

workers world



June 19, 1986

The spirit of Soweto lives!

By Carmen Roundtree

JUST ONE YEAR ago the African National Congress put forth a call for the struggling masses in South Africa to "render the country ungovernable." In that year the people of South Africa have raised the ANC banners, taken the call of the ANC to heart and have begun to implement its program with concrete steps that strike at the authority of the Pretoria regime.

To all foes of the apartheid system it is heartening to examine the points of that call and to see how the people of South Africa responded to them.

"We call on our nationally oppressed working class," the year-ago statement said, "to strengthen and unite the trade union movement and to sharpen the weapon of workers' power at the point of production in the struggle for national liberation."

2 million workers shut down apartheid

Since that call, the COSATU trade union federation held its founding meeting in December 1985, welding together 500,000 Black workers. On May 1 of this year, in response to a COSATU call, more than 2 million workers stayed away from their jobs to shut down the apartheid state and give the racist bosses a taste of the power of the African working class.

The same COSATU has now called for a similar walkout to begin on June 16, the tenth anniversary of the Soweto Uprising.

"We call on those among the Black oppressed who serve in the machineries of apartheid to resign now. The Bantustans, the so-called parliaments for the Colored and Indian people, the community councils and other organs of racist power must cease to function," the ANC stated last year. And it added:

"We call on our communities in the Black ghettos to replace the collapsing government stooge councils with people's committees in every block which would become embryos of people's power."

"We call on our people and, more especially, our fighting youth in every Black community, school and university to find ways of organizing themselves into small mobile units which will protect the people against anti-social elements and act in an organized way in both white and Black areas against the enemy and its agents."

People's committees in the townships

Since that call, in the Black ghettos, the townships of South Africa, the "legitimacy of authority" has been largely destroyed. Many of those who served under apartheid rule in the so-called Urban Councils have either resigned or suffered the wrath of the people.

Continued on S4

Clockwise from the top: Winnie Mandela and Nelson Mandela of the A.N.C.; and the young heroes of Soweto in 1976.



Philadelphia: Our own Soweto

By Monica Moorehead

IT WAS AN event that sent shock waves throughout this country and the world. Millions watched in horror as a section of a Black community was leveled by a powerful bomb, not much different from the bombs used by the U.S. military to scorch the terrain and inhabitants of Viet Nam.

On May 13, 1985, 250 people were made homeless. Eleven people, the majority of them children, were maliciously burned alive.

No, this act of terrorism did not take place in the Black, sprawling townships of Soweto or Crossroads in South Africa, although such incidents have become integral components of the South African revolution. The scene of this ghastly act took place right here in our own backyard, in Philadelphia, the fifth largest city in the United States.

In commemorating the tenth anniversary of the heroic Soweto youth uprising, we should also bear in mind that there are many Sowetos throughout this land and Philadelphia is a prime example. What happened to the Black community on Osage Avenue was nothing qualitatively different from what happens in Soweto, Sebokeng or Langa, S. Africa every day.

Years of police terror

Philadelphia may be regarded as the city of "brotherly love" by some, but to its vast population of Black, Latin, Asian, Arab and other oppressed peoples it has gained a sordid reputation as a notorious police state. During the terrorist rule of the neo-fascist mayor Frank Rizzo in the 1960s and 1970s, the Botha-like Rizzo unleashed his repressive police vigilantes upon the oppressed communities like swarming locusts on a yielding crop.

Some 600 people, including leading members of the Black Panther Party, lost their lives at the hands of this occupying force from 1971 to 1979. Some 9,000 more filed affidavits charging police brutality and harassment.

Is this racist barbarism any different from the brutal repression in South Africa?

It should be remembered that Philadelphia is one of the few U.S. cities where the federal government has been forced to intervene into the internal affairs of the city administration and the police. This is a rare occasion indeed when you consider that the federal authorities work hand in glove with the various police departments like in Los Angeles, New York, and Houston for example.

However, the extreme display of police terror in Philadelphia forced the Justice Department to bring about a class action lawsuit against the Philadelphia police department, Mayor Rizzo, a former police chief and other high-ranking city officials, based on the testimony of thousands of brutalized victims. To no one's surprise, the presiding judge dismissed the suit, accusing the victims of making "unwarranted allegations." Case closed.

One might ask, if the police are not there to protect the civil rights of the masses, then what purpose do they serve? The answer is quite simple. The police protect the interests and property of the rich, the corporate bosses and the bankers, who in reality run the cities, the U.S. as a whole and the economies of other countries.

Run by a wealthy clique

In the case of Philadelphia, the ruling clique (who by the way live in the exclusive suburbs outside the inner city) include the Pews, the Biddles and

the Mellons as well as the directors of Sun Oil and the five largest commercial banks. The relationship between this small clique of rich, white rulers and the Black, Latin, Native and other oppressed groupings is similar to that between the apartheid Botha regime and the super-oppressed Black masses of South Africa — that is, one between the oppressor and the oppressed, the haves and have-nots.

These parasitic multimillionaires wield the real power in Philadelphia, not the Black mayor, Wilson Goode, who took the rap when he publicly defended the MOVE bombing. Mayors come and go, but the economic infrastructure of the city, especially the police, the courts and the prisons, remain firmly in the hands of the capitalist ruling class.

Wherever Black mayors are elected (usually with the help of a mass anti-racist campaign), they inherit many problems and obstacles, resulting in an almost ungovernable situation. Not the least of their problems is facing the wrath of the racist bosses, bankers and real estate developers.

What are the general problems that Goode has faced since he took office last year?

There are two million people who live within the city limits, including a very large Black and Latin population. The overall unemployment rate is close to 14% — and double that for Black and Latin workers. Four out of ten adults are functionally illiterate. Affirmative action on the job is constantly under attack. Philadelphia could easily be dubbed the homeless capital, with 15,000 documented homeless people.

Soweto lessons apply

No substantial changes in the living



standards of the people will come about with the changing of the guard in the city administration, from the mayor on down. Only the masses, all the workers and oppressed united on all fronts fighting against a common enemy, will bring about real independence and self-determination.

This is one of the many lessons that we in this country can learn from our determined brothers and sisters in South Africa and Namibia.

On February 15th on this year, over 7,000 people of all nationalities, young and old, unionists, unemployed, gay and lesbian and disabled, rallied in Philadelphia in a march and rally organized by the National Mobilization Against Racism. These activists traveled from all over the country in response to the escalating racist violence heaped upon the Black and Puerto Rican communities by racist elements, including the police, as well as anti-Semitic attacks on Jewish people.

The marchers were also demanding the immediate release of MOVE acti-

vist Ramona Africa, a survivor of the bombing, and Wilfredo Santiago, a Puerto Rican man falsely arrested for the murder of a cop when the police raided and arrested thousands of Latin youth in the Spring Garden community. It was truly a timely display of working class solidarity toward the most oppressed.

As millions of people around the world take to the streets during the Soweto commemoration to demand a Free South Africa, the movement here must link the struggle against apartheid with the struggle against growing apartheid-like conditions in the U.S., especially racism. The root causes are the same — the racist ruling class and its repressive state apparatus. The battle cry of Soweto will become the battle cry of the workers and the oppressed in Philadelphia and throughout the country.

Workers and oppressed of the world, unite!



Some of the fa
Sow

World View Study Center announces an ex Marxism in the Third World:

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the faces of the South African struggle ten years after Soweto: Rallies, marches, demonstrations and Black youth confronting police armoured car



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55-0352

The other war in Namibia

By Sahu Barron

TO MOST OF the world's people, taking a stand against apartheid is an act of solidarity. For the people of the African nation of Namibia, it is more than that. Their country has been occupied by South African troops for over seven decades.

They know all about apartheid. Everything. Pretoria's migratory labor system, its pass laws, its bantustans crowding huge reservoirs of the unemployed, its detentions without trial and executions without justice, all of those features which characterize life under apartheid within the borders of South Africa are visited on Namibia's one-and-a-half million people as well.

And just as the people of South Africa have opened up an armed struggle under the leadership of the African National Congress to overthrow the minority fascist regime, the people of

Namibia have taken up the gun to fight in the ranks of SWAPO, the guerrilla movement battling to liberate their own nation.

The Botha regime has now concentrated 100,000 soldiers in Namibia, mostly in the northern part of the country. These troops are there in defiance of international law and against the orders of the United Nations, which has repeatedly ordered the racists to evacuate Namibia.

It is the official position of the UN that not only should all its member states recognize SWAPO as the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people, but any country with the capability to help SWAPO obtain weapons to drive the South Africans out should do so. This is a strong position, reflecting the near universal hatred directed at South African settler-colonialism from all quarters.

Near universal, but not quite.

The Reagan administration supports the South African occupation of Namibia. In fact, Washington is providing military aid to the South African armed battalions of UNITA, a terrorist organization that operates under the wing of Pretoria against both the country of Angola and against the SWAPO freedom fighters.

Jonas Savimbi, the head of UNITA who was welcomed by Reagan in the White House this winter, has vowed to destroy SWAPO. His units "burn down people's houses, steal their cattle and terrorize the local population," according to one SWAPO report.

This is the force which Reagan has ordered the CIA to arm with sophisticated weapons. All of these weapons are transported through South Africa first, for UNITA has no rear base area but South Africa, no friend and benefactor but Botha and Reagan.

A number of years ago, the late Angolan President, Agostinho Neto, who himself had plenty of experience in fighting off UNITA cross-border attacks into his own country, characterized Savimbi as "nothing more than a servant of the South African racists. Our enemy is not poor old Savimbi. It is South Africa."

South Africa is the clear enemy of the people of Namibia and SWAPO as well. But in fighting against the apartheid fascist occupation of their country, they must also fight against UNITA and the guns which have been sent from the U.S. to keep them in bondage.



Botha's campaign to isolate masses fails



The following is excerpted from a talk by Workers World Party National Committee member Monica Moorehead at the party's recent national conference on "Socialism: Why we need it... How to fight for it," held May 24-25 in New York City. The talk was delivered at a plenary discussion on "Imperialism, the National Liberation Movements Worldwide and the Socialist Countries."

By Monica Moorehead

NO COUNTRY, it has frequently been said, is an island unto itself. This certainly is true of South Africa. No matter how the racist apartheid regime of Botha has tried to isolate the oppressed South African masses from the rest of the world, its efforts have been a most spectacular failure.

Millions of people on all the continents of the world not only know of the severe and inhumane repression that the apartheid regime has been inflicting upon the mass of the people inside its borders but are also aware of the terrorist incursions that are becoming

more and more commonplace for the peoples throughout southern Africa.

The recent barbarous bombing raids carried out by the apartheid military last week against the capitals of Zambia, Botswana and Zimbabwe are a reflection of what the apartheid regime is most desperately trying to achieve — that is, the total isolation of the South African masses from their principal neighbors which are contiguous to South Africa. Let there be no mistake about it — these apartheid terrorist raids are no different from the U.S. terrorist raids and interventions against Libya, Lebanon, Grenada and others.

What the South African regime is doing gets little attention abroad, but it is carrying out a consistent, unrelenting and merciless terror campaign against all the neighboring countries of southern Africa. It doesn't matter to the Botha-ites whether the country of Lesotho is small and peaceful. The South African government has savagely bombed and terrorized it in order to break off any links with the South African struggle.

The racists care very little that Botswana is a sovereign country with an independent foreign and domestic policy. It has been ruthlessly subjected to terror bombings by sneak raids upon the population, all with the purpose of smashing any efforts, any links and any sanctuary for the brothers and sisters struggling for liberation from the Botha regime.

Even Zimbabwe, which has its own self-defense forces and has obtained a considerable amount of real independence after overthrowing the Ian Smith regime, continues to be subjected to intense pressure, militarily and economically — again, for no other purpose than to break the neces-

sary solidarity with the South African masses.

Of great importance but somewhat overlooked is the effort of the South African regime by the most cunning, vicious and sordid means to strangle, literally speaking, the governments of Mozambique and Swaziland by imposing upon them a formal agreement calculated again to drive the cadres of ANC into other lands. We also have to take note of the acts of criminal, outright terrorism and the continuing, ongoing brutality inflicted upon Angola and Namibia with a double purpose: first, to deprive them of their independence and second, to prevent any friendly, cooperative relations that might aid the comrades carrying forth the revolutionary struggle in South Africa.

Only two weeks ago, the principal imperialist countries, all with a stake in South Africa, met in Tokyo, in full knowledge of the terrorism used by South Africa both externally and internally. Yet the U.S., Great Britain, France, Japan, West Germany, Italy and Canada could find no word of even mild condemnation against South Africa.

They would not recognize what all the world can see is open, naked terrorism by the apartheid state. Instead of that, the Tokyo conference singled out Libya as a so-called terrorist. It completely ignored the real terrorism fueled by South Africa against the entire southern Africa region.

Apartheid has been transformed into a social pariah internationally and we in this country can help increase this isolation by coming out on June 14th, to commemorate the 10th anniversary of the Soweto youth rebellion, to demand that the U.S. break all ties with apartheid.



Why you should have been reading WW ten years ago!

By Paddy Colligan

HOW DID Workers World newspaper evaluate the situation in southern Africa ten years ago? "1976 was the year of Africa, the year of Angola, Soweto, Zimbabwe, and Namibia," was the paper's summary of those remarkable twelve months.

ANGOLA

The year 1976 opened with the military struggle for Angola still at a critical stage. The combined forces of 5,000 South African troops, U.S. mercenaries, remnants of the Portuguese fascist military, and the sellout puppet UNITA and FNLA forces had been turned back at the very outskirts of the capital city Luanda just weeks before. This victory was made possible by the assistance of Cuban internationalist soldiers, who had responded to the urgent appeal of the brand-new, besieged government of the People's Republic of Angola. The Soviet Union also helped with arms.

"It was the MPLA which brought medicine and health facilities to the countryside, organized popular elections in the liberated areas, and equalized wages for Black and white Angolans. It is on this basis that they have attracted the support of progressive humanity." (Workers World, 1/23/76)

ZIMBABWE

The struggle for Zimbabwe appeared to be nearing a resolution in 1976. The liberation forces were led by ZANU and ZAPU. The racist Rhodesian settler regime conducted a reign of terror in contested parts of the countryside and enforced a dusk-to-dawn curfew meant to limit guerrilla movement and contact with the people. U.S. corporations enabled Rhodesia to survive an economic blockade by providing markets for its mineral and agricultural products and supplying vital oil to fuel its economy and war machine.

"A substantial, extreme right-wing section of the U.S. ruling class was behind Presidential candidate (Ronald) Reagan when he told a Sacramento, California press group 'that if he were president he might send American troops into Rhodesia to prevent Black guerrillas from harming supporters of the current white minority government.'" (6/11/76)

NAMIBIA

In Namibia that year SWAPO marked the tenth anniversary of the armed struggle. Then-U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger meanwhile was scheming with South Africa and the imperialist allies to beat an August 30 UN deadline for South Africa to end its occupation of Namibia. (That's August 30, 1976!)

They cooked up a plan for the plunder of Namibia while so-called

"constitutional talks" were taking place. Naturally, SWAPO was excluded. Already in 1976 SWAPO was recognized by the vast majority of the Namibian people and around the world as the "sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people."

"The CIA-funded puppet troops of FNLA and UNITA, who fled Angola after its liberation, are engaged in combat with SWAPO guerrillas and are conducting terrorist hit-and-run attacks against Namibian villages near the Angolan border." (8/20/76).

SOUTH AFRICA

The greeting in South Africa's Black townships in 1976 was "Angola!" with an upraised fist. The Angolan revolution was as inspiring as the recent liberation of Viet Nam had been, but closer to home. South African Blacks watched with joy as the Angolan people routed the U.S.-backed South African troops, learning that their own enemy and oppressor was vulnerable.

Soon the South African youth engaged the hated apartheid regime on their own turf, the dusty streets of South Africa's urban ghettos. The world looked on as the heroic youth fought a cruelly unequal battle of stones against tanks, and opened a new stage of the South African revolution. Today this battle scene has been geometrically intensified by the leading role of the South African working class.

Workers World, the activist tool

Workers World not only reports on and analyzes events in Africa, but participates in shaping popular response here. On Jan. 17, 1976, there was a powerful demonstration for Angolan liberation in New York, initiated and built by Workers World organizers, which came out firmly for the MPLA-led People's Republic of Angola.

Back in 1976 there was not yet a broad anti-apartheid movement here. Workers World helped build a demonstration to commemorate the international workers' holiday of May Day as Anti-Apartheid Day in New York.

The May Day demonstration turned out to be only a warmup for June, when the Soweto uprising burst onto the scene of history. The Saturday following that fateful day saw the first of many protests, solidarity rallies and forums in the U.S. It opened up a new period of building awareness and support for the South African Revolution.

This newspaper has continued to expose U.S. government and corporate involvement, to chronicle the heroic developments in southern Africa, and to provide news, analysis, and information to the growing support movement in the U.S. throughout the decade since Soweto first burst upon the world.



Articles from the pages of Workers World newspaper at the time of the heroic Soweto uprising in 1976.

—Soweto Continued from S1

Intensify the armed struggle

The ANC also called upon Umkhonto we Sizwe, its armed wing, to "intensify the armed struggle with all the means at its disposal and, more particularly, to concentrate more and more on actions against the enemy armed forces and police."

In December 1985 Umkhonto planted land mine explosives that killed eight whites in the northern farming areas bordering Zimbabwe, areas characterized by the apartheid regime as military zones. In January, two bombs went off in the industrialized city of Durban, seriously injuring four white policemen.

It was in that period that ANC President Oliver Tambo called for "a rapid escalation of our military offensive" and warned that if civilians were caught in the crossfire, this would have to be "accepted as part and parcel of a war situation."

Since the ANC call a year ago, the racist central government in Pretoria continues to hang onto its rule, but only through the killing, maiming and torturing of Black people by the repressive state apparatus.

But the enormous difference is that the racist regime has lost and is continuing to lose the organs of Black administration that formerly served apartheid. These have been completely undermined by the masses in the townships.

And the working class that makes the entire South African society move has with its organization and work stoppages struck fear into the hearts of not only the bosses in Johannesburg but their imperialist overlords in London and Washington.

In the mushrooming struggle to take control of the day-to-day affairs of the townships altogether, residents have thrown out the regime-appointed councils and have replaced them with "people's committees." In Alexandra township, in Soweto, in embattled Crossroads, it is these people's committees and the youthful "comrades," the teenagers who battle the police, that serve as the popular authority.

In many areas rent strikes have been carried on for close to two years, with the rent money now being paid to the people's committees. And these communities have been deemed no-go areas, which the police and the army avoid unless they are in a large force.

Through their sustained actions, the Black people of South Africa have taught Black police and soldiers that there is no place for those who wear the uniform of apartheid in their communities.

The boycotts of schools and universities continue and are becoming more and more flashpoints for freedom in the struggle. The consumer boycotts have brought to their knees sections of the white South African business interests.

The ANC last year also called on the white population in South Africa to "move away from its support of apartheid" and upon those conscripted into the army to "refuse to be used as instruments of massacres."

The year has seen a growth in the movement of South African draft resisters and military deserters. And on the campuses, especially where there are not completely segregated student bodies, like in Capetown, protest demonstrations including substantial white participation have rebuffed every new repressive act of the regime.

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WORKERS AND OPPRESSED PEOPLES OF THE WORLD UNITE!

X-523

Reagan sponsors terrorism in Nicaragua, South Africa

By Andy Stapp

JUNE 9 — Today, at the very moment the news reached Washington that South African cops and rightwing vigilantes had killed 14 more people near Capetown and burned 50,000 out of their homes, Ronald Reagan rose to make an impassioned speech about the need "to help the freedom fighters."

The President, however, was not talking about the struggle raging in South Africa, where the people have little more than their bare hands and stones to battle against whips, machine guns and tanks. No, he was demanding more money, another \$100 million, to carry out the CIA contra war against Nicaragua.

That's the way they do it in Reagan's world.

The capitalist press is characterizing Reagan's Nicaragua address as "his harshest policy statement to date." That's a polite way of saying that the President did everything but foam at the mouth.

Litany of hatred

"Gorbachev, Castro, Arafat and Khadafy," Reagan intoned at one point, in a sort of litany of hatred. "Cuban troops swarm the streets of Managua," he ranted. All this because the people of Nicaragua have dared to kick out a reactionary dictator who was imperialism's franchise agent in Managua.

CIA guns and CIA money have never liberated anyone and never will. The transnational corporations, for which the CIA labors, are not instruments of liberation but domination.

The people of South Africa, the real freedom fighters standing up every day against the most vicious regime on this planet, know this. They've got the transnationals, the CIA and Botha on top. Reagan thinks Botha's his twin. Last month, the U.S. President said he's got "a lot in common" with Mr. Botha.

He does. Both are violently opposed to the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, both blame everything on communism and the Russians. If Reagan bombs Libya, Botha bombs a few countries too, saying he is joining the U.S. in "combatting terrorism."

Burning farms and clinics and trucks carrying children to the Nicaraguan coffee harvest, torching 50,000 Black people's homes in the Crossroads, it's all part of the Reagan-Botha game plan in which everything is justified, everything is permitted, if the enemy can be labeled a "terrorist."



'Boycott South Africa, not Nicaragua!' Over 500 demonstrators marched from Martin Luther King Library to the White House on June 7 to protest U.S. support for the contras in Nicaragua. The demonstration, initiated by the Coalition to Stop the U.S. War on Nicaragua, also demanded an end to U.S. military intervention in Nicaragua and all of Central America.

Co-chairing the rally, Judy Greenspan from the People's Anti-War Mobilization received an enthusiastic response when she pointed to the White House and said,

"Reagan and the Pentagon are the biggest contras of them all! We must build a people's movement to stop U.S. intervention in Central America, South Africa and the Middle East."

Speakers at the rally included representatives from the Big Mountain Support Project of Washington, D.C., the Student Coalition Against Racism and Apartheid, the Pledge of Resistance and the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee.

WW PHOTO: MALCOLM

'Free enterprise zones' in the Philippines—eyewitness report

—p. 7

Community spirit builds for Jersey City housing march

—p. 3

Campaign against Waldheim—What's behind it? —p. 8

Action planned to support struggle in south Korea

Special to Workers World
NEW YORK, June 9 — A demonstration will take place here June 25 in solidarity with the rising struggle of the south Korean people against U.S. neo-colonial domination. It is being jointly organized by the People's Anti-War Mobilization and the U.S. Out of Korea Committee.

The protest is being called at a time when south Korean students are taking to the streets almost daily in militant demonstrations demanding the withdrawal of U.S. troops and nuclear weapons from south Korea, an end to the U.S.-supported Chon Do Hwan dictatorship, and the reunification of north and south Korea.

U.S. facilities are target of students' wrath

Several of these demonstrations have involved attacks on U.S. government and corporate offices. Increasingly the students are being joined in their demonstrations by workers and

unemployed youth, who hold U.S. domination responsible for the desperate conditions of south Korea's working class.

A particularly militant wave of protests marked the sixth anniversary of the May 1980 Kwangju massacre, in which nearly 3,000 protesters were murdered by Chon Do Hwan's army. The south Korean army is commanded by a U.S. general, in an incredible example of south Korea's subservience to the United States, and the massacre at Kwangju was approved in advance by the Pentagon.

Five protest suicides

On May 20, Li Dong Su, a 23-year-old student at Seoul National University, set himself on fire and hurled himself from the roof of a campus building shouting "Out with U.S. imperialism." The police, meanwhile, were attacking a rally of 5,000 students memorializing those who died at Kwangju.

Mr. Li was the third Korean student this year to commit suicide as a political protest. Two workers have also immolated themselves this year in protest against harsh economic conditions and anti-labor repression.

The day after Mr. Li's suicide, 21 students seized the U.S. Information Service in Pusan and held it for an hour before being dragged out by police at the U.S. consul's request. On May 30, students invaded and trashed the Seoul headquarters of the Korean American Bank, a Bank of America

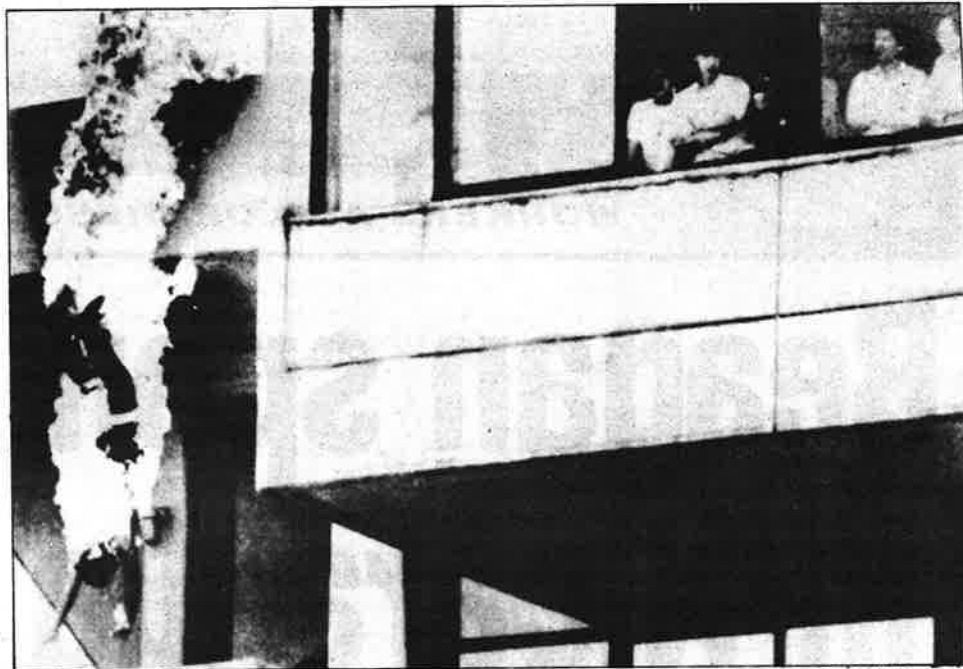


PHOTO: PEOPLE'S KOREA

Korean student Li Dong Sun set himself on fire and jumped from building shouting 'Down with U.S. imperialism!'

subsidiary. On May 19, over 1,000 students held a sit-in at Korea University in Seoul to protest against compulsory military training, chanting, "We will not be mercenaries for U.S. imperialism."

The revolutionary ferment among the south Korean workers and students is a source of great concern on Wall Street and in the Pentagon. Over 2,000 U.S. firms invest in south Korea, where they pay wages of less than \$3 a day. South Korea has the longest working hours and the highest rate of

industrial accidents in the world.

It is also a U.S. military stronghold, with over 40,000 U.S. soldiers and 1,000 nuclear weapons based there.

The U.S. has occupied south Korea for 41 years. In 1950 it launched the Korean War, a bloody but unsuccessful effort to extend its sway over socialist north Korea as well. Hundreds of thousands of Korean civilians died in that war at the hands of the U.S. military.

Like the struggles in South Africa and Central America, the struggle of the Korean people urgently needs the support of working class and antiwar and progressive forces inside the United States. June 25, the 36th anniversary of the start of the Korean war of 1950-53, is a good day to demonstrate in solidarity with the Korean people's struggle for independence and reunification and to demand that the U.S. get out of south Korea.

The demonstration will take place outside the Chon Do Hwan regime's consulate and trade promotion center at 58th St. and Park Ave. on Wed., June 25, from 5 to 7 p.m. More information can be had from the organizers of the demonstration at (212) 741-0633.

Event to mark Honduran massacre

Special to Workers World
NEW YORK, June 9—Eleven years ago, on June 25, the U.S.-backed regime in Honduras committed one of its most heinous crimes. When landless peasants protested the government's delay in implementing land reform, the military answered their cries with a hail of bullets. Fifteen were killed in what has become known as the "Los Hornos" massacre.

June 25 is now marked as the International Day of Solidarity with the People of Honduras and activities are scheduled in many areas to mark the day.

In New York, Casa Honduras is organizing a forum which will hear a speaker and show the video "War Games," about the U.S. military occupation of the country. The event will be held at Casa de las Americas, 104 W. 14 St., 3rd floor, New York, N.Y., at 7 p.m., on Wed., June 25.



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In This Issue...

HOUSING STRUGGLE

As Jersey City residents prepare to march for low-cost housing, Reagan and the politicians in Congress are moving to stop all construction of housing for the poor for the first time in 50 years. Marchers will demand \$1 billion to build 20,000 low-cost homes. (Page 3.)

AT&T STRIKE

At AT&T offices in big cities, suburbs, and small towns, telephone workers are standing up against this telecommunications giant with greater and greater militance. AT&T is demanding a slew of give-backs; strikers vow they will keep fighting until victory. (Page 5.)

HAITIAN PROTESTS

"It looks like a prelude to war." Thousands of Haitians have taken to the streets over the past week to demand an end to the corrupt junta which replaced Duvalier and for real economic justice. Among the targets of strikes and protests are exploitative U.S.-owned companies. (Page 7.)



CWA strikers picket AT&T in New York City.

WW PHOTO: JOYCE CHEDIAC

WALDHEIM

What's behind the U.S.-Israeli campaign against Kurt Waldheim, the former UN chief who has just assumed the Presidency of Austria? How does it affect the Austrian working class? (Page 8.)

REAGAN SCUTTLES SALT

Sam Marcy writes on the new phase of the U.S. arms buildup, and reviews the different stages in Washington's nuclear arms policy in 1945. He also shows why the liberal supporters of arms control can't stop the dangerous U.S. course of the military-industrial complex. (Page 9.)

SOWETO SUPPLEMENT

Special 4-page wrap-around supplement commemorating the ten years of struggle in South Africa since the Soweto Uprising. (Pages S1-S4.)

Also...

Korea support	2
Taxes	2
Detroit AFSCME	4
Hormel rally	4
On the picketline	4
WWP conference	5
Mideast	6
November 29	6
International Briefs	6
Honduras	6

Philippines	7
July 4 orgy	10
Hoboken supports Dineh	10
Political prisoners	11
AIDS actions	12
'Mandela' tape	12
3M rally	12

Editorials

Shuttle report	8
Unemployment	8

workers world

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'March for Housing' excites people of Jersey City

1/1000th of U.S. demands 1/1000th of budget

By G. Dunkel

JERSEY CITY, June 7 — The housing crisis that is raging all over the United States has hit Jersey City and its oppressed communities particularly hard. Over 50,000 housing units (apartments or houses) have been lost since 1970 in a city that now has a quarter of a million people. And jobs, especially manufacturing jobs, went with the housing.

The reason why Jersey City's Hudson County has been singled out for intensive gentrification and massive, multi-billion-dollar real estate development is that it lies across the river from Wall Street. That center of international finance needs to expand. Modern communications, computer to computer, is much cheaper and easier when a line-of-sight link can be used.

Black and Latin people lived in most of the homes that were torn down near the waterfront to clear the land for Newport City, a \$10 billion development controlled by the multinational landlord Simon Lefrak. But it's not just the waterfront. Anyone who drives through the Black community centered around Martin Luther King Boulevard can see building after building boarded up and warehoused as gentrification sweeps through that neighborhood.

There are no decent apartments left in the whole city that a single working person can afford. Thousands of families are facing evictions or are spending 40% to 60% of their income on rent.

People's response

One reason Lefrak and his billionaire friends on Wall Street picked Jer-

sey City to turn into Wall Street West is that it is a working class city, predominantly Black and Latin, with significant Arab, Indian, Asian and Eastern European communities. A majority of students in the public schools don't have English as their mother tongue.

Since Jersey City was so fragmented and didn't have much political clout, Wall Street figured it could gentrify the city, make billions of dollars on real estate deals and speculation and get rid of most of the working and poor people without a fight, without much resistance.

But a new spirit of fightback is growing. A coalition that draws much of its strength from the Black and Latin communities of Jersey City has been formed.

March for housing coalition

The March for Housing Coalition is demanding the state and federal government come up with \$1 billion to build 20,000 low-cost homes in Jersey City. One billion dollars is just the cost of one Trident missile submarine. The United States didn't hesitate to scrap two Tridents that recently were in accidents; it shouldn't hesitate to spend a billion in Jersey City.

A billion is just one-thousandth of the U.S. budget and one-thousandth of the U.S. population lives in Jersey City. And \$1 billion is just one-tenth of what Lefrak is going to spend on Newport City, which will provide at most 2,600 luxury condominiums.

According to John Jones, one of the main organizers of the march, the Coalition has gotten out over 40,000 lea-

flets. Sound cars in English and Spanish, poster tape-ups, street meetings and street fairs have also spread the word.

Teachers have gotten leaflets from their students and contacted the Coalition. The Board of Education, which is in a budget crunch, has given the Coalition permission to distribute and speak in the local high schools.

Some city workers, who are also facing cutbacks and layoffs since Jersey City is in a financial crisis, have expressed interest in the march. The workers at Jersey City Medical Center, which is scheduled to be turned into a private hospital with a new physical plant (the old physical plant is going to be turned into luxury condominiums) have shown a strong interest in using the march to express their grievances and problems.

When organizing for the march started, Jones said he got this question in the Black community: "How are we going to get a billion dollars?" But now he gets: "Why do you think a billion dollars is enough?"

When this reporter visited the Coalition office late Sunday afternoon, one of the eight volunteers working there was Ruth Hines, a single mother with three children who is facing eviction. She found out about the march from a leaflet she got in her church. She told me, "I believe in this march because as a single parent facing eviction I need to find a way to fight back. There's no decent lost cost housing in Jersey City."

If you want to help fight back, the Coalition office is at 317 Grove St., very close to the Grove St. stop on the PATH. The number is (201) 433-2332.



WW PHOTO: G. DUNKEL

Audrey Webster, a foster mother and organizer of Jersey City housing march, with activist youth.

Corporations line up for Reagan's tax freebies

By Andy Stapp

JUNE 9 — It's called a "transitional rule," and the big corporations use it to get out of paying taxes. Here's how the robbery works.

Phillips Petroleum orders some of its lobbyists from the American Petroleum Institute to approach a Senator or Representative and explain that Phillips has a "special problem." The company's directors are pleased that this year's tax bill will, if passed, lower the maximum corporate rate once again, but nonetheless, Phillips would prefer to pay nothing at all. That's where "transitional rule" comes in so handy.

Transitional rules are extraordinary provisions of exemption plugged into the tax code for every important Senator's favorite business interests, for those firms which were thoughtful enough to fill the Senator's stockings during election time. Of course, the distinguished Senator doesn't want to just get up and say, "My good friends at Phillips Petroleum lined my pocket when I really needed some large sums to buy my way into office, so in return I'm going to do my damndest to see that they don't have to pay one red cent in taxes." This would be considered gauche even for a Senator.

Instead, the good Senator finds out in what year and in what state Phillips Petroleum was legally incorporated and then slips a "transitional rule" into the tax code that reads like this: "In the case of a taxpayer which was incorporated in Delaware in 1917 and which owns refineries at Borger and Sweeny, Texas, Kansas City, Kansas, Woods Cross, Utah and Great Falls, Montana, any royalties of such taxpayer should be exempt from . . ." The rest of this "transitional rule"

goes on to give a few billion in tax breaks to the favored oil giant.

And the name Phillips is never mentioned.

It just happens to be the only "taxpayer" which fits the description of "taxpayer" in this particular case. Clever, isn't it! Of course, if Jane or John Doe got themselves incorporated in Delaware in 1917 and just happened to also own a refinery in Woods Cross, Utah, they too could save billions!

This year's beneficiaries of "transitional rules" include Avon, Texaco, Baltimore Gas and Electric, Phillips Petroleum, Continental Airlines, Pennzoil, Frankfurt Arsenal, Pan Am World Airways, Mississippi Chemical and scores of others, including wealthy individuals.

In 1981, the Reagan tax cuts saved \$9 billion for those persons with annual incomes of over \$50,000. Corporations really scored, paying \$750 billion less in federal taxes over the next five years. Eighty percent of these corporate tax give-aways went to the top 1,700 firms, which then neglected new production for a merger spree that raised their profits by \$61 billion in the first three months of 1981 alone. Virtually no new jobs were created, although this was the ostensible excuse Reagan gave for cutting business taxes.

Commenting on that first round of tax breaks for the big money men, former budget director and budget-slasher David Stockman said, "Do you realize the greed that came to the forefront? The hogs were really feeding." Back then business taxes had been dropped from a top rate of 70% to 50%. The new bill brings it down to 33%, but even then some corporations can find a better way. Get a "transitional regulation" and don't pay anything.

House nixes public housing despite homeless crisis

By Sharon Shelton

JUNE 9 — At a time when homelessness has reached epidemic proportions across the U.S., the Reagan administration in collusion with Congress is moving to stop all construction of housing for the poor.

On June 5, the House of Representatives voted funds for rehabilitation of existing public units, but not for building new ones. If the Senate goes along with this heartless decision as expected, it could mark the first time in 50 years that there has been no public housing construction in the U.S.

Voting with Reagan's fellow Republicans on the measure, which took the form of an amendment to a public housing bill, were 75 Democrats. While the politicians in the Democratic Party have caved in to Reaganism time and again, this is an especially gross instance of these so-called "champions of the poor" showing their true face as the willing servants of the reactionary, war-driven U.S. ruling class.

This latest scheme to take money away from desperately needed social services and hand it to the Pentagon also exposes Reagan's claims that private industry, left unfettered by "big government," will provide the needs of society. Who believes that the banks and multi-millionaire realtors who are raking it in from kicking out all those poor people to build lucrative condos will suddenly find it in their hearts to

build low-cost housing for those they've displaced?

There are 1.2 million public housing units in the U.S., with hundreds of thousands of men, women and children waiting to get in. In New York City alone, over 200,000 families are on the waiting lists for public housing, and waits are expected to take an average 30 years at current vacancy rates.

Gentrification and layoffs have created at least 3 million homeless (a conservative estimate) in major cities across the country. Yet neither Reagan nor the Democrats have lifted a finger to alleviate their plight. This latest vote will without a doubt add to the already swollen ranks of men, women and children who have no place to call home in this country of such bountiful wealth.

A few weeks ago, well-meaning individuals from the largest cities to the smallest hamlets poured out to hold their hands across this giant country in the hope that the politicians would heed their concern about poverty and hunger in America. The limitations of such a quest were vividly shown by this latest action by Reagan and especially the House Democrats.

Instead of vain appeals to the politicians, what is needed to truly change the worsening living conditions in the U.S. today is militant mass action. Only a strong, united struggle of the working class and oppressed peoples can eradicate homelessness.

AT&T workers tell why they're on strike

An operator's job 'is like a tooth being extracted without any novocaine'

By Shelley Ettinger

NEW YORK, June 9 — After a week on the picketlines, the 155,000 members of the Communications Workers of America (CWA) on strike against AT&T are displaying greater and greater militance. The telecommunications giant has made their work lives miserable for years, and the company's latest attack, in the form of a patently unacceptable contract offer, was the last straw.

AT&T is demanding a slew of givebacks that would drastically change the jobs, pay and benefits of most of its workers — for the worse. These include not only the highly-publicized elimination of cost-of-living allowances (COLA), but elimination of night differentials, elimination of most overtime provisions, wholesale destruction of seniority rights, and elimination of 35- and 37-hour workweeks. Perhaps the most vicious proposal is the downgrading of hundreds of clerical job titles, affecting mostly women workers.

These workers are fighting back. The core of the strike is the operators and clerical workers, mostly Black and other Third World women, who would bear the brunt of the company's proposed changes. It's obvious on the picketlines and at the strike rallies that their anger is propelling the struggle forward.

Strike rallies took place around the country today, including a picketline in front of the New York Stock Exchange on Wall Street. On Friday, June 6, at a rally in Brooklyn, the strikers spontaneously took to the streets and marched through a busy downtown area, chanting demands. Among supporters at this rally was a contingent from the Independent Federation of Flight Attendants, representing TWA workers. Another rally is scheduled for Wednesday, June 11, at AT&T corporate headquarters.

"No rights at all"

Where does the workers' anger come from? What makes them fight so hard?

Another question provides a clue: What's it like to work as an AT&T operator?

"It's like a tooth being extracted without any novocaine," Ms. W. Banks, an operator for 18 years, told Workers World as she picketed in New York City. "And it's gotten worse and worse over the years, especially since they separated AT&T from the phone companies. The stress is unbearable. We're constantly monitored. We have to ask to go to the bathroom — and we get docked if we take more than two minutes.

"Really," she said, "we have no



CWA workers rally in New York City.

rights at all."

Ms. Banks and her sisters on the picketline told of physical disabilities caused by their jobs: loss of hearing, failing eyesight, back trouble, vocal strain. The company, they said, fights workers who apply for disability or medical benefits.

"It's like a war," said another worker. "Only the strong survive."

AT&T vs. workers

Today, CWA spokesperson Angel Feliciano characterized AT&T's strike stance this way: "They have draped their cowardice with lies and half-truths."

It's a pretty fair description of the telecommunications giant's actions after one week of the strike. Like hiring tens of thousands of scab "temporary replacements." Like sending out letters to strikers to try to scare them into a back-to-work mood and sow division in the union.

And like printing full-page ads in newspapers all over the country. The ads, framed as "a message from AT&T to our [WW emphasis] people represented by the CWA," claim that the company has made "a fair offer" with "absolutely no givebacks."

That's one of the lies CWA's Feliciano was referring to. The AT&T package in fact includes 45 concessionary demands.

But the conclusion of the AT&T ad, at least, is honest. The offer, it says, "is intended to make us more competitive and more secure."

That really explains what's behind

this strike. AT&T, already the world leader in telecommunications and one of the richest corporations in the world, is on an anti-union offensive whose goal is ever greater profits. In order to position itself to reap those profits unencumbered by any regard for the workers it employs, the company entered negotiations intending to free itself of troublesome contract language — things like work rules and job classifications — and undesirable expenses like COLA.

After all, whole new worlds of profit — lasers and outer-space computerized telecommunications and Star Wars high-tech weapons systems — are waiting to be explored. And now, with the local phone companies divested and with the anti-union assault in high gear nationally, is the time for AT&T to make its move.

But those angry picketlines tell another story, and AT&T, big and powerful as it is, has to reckon with the workers. Not only with the strikers themselves, but phone company workers in non-AT&T locals, many of whom have honored the strikers' picketlines. Their contracts expire this August, and a fighting mood may be developing among them, too.

At this point, though, the scene of the struggle is the AT&T picketlines. Those lines are up across the country, at AT&T offices in big cities, suburbs, small towns. On every line, the same militance is in evidence. As Paul Schayatovich, a clerical worker in AT&T's small Naperville, Ill., office told Workers World, "We're all looking to win."

Buffalo rally says 'Boycott Hormel!'

BUFFALO, June 5 — United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9 President Jim Guyette spoke here tonight to an enthusiastic crowd of unionists and community activists who support the striking Hormel workers.

Strikers from CWA Local 1122 and Ironworkers Local 6, together with other area trade unionists representing UAW, Teamsters, Public Employees Federation, Union of University Professions, International Association of Machinists, American Postal Workers Union, Buffalo Teachers Federation, and many others gave a standing ovation to Guyette, leader of the militant 10-month-long strike in Austin, Minn.

The rally was organized by the Ad Hoc Union Committee for the Striking

Families of P-9, spearheaded by United Environmental Workers Local 1186 CWA, Nurses United Local 1168 CWA, and Local 1122.

Guyette spoke of the significance of the strike in the national fightback against concessions. The national boycott of Hormel products and the endurance of the union have cost the company a \$25 million loss in profits in its last quarter.

Although Guyette is forbidden by court order to call for the boycott or to associate with P-9, the message got across to the crowd. Other union speakers called for solidarity with the Black workers of South Africa, some of whom picketed their Hormel-affiliated plant in South Africa in solidarity with P-9.

—WW conference

Continued from page 5

ers have fought back. In a Houston, Texas, office building, SEIU maintenance workers are holding union elections. All are undocumented workers. Isn't that a sign of a change in the times? Despite the worsening conditions and anti-labor attacks, never has the revolutionary potential been greater."

Sharon Black discussed the role of the 50 million women now in production. "Today, 44% of the workforce is women, in department stores, restaurants and factories. We are Black and Latin, Asian, Native and white, we are gay and straight, we are disabled and able-bodied."

A nine-year veteran of the food processing industry, this shop steward reported on the changes she's seen. Forty percent of the workers are women and the majority are Black. "We have seen whole processes of production computerized, and classifications of skilled workers eliminated. In the giant supermarket chain, the typical white male butcher has been elimi-

nated by the pre-packaging of meat. The majority of supermarket workers are cashiers and clerks."

Black pointed out that women, while they certainly have the right to union jobs held mostly by men, have had nothing at all to do with eliminating those jobs. That was done by the capitalist system. "It is the increased poverty of the working class that has forced women into the workforce."

But women have been in the forefront of labor struggles. "In a recent union study it was cited that women wanted union representation more often than men and that unions won 50% of the campaigns in which women made up more than 75% of the workforce."

"We say to the capitalist, your system has produced exploitation, oppression and misery for millions, but it is also producing millions of gravediggers. And sisters in this country will be joining hands with our sisters in South Africa and Haiti and all around the world to play a role in digging that grave."

On The Picketline

Guilford union-busting and Conrail breakup.

As maneuvering continues among the bankers and railroad barons over who will gain control of the Conrail system, scheduled to be "privatized" under Reagan, the busting of contracts and unions by Guilford Transportation takes on added significance. Guilford was formed in 1981 by Timothy Mellon of the Mellon banking family in Pittsburgh in order to build a new rail empire in the Northeast. The company acquired a number of railroads cheaply, including the Maine Central, Boston & Maine and Delaware and Hudson, and extended routes into the Midwest.

While it masquerades as a small beleaguered company, Guilford flashed a \$1.2 billion bankroll in equity and loan commitments in an effort to show seriousness in its bid for Conrail over a year ago. In another move to show its seriousness to the bankers who invest in rail transportation, the privately-owned Guilford has embarked on a deliberate union-busting attack on the

workers.

Demanding 20% cuts in pay and wholesale job eliminations through attacks on work rules and installation of high-tech rails, this company is deliberately seeking a confrontation to break the backs of the railroad unions. This is not an accidental incident, but part of a broad plan by the banks to regain direct control of the railroad industry after years of multi-million dollar government investment of tax dollars.

The workers on the railroads owned by Guilford are now back at work, half-way through a 60-day "cooling off" period ordered by Reagan, as the company plunges ahead with job eliminations of union members while scabs remain on the payroll. The unions are taking Guilford to court June 18, charging that these layoffs violate the 60-day cooling-off period. Much in the railroad industry will hinge on the outcome of this struggle at Guilford, as other companies try to match what Guilford does.

— Louis Napier

WWP meet: 'The workers are undergoing profound changes'

On May 24-25, Workers World Party held a national conference on "Socialism: Why we need it . . . How to fight for it." In coming issues, Workers World will report on the different plenary discussions at the conference. The following is a synopsis of the discussion on "The changing nature of the working class."

By John Catalinotto

AT THE RECENT Workers World Party conference, Larry Holmes, a national WWP leader, reviewed the doubts expressed by many about the revolutionary role of the working class in the U.S. "They base their doubts," Holmes said, "on the old strategy on the part of the capitalists of giving some sectors of the working class relatively higher wages."

"This is something they could afford," Holmes went on, "on account of the tremendous profits that they amass from the exploitation of workers abroad combined with the great profits from exploiting workers at home." The idea was to cushion some of the workers so that they'd be less inclined to take up the class struggle.

"What is more," Holmes added, "by maintaining a relatively privileged sector of the working class, the capitalists could aggravate and artificially sustain divisions within the working class, especially divisions based on racism and sexism by fostering the illusion that the more privileged status of white male workers inherently depended on keeping women and oppressed workers down."

Due to the decline of U.S. imperialism and the onset of one economic crisis after another since the 1970s, capitalism is no longer in a position to sustain high wages for a sector of the workers. These crises have led to the devastation of whole regions of the country and the loss of millions of jobs which have hit even the most highly paid workers and have been accompanied by attacks on unions as typified by the PATCO struggle.

"The introduction of high technology has only accelerated this process," said Holmes. "High tech has systematically eliminated hundreds of thousands of relatively high paying jobs." All the skilled jobs that the capitalists had held up to show why there is no class struggle here, and no radicalized labor movement, and why there is no big Marxist party, all these jobs are disappearing.

"The whole working class is being shocked into a new period, where they must forget steady annual raises," added Holmes. Instead they face chronic unemployment and underemployment and lower wages, even in times of capitalist "recovery."

Changing character

"At the same time," said Holmes, "the composition of the working class is undergoing profound changes. This trend toward increased representation of oppressed workers, undocumented workers, women workers has increased dramatically." The only sector of the economy expanding is the service sector. "This development is fast laying to rest what once seemed to be the unassailable reality of a white, male-dominated workforce."

"The workforce has become more multinational, more balanced, less stratified because of the increased pauperization of the working class which has equalized the standard of living of the workers out to the lowest common denominator, objectively strengthening the basis for solidarity and unity. The basis for fostering divisions, particularly on the basis of racism and sexism, is becoming weaker."

"In time, the new composition of the working class will produce a movement that is more united, more inclined to political consciousness and independence from the capitalist class, more inclined toward militancy in struggle and with fewer reasons to feel any identity and allegiance with the capitalist class."

"We're going to see the emergence of a working class and a working class leadership that is better prepared in every respect to take on the capitalist class and pave the road to the socialist revolution," Holmes concluded.

Service workers under capitalism

Tana Marie Loy spoke of the conditions for service workers under capitalism. She reviewed the loss of 11 million manufacturing jobs between 1979 and 1984 and the shift of those workers who were lucky enough to find work mostly to service jobs.

"The service industry, just as manufacturing, exists not to provide needed services, but to make profits and wealth for the capitalist class," Loy stated. "It was easier to automate the factory, reduce the workforce, and increase exploitation. But it's also happening in the service industries."

"Thirteen million workers, mostly women, work at video display terminals. In a recent report a worker said, 'I can't even go to the bathroom without being watched. I have to put up a

flag at my terminal, wait till the restroom is empty, sign up, sign back in and remove my flag.'

"Insurance, airlines and credit card companies also use computers to monitor productivity, even to the point of flashing hidden messages as, 'You're not working as fast as the worker next to you.' The clerical jobs are broken down into one or two repetitive tasks in order to make tracking easier."

"In the home care agency where I work, some 80 escorts wait in one airless, windowless room to go with nurses on visits. They're allowed only one cigarette break between 11 and 11:15 a.m. and no lunch break in a six-hour day. The highest level gets paid \$5.15 an hour."

"The real question," she said, "is how do the workers fight back?" She called on the unions in general to recognize the growth of service workers and the shift toward women, oppressed and undocumented workers.

"From Equitable Life to Yale to the hotel workers in New York, the work-

Continued on page 4



Larry Holmes, Tana Loy and Sharon Black.

WW PHOTO: G. DUNKLE

Detroit city workers: 'Restore and more!'

Special to Workers World

DETROIT, June 9 — Armed with a program of militant "restore and more" demands, AFSCME City of Detroit workers this week were confronted at the bargaining table with the position not only of City of Detroit management, but that of the entire ruling class in the current period.

Major union demands for almost 8,000 city workers from 17 locals include a raise of 40% (20-10-10) over three years, COLA, the partial abolition of the two-tier wage system, an end to contracting out and the accretion of the contractual Community Nutrition Workers in the Master Contract, a Sick and Accident Plan, a comparable worth study, child care facilities, and many other changes to restore workers to pre-concessionary levels of benefits and rights.

Despite the City's huge budget surplus of \$52.1 million and raises of 15-44% in 1986 to mayoral appointees, the City Council, and the mayor, City negotiators arrogantly presented the AFSCME bargaining team with an outrageous set of take-away proposals on top of the current concessionary contract.

These include raises of 2% in 1986 and a wage "equity" formula in 1987 and 1988 (based on City resources, this formula has accorded City workers less than 3% in three years under the current contract); an end to partial payout of accrued sick leave on retirement; no hospitalization coverage for

new hires on retirement; an end to the use of seniority in overtime assignments; reduction in sick and vacation time for workers not on the payroll every day of the month; cutbacks in health care coverage, and others.

In addition, the City wants the union to bear the cost of the local presidents' wages (currently the president is the only full-time union representative in each local), in addition to paying half the cost of steward and grievance committee wages during the time they are on union business.

The City's strategy — "Saturnize" workers — should not come as a surprise. Earlier in negotiations, the Labor Relations division published a statement of philosophy entitled "Governmental Symbiosis in Action." It called on the union to end "antagonistic attitudes" and enter into a "symbiotic" relationship with the City, on the City's terms, with management "empowered with sufficient rights to adequately direct service delivery" without "performance-blind work rules."

The union would have to take responsibility for increasing productivity and encouraging its members to offer "opinions, advice and suggestions." In return, the union would get guarantees not of individual "job security" even under the current status quo of severe understaffing, but "employment security," recognizing that "technological changes and operational modifications will naturally

lead to the desirability of job and task changes."

The statement is a repeat of many of the principles behind the UAW-GM "Saturn agreement," which was vehemently protested by many delegates at the recent United Auto Workers International Convention as a profound, historic step backward for the entire union movement.

The Saturn agreement eliminates the shop committee and union representatives on the plant floor, eliminates many work rules and consolidates hundreds of job classifications, thereby leveling overall wages to 80% of current rates. It reintroduces piece work and incentive pay (the union movement was born in the battle against these methods of pitting worker against worker).

The Saturn agreement is basically a prototype of what the entire ruling class would like to see in the current period of deterioration of the capitalist system — record profits guaranteed by an end to union struggles against the leveling off of the entire working class's standard of living.

From Phelps Dodge to Hormel to TWA to the current strike by 155,000 members of the CWA against AT&T, the ruling class is prosecuting this all-out attack. AFSCME's City of Detroit workers are but another front in the war.

But the AFSCME workers here are a majority Black, including a high percentage of woman workers, and are

from the service sector. As such, they are representatives of the new majority and vanguard of the working class. Steeled by many struggles against oppression throughout their lives, they represent a formidable opponent to the ruling class's plans.

AFSCME's chief negotiator has already expressed the bargaining team's intentions of leading militant demonstrations and rallies in coalition with the community and the rest of the union movement, not only for the contract demands, but to reflect the demands of the youth, the unemployed, the poverty-stricken neighborhoods and many others in opposition to the sweeping cutbacks enacted by the Reagan administration over the current decade as it grossly inflates the military budget.

AFSCME and other unions have already proven they can win contract struggles in the current period, significantly in the area of "comparable worth" or "pay equity" demands. From Yale to the State of Washington to Los Angeles to San Jose, California women and Third World workers have led the way in the campaign to raise the standard of living for the most oppressed workers, winning large financial settlements in all these cases.

AFSCME City of Detroit workers showed their capacity for militant struggle in a two-week contract strike in 1980 as well. They are certainly not about to be swallowed up in the ruling class plan for "symbiosis" in 1986.

Marxist class clarifies roots of Mideast conflict

Special to Workers World

NEW YORK, June 3 — The national liberation movements in the Middle East, the struggles of the Palestinians, the Lebanese, the Iranians and others, are not fundamentally different from those of the struggling people in South Africa, El Salvador or Nicaragua. Yet they are branded by the media and the government here as

"criminals, terrorists and fanatics." Why is this so?

This and other questions were addressed here tonight in a class entitled "What's behind the conflict in the Middle East?" The class was the first of a six-part summer series held by the World View Study Center to examine current topics and problems from a Marxist point of view.

Joyce Chediac, Lebanese-American journalist and a managing editor of Workers World newspaper, explained, "We are told constantly that the fighting in the Middle East finds its fundamental basis in religion. Marxists say no, this is not true. The fundamental reason for the conflict there is class antagonisms, more specifically, attempts by Western imperialism, especially the U.S., to subjugate the people of the region and to steal their natural resources, like oil, and their labor."

The U.S. government, the Pentagon and the CIA have intervened directly in the region many times, said Chediac. But Washington also uses proxy forces. "The U.S. was the main financier of the pro-imperialist Zionist settlers when they expelled 700,000 people, most of the population of Palestine, from that country and established the state of Israel in Palestine in 1948. Israel was to be a bulwark for imperialism and a settler state like South Africa."

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NEW YORK, June 5—The fourth anniversary of the U.S.-financed 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon was observed tonight with an "Evening of International Solidarity with the Lebanese People," organized by the Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in the Middle East.

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The rebels announced on June 3 on Radio Venceremos their acceptance of talks with the U.S.-backed regime and insisted they take place right inside the capital city of San Salvador.

"We do not recognize the legitimacy of the Duarte government," continued the FMLN statement, "we do not recognize the constitution and especially we are not going to put down our arms" (Washington Post, June 4).

Duarte has been wracked with new problems ever since he began implementing a U.S.-imposed economic austerity plan at the beginning of this year. Half of the workforce is either unemployed or underemployed. And despite the continued marauding of the well-known right-wing death squads, organizations of workers and peasants have boldly marched into the streets and held some of the largest demonstrations in recent years.

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In the countryside, the government is continuing its genocidal air war, an operation completely dependent on U.S. fighter helicopters, U.S. logistics, U.S. officer advisers, and U.S. money. But the guerrillas have adapted their tactics accordingly. Rebel strikes have been reported in areas previously considered "safe" by the government.

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The focus for the movement has been the small Bavarian town of Wackersdorf, located in an economically depressed rural region of the Upper Palatinate. There the government is beginning construction of West Germany's first nuclear reprocessing plant, a facility that will be able to produce plutonium, the key ingredient for the production of nuclear bombs.

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Marxist class clarifies roots of Mideast conflict

Special to Workers World
NEW YORK, June 3 — The national liberation movements in the Middle East, the struggles of the Palestinians, the Lebanese, the Iranians and others, are not fundamentally different from those of the struggling people in South Africa, El Salvador or Nicaragua. Yet they are branded by the media and the government here as

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"criminals, terrorists and fanatics." Why is this so?

This and other questions were addressed here tonight in a class entitled "What's behind the conflict in the Middle East?" The class was the first of a six-part summer series held by the World View Study Center to examine current topics and problems from a Marxist point of view.

Joyce Chediak, Lebanese-American journalist and a managing editor of Workers World newspaper, explained, "We are told constantly that the fighting in the Middle East finds its fundamental basis in religion. Marxists say no, this is not true. The fundamental reason for the conflict there is class antagonisms, more specifically, attempts by Western imperialism, especially the U.S., to subjugate the people of the region and to steal their natural resources, like oil, and their labor."

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Starting over a week ago, thousands of people took to the streets in the cities and towns. Today, there was a general strike that shut down Port-au-Prince and many other cities. Almost all stores were closed and many assembly factories that produce for export were shut down.

Opposition political figures were demanding the resignation of Col. Williams Regala, the Interior Minister who is linked to the Duvalier regime, and Finance Minister Leslie Delatour, a former World Bank official with close ties to the U.S.

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tions are much more serious than that. They seek the dismantling of the reactionary junta that continues to serve the interests of U.S. imperialism and a small elite in Haiti.

Namphy: "The prelude to war"

Appearing on national television this week, General Namphy, head of the ruling junta, stated that the anti-government demonstrations had brought Haiti to the "edge of anarchy." He added that the protests across the entire country looked like "the prelude to war."

What Namphy and his cohorts stopped short of saying is that this is in reality a people's war against hunger, poverty and super-exploitation. This is the intensification of the masses' fight to topple Namphy's corrupt regime, which was hand-picked by Duvalier and the U.S. government.

Three people have been reported killed and 12 wounded since the demonstrations erupted. On June 5th a 21-year-old woman was killed by soldiers in the Port-au-Prince ghetto of

Carrefour. Four other people were wounded, including an 8-year-old boy and a 75-year-old man.

A youth leader, Nelson Frantz, said the young woman was killed in a market place along the main national highway when soldiers opened fire on demonstrators who had set up road-blocks of burning tires. According to Frantz, a soldier was also killed when police mistakenly exchanged fire with the troops after a group of demonstrators had overturned a police car.

The only response to the people's demands has been a warning from Colonel Williams Regala that the military has received instructions to act strongly against the demonstrations. According to Regala, "Wild demonstrations which disturb public life will be repressed with appropriate strictness."

Intimidation not working

This is intended to intimidate the masses, who are waging a just struggle to end the reign of the junta which is corrupt to the core and unable to carry out the demands of the people. The Haitian people view the junta as merely a continuation of the old regime.

The growth of the demonstrations shows that the intimidation is not working. It is indicative of the people's determination to press on with the struggle for a Haiti that serves the interests of the majority of the people.

In light of the demonstrations, the junta announced the resignation of Aubelin Jolicoeur, the second-ranking official in the Ministry of Information. According to reports, the governing body of the ministry appointed a former Duvalier soccer trainer to broadcast the World Cup Soccer competition taking place in Mexico City. This is the immediate issue that triggered the recent demonstrations.

In another move calculated to appease the masses, the Minister of Justice announced that elections for the presidency would be held in 18 months.

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Claude of the Social Democratic Party, Serge Gilles of the Socialist Party, Evans Paul of the United Committee for Democracy, and Marc Bazin, former finance minister and also a member of the World Bank, are some of those calling for the restructuring of the junta.

The thousands of people who are marching in Petit-Gouave and Les Cayes south of the capital or to the north in Gonaives and Cap-Haitien bear testimony to the fact that the people are way ahead of the opposition leaders. Their struggle is at root against U.S. corporations such as IBM, TRW, Motorola, Bendix, Univax, GTE and Northern Telecom, who have gone to Haiti for virtual slave labor and pay the Haitian workers sub-minimum wages.

U.S. says \$2 wage "radical"

Recently a U.S. Embassy official in Haiti stated that the people's demand for a wage of \$2.00 an hour was "radical and unreasonable." According to this arch-racist, the Haitian workers would price themselves out of the market, since the only benefit in Haiti for corporations is cheap labor.

Since the fall of the Duvalier regime, the workers have struck Neilson, a U.S. company that makes checks, receipt books and other paper products. There is also a strike at the Haitian American Meat Producing Company (HAMPCO). This is the largest meat producing and packing company in Haiti and is U.S.-owned and controlled.

Haitian workers employed by Rawling Sporting Goods, Spalding, Wilson Worth Debeer, Lincoln, Dudley, and McGregor, all producers of baseballs and other sporting goods, are also making demands that these super-exploiting U.S. companies think are "radical and unreasonable." But the dynamic of the situation is moving far beyond mere wage demands. The Haitian masses know that to control their lives they must first bring down the repressive state apparatus of the old ruling class. In the struggle they are forging new people's organizations to take its place.



Philippines and Haiti are zones of super-exploitation. A Haitian woman earns \$28 a month.

PHOTO: HAITI-FAMILY BUSINESS

'se' zones and Filipino workers—an eyewitness report

promises has materialized. However, foreign corporations have reaped tremendous benefits.

Some of the enticements to foreign businesses include complete exemption from import and export duties and taxes, no provincial or municipal taxes, rebates on purchases of local raw materials, and an "infrastructure" of electricity, water, public buildings and roads, provided by the Philippine government with \$120 million borrowed from foreign banks. Over 800 families who had been living in the area for 20 years or more were forcibly removed to make way for the BEPZ. In addition, the Marcos regime declared the BEPZ off-limits for unions and organizations of the workers.

The Bataan Export Processing Zone is a "state within a state," with its own administration and police force commanded directly by the office of the president of the Philippines.

Few if any of the 14,000 workers earn more than the minimum wage of 54 pesos per day. Many live in the nearby town of Mariveles in Barangay Camaya in terrible living conditions. Some live in single-sex dormitories, 14 to a room, separated from their families in other provinces for

months at a time. The BEPZ is exempted from provisions of the health safety code which requires a hospital or clinic for companies with over 100 workers. Companies with up to 4,000 workers have no full-time doctor or nurse.

There have been many accidents. Since workers in hazardous jobs must pay for their own gas masks and ear protection, many do not. There is a lack of proper ventilation in many of the factories, with 95-degree heat common. In the Mariveles Apparel Corporation there are six toilets for 3,700 workers, most of them women. More than four trips to the bathroom results in disciplinary action. The four drinking fountains are attached to the toilets.

Waste paper from the garbage of New York City is towed here by barge in a journey taking 43 days. Surrounded by armed guards, workers at the Philippine-American Fiber Co. cull through the garbage, with no masks or other protection, to recycle paper.

The American manager says, "You couldn't do this in New York — labor costs are too high." Many workers suffer from infections on their hands and arms.

Despite the wishes of the Marcos dictatorship and the multinational corporations, the workers of the BEPZ have organized themselves to fight back. In 1979, the first strike occurred at the Ford Stamping Plant. Some 417 workers were arrested on the picket-line and jailed. The strike lasted a year. The following year, the founding of the Kilusang Mayo Uno trade union federation made substantial progress in organizing the workers of the Zone.

In 1982, a Presidential decree made strikes illegal in the BEPZ. When 54 strikers were arrested following picketline harassment, a general strike occurred — 18,000 workers, including those who had not yet joined unions, walked out. There were a total of eight strikes in the BEPZ in 1982, 12 in 1983, 14 in 1984, and 18 in 1985.

In 1983, 20,000 workers in 21 companies walked out to protest police brutality. The walkout paralyzed the entire zone. At this time the Ford Stamping Plant closed down and left, citing "political instability" as the reason.

In 1985, a "people's strike" to shut down the nearby Bataan nuclear plant paralyzed not only the zone but the entire province of Bataan for three days. Some 6,000 workers marched from the BEPZ to join other demon-

strators at the nuclear plant. The newly formed Bataan Alliance of Labor showed convincingly the significance of political as well as economic issues. In April, the workers joined fishermen and other members of the Mariveles community in protesting the U.S. attack on Libya and calling for U.S. bases to be withdrawn from the Philippines.

Most of the workers we spoke to said that the only reason for the presence of the foreign companies was to take advantage of their cheap labor. All of the goods produced in the Processing Zone are for export. The much-vaunted high technology has certainly not resulted in corresponding high pay nor has it led to greater industrialization of the country. In fact, the total U.S. investment in the Philippines — over \$4 billion or 60% of the total U.S. investment in Southeast Asia — has not improved the lot of Filipino workers. On the contrary, it has plunged the economy into virtual depression.

Because of this, most of the workers we talked to were of the opinion that the Philippines would be better off if the government instituted a policy allowing only those companies which were proven to help Filipinos to stay.

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The legal political opposition has confined itself to calling for the reorganization of the junta. Silvio

Claude of the Social Democratic Party, Serge Gilles of the Socialist Party, Evans Paul of the United Committee for Democracy, and Marc Bazin, former finance minister and also a member of the World Bank, are some of those calling for the restructuring of the junta.

The thousands of people who are marching in Petit-Gouave and Les Cayes south of the capital or to the north in Gonaives and Cap-Haitien bear testimony to the fact that the people are way ahead of the opposition leaders. Their struggle is at root against U.S. corporations such as IBM, TRW, Motorola, Bendix, Univax, GTE and Northern Telecom, who have gone to Haiti for virtual slave labor and pay the Haitian workers sub-minimum wages.

U.S. says \$2 wage "radical"

Recently a U.S. Embassy official in Haiti stated that the people's demand for a wage of \$2.00 an hour was "radical and unreasonable." According to this arch-racist, the Haitian workers would price themselves out of the market, since the only benefit in Haiti for corporations is cheap labor.

Since the fall of the Duvalier regime, the workers have struck Neilson, a U.S. company that makes checks, receipt books and other paper products. There is also a strike at the Haitian American Meat Producing Company (HAMPCO). This is the largest meat producing and packing company in Haiti and is U.S.-owned and controlled.

Haitian workers employed by Rawling Sporting Goods, Spalding, Wilson Worth Debeer, Lincoln, Dudley, and McGregor, all producers of baseballs and other sporting goods, are also making demands that these super-exploiting U.S. companies think are "radical and unreasonable." But the dynamic of the situation is moving far beyond mere wage demands. The Haitian masses know that to control their lives they must first bring down the repressive state apparatus of the old ruling class. In the struggle they are forging new people's organizations to take its place.



Philippines and Haiti are zones of super-exploitation. A Haitian woman earns \$28 a month.

PHOTO: HAITI-FAMILY BUSINESS

se' zones and Filipino workers—an eyewitness report

promises has materialized. However, foreign corporations have reaped tremendous benefits.

Some of the enticements to foreign businesses include complete exemption from import and export duties and taxes, no provincial or municipal taxes, rebates on purchases of local raw materials, and an "infrastructure" of electricity, water, public buildings and roads, provided by the Philippine government with \$120 million borrowed from foreign banks. Over 800 families who had been living in the area for 20 years or more were forcibly removed to make way for the BEPZ. In addition, the Marcos regime declared the BEPZ off-limits for unions and organizations of the workers.

The Bataan Export Processing Zone is a "state within a state," with its own administration and police force commanded directly by the office of the president of the Philippines.

Few if any of the 14,000 workers earn more than the minimum wage of 54 pesos per day. Many live in the nearby town of Mariveles in Barangay Camaya in terrible living conditions. Some live in single-sex dormitories, 14 to a room, separated from their families in other provinces for

months at a time. The BEPZ is exempted from provisions of the health safety code which requires a hospital or clinic for companies with over 100 workers. Companies with up to 4,000 workers have no full-time doctor or nurse.

There have been many accidents. Since workers in hazardous jobs must pay for their own gas masks and ear protection, many do not. There is a lack of proper ventilation in many of the factories, with 95-degree heat common. In the Mariveles Apparel Corporation there are six toilets for 3,700 workers, most of them women. More than four trips to the bathroom results in disciplinary action. The four drinking fountains are attached to the toilets.

Waste paper from the garbage of New York City is towed here by barge in a journey taking 43 days. Surrounded by armed guards, workers at the Philippine-American Fiber Co. cull through the garbage, with no masks or other protection, to recycle paper.

The American manager says, "You couldn't do this in New York — labor costs are too high." Many workers suffer from infections on their hands and arms.

Despite the wishes of the Marcos dictatorship and the multinational corporations, the workers of the BEPZ have organized themselves to fight back. In 1979, the first strike occurred at the Ford Stamping Plant. Some 417 workers were arrested on the picket line and jailed. The strike lasted a year. The following year, the founding of the Kilusang Mayo Uno trade union federation made substantial progress in organizing the workers of the Zone.

In 1982, a Presidential decree made strikes illegal in the BEPZ. When 54 strikers were arrested following picketline harassment, a general strike occurred — 18,000 workers, including those who had not yet joined unions, walked out. There were a total of eight strikes in the BEPZ in 1982, 12 in 1983, 14 in 1984, and 18 in 1985.

In 1983, 20,000 workers in 21 companies walked out to protest police brutality. The walkout paralyzed the entire zone. At this time the Ford Stamping Plant closed down and left, citing "political instability" as the reason.

In 1985, a "people's strike" to shut down the nearby Bataan nuclear plant paralyzed not only the zone but the entire province of Bataan for three days. Some 6,000 workers marched from the BEPZ to join other demon-

strators at the nuclear plant. The newly formed Bataan Alliance of Labor showed convincingly the significance of political as well as economic issues. In April, the workers joined fishermen and other members of the Mariveles community in protesting the U.S. attack on Libya and calling for U.S. bases to be withdrawn from the Philippines.

Most of the workers we spoke to said that the only reason for the presence of the foreign companies was to take advantage of their cheap labor. All of the goods produced in the Processing Zone are for export. The much-vaunted high technology has certainly not resulted in corresponding high pay nor has it led to greater industrialization of the country. In fact, the total U.S. investment in the Philippines — over \$4 billion or 60% of the total U.S. investment in Southeast Asia — has not improved the lot of Filipino workers. On the contrary, it has plunged the economy into virtual depression.

Because of this, most of the workers we talked to were of the opinion that the Philippines would be better off if the government instituted a policy allowing only those companies which were proven to help Filipinos to stay.

EDITORIAL

Blue-ribbon coverup

THE COMMISSION investigating the shuttle disaster has issued its final report, concluding that the space craft Challenger was destroyed on Jan. 28 because of a single design flaw in the rocket motor and because of bad management at NASA. The particular company involved in producing the fatally defective equipment, Morton Thiokol, will not face criminal prosecution or even lose its lucrative contracts!

In formally accepting the 256-page commission findings, President Reagan said that "skill, ingenuity and gumption" will get the remaining shuttles operating again soon, a goal "crucial to national security."

As far as the government is concerned, this case is closed. That's the way it always is in a cover-up. The tough questions about the

Challenger were never asked or answered.

The commission carefully avoided examining the role which Pentagon pressure on NASA played in what the final report called "an overambitious" launch schedule.

How the impact of the military's Star Wars program drove the shuttle program forward at breakneck speed was simply ignored. Almost all future payloads carried by the shuttles will be military, yet the commission wrote its report as if investigating a civilian accident! Of course, this is preposterous, especially as the Star Wars-shuttle connection can hardly be kept a secret forever.

Publishing phony findings is a traditional task of Presidential blue ribbon panels, and the shuttle commission has proven to be no exception.

Jobless recovery

UNEMPLOYMENT continues to climb. During the month of May the jobless rate reached the same high levels which existed when Reagan entered office five years ago. Officially that's 7.2%, but adding in workers who have become too discouraged to look every week for a job, the real unemployment level is now 13.2%.

The government itself admits that for every two people entering the labor force, only one new job is being created. One hundred thousand manufacturing positions have been lost this year. In the gas and oil industry, one-quarter of the workers are unemployed. The only growth is in the lower-paying service jobs.

At the end of 1985, the Reagan administration loudly announced that a recovery was well underway, but it is obvious that this has not happened. Or if it did, this is another one of those "economic upswings" which has left millions mired in joblessness. According to Reagan, "When you read that 50,000 of the laid-off Michigan auto workers had their unemploy-

ment checks sent to them in Florida all winter, you begin to wonder how much great distress there was."

The distress is real enough. It's the "recovery" that has turned out to be a dud. So far, about the only solution which the government has been able to come up with is greater and vaster infusions of military spending, a time-honored "cure" which is rapidly losing its punch and turning into a drag on the economy as a whole. Even the war industries themselves are experiencing layoffs!

The capitalist economic order cannot be revived by either the stimulant of weapons spending or the drive to produce more goods with less workers through high-tech.

This is a new phase, one in which the system cannot self-correct itself but, on the contrary, merely jerks up and down in a manner ever more irrational and destructive to human beings. (See article on the new technology and the changing character of the working class, page 5.)



The campaign against Waldheim—why now?

By Robert Dobrow

JUNE 10 — Kurt Waldheim, the former Secretary-General of the United Nations, won the Presidential election in Austria on June 8 amidst loud charges by leading Zionist organizations and the U.S. and Israeli governments that he committed Nazi war crimes during World War II.

Waldheim is accused of serving as a headquarters staff officer in the German Army Group E in the Balkans and directing the slaughter of Yugoslav civilians and the deportation of Greek Jews to Nazi death camps.

Much of the debate about Waldheim's wartime record has revolved around whether he was personally responsible for specific atrocities while a German officer. That may or may not be true. The facts show that he was a Nazi lieutenant assigned to a military unit which committed countless atrocities. And there is certainly enough historical evidence that points to the intimate links between the Austrian rich and elite and the Nazi party throughout the 1930s and during the war.

Waldheim, raised in a wealthy Austrian family and schooled at an elite university in Vienna, was typical of many who joined the fascist movement and greeted the German *Anschluss*, the Nazi invasion and occupation of Austria in 1938. Even before 1938, the Austrian ruling class had moved in a violently right-wing direction and had declared war against the trade unions, against socialists and communists, and against the Jewish people.

Throughout the war years it was only the progressive and working-class movement, small as it was, that fought the fascists.

U.S. had Nazi records

Waldheim's links to the Nazis should be no surprise to anyone familiar with Austrian history. But the case raises serious questions about the timing of the U.S.-Israeli charges against Waldheim and why they chose this moment to launch their campaign when most of the evidence has been known for years.

For instance, some of the evidence — a master list of 36,000 files of Nazi suspects — was "accidentally" discovered last month sitting on an open shelf in a military archive in Maryland. Kurt Waldheim's name appears 79th on the list.

Richard L. Boylan, the archivist at the Washington National Records Center who found the document, said, "It didn't strike me as anything special, because they have been available." The list was archived by the U.S. Department of the Army in 1968. According to the New York Times (May 14), the files were reviewed by the government in 1973 and again in 1976.

So why now? And why Waldheim?

The President of West Germany is a man by the name of Richard von Weizsacker. Weizsacker was an officer in the Nazi war machine. He fought in the invasion of Poland, a genocidal operation that killed one out of every five Poles.

But there has been no campaign against Weizsacker. Instead, a New York Times editorial today quotes Weizsacker approvingly: "All of us, whether guilty or not, whether young or old, must accept the past. . . ." And then, the Times attacks Waldheim for never "attaining those moral heights!"

But morality is of no concern to the imperialists when their material interests are at stake. And morality has nothing to do with what's behind the U.S.-Israeli campaign against Waldheim.

Attempt to discredit UN

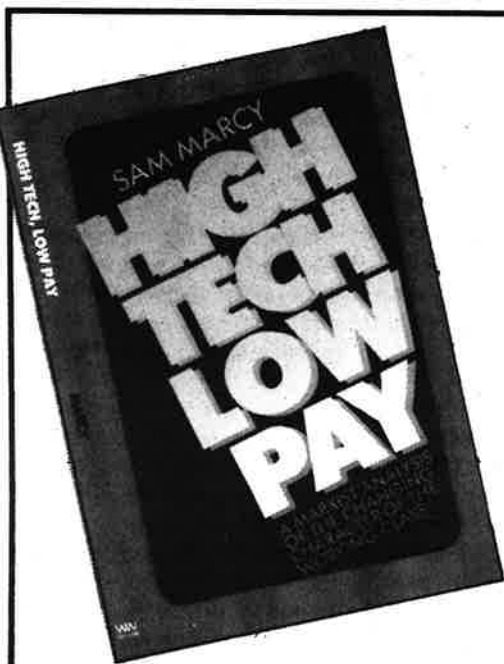
The campaign is first of all an attempt to discredit the United Nations, which, during the years when Waldheim was Secretary-General from 1972-1982, moved in an increasingly anti-U.S. direction and became a forum for many oppressed countries and liberation movements.

It was during this period that the UN passed its famous resolution equating Zionism with racism. This was a tremendous moral victory for the Palestinian people.

It was while Waldheim was secretary general that the Israeli state became more isolated internationally and the U.S. found it could no longer manipulate the UN as a pliant tool the way it had in the '50s and '60s. Those had been the days when Dean Acheson, Truman's Secretary of State, liked to boast that he could get a majority of votes in the UN "at the drop of a hat."

Today the U.S. can't even get its most craven puppets to vote with it in the UN, which has increasingly be-

Continued on page 11



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Reagan's scuttling of SALT: New phase of the arms buildup

By Sam Marcy

JUNE 6 — The sudden announcement by President Reagan on May 27 that he is abandoning adherence to the Salt II Treaty with the USSR constitutes a major escalation in the arms race and poses anew the danger of nuclear war.

It is important to briefly go over the three phases in the struggle over nuclear arms control.

Phase I: U.S. nuclear monopoly

From Aug. 6, 1945, until the middle of 1949, the U.S. maintained an absolute monopoly in the field of nuclear arms. It exploded eight nuclear devices and stockpiled several hundred bombs. During that period there were no challengers, so it appeared.

The policy of the U.S. government was to try to maintain its monopoly by strengthening its diplomatic and political position on a world scale. Frequently it invoked the authority of the newly formed United Nations, for at that time the U.S. controlled an overwhelming majority there and could get the UN to rubber-stamp its positions, to codify them into law and in every way to protect its monopoly.

At UN sessions the USSR was forced again and again to veto U.S. resolutions which were calculated to freeze its monopoly on nuclear weapons, and thus to strengthen, enhance and consolidate its world dominance.

However, when the USSR exploded its first nuclear device in August 1949, it signalled the end of an era in the struggle over the development of nuclear weapons. It also opened the door for others to develop their own nuclear arsenals. Britain and France followed suit thereafter, and in the early 1960s so did the Peoples Republic of China.

Phase II: Nuclear superiority

The end of the U.S. nuclear monopoly in weaponry forced a change in U.S. military policy insofar as this deadly weapon was concerned. One might have thought that the sound conclusion to draw from the breakup of the monopoly would be to halt further research, testing and development and freeze the situation to the extent possible at that period. It would seem that at that earlier stage of nuclear development a freeze would have been much easier — if all concerned were really for the consummation of such an agreement.

However, the new tack taken by the U.S. following the Soviet attainment of a nuclear capacity was to openly and without any constraint promote a position of nuclear superiority.

The aim, of course, was to retain U.S. dominance in nuclear military development and enhance the Pentagon's overall military prowess at a time when the socialist countries were growing and the oppressed masses of the less developed countries were steadily rising in rebellion, seeking full sovereignty and national independence from imperialist bondage.

The first treaty limiting the nuclear arms race came in 1963. It banned nuclear testing in the atmosphere. It was hailed as a breakthrough but was the kind of treaty which benefits both sides. It came on the heels of the dangerous U.S.-Soviet confrontation over missiles in Cuba and at the high-water mark in the "ban the bomb" demonstrations and worldwide protests against the poisoning of the atmosphere.

In many ways this treaty was a remarkable step forward. However, the seeming ease with which the U.S. agreed to it lay in the fact that it left the door wide open for weapons re-

search and development and, above all, it did not prohibit underground nuclear testing or the testing of missiles. The U.S. proceeded at a feverish pace developing a variety of new weapons while abiding by the ban on testing in the atmosphere.

Phase III: Lip service to parity

This next period can be characterized as one in which the U.S. gave lip service to parity with the USSR, at least for public purposes.

Whether in fact the U.S. ever really abandoned its position of seeking military superiority is not the question. But in the 1960s and 1970s a whole new epoch of progressive and anti-war struggles opened up, from the consolidation of the Cuban Revolution and

main nevertheless two groupings in the ruling establishment, though not always that distinct from one another.

One grouping is for completely scuttling not only the SALT II agreement but also the ABM Treaty. The views of this grouping were clearly enunciated by the Wall Street Journal in its lead editorial of May 29, entitled significantly enough, "The Death of Salt II."

It hailed Reagan's decision to abandon the SALT II agreement and said this abandonment "reflects a major change in U.S. arms control policy. . . No longer will U.S. military planning be constrained by the SALT process."

Reagan's decision to dismantle two old Poseidon submarines, which will keep the U.S. temporarily in compli-

Reagan's move represents a major escalation in the arms race. With the backing of the Wall Street Journal and the military-industrial complex, Reagan and the right are straining for nuclear superiority.

the strengthening of the anti-imperialist struggles abroad to the development of the anti-war movement here and the growing Black, Latino, women's and students' struggles. This forced even the Nixon administration to proclaim that it would strive for "negotiation, not confrontation."

Notwithstanding Nixon's ultra-reactionary record in both domestic and foreign affairs, this was regarded in many parts of the world and even in the U.S. as an attempt to scale down, at least verbally, the ambitions of the Pentagon in the nuclear struggle, especially vis a vis the USSR.

From this followed the ABM Treaty in 1972 and two other agreements, one signed by Nixon in 1974 and one by President Gerald Ford in 1975. It was all supposed to be capped by the 1979 SALT Treaty. However, these three agreements, the ones of 1974, 1975 and 1979, were never ratified by the Senate. In fact, they came under increasing attack by the ultraright, who were gathering momentum even at a time when the anti-war movement and the revulsion against nuclear war were at their peak.

Treaties never ratified

It's important to remember that the last three agreements were never ratified by treaty and never submitted to Congress. This demonstrates the fear and intimidation in the Congress over the ever swifter pace at which the ultraright was gaining momentum in its drive to regain its old position.

It is significant that the man who was the head, in name at least, of the main grouping of ultrarightist extremists on this issue is now the principal U.S. adviser in the arms talks with the USSR — Paul H. Nitze.

Since the middle 1970s, therefore, there have evolved two basic currents in the ruling class concerning nuclear arms strategy. These two groupings both represent the capitalist establishment. Individuals have crossed from one grouping to another, but there re-

ance with SALT II, was characterized by the Wall Street Journal as "a mere gesture toward arms control policies of the past. In that context, it had relatively little significance. . . The Joint Chiefs of Staff therefore didn't oppose their dismemberment. The U.S. had long planned to retire and dismantle these boats when their reactor cores were exhausted."

Lest somebody think that Reagan's speech had left a loophole open somewhere for resumption of negotiations, the Journal, whose links to the military-industrial complex are beyond doubt, confidently asserted that "his Tuesday [May 27] statement has a ring of finality."

This, too, is the position of Paul Nitze, Edward Rowny, Max Kampelman, Kenneth Adelman, Richard Perle, Richard Burt and the rest of the political-military camarilla headed by Secretary of Defense Weinberger, their most vocal and authoritative exponent.

Weakness of liberal opposition

The other grouping has formally stood for arms control, for negotiated settlements with the USSR on nuclear arms development and for a broader, comprehensive treaty on nuclear arms which would upgrade both the ABM Treaty and the SALT Treaty.

This grouping is led by well-known liberal Senators from the Democratic Party such as Kennedy of Massachusetts, Metzenbaum of Ohio and Leahy of Vermont, as well as a considerable number of Congresspeople. (Formally and technically, this position should be supported by the vast majority in Congress, who are supposed to be committed to arms control and the various treaties with the USSR on the basis of the Democratic Party platform.)

The leader of the group at the moment is Sen. Albert Gore (D-Tenn), a member of the Senate Arms Control Observer Group. The problem with this anti-Reagan, pro-arms control grouping, which in earlier years was

led by Paul Warnke, Carter's arms control negotiator, and former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, is that it is not defending nuclear arms control and negotiated agreements with the USSR on a principled basis.

This pro-arms control grouping in the ruling class as represented by its political leaders is ambivalent on some of the principal issues in arms control. Even more importantly, it has shown a tendency very characteristic of bourgeois liberals in general — to continually give way before the furious onslaught of the extremist grouping led by Reagan, Weinberger and company.

This is well illustrated by Sen. Albert Gore's critique of Reagan's abandonment of SALT II (New York Times, June 1). Gore says that Reagan's denunciation of the treaty "would hurt us more than the Russians and endanger both nations."

This is the usual way the liberals go about criticizing the Reaganite approach to nuclear policy. They must always show that the Reagan policy will hurt U.S. imperialist interests rather than enhance them.

Just a "miscalculation"?

Gore says that Reagan's decision to break away from SALT "may be a tragic miscalculation of the Soviet Union's most likely response. Instead of making [forcing] the Russians to make radical changes, the Russians may well see the lifting of the SALT II limitations coupled with an aggressive American effort to build missile defense systems as a simple one-word message: 'build offensive missiles and build them fast.'"

Then he goes on to say, "But what about Soviet noncompliance? Don't we have an obligation to hold the Russians accountable? They have deliberately impeded our efforts to verify compliance with SALT II by encrypting or encoding information from their missile tests. They have developed two new types of missiles instead of the one permitted by the treaty. And they have brazenly violated the anti-ballistic treaty's restrictions by building a new defensive radar at Krasnoyarsk in Central Siberia."

It is arguments like this which clearly illustrate how unreliable and susceptible the liberal arms control proponents are to severe pressure from the extremists, which include the entire Pentagon camarilla. This problem of encrypting or encoding, supposedly meant to hide missile installations, has been around in one form or another since the Second World War.

It's a phony excuse for an effort by the U.S. to penetrate the USSR and undermine the socialist achievements it has made despite the preponderance of imperialist armaments and despite its lack of advanced technology, which is available to Western imperialism but prohibited from sale to the USSR.

Immediately after World War II the U.S. attempted to foist an "open skies" position on the USSR, in an attempt to win aerial overflights for spying purposes. This was especially pushed during the Eisenhower administration.

The U.S. continued to violate Soviet territory with overflights until the USSR shot down the famous U-2 flight of Gary Powers and demonstrated its ability to defend its frontiers against unauthorized aerial surveillance without clearance.

The incident of the Korean airliner in 1983, which has now been so well exposed as a CIA flight (see book by R.W. Johnson, "Shootdown"), is the most

Continued on page 10

Who they didn't invite to celebrate 'Liberty'

By Joyce Chediak

NEW YORK, June 10 — Ronald Reagan will be coming in style on an aircraft carrier. The biggest corporations are also coming to celebrate the 100th anniversary of the Statue of Liberty on the fourth of July here. They have paid tens of thousands of dollars to rent apartments and roofs with a view of the tall ships and the fireworks to entertain their clients.

But there are many who have not been invited. The mostly white executives and officials running the Liberty Weekend have left out those who made the biggest contribution over the years and at the greatest expense.

The original inhabitants of this country, the Indians, were not invited. The Statue of Liberty is not a symbol of freedom for them. It is a symbol of

their holocaust. It represents the smallpox infected blankets, the mass slaughters, the land theft, the reservations where today 70 to 80% of the people are jobless.

The very same week as the Liberty festivities, far from the army of TV cameras descending on New York, the U.S. government is continuing "business as usual" against indigenous people. Some 16,000 Dineh and Hopi people at Big Mountain, Ariz., have been told to get off their sovereign land by July 7 or be forced out by the National Guard.

"Give me your tired and your poor." This inscription on the base of the Statue of Liberty never applied to the millions of Black people brought here in chains. Some 50 million slaves died during the Middle Passage, cramped

into coffin-like spaces for months on end on their way to the Western Hemisphere. Those who made it alive and their descendants were worked to death, hunted down and humiliated, both before and after slavery was abolished. No place has been made in the celebration for them.

Neither have any \$800 dinner reservations with a view been made for the indigenous Chicano and Mexicano people of the Southwest, an area grabbed from Mexico in 1848. Sam Houston, ex-president of the Republic of Texas, gave an apt description of how the "land of the free" treated them. He said, "Since Mexicans are no better than Indians, I see no reason why we should not go the same course now and take their land." This is exactly what was done.

In a city with a huge Puerto Rican population, no special place in the program has been reserved for the Puerto Rican people, whose island nation was annexed as a colony in 1898. Half of all Puerto Ricans have been forced to come here while huge U.S. military bases occupy huge tracts of the island's best land.

The massive waves of immigration were directed by the needs of U.S. corporations for cheap labor and not out of consideration for the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free." The July 4th hoopla is an attempt to gloss over the extreme exploitation of the Italians, the Irish and all immigrant workers who were virtually devoured by expanding capitalism. Completely written off, however, are the oppressed from Third World countries.

Take the Chinese. Many Chinese were literally kidnapped, brought to the West Coast and then pressed into building the transcontinental railroads. They were subjected to some of the most brutal treatment in U.S. labor history. Yet, when this work was finished a wave of racism was rolled their way by the government and the corporations. Their communities in San Francisco suffered pogroms in the 1870s. By 1882 the Chinese Exclusion Act forbid them even to come here. Their descendants have no honorary spot during Liberty Weekend.

Neither have the Japanese, who came later but were treated in much the same way. Some 110,000 Japanese Americans were locked into concentration camps during War War II and many had their property confiscated merely because of their national back-



WW GRAPHIC: W.A.H.

ground.

And in the late 1930s when the Nazis sealed their borders and thousands of German Jews applied to immigrate here, there were no open arms to comfort the persecuted. U.S. corporations had no need of workers in the Depression. Anti-Semitism was orchestrated against those fleeing for their lives. Jewish refugees were asked to provide a "certificate of good conduct" from Nazi officials as a requirement for immigration! Surely this will never be mentioned on July 4th.

But suppose some of those not invited decide to come anyway and ask that their legitimate grievances be addressed? Has the festival committee, which surely knows who it has left out, made any contingency plans?

Yes.

Police and Navy helicopters with video cameras will search New York Harbor and the streets of lower Manhattan. Dozens of Coast Guard boats will prow the bay equipped with fire hoses, machine guns and M-16 rifles. Bomb-sniffing dogs and frogmen will join the 40 military and law enforcement agencies called upon to protect the Liberty Centennial in the land of the free.

Their contingency for the oppressed is to make the city an armed camp.

Behind the glitter of the renovated statue, behind the crackle and sparkle of the fireworks, behind the cool splendor of the tall ships, a stench is beginning to emerge and overwhelm this city. This foul, putrid smell is the rotten core of this capitalist system of exploitation, racism and repression.

Hoboken supports Big Mountain resistance

HOBOKEN, N.J., June 10 — The City Council here recently passed a resolution opposing U.S. government plans to forcibly remove 16,000 indigenous people from the Big Mountain reservation in Arizona if they do not leave their sovereign land by July 7.

The plight of the Hopi and Dineh (Navajo) people was called to the attention of the Council by a Hoboken city worker who heard Native leaders from Big Mountain speak in New York City while on an East Coast tour sponsored by the All Peoples Congress.

The resolution calls for "steps to

halt the forced removal and relocation of the Native American people of Big Mountain and the surrounding Joint Use Area of northeastern Arizona" and for the "repeal of Public Law 93-531, or the Navajo-Hopi Land Settlement Act of 1974, which authorizes this forced relocation of thousands of Navajo and Hopi Indians."

The City Council points out that, "This forced removal would clear these lands for the extensive extraction of the coal, uranium, copper and other mineral resources by multi-national corporations not under the control of the Navajo and Hopi people."

—New phase of arms buildup

Continued from page 9

blatant example to date of U.S. attempts to illegally penetrate Soviet territory without authorization for purposes of spying.

It is interesting that Senator Gore and his collaborators have discovered the Krasnoyarsk radar station in Central Asia right after a violent, jingoistic campaign of fear mounted by the Reagan administration. Earlier, the installation at Krasnoyarsk was regarded in Europe and the U.S. as no danger at all.

The same with the encrypting or encoding process. It's only when the ultraright begins cracking the whip that the liberal wing crumbles on these issues.

The USSR is now in the process of advancing several initiatives to meet some of the objections of the liberals and the Reagan administration. It has unilaterally initiated a moratorium on underground testing, to which the Reagan administration has turned a deaf ear. And the USSR is now in the process of advancing other initiatives calculated to avoid a break from the SALT and ABM treaties.

The problem is military super-profits

However, the liberal pro-arms control grouping in the capitalist establishment is unwilling to face up to a far more fundamental issue. That is the intimate connection between arms control and the super-profits from the military-industrial complex.

The basic reason for the Pentagon's unbridled adventurism and militarism in general lies precisely in the super-profits garnered from the mili-

tary-industrial complex. They are against the various U.S.-USSR agreements because they control this profitable process to some extent, even though these agreements only limit the arms race and do not in any real sense abolish it.

But the ultraright, who are now in full control, show no restraint at all. They want to do away with any and all limitations. As stated in that infamous editorial in the Wall Street Journal, they hail Reagan's decision to abandon SALT II as "a first step toward unlocking America's full potential to act in its own defense."

To unlock America's full potential. That's the key to the whole matter. It's not just that the Reaganites want an unbridled arms race for its own sake, but because they think it will unlock the military-industrial complex's capacity and bring out its full potential, that is, to militarize the whole country in the interest of super-profits. Therein lies the crux of the whole problem.

The liberal elements in the capitalist establishment close their eyes to this phenomenon. They too are part of the vast military-industrial-banking complex which has become vital to U.S. capitalism.

But the working class and oppressed people of the whole world have the greatest interest in focusing world attention upon this question. It corresponds not only to the class interests of the working class but to the broad interests of all humanity. In its irrational pursuit of military supremacy, the Pentagon may well have bitten off more than it can chew.

Join us in the struggle

Workers World Party (WWP) fights on all issues that face the working class and oppressed peoples in this capitalist society. All work together in this organization—Black and white, Latin, Asian and Native peoples, women and men, young and old, lesbian and gay, disabled, working, unemployed and students.

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POLITICAL PRISONERS

State slaps new charges on New York 8

By Leslie Diane Feinberg
NEW YORK, June 6 — "Vindictive and cruel" is the way attorney William Kunstler characterized a string of federal indictments recently piled on eight political prisoners, many of whom are already serving long prison sentences. Federal authorities charged the three women and five men on May 28 with 19 bombings, 10 bank robberies, three attempted murders, and the death of a New Jersey state trooper. Many of these charges are not new, and the eight defendants are in jail mainly due to conspiracy charges related to the recent indictments.

The defendants are Raymond Luc Levasseur, Patricia Helen Gros, Thomas William Manning, Carol Ann Manning, Jaan Karl Laaman, Barbara J. Curzi, Richard Charles Williams and Christopher Everett King.

Seven of those indicted became known as the Ohio 7 in a federal trial in Brooklyn this Spring. They stood charged with 72 counts related to political bombings. Gros's case was severed and she is due to face trial again. The two remaining women were sentenced to 15 years. The four men were slapped with sentences ranging from 45 to 53 years.

Kunstler said the jury deliberated for a month, the longest he can remember in federal court history. The jury was hung on 39 counts.

Manning and Williams are slated for retrial September 22 for the death of a New Jersey state trooper. Can they expect a fair trial in the wake of this recent publicity?

Christopher King, the only Black defendant and the only one who was not a member of the Ohio 7 case was acquitted on charges of attempted murder and convicted on a charge of weapons possession. He was scheduled to be released from prison in August, but these latest indictments bar his freedom. He now faces reindictment on the same attempted murder charges he was acquitted of. Doesn't U.S. law pro-

hibit this? "They're doing it," Kunstler observed.

These recent indictments are an "absolutely vindictive and cruel act," Kunstler said, "to send a message out to anyone accused of being a terrorist." He pointed out that all the bombings the eight are accused of were highly political, having to do with anti-apartheid or anti-intervention in Central America. The targets were the South African airlines, General Electric, ITT and IBM, all companies that do business with South Africa. No one was hurt in any instance because the bombings were preceded by half-hour warnings.

Jackson's killing disputed in Bingham trial

By Stephanie Hedgecock
SAN RAFAEL, Calif., June 7 — Stephen Bingham took the stand last Monday to deny smuggling a 9-mm automatic allegedly used in a shoot-out by George Jackson, the Black prison activist and author of "Soledad Brother" who was murdered Aug. 21, 1971, in a San Quentin frame-up "escape attempt."

Bingham, a former prison lawyer, had cleared a metal detector test before meeting with Jackson earlier that day.

Bingham is charged with two counts of murder and one count of conspiracy. Under California law, a person providing a gun used in a felony can be held liable for any resulting deaths.

Previous testimony by Dr. John H. Manwaring, who performed Jackson's autopsy, also disputed the state's "escape attempt" scenario. According to prison authorities, Jackson was killed by a second bullet in the back as he ran 20 to 30 yards after being hit in the ankle. Manwaring testified that after such an ankle wound, it would have been possible only to stumble a few feet.

The defense contends that following two ricochet bullets, the second striking Jackson's ankle, Jackson was then murdered with a third shot as he lay wounded on the ground. Manwaring stated that Jackson's wounds would be consistent with the defense scenario.

Bingham testified that after



George Jackson



Stephen Bingham

Jackson's assassination, he fled in terror for his own life. He stated on Tuesday that he had received death threats.

Defense attorney Gerald Schwartzbach has argued that "Flight in this case was based upon the belief that George Jackson was murdered by people who wanted to silence the most eloquent voice in the prison system in this country."

California prison officials hated Jackson, who was the field marshal of the revolutionary Black Panther Party, for his political organizing work at Soledad and San Quentin prisons in the 1960s and early 1970s. Organized prison inmates were then filing court petitions and carrying out work and hunger strikes in protest of brutal prison conditions and guards.

When former civil rights worker Bingham last visited Jackson, the progressive prison lawyer represented several inmates planning to file writs against inhumane conditions.

The case is expected to go to the jury soon.

Persecution of Black Panthers continues

By Veronica Golos
NEW YORK, June 9 — Basheer Hameed (James Dixon York) and Abdul Majiid (Anthony LaBorde), two former Black Panther Party (BPP) members, were convicted on June 6 of murdering a policeman, John Scaramella, in 1981.

The two men, who are presently in prison, face an additional sentence of 25 years to life.

In April 1981, two white policemen were shot while sitting in their patrol car. One eventually died of wounds, the other was disabled. Shortly after, police began to construct a case against Hameed and Majiid, using extensive government files on the Black Panthers.

This is the third trial for the former BPP members. In the first 1982 trial, the jury convicted them of attempted murder in the second degree, but could not agree on the murder count. The second trial began in June of 1983, but after seven days of deliberation, the jury announced 8-4 for acquittal and the judge declared a mistrial.

The third trial began on March of this year. The Center for Constitutional Rights tried to stop this latest trial protesting the unconstitutionality of trying the men three times for the same charge — or double jeopardy.

In the 1960s and 70s, the government, FBI and police around the country systematically murdered and framed up members of the Black Panther Party. Panther members were brought to court in chains, bound and gagged. The Party had been a powerful voice and organization in the Black liberation movement at the time, with chapters throughout the country.

The lawyer for Hameed, William M. Kunstler, labeled the trial "totally unfair" and said that his client would appeal. Kunstler had already stated at the second trial that "there are three prosecutors trying this case . . . and one of them is wearing a robe," referring to the biased judge, John Gallagher. Gallagher repeatedly has threatened to remove the defendants from the court for speaking out, and threatened Kunstler with contempt.

—Waldheim

Continued from page 8

come a forum against imperialism. South African apartheid and Zionist aggression are condemned regularly and forums have been accorded the Palestine Liberation Organization, the African National Congress and other struggling liberation movements.

The Soviet news agency Tass stated in a commentary after the Austrian election, "It is now becoming increasingly clear that the true causes of the hostile campaign against Waldheim are not connected with his past. Moreover, the accusations originate from those who shelter thousands of Nazi war criminals in the U.S. from a just retribution."

"The accusations originate from those who at the end of World War II organized the 'rat trail' through which SS men who had gone over to work for U.S. secret services were smuggled to Latin and North America via Switzerland and Italy."

"The accusations originate from those who in every way hinder the passing of a sentence on Klaus Barbie, the 'butcher of Lyons,' who is guilty of the death of thousands of French

patriots:

"The accusations originate from those who have been for almost four decades sheltering in the U.S. Andrija Artukovic, the 'Minister of the Interior' of the so-called 'Croatian government,' who had been sentenced to death by a Yugoslav court. On personal instructions of that inveterate war criminal, more than 700,000 residents of Yugoslavia had been murdered."

Try to undermine Austrian neutrality

There are still many unanswered questions about the U.S.-Israeli campaign against Waldheim. Did the Israeli regime undertake it on their own? Or is it part of a broader attack instigated by the U.S.?

It is important to remember that Austria is considered a neutral bourgeois country in the sense that it is not in NATO and has tried to steer an independent course between the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The U.S. government views this situation with growing concern. It wants to undermine Austria's neutrality and transform it into a pro-U.S. imperialist state. It doesn't want Austria export-

ing high-tech equipment to the USSR or inviting leaders of Libya and the PLO to their capital or selling arms to Syria or having cordial relations with socialist states.

Last month, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger, visiting Vienna, urged that Austria improve its "defense systems." This could only be viewed as yet another example of brazen interference in Austria's internal affairs.

What about Austrian workers?

Inside the country, from the point of view of the Austrian working class, the attempt to influence the election by outside intervention objectively strengthened the bourgeois People's Party as against the social-democratic Socialist Party.

Five months ago, before the charges against Waldheim were first raised, all the opinion polls in Austria pointed to a victory for the Socialists in the election. But the U.S.-Israeli attempt to influence the election only strengthened the rightwing and fueled nationalism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism. Waldheim not only won by a large margin, but became the first presidential can-

didate sponsored by the People's Party to win an election in postwar Austria.

It remains to be seen how far the instigators of the campaign against Waldheim are prepared to go. Before the election, Attorney General Meese announced he would bar Waldheim from the U.S. (while opening the doors to Ferdinand Marcos, contra terrorists and South African racists). Following the election, the Reagan administration sent a congratulatory note to Waldheim, but this may not have much significance since it is common diplomatic procedure. The Israelis recalled their envoy, but no other country has joined them.

Whatever the outcome, the events must be seen in the broader context of the U.S. imperialist struggle on the world arena. When an administration that visited an SS cemetery at Bitburg, whose hands are dripping in blood from its terror bombing of Libya, its invasion of Grenada, its mercenary war against Nicaragua, its military aid to Chile and its complicity with South Africa accuses others of war crimes, the working class needs to take a close look at what's really going on.

Solidarity events in 70 cities support people with AIDS

By Leslie Diane Feinberg

JUNE 5 — Under the banner "Still Fighting for Our Lives," gay men, lesbians and their supporters marched, rallied and held vigils in 70 cities on Memorial Day to honor people with AIDS.

Frank Richter, one of the national coordinators of the actions, told Gay Community News this week, "We chose Memorial Day for this because people with AIDS are at war, they are fighting for their lives. People with AIDS have displayed a lot of courage in the face of adversity, they've been in the forefront of battles for services and funding."

He explained that the goal of these actions "is to show that people all over the country, not just people in big cities, are concerned about AIDS, that they are supportive of people with AIDS. We want to show that the appropriate response to disease is caring

and support, and to put a lie to the doctrine that people are to be blamed for being sick, or that they're morally culpable for what's happened to them."

The first Memorial Day AIDS vigils were held in 1983 in New York City and San Francisco. Last year the Mobilization Against AIDS, a San Francisco-based national political action group, helped organize rallies in 35 cities. This year the number of cities involved doubled, with a higher level of participation and visibility.

Actions were held this year in Australia, throughout Europe, across the United States, and in Hawaii. The rally planned in Tokyo was reportedly cancelled due to fear of harassment.

Even Lynchburg, Virginia, headquarters of that nefarious ultra-rightist Jerry Falwell and his Moral Majority Inc., witnessed its first AIDS vigil on Memorial Day. It proceeded

without incident.

Oklahoma City held the first local memorial with an all-night vigil in which some 75 people participated.

More than 10,000 people, led by a contingent of people with AIDS, marched in San Francisco from the Castro down Market Street. Most marchers symbolically placed candles at the steps of City Hall, including an elderly woman who said as she placed her candle among the others, "This is for my darling son."

Some marchers, including members of the All-Peoples Congress, took their candles to the nearby vigil where people with AIDS and AIDS Related Complex (ARC) have chained themselves to the doors of the federal building since October. They demand that one hour's federal budget, or \$500 million, be immediately allotted to AIDS research funding. They're also demanding recognition of severe ARC as

a disabling condition, access to drugs available in other countries, and condemnation of AIDS-related discrimination.

Paul Boneberg, director of Mobilization Against AIDS, told the rally that the simultaneous demonstrations from Lynchburg to Honolulu show, "When we're attacked by our government that is willing to let millions of people die, and when we're attacked by lunatics like the LaRouchers, we see that we have support around the world."

Andrew Small, a person with AIDS, concluded, "The President of the United States and the Governor of California have paid only lip service to the fight against AIDS. We must stop LaRouche and his nightmare concentration camps. Tonight I say to Ronald Reagan, LaRouche and every bigot and homophobe in this country, 'I will survive!'"

Forum hears 3M unionists from Johannesburg and New Jersey

By Gloria La Riva

SAN FRANCISCO, June 7 — The heroic four-hour work stoppage by over 300 Black workers at the 3M company in Johannesburg, South Africa, in solidarity with the laid-off workers at 3M in Freehold, N.J., was recounted here tonight at a public meeting in the Longshoremen's Local 10 hall.

Amon Msane, chief shop steward of the Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers Union of South Africa (CAWUSA), and Stanley Fisher, President of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 8-760 in Freehold, stressed the growing need for workers to join together worldwide to fight the ruthless exploitation by multinational corporations.

Fisher explained how 3M ran the

Freehold plant full speed for 25 years, accumulating hundreds of millions of dollars in profits, only to announce in November 1985 that it would shut down its New Jersey operation. He met a Black woman union leader from CAWUSA at 3M's Johannesburg plant. He gave her T-shirts made by OCAW which read, "3M, don't abandon Freehold, my home town."

Soon after, he received a telex communication asking for more T-shirts as the Johannesburg workers were wearing them in negotiations with 3M.

Meanwhile, on February 26, the first blow of layoffs in Freehold began. Fisher said, "On February 26 we got a call that the workers in South Africa were going to stage a four-hour walk-out in solidarity with us."

"Now, I don't want to go further before Brother Amon speaks. Because what we're talking about here is international solidarity. And from here on in, we do things together!"

Amon Msane said there was no doubt about the need to take action against 3M, even with the super-oppressive conditions they face under apartheid. "Corporations are dealing with us globally. As long as we deal with them nationally, we are never going to win that way."

His vivid description of the walkout reflected the militancy that tonight's audience could see in the video of 300 Black workers marching around the Johannesburg plant. "When we started chanting," he said, "3M was shivering . . . 3M was reduced to nothing that day."

Msane, chairman of the organizing committee for the Johannesburg action for June 16-18, talked about the massive work stoppage throughout South Africa that COSATU, the trade union federation, is building. He reminded the audience of the stepped-up repression that the regime is threatening against any Soweto commemoration.

"We are bracing ourselves for a confrontation. You must prepare yourselves for the worst. For the first time, COSATU will truly test its strength."

He concluded, "We have reached the point where we will fight for justice no matter what the cost. We will fight until final victory. South Africa will become a free country!"

Songs of freedom from the All-People's Singers

"MANDELA!" 45-minute tape, All-Peoples Singers, released by APC/PAM

"Mandela!" is the title song of a new cassette just produced by the All-Peoples Congress (APC) and the People's Anti-War Mobilization (PAM). To be released on the 10th anniversary of the historic uprising of Black students and youth in Soweto, South Africa, the tape contains pieces on the anti-apartheid movement as well as other original songs of struggle by the All-Peoples Singers.

"Mandela!" and "The Cry Is Freedom" herald the developing revolution in South Africa. "Abril, Siempre Abril" sounds the call of the Dominican people for liberation, while "No Pasaran" expresses the determination of the Nicaraguan people to defend their land and their revolution from U.S. imperialism. "He Said No" documents the story of Corporal Alfred Griffin, a young Black Marine who refused to take part in both the

U.S. occupation of Lebanon and the invasion of Grenada.

While these songs express solidarity with struggles of peoples around the world, they also draw the connections with the battles that working-class and oppressed peoples must fight here in the U.S. for "jobs, equality and human needs — not war!" And these battles are covered directly as well, as in "The Song of Big Mountain," the story of the heroic efforts of the Dineh and Hopi peoples to defend their traditional lands at Big Mountain, Ariz., and the "Hormel Solidarity Song," a call to support the anti-concession fight being waged by Local P-9 in Austin, Minn.

Included also on this cassette are the classic "Deportee" by Woodie Guthrie and Bob Dylan's "Masters of War," along with a powerful tribute to the anti-slavery movement entitled "Harriet Tubman" and a haunting rendition of an Iranian song from the anti-Shah struggle called "Nazaneen-



The All-Peoples Singers: Naomi Cohen, Sahu Barron, Pam Parker, Phil Wilayto, Margii Crackel.

Maryam."

Many of these songs grew out of struggles initiated or supported by APC/PAM and have been sung at meetings, rallies and marches throughout the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic regions by the All-Peoples Singers (Sahu Barron, Naomi Cohen, Margii Crackel, Pam Parker and Phil Wilayto).

"Mandela!" is the third tape to be released by APC/PAM, along with "Songs of Struggle" and "Songs of Struggle II." All three tapes can be ordered by mail by sending \$6 per tape plus \$1 for postage with your name and address to: APC/PAM, 19 W. 21 St., Rm. 703-B, New York, N.Y. 10010. Checks or money orders may be made out to All-Peoples Congress.

WW PHOTO: G. DUNKEL