers Revolutionary Party of Britain and its U.S. followers, the Workers League.

After being expelled from the SWP, Gelfand, in collusion with the WRP/WL, sued the party. He asked Judge Pfaelzer to remove the elected SWP leadership from office and reinstate him into membership. Gelfand claims that he represents the "true" SWP and that its elected leadership committees do not.

The case has been pending for six years. A trial was held more than two years ago, but the judge has refused to issue a ruling. Despite having to admit time and again that Gelfand has no evidence to back up his charge that the leaders of the SWP are FBI agents, Pfaelzer has rejected every effort by the SWP to have the case thrown out of court.

Pfaelzer has overruled SWP arguments that the government and its courts have no right to intervene into the internal life of the SWP or any similar voluntary organization, and that only the members of the party have the right to decide who is and who is not a member of their organization. The judge also asserts the right of the government to pass judgment on whether the party's activities and positions are in conformity with its stated program and historic goals.

Pfaelzer's ongoing intervention into the internal functioning of the SWP is a blow against freedom of association, and against the entire Bill of Rights.

The SWP and other defenders of democratic rights have been waging a campaign against this government intervention into the party. At stake are not only the rights of the SWP, but the rights of unions, organizations fighting for Black equality, and other associations.

The same basic rights are at stake in the stealing of the party's name by Socialist Unity. Those who are not members of the SWP have no right to speak in its name. Any attempt to do so — for whatever motive — is an assault on the right of association.

Handing cops an excuse

Socialist Unity asserts that the SWP has broken into four pieces. It claims that the SWP as it has been known for almost fifty years is not the SWP at all, but only one part of its former self. This attempted dismemberment of the SWP not only challenges the rights of the party and of its entire membership, it also hands the government an argument to use to attempt to justify its use of police spies and provocateurs against the SWP and YSA. For this reason, regardless of the intention of those who are involved in this deliberate falsification, it constitutes a provocation.

A major argument used by government lawyers seeking to defend the use of FBI

informers against the SWP and YSA is that the government needs to spy on these organizations from inside because, no matter what the positions adopted by the official bodies of the SWP or YSA might be, these are not binding on all members.

The FBI's lawyers claim that there can be more than one "SWP" or "YSA" position and organizational structure. Because of this, they insist, the FBI has to constantly spy on these organizations, including through the use of informers, to find out what every member thinks and does.

This is one of the central defenses being used by the government in defending the FBI in the ongoing lawsuit filed by the SWP and YSA against political police spying and disruption. This case finally went to trial in New York in 1981, after eight years of government stalling. But, like the case in Los Angeles, the judge is refusing to release a decision.

The same argument will undoubtedly be raised in the trial this fall in a suit filed by Harry Clark, a former member of the YSA. Clark, who is Black, was the target of a massive FBI investigation that resulted in government agents visiting his family, friends, and coworkers solely on the basis of a report that Clark had attended some YSA meetings. As a result, he was denied a promotion at the Library of Congress, where he worked, solely because of his political views.

The FBI suffered a negative ruling in an earlier phase of the Clark case. The cop agency has let it be known to reporters that it will try to put the SWP and YSA on trial when the case is heard again in federal district court in Washington, D.C., this fall.

The assertion by Socialist Unity that the SWP is now composed of four groups, each with its own structure, leadership, and political positions, will make the government's job that much easier in justifying its political police operations against the party and the YSA. The fact that the assertion is

Continued on next page

French-language Marxist journal now available

Continued from Page 9

Jack Barnes are followed by a collection of five documents, more historical in character, that also take up the question of workers' and farmers' governments.

The Cuban revolution of 1959 was without any doubt one of the most important examples of a victorious people's revolution. The document we are reproducing here is an extract of the main report given by Fidel Castro on behalf of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba at the party's first congress in 1975. This document is a good example of the Cuban revolutionaries' efforts to consider the meaning of their own revolutionary experience, to draw its lessons, and to generalize them. In it, Fidel Castro describes in a very specific way the main stages that the Cuban revolution passed through from 1953 to 1964, that is from the beginning of the final struggle against the Batista dictatorship up to the second agrarian reform decreed by the new revolutionary government. It also gives a very good picture of the decisive role played by the revolutionary government brought to power in 1959 in the mobilization of Cuban workers and peasants. These mobilizations broke the resistance of the big landowners, the Cuban capitalists, and the big U.S. imperialist corporations and their government in Washington against the economic and social measures that the workers' and peasants' government in Cuba sought to apply.

The next two documents were written by Joseph Hansen, a longtime leader of the SWP and the Fourth International. Hansen died in January 1979. He had been one of the secretaries of the Russian revolutionary Leon Trotsky in the 1930s. The two articles published here were written 10 years apart, the first in 1969 and the second in 1978. They show the development of the political views of the SWP leadership in the light of the Cuban revolution, including lessons relating to other post-World War II revolutionary processes around the world that came before 1959.

Joseph Hansen's contribution to this

process of political clarification was a decisive factor in the ability of the SWP and RWL to reconquer communist revolutionary continuity on the question of workers' and farmers' governments, as can be seen in the articles of Mary-Alice Waters and Jack Barnes published in this first issue of *Nouvelle Internationale*. This contribution was also decisive in these two parties' capacity to grasp the historic meaning of the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions of 1979 and to respond to them clearly and correctly.

Lastly, the final two documents in this first issue of *Nouvelle Internationale* come from the Communist International during Lenin's lifetime. The Communist International, also known as the Third International or the Comintern, was founded in 1919 under the impact of the Russian revolution of 1917 and on the initiative of the Russian Bolshevik party. Like the Cuban and Central American revolutionaries — and like ourselves today — the revolutionaries of that time sought to draw all possible lessons from the Russian revolution, the first victorious socialist revolution in history, and to generalize these lessons in order to apply them elsewhere in the world.

This process led the Communist International to turn its attention to the question of the workers' and farmers' government at its fourth congress in 1922, and again the following year at a meeting of the Comintern Executive Committee. The two documents published here have not been available, as far as we know, to a broad French-speaking audience since the 1920s. The first is the resolution adopted in June 1923 by the enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International on the workers' and farmers' government. The second is an extract from the report introducing this discussion given by Gregory Zinoviev, at that time the chairman of the International's executive committee.

We have made minor corrections of style and accuracy in the French texts of Fidel Castro and Gregory Zinoviev reproduced here.

Do you know someone who reads Spanish?

Worker-farmer alliance in U.S.

The farmers in the United States are suffering from the worst social and economic crisis since the Great Depression over half a decade ago. Their real income has plummeted and their debts have skyrocketed in the last few years, leaving them trapped between high production costs and the low prices they receive for their products. Many are being forced off the land.

The capitalist politicians in Washington, be they Democrats or Republicans, could not care less about the plight of working farmers, since they in fact represent the very same trusts and monopolies that exploit them and their families.

The current issue of *Perspectiva Mundial* includes the first half of a document on the worker-farmer alliance in the United States. It is based on reports adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party in 1979 and 1982, and it incorporates the experience and further thinking of the party since then through its increasing involvement in the struggles of working farmers and their organizations.

Perspectiva Mundial is the Spanish-language socialist magazine that every two weeks brings you the truth about the struggles of working people and the oppressed



in the U.S. and around the world.
¡Suscribete ahora!

Subscriptions: \$16 for one year; \$8 for six months; Introductory offer, \$3.00 for three months.

☐ Begin my sub with current issue.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Clip and mail to PM, 408 West St., New York, NY 10014.

SWP hails 2nd year of Burkina revolution

The following message was sent by **Andrea González**, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of New York, to the August 4 celebration of the 2nd anniversary of the revolution in Burkina Faso.

National Council of the Revolution,
Revolutionary people of Burkina Faso

Dear comrades in struggle,

As a party of fighters against exploitation, oppression, and misery here in the United States, the Socialist Workers Party sends you its greetings on the second anniversary of your revolutionary triumph.

We know the difficulties you face. Yet we also know the determination of the Burkinabè people to throw off the yoke of imperialist oppression and domination, to free your country of poverty and social injustice.

We likewise know that the government of the United States bears its share of responsibility for your sufferings. We condemn Washington's threats against your revolution, in particular its attempts to blackmail you by withholding agricultural assistance at this time of drought and famine.

In the eyes of the people of the world, U.S. imperialism is truly "the enemy of humanity," as the Nicaraguan workers and peasants boldly state in the Sandinista hymn.

Today, the U.S. rulers are organizing a criminal economic blockade and mercenary war against Nicaragua, seeking to extinguish the light of hope and struggle that the Sandinista revolution, together with socialist Cuba, holds out for the working people of Latin America, the Caribbean, and the world.

This is very much part of the war the U.S. capitalists, bankers, and real estate speculators are waging here at home, against U.S. workers and farmers. Unemployment lines, union-busting drives, farm seizures, the growing number of homeless, racist attacks against Black people — all are the domestic face of the very same imperialism that you are confronting in Burkina Faso.

These crimes of the U.S. rulers are not going unanswered. On April 20, more than 125,000 people demonstrated in Washington and several other U.S. cities to condemn the U.S. government's intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, to protest its support for the racist regime in South Africa, and to demand jobs and justice here in the United States. More protest actions around the same themes are now being organized for this September, October, and November.

The popular, anti-imperialist revolution you have launched in Burkina is very much part of our struggle here. Our enemy is the same. And the solidarity of working and oppressed peoples knows no national borders.

It is in this spirit that we are seeking to get out the truth about your struggle to U.S. working people, and to build solidarity with it.

Long live the Burkinabè revolution!



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Mural on roadside in Ouagadougou says, "I am a Burkinabè."

1,000 march in Mich. against apartheid

BY ANDREW PULLEY

DETROIT — More than 1,000 people marched here to protest murders and arrests of Blacks in South Africa and U.S. support to apartheid.

The theme of the August 1 action was "A message from the people of Detroit to President Botha of S.A. that we won't stand by while our people die."

Called as an emergency protest, the march was endorsed by the NAACP, Free South Africa Movement, United Auto Workers, Metro Detroit AFL-CIO, Detroit City Council, and several Black ministers.

Among the organizations attending planning meetings and supporting the march were New Afrikan People's Organization, All People's Congress, Socialist Workers Party, and National Black Independent Political Party.

The action was a success despite taking place during daytime working hours. There were groups of UAW members from Local 600, Ford Rouge; Local 7, Chrysler Jeffer-

son Assembly; Local 235, Saginaw Detroit; and Local 1200, General Dynamics tank plant.

The Local 1200 contingent, which is in the midst of a fight over their new contract, had signs saying "Stop union busting from U.S. to South Africa."

Union members and leaders participated in the march. This included UAW vice-president Marc Stepp.

After a spirited march down Woodward Avenue, Mayor Coleman Young was the first speaker at the rally. "We are here demanding civil and human rights for our brothers and sisters in South Africa," he said.

Chokwe Lumumba of the New Afrikan People's Organization spoke next, saying, "Many sisters and brothers here say they don't know what apartheid is and how African people can live under such a system."

"But you know what apartheid is. You know about the 'whites only' signs at the entrances of restaurants and hotels. You

know about police killing Black youth everyday in this country. And you know the U.S. constitution was an apartheid constitution.

"Apartheid in South Africa exists today for the same reason that it existed in the U.S. — for making profits. To get at apartheid, you must get at imperialism," Lumumba said.

Rev. Charles Adams, Detroit NAACP president, said, "Though we may differ on the cause and solution to apartheid, we must all remain together in this movement. We must keep protesting until South African apartheid is dead and buried."

Adams spoke of his efforts to get Democratic and Republican politicians to do something meaningful against apartheid.

"I ask, can we stop all investments in South Africa, and they say no, we can't do that. Can we stop all new investments? They say, no, we can't do that. Can we break diplomatic relations with South Africa? The politicians say no, we can't do that either," Adams said.

"Apartheid is a deadly cancer. It must be removed radically. It is took radical surgery to cure Reagan's cancer, it will take radical surgery to cure what is wrong in South African society. If nonviolent action cannot bring about change, then violent action will not be avoided," he concluded.

Abdeen Jabara, a leader of the Arab community, told the rally, "Your struggle is our struggle, and our struggle is yours."

A representative to the United Nations from the Pan African Congress of South Africa and Detroit AFL-CIO President Tom Turner also spoke.

Detroit SWP candidate blasts U.S. government at anti-apartheid rally

Kibwe Diarra, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor of Detroit, was one of the speakers at the evening rally against apartheid here August 1. One hundred people attended.

He blasted the U.S. government for supporting the racist minority regime in South Africa while boycotting Nicaragua, where workers and peasants run the government.

Over 500 copies of a campaign statement titled "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua" were distributed at the march earlier in the day. Sixty marchers bought the *Militant*, and some bought books and pamphlets from a campaign table, including 2 copies of the new book *Fidel Castro Speeches 1982-83*.

Diarra was certified to appear on the September 10 primary ballot earlier this week. This came after supporters collected many times the required number of signatures while campaigning through June and July.

The socialist candidate is a member of UAW Local 1200 at the General Dynamics tank plant and a Vietnam veteran who is using his campaign to expose the U.S. war in Central America.

Protests grow at S. African embassy in D.C.

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Protests at the South African embassy here have stepped up and grown in recent weeks as the liberation struggle of Black South Africans has deepened.

Last November 21, in response to the repression that followed a two-day general strike involving hundreds of thousands of Black workers, pickets went up at the apartheid embassy in D.C. Randall Robinson, a leader of the Black organization Trans-Africa, D.C. Delegate to Congress Walter Fauntroy, and U.S. Civil Rights Commissioner Mary Berry were taken into custody by D.C. and federal police as they took the protest to the embassy door. The Free South Africa Movement was launched.

In the ensuing eight months, not a single week-day has passed without protests one block from the four-story embassy complex. The pickets have ranged in size from 50 to over 2,000 and have been strikingly broad. Over 3,000 have been arrested.

So far, the District Attorney's office here has declined to prosecute any of those arrested. Protest organizers hope to use any trials as a forum to expose both apartheid and U.S. government complicity with it.

On July 22, Robinson, Fauntroy, Berry, and two others on the Free South Africa Movement steering committee were again arrested at the embassy in response to the South African regime's imposition of a state of emergency July 20. This time the cops threatened to prosecute anyone arrested a second time.

At a press conference, Robinson denounced South Africa's state of emergency as "the bitter harvest . . . of American policy." Robinson and the other leaders said the Free South Africa Movement would intensify the anti-apartheid struggle.

The following day nearly 2,000 people joined the picket line. Many were in town for the convention of the National Urban League.

On July 25, top officials of the United Mine Workers of America (UMW) were arrested at the embassy door. Richard Trumka, UMW president and one of those arrested, pledged support to the goals of the Free South Africa Movement. Speaking to reporters, Trumka denounced "the slave labor conditions of our brother miners in South Africa." The UMW, Trumka stated, would join the call of the World Council of Churches urging consumer boycotts of corporations that invest in South Africa. The UMW is also seeking a ban on the importation of coal and coal products from South Africa.

The support of trade unionists has from the outset been a key component of anti-apartheid protests here and across the country.

Anti-apartheid forces are gearing up for an agenda of protest action this fall. The American Committee on Africa, in conjunction with dozens of anti-apartheid coalitions on dozens of major college campuses, is planning a day of national protests on October 11. The organizers have particularly appealed to opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America for support. The actions will also be built by the April Actions for Peace, Jobs, and Justice coalition, which organized antiwar, anti-apartheid actions of 125,000 people in five cities last April 20. The Free South Africa Movement is a member of the April Actions coalition steering committee.

Fraudulent use of the SWP's name

Continued from preceding page
utterly false will not prevent the government from using it to maximum advantage.

Deepening damage

Unfortunately, the fraudulent claim by Socialist Unity that it is part of the Socialist Workers Party is not an isolated instance. As a result the damage to the democratic rights of the SWP is being compounded. Those responsible have chosen to ignore the consequences of their actions for the rights of political association and for the SWP and its members.

When the group calling itself Socialist Action first made its public appearance, in 1983, it began describing itself as a "public faction of the SWP." At that time, this grouping included those who later formed Fourth Internationalist Tendency and Socialist Unity, as well as those who have continued to refer to themselves as Socialist Action.

In a statement published in the *Militant* on December 2, 1983, the SWP National Committee responded to this provocation. It explained that the "SWP has no 'public faction,' and adherence to or collaboration with any such formation is incompatible with membership in the SWP.

"No bodies other than the constitutionally elected leadership bodies of the SWP can speak in the name of the party. The SWP takes no political, organizational, or legal responsibility for statements or actions of any other organization."

The purpose of the statement was to protect the organizational integrity and legal rights of the SWP.

Provocations of this kind pose a threat not only to the rights of the SWP and YSA, but also to the democratic rights of every voluntary association in this country. They should be condemned by every defender of democratic rights.

Almost overqualified — Put someone on a regulatory board and you want them to know what needs regulating, right? So Gov. George Wallace appointed a chap



Harry Ring

to the Alabama Surface Mining Commission who was an owner and officer of three defunct companies whose mining licenses were revoked and which owe at least \$160,000 in unpaid state and

federal fines. Appointee James Locklear has an added qualification. His brother-in-law was a Wallace campaign coordinator.

Struck pay dirt — Louis Giuffrida, head of the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), once assured that anyone with a shovel and some dirt could survive an atomic attack. Now he's busy fielding other questions. Like, about how he and an ex-aide accepting four \$250 banquet tickets from a FEMA contractor, with the contractor then billing FEMA for the tax. Or why FEMA paid \$5,091 for his spouse to accompany him — first class, natch — on trips to Europe and Mexico. Giuffrida exits Sept. 1.

Spread it around — Giuffrida wasn't the only busy person at FEMA. His ex-aide, Fred Villella, tapped the agency for \$70,000 to renovate part of a FEMA emergency training center to provide him with a personal residence. Improvements included a wet bar, fireplace, and cherrywood cabinets. Also the center's chapel was spruced up, and special lighting installed for videotaping, for his daughter's wedding.

P.S. — About those banquet tickets presented to Giuffrida and Villella. Apparently the contractor that bought them, the Triton Corp., billed FEMA \$2,000 for the four \$250 tickets. Maybe the extra thousand was compensation for having to deal with such grif-

ters.

Capitalist essence — Some 75 communities are now using private fire-fighting companies. One outfit, Salem Fire Corp. in Arkansas, arrived at a blaze and let one house burn because the owner hadn't paid the annual fee. If they put out all fires, the chief philosophized, there'd be no incentive to subscribe. But the owner of the burning house had offered to pay on the spot. "You can't wreck your car and then buy insurance," the chief explained.

Solving health-care crisis — The new Medicare regulations designed to encourage pushing patients out of hospitals is really a plus in terms of improved care,

some "experts" opine. The shorter stay, they advise, reduces exposure to diseases caught in hospitals. Obviously we should eliminate such exposure risk altogether by simply shutting down the hospitals.

\$\$\$\$\$ — The *American Forecaster*, a compendium of basic social trends, predicts Yuppies will be making a fashion statement by wearing suspenders with distinctive patterns.

Our rational society — Advertising spending will top \$100 billion in 1986, up from \$33.3 billion a decade ago, says a Madison Ave. analyst. He's predicting that by century's end it will top a trillion, which will be about on par with the military budget.

Puerto Rican activists convicted in federal frame-up

BY SCOTT DOMBECK AND CATHLEEN GUTEKANST

CHICAGO — Four Puerto Rican independence fighters were found guilty of "seditious conspiracy" here August 5.

The four were accused of planning to bomb military installations in July 1983. No bombings ever took place.

The defendants are Alejandrina Torres, Edwin Cortés, Alberto Rodríguez, and José Luis Rodríguez. They have denied any criminal activity and have tried to use the trial as a political forum to explain the colonial status of Puerto Rico.

Torres, Cortés, and Rodríguez have declared that they are prisoners of war of the U.S. government and should be tried under international law governing anticolonial

fighters. The fourth defendant, José Luis Rodríguez, has not made a similar demand but has told the court that he is a political prisoner.

The extent to which the government has gone to frame up the four activists was described by Michael Deutsch, the attorney for José Luis Rodríguez. In his closing argument, Deutsch told the jury the FBI used "unprecedented surveillance involving over 150 FBI agents and over 300 hours of videotapes and audio recordings." From all of this, he said, the only "hard evidence" against José Luis Rodríguez was "one political conversation" and "an Illinois driver's license and a Chicago Public Library card in another name."

Attempts by the government to isolate the four activists by smearing them as "ter-

rorists" and refusing to allow them to explain their activities in the Puerto Rican independence movement failed. Throughout the month-long trial, supporters of the activists crowded the courtroom. Community organizations such as the Puerto Rican Cultural Center and the Pedro Albizu Campos Alternative High School organized several demonstrations of 200 to 300 people outside the Federal Building in support of the four fighters.

Reverend Jorge Morales, an organizer of the defense effort, summed up the view of many Puerto Ricans here when he told one such rally that "as far as I can see these people are not on trial for committing any actual crime but for their ideas — being for Puerto Rican independence."

In addition to the defense effort mounted by the city's Puerto Rican community, independence fighter Rafael Cancel Miranda came from the island to lend his voice to

the defense effort. Miranda had spent 25 years in a U.S. prison because of his support for Puerto Rican independence.

Speaking at a July 26 defense meeting of some 400 people, Cancel Miranda said, "I am calling on all the leaders of the struggle for our national liberation and all *independentistas* [fighters for independence] in general to defend, to give their support to those four *compañeros* who are on trial in the *yanki* court in Chicago and to all our imprisoned freedom fighters. We can accept differences among independentistas on various questions but never in defending those who give the maximum for our homeland's independence. I give my unconditional support to Alejandrina [Torres], Edwin [Cortés], Alberto [Rodríguez], and José Luis [Rodríguez]. The day I do not dare to defend combatants who are imprisoned for my freedom," he said, "is the day I will look for a grave to collapse into."

PATHFINDER PRESS

James P. Cannon
WRITINGS AND SPEECHES, 1932-34

New!

This Monad Press book shows how the revolutionary workers' movement came to grips with the problems and challenges presented by the early years of the Great Depression. Cannon, founding leader of the CLA, describes how revolutionaries prepared for the massive upsurge of industrial workers that began in 1934.

439 pp., \$9.95.

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

The Communist League of America 1932-34



U.S. Haitian community paper prints Nicaraguan appeal

NEW YORK — The July 17 issue of *Haiti Progrès*, a Haitian community newspaper published here, has translated to French and printed the appeal by the CST (Sandinista Workers Association) for a week of solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution.

The editors prefaced the appeal explaining, "In the face of ever-increasing aggression, deployed by the United States against Nicaragua, in the face of president Reagan's will to overthrow the Sandinista government, and in face of the trade embargo adding to other measures already taken, the CST has launched an appeal to unions of all countries. It is asking workers of the world to show their solidarity towards the Nicaraguan workers through the organization of a week of union and international worker's solidarity. We are reproducing this appeal of the CST, since active solidarity with the Nicaraguan people is more crucially important than ever for the

survival of the Nicaraguan revolution and the defense of the gains of a people for which they have so dearly paid."

The newspaper is circulated in Haitian communities around the country including in New York, New Jersey, and Florida.

DALLAS

Meeting against police brutality

Speakers: Diane Ragsdale and Al Litscomb, members of Dallas City Council; Marvin Crenshaw, Citizens Against Apartheid; others.

August 19, 7 p.m. Martin Luther King Recreation Center, 2901 Pennsylvania Ave., Dallas, Texas. Sponsored by the Citizens Police/Paramedic Complaint Committee. For more information call (214) 943-5195.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist bookstores.

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 3750 West McDowell Road #3. Zip: 85009. Tel: (602) 272-4026.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. **Oakland:** SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. **San Diego:** SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. **San Francisco:** SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. **San Jose:** SWP, YSA, 46 1/2 Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 25 W 3rd Ave. Zip: 80223. Tel: (303) 698-2550.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 137 NE 54th St. Mailing address: P.O. Box 370486. Zip: 33137. Tel: (305) 756-1020. **Tallahassee:** YSA, P.O. Box 20715. Zip: 32316. Tel: (904) 222-4434.

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

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA: Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. **St. Louis:** SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 141 Halsey. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 352 Central Ave. 2nd floor. Zip: 12206. Tel: (518) 434-3247. **New York:** SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard St. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 219-3679 or 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Greensboro: SWP, YSA, 2219 E Market. Zip: 27401. Tel: (919) 272-5996.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 15105 St. Clair Ave. Zip: 44110. Tel: (216) 451-6150. **Columbus:** YSA, P.O. Box 02097. Zip: 43202. **Toledo:** SWP, YSA, 1701 W Bancroft St. Zip: 43606. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 2732 NE Union. Zip: 97212. Tel: (503) 287-7416.

PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 2744 Germantown Ave. Zip: 19133. Tel: (215) 225-0213. **Pittsburgh:** SWP, YSA, 402 N. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923.

Dallas: SWP, YSA, 132 N. Beckley Ave., Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-5195. **Houston:** SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. **Salt Lake City:** SWP, YSA, 767 S. State, 3rd floor. Zip: 84111. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 611A Tennessee. Zip: 25302. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 221 Pleasant St. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

Japanese American soldiers in World War II

Continued from Page 16

percent of the total mainland population in 1940, they were over 30 percent of the Hawaiian population.

Mainland Japanese Americans were sent to concentration camps in some of the most "God-forsaken" regions in the country. They were scattered in desolate, wasteland areas of California, Arizona, Utah, Colorado, Idaho, Wyoming, and Arkansas. Facilities were hastily and crudely constructed under the direction of the War Relocation Authority. The camps were crowded, unsanitary, and lacked even the minimum standards of human comfort. They were enclosed by barbed-wire fences with armed-guard towers.

Property confiscated

Far from their homes, the Japanese Americans could not fight to prevent the confiscation and sale of their property, which was estimated to be worth \$400 million in 1942. One personal reflection in *Go For Broke* tells us: "We lost our radios. They were turned in to the Police Department, as requested." Personal possessions not immediately sold on short notice for next to nothing were either stored at government warehouses or with friends under government seal. In most cases it was looted, lost, or sold through legal chicanery.

The 100th Infantry Battalion (Separate), later to become the First Battalion of the 442d Regimental Combat Team, was formed from Nisei in Hawaii in 1942. And on February 1, 1943, the 442d Regimental Combat Team was activated with Nisei from both the mainland camps and Hawaii. Their officers were white.

The racist treatment of the Japanese

Americans did not stop when they put on the uniform of the U.S. Army. Japanese Americans already in the army when the war began were "collected" into groups at various posts around the country and assigned menial tasks. As one of the Nisei recalled:

"At Fort Reiley, our job was to clean out the stables. As we started to clean out the area, we received orders to drop everything and assemble on the first floor of one of the barracks. I looked out of the window and there was a 30-caliber machine gun pointing at the building we were in. Shortly thereafter President Roosevelt's car drove by. Here we were U.S. soldiers, in uniform, citizens, but they still didn't trust us."

The 100th made a beachhead landing at Salerno, Italy, in September 1943. After six weeks of combat, the 100th had suffered 75 killed in action and 239 wounded or injured in action.

In Tanaka's words, "Although replacements came in, they did not come in fast enough to keep pace with the casualties. After slightly more than a month of fighting, the 100th Infantry Battalion already was under full line strength."

While the 100th was being used as a "disposable" unit, the 442d was finishing its final combat training at Camp Shelby. One June 2, 1944, the 442d arrived in Italy and was combined with the 100th Infantry Battalion.

The 100th had started out with 1,300 Japanese Americans from Hawaii. By the time they joined the 442d, they had suffered more than 900 casualties.

The combined 100/442d went on to fight in some of the bloodiest and most decisive battles in Italy and France with almost no



GI's of the 442d on leave visit friends and relatives at concentration camp for Japanese Americans during World War II.

leave time. For instance, in the fall of 1944, the 442d fought for over two months straight with no chance to rest, moving from battle to battle and suffering 2,000 casualties. The combat team was cut to less than half its original strength.

Their most famous campaign, the rescue of the "Lost Battalion," occurred in the middle of this time. It was the basis for a Hollywood movie made in 1951 starring Van Johnson as their white officer (*Go for Broke*). They rescued the 141st Battalion of Texas after they had been trapped for seven days behind German lines. Ironically, the 442d had more casualties than

the total number of Texans who were rescued. All the officers in the rescue mission were killed or seriously wounded. In one company alone, fewer than 25 out of 250 men were left unwounded after the battle.

They suffered more casualties than any other unit of comparable size and length of service in the Army's history. The most decorated military unit in U.S. history, the 100/442d earned their medals with their blood and valor, while the U.S. government exploited their loyalty.

Racism after war

The racism did not end when the 100/442d came home and the concentration camps were closed. Night riders warned Mary Masuda — the sister of Staff Sergeant Kazuo Masuda, who had earned the Distinguished Service Cross and had been killed in action — not to return to her home. A barber refused to give a haircut to Capt. Daniel Inouye, who lost an arm and was wearing many decorations on his uniform. The brother of PFC Wilson Makabe had his house burned when he tried to move back. PFC Richard Naito, who was wounded and disabled, was refused membership in the local Veterans of Foreign Wars (VFW) post. These incidents are reported by Tanaka.

Many Japanese Americans were not as patriotic as the author of this book. Some 300 refused to be drafted to fight for a government that had imprisoned them without trial solely on the basis of their race. Only 1,208 volunteers out of 10,000 eligible were recruited out of the camps, while nearly 10,000 Nisei (one-third those of draft age) volunteered from Hawaii, where there were no concentration camps.

Go For Broke expresses the view that the combat record of Japanese American soldiers in World War II won the earlier release of the other Japanese Americans in the concentration camps, turned the tide of public opinion against racist, anti-Japanese laws in effect in many states, and led to the statehood of Hawaii. I don't agree.

Yet, *Go For Broke* is worth reading for part of the real story about a little-known aspect of U.S. history. And the pictures are magnificent.

Why the U.S. and Japan went to war

Continued from Page 17

by a power not then at war. After Germany's rapid defeat and occupation of France and other West European countries and with England under heavy air attack, Japanese rulers saw the pact as clearing the way for their conquest of Southeast Asia.

The U.S. government was threatened by the closing of the open door in China and the southward advance of the Japanese army. But it did little except to supply the Nationalist government of China.

Big profits were being made by U.S. businessmen from the oil, textile, machinery, and strategic material exports that were required by the Japanese war machine. Not until Japanese troops directly attacked the colonies of Europe and had a strategic base from which to attack the Philippines — a U.S. colony — was there a shift in policy.

Japan's rulers were now challenging U.S. big-business interests. War, as Russian revolutionary V.I. Lenin explained in 1920 (see accompanying article), was now inevitable.

Some historians have documented that President Roosevelt and his administration knew beforehand about the Japanese attack at Pearl Harbor. Yet they did nothing to stop it in order to ensure support for U.S. entry into World War II. But it does not really matter whether this is true.

The U.S. and Japanese governments had

been preparing for war for quite awhile. The stake was high: economic and political domination of Asia.

The U.S. military experts had been discussing the possibility of incendiary bombing raids on Japan since 1919. The U.S. Navy planned to wage unrestricted submarine warfare on Japan months before Pearl Harbor. And President Roosevelt had signed a secret order in July 1941 to send U.S. bombers to China to be flown against Japanese cities by U.S. pilots.

It is simply a myth that the U.S. government was a disinterested party drawn into a war with "fascist Japan" by a "sneak attack." The U.S. Secretary of War Henry Stimson had recorded in his diary prior to the attack at Pearl Harbor that "the question was how we [the U.S. government] should maneuver [Japan] into ... firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves."

Even without Pearl Harbor, a war between the U.S. rulers and the Japanese capitalists for control of the resources and markets of Asia was inevitable.

After a series of rapid victories, the Japanese army lost its military superiority by the end of 1942. From then on, the Japanese rulers fought an increasingly defensive battle. All their reserves of manpower, aircraft, and shipping were stretched to reinforce the empire's perimeter.

D.C. protest hits nuclear weapons

BY DAN POPE

WASHINGTON, D.C. — An estimated 15,000 people from 50 states and several countries gathered here to protest nuclear weapons. The August 4 action was part of the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by the U.S. government.

The protesters circled the Pentagon, the Capitol, and the Ellipse behind the White House with 15 miles of peace ribbon. The ribbon was made from over 25,000 hand decorated cloth panels.

The protesters, who were predominately women, included many religious groups, a contingent from the National Education Association, other unionists, and Central America solidarity activists.

Rallies at the three sites featured perfor-

mers Tom Thatin, Pete Seeger, Justine Merritt, the originator of the peace ribbon, and two *Hibakusha* — survivors of the bombings.

Fumimaro Maruoka, one survivor, told one rally that "after the war, survivors suffered moral and social discrimination. They could not get a job and they could not marry." Even today, survivors have fallen dead at work as the effects of the bombings continue to take their toll.

As part of the commemoration of the bombings, 17 survivors are touring 75 U.S. cities in a *Hibakusha* Peace Tour.

Along with the tour, Mobilization for Survival is organizing protests at 40 sites across the country. The actions coincide with the dates of the bombings — August 6 and August 9. Sites for the protests include military bases and nuclear testing centers.

By 1945 the Japanese capitalists were crushed by the mobilization of the vastly superior industrial and military might of the United States. The Pacific was transformed into an "American lake" and sphere of influence. This had been an aim of the U.S. ruling families since the end of the nineteenth century.

Washington used the atomic bomb twice, sacrificing hundreds of thousands of lives, to demonstrate to the world that the United States was the dominant imperialist power. The bombs were dropped primarily as a political and military warning to the Soviet Union and workers and peasants around the world fighting against colonial and semicolonial oppression.

The Soviet Union had emerged from World War II victorious against the German military invasion. The Soviet workers and peasants, who suffered far more casualties than those of any other country in the war, had fought to defend the revolutionary conquests of the October 1917 revolution that resulted in the overturn of capitalism in Russia.

Not only did the Soviet Union survive the war, it rapidly became a major world power, thus challenging Washington's establishing its domination over the world.

Capitalism was also overturned in Eastern Europe, and the Chinese workers and peasants overthrew capitalist rule in 1949.

While rivalries and conflicts between the imperialist ruling classes remain, the military power of the Soviet Union and the overturn of capitalism in more countries — in Eastern Europe, China, Vietnam, Korea, and Cuba — makes it very unlikely today that imperialist rivals will solve their conflicts (for example over trade) through a third inter-imperialist war. The outcome could mean the end of capitalism.

World War II led to the loss of at least 50 million lives, mostly workers and farmers, in Europe and Asia. This waste, including the massive destruction of cities, should drive home an important lesson about imperialist war for working people in all the major capitalist countries: there will never be peace until capitalism worldwide is overturned and replaced by socialism.

Patti Iiyama had relatives who were killed by the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima. Her parents were interned in the concentration camp at Topaz, Utah, during World War II.

New York cops assault Haitian demonstration, 22 people hospitalized

NEW YORK — More than 50 cops armed with clubs, some mounted on horses, charged a demonstration of some 600 Haitians outside the United Nations.

The August 3 demonstration was protesting the expulsion of three Belgian priests from Haiti. The priests were expelled after denouncing the recent referendum in that country which approved Haitian dictator Jean-Claude Duvalier as president-for-life.

Some 22 people were hospitalized for injuries they sustained in the cop attack. No figures have been given on arrests.

Haitian leaders announced that they were trying to meet with New York Mayor Edward Koch to protest this cop brutality.

Bath strike raises social issues

Members of Local 6 and Local 7 of the Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers of America (IUMSWA) are helping to point the way forward for all workers by the way they are socially opposing the outrageous concessions demanded by the owners of the Bath Iron Works (BIW) in Bath, Maine.

For nearly two years they have been resisting a company campaign to drive down wages and working conditions. This includes an attempt to renegotiate the union's contract. The shipyard workers' refusal to buckle under to this contract-busting campaign has led to a number of intimidating "get tough" measures by the company. Television cameras, for example, were installed throughout the shipyard for the sole purpose of snooping and spying on the workers.

Far from being intimidated by these employer attacks, workers learned from these experiences and have been consciously preparing for a strike that was finally forced upon them June 30 by the profit gouging owners of BIW.

One of the most powerful things about the Bath strikers is the way they have thought about the social consequences of agreeing with the concessions demanded by the company. This became apparent last April when BIW forced Local 7's 350 lower-paid clerical workers — the majority of whom are women — out on strike. Local 6 members responded by refusing to cross the picket line of the clerical workers for two days. Some women workers expressed amazement that 4,500 production workers — who are 95 percent male — overwhelmingly backed their strike. This act of solidarity won Local 6 the support of women throughout the area — union and non-union alike.

The second socially important move by Local 6 was to make opposition to a company proposal for a two-tier

wage — that would start off new hires at wages \$3 below the current hourly wage scale — the centerpiece of their opposition to company demands for concessions. As strike leaders put it, they are not going to sell out the future of their children for any immediate gain for themselves.

Championing the rights of the young workers has not been a strong point of the unions in recent years. But the concern shown by Local 6 members points in the direction of turning this around. It also opens prospects of new commitment and support from youth for labor struggles.

Locals 6 and 7 represent the highest concentration of workers in one work place in Maine. The issues they have raised in their defense have already inspired unionists statewide to stiffen their resistance to the combined employer and government attack on workers' wages, working conditions, and democratic rights.

In cosponsoring a statewide solidarity rally with the Bath strikers on July 28, for example, the Maine AFL-CIO State Federation sent out a letter urging all its local affiliates to support the strikers. It called attention to the severity of the attacks on unions in the area and the participation of state and federal government agencies in these attacks. "The time has come," they said, "for us to put our backs to the wall, and stand up against both management and government."

Thinking and acting both socially and politically are key tools in mobilizing the potential power of labor and its allies, including women, youth, and oppressed nationalities, against the combined attacks of the bosses and their government.

Locals 6 and 7 have taken important steps in this direction and deserve all the solidarity that can be mobilized to defend their struggle.

The spy scare continues

Six people, including an Iranian citizen and a U.S. army lieutenant, were arrested August 1 for supposedly planning to sell and ship advanced U.S. weapons to the Iranian government.

On July 11, a Ghanaian citizen and a clerk for the Central Intelligence Agency were arrested for espionage. They were alleged to have given information to the government of Ghana about CIA activities against that West African country.

These cases are part of the spy scare that the government and capitalist media are whipping up in order to justify restricting democratic rights.

For five years, the Iraqi regime — backed by Washington — has waged a war against Iran. This war has taken many thousands of lives. Allies of Washington have supplied the most modern weapons to the Iraqi forces, enabling them to repeatedly bomb Iranian cities.

At the same time, Washington is trying to impose a blockade on trade, including trade in arms, with Iran. When the Iranian government allegedly tries to get

around this blockade, the U.S. government cries foul.

In the case involving Ghana, the government is setting a precedent for jailing those who blow the whistle on CIA conspiracies and crimes. Washington wants to prevent exposure of its assassination plots, organization of counterrevolutionary secret armies, and other efforts to weaken and destabilize governments that refuse to take orders from U.S. big business.

Keeping these activities secret from governments like Ghana is only one side of Washington's international aggression. The other is keeping them secret from U.S. working people, who would be outraged by the crimes of the U.S. government around the world.

If information about CIA crimes was provided to Ghana, this was not a crime but a public service.

Both these prosecutions are against the interests of U.S. working people. We should respond to them by demanding that the U.S. government drop all restrictions on trade with Iran; stop supporting the war waged by the Iraqi rulers; and make public all the dirty secrets of the CIA.

Farmers to get no relief

Continued from front page

There is no relief, then, for working farmers who are suffering their worst crisis in 50 years. In the past four years, under the policies of the 1981 Farm Bill, tens of thousands of farmers have gone under. Squeezed between skyrocketing production costs and low prices for their products, they have accumulated huge debts that they cannot pay. The banks take over their land, machinery, and livestock and put them up for sale.

Without land and machinery, farmers cannot continue earning a living in the way they know best and prefer. And it is virtually impossible for them to get back into farming because of the steep costs. Moreover, with the prevailing high level of unemployment, they cannot easily find off-the-farm jobs.

The situation is not improving either. This summer a severe drought has parched millions of acres of range land on the Great Plains and inflicted serious damage to grain and hay crops throughout big parts of the upper Midwest.

Moreover, the prices farmers get for their products continue to decline. In June, the average level of prices was down 10 percent from a year ago. While some costs went down, others like fuel rose. The result was a 6 percent drop in average buying power for farmers. These average figures, however, conceal the fact that farmers producing some commodities and in certain regions have been hit harder than others.

For eight years — since the tractorcade began in 1977 — working farmers have been protesting against their worsening conditions. Next to the movement in the

1930s, this is the longest period of sustained protest by U.S. farmers in this century. But both Democratic and Republican administrations have turned a deaf ear to farmers' demands.

Farmers are demanding and need emergency relief. Those struck by the drought need immediate aid to overcome the loss of their crops and livestock.

Farmers need a permanent moratorium on all farm foreclosures and the cancellation of all unpayable debts.

The federal government should offer low-interest loans on the basis of need, not according to the "credit worthiness" of the borrowers.

Exploited farmers, like all working people, need relief from taxes, including property and sales taxes.

The government should guarantee prices to farmers adequate to meet growing costs, repair and replace equipment, and make a living income for their families. Price supports can easily be financed by cutting the bloated military budget and by taxing the profits of the big food trusts and banks.

But these measures should not be geared to curtailing production. Instead of periodically cutting back production or storing mountains of surplus food, U.S. farm producers should be permitted to turn their gigantic capacities to helping alleviate hunger and famine in the world.

A determined struggle for these demands, by both the labor movement and working farmers, will lead increasing numbers of working people to the conclusion that they cannot expect any relief from the capitalist ruling families nor their hired politicians in the Democratic and Republican parties.

Nuclear bombing of Japan: atrocity by U.S. imperialism

On August 6, 1945, and again on August 9 of that year, the U.S. government dropped the first and second atomic bombs on the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Tens of thousands of people instantly died, with thousands more dying later.

The following are excerpts from a speech given August 22, 1945, in New York City by James P. Cannon, a founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party. In this speech, Cannon expressed the outrage of the world's working people to this atrocity carried out by the U.S. rulers. He also pointed the way forward for the oppressed and exploited to end such atrocities.

The speech can be read in full in *The Struggle for Socialism in the "American Century": James P. Cannon Writings and Speeches 1945-47*. The book costs \$9.95 (please include \$.75 for postage and handling) and can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Capitalism is demonstrating itself every day more and more, in so-called peace as in war, as the enemy of the people. Bomb the people to death! Burn them to death with incendiary bombs! Break up their industries and starve them to death! And if that is not horrible enough, then blast them off the face of the earth with atomic bombs! That is the program of liberating capitalism.

What a commentary on the real nature of capitalism in its decadent phase is this, that the scientific conquest of the marvelous secret of atomic energy, which might ra-

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

tionally be used to lighten the burdens of all mankind, is employed first for the wholesale destruction of half a million people.

Hiroshima, the first target, had a population of 340,000. Nagasaki, the second target, had a population of 253,000 people. A total in the two cities of approximately 600,000 people. . . . How many were killed? How many Japanese were destroyed to celebrate the discovery of the secret of atomic energy? From all indications, from all the reports we have received so far, they were nearly all killed or injured. Nearly all!

In two calculated blows, with two atomic bombs, American imperialism killed and injured half a million human beings. . . . [T]hey all had to die in two blows because of a quarrel between the imperialists of Wall Street and a similar gang in Japan.

What an unspeakable atrocity! Now the world recoils in horror. . . . Even some of the preachers who blessed the war have been moved to protest. One said in an interview in the press: "America has lost her moral position." Her moral position? Yes. She lost that all right. That is true. And the imperialist monsters who threw the bombs know it. But look what they gained. They gained control of the boundless riches of the Orient. They gained the power to exploit and enslave hundreds of millions of people in the Far East. And that is what they went to war for — not for moral position, but for profit.

American imperialism has brought upon itself the fear and hatred of the whole world. American imperialism is regarded throughout the world today as the enemy of mankind. The First World War cost 12 million dead. Twelve million. The Second World War, within a quarter of a century, has already cost not less than 30 million dead; and there are not less than 30 million more to be starved to death before the results of the war are totaled up.

What a harvest of death capitalism has brought to the world! If the skulls of all the victims could be brought together and piled into one pyramid, what a high mountain that would make. What a monument to the achievements of capitalism that would be, and how fitting a symbol of what capitalist imperialism really is.

Who won the war that cost over 30 million lives? . . . the capitalist with the money bags in his hands, standing on top of the world with one foot on the graveyard and the other on destroyed cities. . . . The only winner is American imperialism and its satellites in other countries.

Don't we have to stop these madmen and take power out of their hands? Can we doubt that the peoples of all the world are thinking it cannot go much further, that there must be some way to change it? Long ago the revolutionary Marxists said that the alternative facing humanity was either socialism or a new barbarism.

We [the Socialist Workers Party] believe that the people of the world will waken to this frightful alternative and act in time to save themselves. We believe that American imperialism will be defeated. The peoples of the world will rebel against the imperialist master. We will lead the workers and plebeians of America in a revolutionary attack against our main enemy and the main enemy of mankind, the imperialists of the United States.

Ideological offensive against women

Continued from Page 14

her, had "reached its highest development under capitalism in the last 40 years" and had "wrought a partial revolution in all phases of life."

A revolution had occurred, McGowan argued, "in the relation between the sexes, in sexual morality, in medicine, in nutrition and health, in architecture, in art, in beauty, in hobbies for leisure, in city-planning, in child-rearing, in methods of education, in psychology."

This was written, remember, from Los Angeles in 1954.

"These new, progressive and highly creative developments in all phases of life," she continued for the record, can only finally be realized by socialism. In the meantime, of course, this "revolution" is changing everything for the better. That, she argued, is the proper context for the discussion on the marketing and use of cosmetics, because, "What holds true for the rest of life also relates to beauty in the female form."

The revolutionary changes "in the standards of beauty," McGowan stated, "flow out of and parallel the concurrent revolution in sexual morality of the last 35 years or so. The long-stemmed American beauty," she raved on, "full of natural vitality and physical grace, with shining hair, clear eyes, smooth skin and natural cosmetics with a trace of accent here and there, is not a fiction but an American commonplace. This type of beauty is the American social standard."

It is "an inherent part of every normal female ego to strive toward the preservation" of this kind of beauty, she argued, and "this is a proper female goal worthy of the considered attention of a revolutionist."

In case there was any doubt about what class McGowan looked to as leading the kind of revolution she was interested in, she eliminated all ambiguities: "There is nothing beautiful in the dishpan hands, the premature wrinkles, the scraggly hair, the dumpy figures in the dumpy housedresses, the ugly furniture and the hodge-podge accessories of the working-class woman and her home."

Not surprisingly, McGowan's espousal of the racist standards of "beauty" of the U.S. imperialist bourgeoisie, and her contempt for the working class, were accompanied by an open rejection of the histori-

cal discoveries of materialists concerning the origin of women's oppression.

'The Myth of Women's Inferiority'

The Spring 1954 issue of the magazine *Fourth International*, edited by SWP leaders, had published an article by Evelyn Reed entitled "The Myth of Women's Inferiority." This was followed by the publication of "Sex and Labor in Primitive Society" by Reed in the Summer 1954 issue of the magazine. Both articles dealt with the evolution of human society through definite stages of economic and social development and explained that primitive communism, which was matriarchal in kinship structure, came first in this historical sequence. (Reed's first article is available in *Problems of Women's Liberation* published by Pathfinder Press. "Sex and Labor in Primitive Society" is reprinted in this collection.)

McGowan submitted a long article for the SWP internal bulletin attempting to refute the views expressed by Reed, which, McGowan said, were "scholastically irresponsible" and made the SWP "look ridiculous in the eyes of informed individuals in the bourgeois academic world." McGowan demanded that the editors of the *Fourth International* magazine and the SWP leadership repudiate these views.

In a cover letter addressed to the Political Committee, McGowan made it clear that she knew that her argument was with Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, not just with Evelyn Reed. She stated her "firm inner conviction that such interpretations of primitive society and primitive social forms as are current in the party today, and have been for the last 75 years or so, are not just accidentally false or innocently misguided."

As Reed noted in her reply, "I know of only one interpretation of primitive society which has been current in the party for the last 75 years or so, and which, indeed, we have openly embraced. This is the *Marxist* interpretation, as it was set down by Engels in his *Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*."

The Political Committee rejected McGowan's request that the magazine's editors dissociate themselves from Reed's positions.

"The Political Committee felt it unnecessary to take a position either for or

against Comrade Reed's articles," SWP National Secretary, Farrell Dobbs, wrote in an Oct. 13, 1954, letter to McGowan. "On such subjects the feeling was that considerable latitude is permissible so long as the author defends the materialist viewpoint, advocates and tries to apply the dialectic method and seeks to supply material of an educational character. . . . From this standpoint, the editors were entirely correct in publishing the Reed articles."

McGowan's criticism of Reed, as well as Reed's reply, are reproduced in this collection as part of the discussion. Both pieces remain of interest today, since they present the two fundamentally counterposed positions in the great "hundred years debate" on the origins of class society — the form of society that we are still living under and seeking to eliminate. That debate is as contemporary today as it was thirty years ago. As Reed notes in her contribution here, "One school [of thought in this debate] adheres to the materialist and historical method of analyzing the anthropological data, even if only in limited or partial form. The other school is hostile to the historical method and substitutes for it mere fact-finding, accompanied by impressionistic and superficial interpretations of these facts. The one school, therefore, is progressive and leads forward, the other is obscurantist and reactionary."

In addition to taking up the challenge from McGowan on historical materialism and the origins of women's oppression — a battle that Reed returned to repeatedly over the next twenty-five years — both she and Bustelo wrote major articles for the internal bulletin taking up the issues raised by the "cosmetics" debate.

Bustelo's article, entitled "The Fetish of Cosmetics," is a basic piece of Marxist education on capitalism and commodity fetishism. It explains the controversy in the context of economic and social conditions of post-World War II U.S. society. The author's sense of humor also makes it thoroughly enjoyable reading.

Resulting ruling-class pressures

Reed's reply also takes up the issues from a basic materialist standpoint: that norms of beauty, like humanity itself, are the historical and changing product of social labor, and cannot be dissociated from the development of the productive forces or

from the class struggle.

Reed also deals with the context of the debate in the party, noting that the "past 14 years of war boom and prosperity have produced a conservatizing effect upon the working class which we describe as a 'bourgeoisification.' One of the forms this takes is the readiness of the workers to accept bourgeois opinions and propaganda as scientific truth and adapt themselves to it."

"Like the whole working-class," Reed emphasized, "the party is under constant pressure and bombardment from this massive bourgeois propaganda machine." Some of the discussions taking place in the party indicate that "a certain amount of adaptation to bourgeois propaganda has arisen which, although probably unwitting, is a signal that should alert us to the danger."

That is what the cosmetics controversy clearly revealed. "When the comrades defend the right of women to use cosmetics, fashions, etc.," Reed stated, "without clearly distinguishing between such a right and the capitalist social compulsion to use them, they have fallen into the trap of bourgeois propaganda."

It is true, she went on, that "so long as capitalism prevails, we must abide by these cosmetic and fashion decrees. . . . We must give at least a token recognition of the harsh reality. But this does not mean that we must accept these edicts and compulsions complacently, or without protest. The workers in the plants are often obliged to accept speedups, paycuts and attacks on their unions. But they always and invariably accept them under protest, under continuing struggle against them and in a constant movement to oppose their needs and will against their exploiters."

"The class struggle is a movement of opposition, not adaptation," Reed said, "and this holds true not only of the workers in the plants, but of the women as well."

* * *

That conclusion, we could add, holds equally true for us now. That is why clarification of the issues posed in this debate some thirty years ago will also serve to arm us for our tasks today.

August 1985

LETTERS

Anti-apartheid victory

Jazz musician Chick Corea vowed July 2 not to perform in South Africa until apartheid has been abolished.

His public decision was a result of a series of protest actions organized against his performances in New York, New Jersey, and in New England.

When Corea began to perform at the Saratoga Jazz Festival here June 29, some 200 people walked out while others raised a banner that read "Chick Corea sold out to apartheid."

During Corea's performance some 300 people participated in an anti-apartheid rally outside the festival.

Jim Callahan
George Kontanis
Albany, New York

Nicaragua solidarity

At its monthly meeting on July 21 the Atlanta City Chapter of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644 sponsored a slideshow presentation on Nicaragua.

The union invited Richard Congress, a leader of the Atlanta Committee on Latin America and an organizer of the April 20 antiwar march on Washington, to speak on recent developments in Nicaragua. Congress has traveled to Nicaragua four times in the last three years.

Congress began by explaining the importance of such acts of soli-

darity with the Sandinista-led revolution. He also indicated that one of the best ways to counter the lies of the Reagan administration was for officials and rank-and-file members of North American trade unions to go to Nicaragua to see the revolution for themselves.

The slideshow was very well received by the union membership, and was followed by a lengthy question-and-answer period. James McKinney, president of the AFSCME City Chapter, asked what unions could do to further demonstrate opposition to U.S. policies in Central America.

In his reply Congress emphasized the need for more labor delegations to Nicaragua and more labor participation in building actions like April 20.

Fred White
Atlanta, Georgia

Antiabortion campaign

In articles in the July 23 *Village Voice* and the June *Progressive* a new twist to the antiabortion movement was revealed — "pregnancy crisis centers" or "pregnancy testing centers."

These places "counsel" women with a barrage of antiabortion propaganda, including *The Silent Scream*, in order to convince them to not have an abortion.

These centers are dishonest in their advertising. In Worcester, Massachusetts, one chain calls itself "P.P., Inc." and is located in the same building and on the same floor as Planned Parenthood!

The dangers these centers represent is clear when you consider the inadequate availability of abortion facilities in the first place.

There is another twist to the problem: these centers also "help" pregnant women with adoptions.

There is a good deal of cash to be made in arranging adoptions, and the largest market is for healthy white babies. Is it any wonder, then, why the pregnancy crisis and testing centers are to be found only in neighborhoods serving white upper-class kids with a large market for white babies, and never in neighborhoods serving low-income Black or Chicano kids?

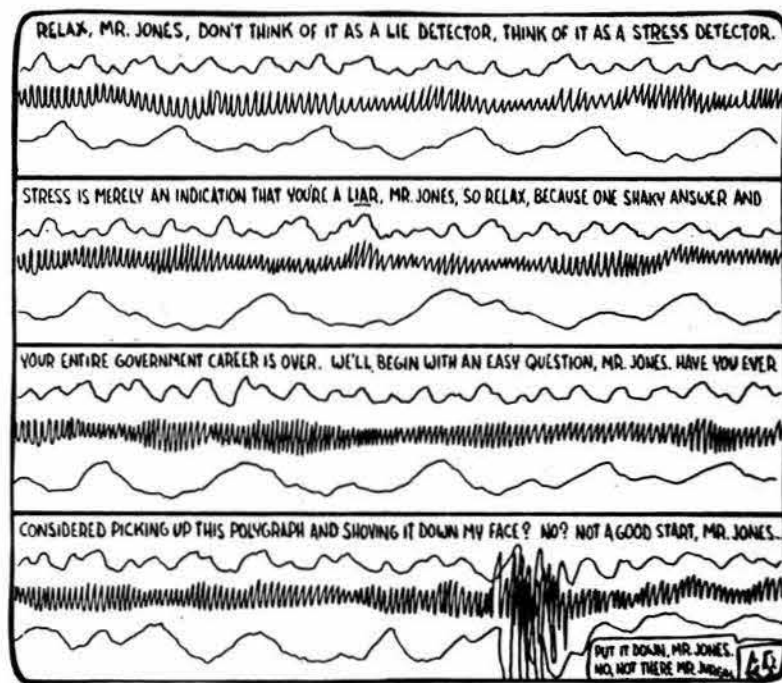
This just goes to show that the antiabortionists follow all the grand traditions of capitalist morality — sexism, deceit, racism, and greed.

J.W.
Indianapolis, Indiana

Wants sub

I am inquiring about *Perspectiva Mundial*, the *Militant*, and *Intercontinental Press*. I am presently in one of the Texas prison camps and indigent. Perhaps you have an Inmate Indigent Fund in which such subscriptions can be obtained by us. If so I would like to apply for these subscriptions.

I am also interested in such publications as the last book Comrade Maurice Bishop wrote and the book of speeches by Sandinista leaders. All this material will be



by Toles

appreciated and helpful in developing my conceptional theories on Marxism.

Thank you.
A prisoner
Lovely, Texas

Corrections

In last week's *Militant* article on Laotian women an incorrect figure on the percentage of Laos' population engaged in agriculture was stated. It should have been given as 80 percent.

In the August *International Socialist Review* supplement to the *Militant*, portions of two sentences in the article "The Communist

League of America 1932-34" were left out. The sentences, appearing after the "Defeat of German working class" subhead should have read: New parties and a new International would have to be built. Consequently, in August 1933 the International Left Opposition issued a call for the construction of a Fourth International.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Build Oct. 11 anti-apartheid protest

Interview with student coordinator of American Committee on Africa

BY JACKIE FLOYD

As racist violence escalates in South Africa, the October 11 National Anti-apartheid Protest Day is continuing to win support from student organizations, solidarity committees, and antiwar groups.

The action, initiated by the American Committee on Africa (ACOA) and other organizations, recently won the support of some 100 activists at the Youth and Student Summit on the People's Struggles in Southern Africa held in Chicago July 18.

The importance of the youth meeting's decision to support the action was underscored by Josh Nessen, the student coordinator of ACOA, in a recent interview with the *Militant*. The summit decision to build Oct. 11, he said, "is critical because we have to strongly respond to what is taking place in South Africa."

The ACOA is a national Southern Africa solidarity committee, active in the student anti-apartheid committees. It is also part of the Action Coalition for Peace, Jobs, and Justice. That coalition organized the April 20 demonstration of more than 100,000 people in Washington, D.C., and other cities. The Action Coalition, which includes Central American solidarity committees, peace groups, antiwar organizations, and unions, has made support for the October 11 protest part of its fall action plan.

"Linking the issues and not taking a single-issue approach has been at the heart of the Action Coalition," Nessen said. "October 11," he continued, "is also not going to be a day to look at South Africa in isolation but to look at it in relation to Central America, racism, domestic cutbacks, the nuclear arms race, and the fact that South Africa has nuclear weapons capability."

With the slogan "Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua," Nessen explained, the links are being drawn between the fight against U.S. government support for apartheid and its aggression in Central America.

Plans to fortify this link, he said, include a fall tour of both a South African and a Nicaraguan student. The tour is being organized by student anti-apartheid committees and Central American solidarity com-

mittees. There are also plans for a spring tour of South African and Salvadoran students.

Linking these issues, Nessen said, helps activists understand that "U.S. foreign policy is based on creating conditions for corporate dominance anywhere."

Establishing these links will help to involve broader forces in the October 11 protest. The fact that October 11 is also Southern African Political Prisoner Day, Nessen said, means that "one of the major things we want to discuss with unions and other groups is campaigning to free political prisoners and the whole repression of the South African trade union movement. That I think really opens up the opportunity to involve these broader sectors."

Nessen is appealing to all opponents of apartheid to "continue the type of direct and militant action we saw this spring; find out about actions in your area or initiate them; and make the connections between apartheid, racism at home, and intervention in Central America."



Militant/Duane Stilwell

April 1985 anti-apartheid demonstration in support of Columbia University student sit-in involved students, unionists, Black rights activists, others. Organizers of October 11 protest seek broad participation in national action.

Black South African leader says "we'll pay any price for freedom"

BY JACKIE FLOYD

"The declaration of the State of Emergency [July 20] by the Pretoria racist regime is its ultimate confession that it has lost its ability to impose its rule in South Africa," Neo Mnumzana told the *Militant*. Mnumzana is the chief representative of the African National Congress (ANC) to the United Nations. He was interviewed by the *Militant* on July 24.

The state of emergency, Mnumzana said, represents "a misreading of the absolute determination of the people of South Africa to pay any price however high in order to free themselves."

Mnumzana explained that over the last

year the apartheid regime has been unable to "keep the people down. It does not have enough soldiers to cope with the situation. It resorted to multiplying the power of each soldier. It has conferred virtually unlimited political, legal, and genocidal power to its police."

Pointing to a recent funeral gathering of some 50,000 Blacks, Mnumzana said, "The people of South Africa have bravely gone out and defied the state of emergency in order to hold a massive funeral. The people will now seize on any repressive measure and use it as a platform for mobilization for even greater struggle."

Like all other repression in South Africa,

Mnumzana explained, the state of emergency particularly targets the Black labor movement. "One of the first things that will go is whatever semblance of union rights there may have been in South Africa. The labor movement in South Africa," he said, "will certainly bear the brunt of this new and unprecedentedly high period of repression in our country."

Turning to the need for solidarity, Mnumzana explained that the ANC and the people of South Africa have since 1956 "appealed to the international community" to isolate apartheid through "mandatory sanctions against the racist regime. The response across the world to the appeal has not always been equal. A conspicuous lack of response was here in the United States where instead of responding to the appeal successive U.S. administrations continually identified with the apartheid regime."

Mnumzana, however, welcomed the recent decision of the U.S. House of Representatives and the Senate to call for limited sanctions as "an important first step towards the U.S. government participating in the international campaign for total isolation of apartheid. The only way," he said, "to give significance to this positive first step is to take all the other steps that have to be taken. That is to say, the U.S. Congress should move towards total isolation of this crime against humanity which is called apartheid. And, of course, this is what the American people want."

Pointing to the mobilizations against U.S. support for apartheid that have been organized by the Free South Africa Movement and other groups, Mnumzana said, "the American people don't want to be an accomplice to the crimes that are perpetrated against the South African people."

Mnumzana appealed to the American people "to assure that the U.S. resources, prestige and power are not used to contribute to the worsening of that crisis [in South Africa]. This means that the United States must — without further waste of time — pull out of South Africa."

He called on people in the United States and especially the labor movement to "redouble" their work against the U.S. government support for apartheid so that "the will of the American people can be translated into the American position against apartheid."

Survey shows state of Black businesses today

BY HARRY RING

The nation's 100 top capitalist enterprises owned by Blacks did well last year, according to an annual survey in the June issue of *Black Enterprise* magazine.

Combined sales of the top 100 companies increased 10 percent from \$2.329 billion in 1983 to \$2.562 billion in 1984.

In compiling its Black equivalent of *Fortune* magazine's annual listing of top companies, the *Fortune* 500, *Black Enterprise* includes companies that are at least 51 percent Black-owned and which manufacture or own the products they sell. Such professional services as law or accounting are not included.

The two leaders among Black Enterprises are the Johnson Publishing Co. and Motown Industries, with combined sales of \$275 million.

The Johnson company publishes the mass circulation *Ebony* and *Jet* magazines. Motown is a leader in the recording industry, with such stars as Lionel Richie and Stevie Wonder.

A single figure indicates how marginal capital owned by Blacks really is, in terms of the capitalist economy as a whole.

Of the 100 top Black capitalist enterprises, 44 are auto dealers.

And even these 44 companies face problems. While the sales of imported cars are increasing in the country, only four of the 44 sell them.

"It's no bed of roses out there," says Virgil Anderson, director of the National Association of Minority Automotive Dealers.

Sterling Stokes, a Kansas City, Mo., Lincoln-Mercury dealer, cautions on the need for flexibility.

"When used cars are strong," he says, "you have to put your emphasis on used cars."

"Sometimes you have to concentrate on parts and services to tide you over."

Ten of the top 100 are oil companies. For them, *Black Enterprise* reports, it was "a dismaying year."

"With a few notable exceptions," the magazine found, "sales were down markedly, as the major oil companies outpriced the small minority firms in the glutted marketplace."

The big obstacle to growth for these companies, the report adds, is an inability to obtain storage space. "Relying on the large conglomerates to lease space to them, small outfits are not in a position to take advantage of the bargains on the 'spot market.'"

Six of the top 100 sell hair care and beauty products aimed at the Black market.

Despite a consistent increase in the demand for such products, the magazine reports, "some of the mainstays of the industry showed shrinking sales last year."

The demand for such products has increased about 10 percent a year, but major

white-owned companies "have discovered how lucrative the Black hair-care business can be."

The demand for products, old and new, is always changing, one industry spokesperson explains. And the big outfits are in a stronger position to tap this.

"Revlon can turn on a dime," he observed. "It's more difficult for us to have that kind of flexibility."

The result? About 70 percent of the \$800 million industry is now in the hands of white-owned companies.

In terms of how little enterprises owned by Blacks can do to improve the situation of Black workers, the figures are instructive.

In 1984, the 100 top companies employed a total of but 17,760 people. And that, of course, includes management personnel.

And that figure represents a net loss of 20 percent — 6,330 jobs — from 1983.

The drop is due in part to the increased prevalence of auto dealers, who employ relatively few workers.

Also, the 19 companies which disappeared from the list this year included three which had been larger employers.

But the relatively minimal role of capital owned by Blacks becomes most strikingly apparent when it's compared to the top U.S. corporations.

Continued on Page 15