

# **Americans For Democratic Action Thirty-Third Anniversary Convention Banquet**

**Patsy T. Mink**  
Welcome

**Barney Frank**  
Presiding

**Father Robert Drinan**

**John Kenneth Galbraith**

**William Winpisinger**

**Cardiss Collins**  
Address

**Saturday, June 14, 1980  
The Mayflower Hotel  
Washington, D.C.**



# The 'Cure' That Kills

More than ever, the labor movement and progressive organizations such as ADA need to work together to solve the urgent problems facing our nation today.

High unemployment, runaway inflation, soaring interest rates, rising energy costs and a general lack of confidence in our governmental leaders are threatening the very fiber of our country.

To make matters worse, some of those "leaders" are promoting the "elixir" of budget cutting as the answer to our problems. That's the kind of medicine likely to kill the patient rather than cure the illness.

If our democracy is to survive, we will need a heavy dose of full employment and continued social programs to treat the human ills brought on by a national recession/depression. We have to convince the Administration and the Congress that any other treatment will surely lead to disaster.

We know the agenda is a long one: national health insurance, aid to the cities, stopping the exploitation by Big Oil, ending corporate corruption, passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, outlawing the Senate filibuster and translating the goals of the Humphrey-Hawkins Act into reality—these are just a few of the items we will have to fight for.

The struggle for social, political and economic justice is a never-ending one, and we are prepared to stand with ADA and all other progressive forces in the continuation of that struggle.

International Union, United Automobile, Aerospace & Agricultural Implement Workers of America - UAW

Douglas A. Fraser  
President

opeiu494



Ray Majerus  
Secretary-Treasurer

## Human Rights

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its to zero. While Fithian's argument was the standard Administration argument about rewarding improvement, however slight, Wolpe completely rephrased the question: "...the issue we have with respect to the military sales proposal is whether or not this country wants to retain our identification [with the Mobutu government] in its most visible form through the military assistance program."

Wolpe continued: "What we are doing in Zaire is attempting to identify ourselves with a regime that is totally corrupt, terribly unstable. The argument is that that kind of stability is important to America's self-interest. Why we assume in every instance that the successor regimes must be hostile to American interests is something I find difficult to comprehend."

"I submit, to the contrary, that this country time and time again creates its own self-fulfilling prophecies in our effort to contain the expansion of Communism and political instability."

Solarz spoke eloquently about the national-security rationale for the cut:

"The problem is not that Zaire is incredibly corrupt....The real problem is that the regime is terribly unpopular. It has completely lost the confidence of its own people, and because of that, there is a real possibility...that it may be overthrown, and since we maintain a close identification with Zaire through this FMS program...we may yet...pay a political price."

### GUATEMALA

The debate on supplying military training to Guatemala did not focus on the relationship between human rights and U.S. national security; the Carter Administration has never seen national-security claims as overriding in the provision of security assistance to specific Latin American governments guilty of human-rights violations.

The debate occurred in full committee. The Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs already had adopted an amendment offered by Representative Robert Lagomarsino (R-Calif.) earmarking \$494,000 for military training (IMET) to Guatemala—that is, of the \$32.5 million proposed by the Administration and accepted by the committee, not less than \$494,000 was reserved for Guatemala.

For some time Congress has displayed a sharp division between those who believe military training should be the first program to be denied military-dominated governments which violate human rights, and those who believe that it should be the last program to go. Lagomarsino is of the latter persuasion, convinced that military training is a cheap way to maintain a presence in such a country, and to expose these men to American values. The counter-argument, made most effectively by former Representative Donald Fraser (D-Minn.), is that military training identifies the United States too closely with a military country engaged in human-rights abuses, and that the training itself increases the capabilities of such a military, without in any way restraining it from further abuses.

Lagomarsino declared: "We are not giving the money to terrorists. We are giving it to the Guatemalan government."

That indeed touched the crucial clarification in this debate, and Representative Donald Pease (D-Ohio) spoke to the question:

"...the widespread opinion of a number of groups

that have gone to Guatemala is that these right-wing death squads—which kill not only opposition leaders, but labor leaders, religious leaders, educators, farmers, peasants—they are all operating with the complicity of and certainly with no interference from the government."

In my own visits to Guatemala, a major in the Guatemalan armed forces told me that there is an army liaison officer with every major death squad; most death squads are made up of former or off-duty police or armed-forces personnel.

Lagomarsino then proceeded to paraphrase the State Department's report:

"They say there are no political prisoners; habeus corpus exists and is honored; there were no cases of lengthy detention without indictment or trial in 1979; accused persons generally receive fair public trials; courts are independent of executive and military control; rights of access for attorneys are protected after formal charges...."

What is remarkable about these statements is not that they are false; they are largely true, but they also are irrelevant! Those who might be potential political prisoners, people who might be denied their legal rights, instead are killed outright.

Pease reported: "In recent months Amnesty International has issued a special report detailing more than 2,000 persons...killed in a wave of political murder, torture, and abduction."

"In early January [1980], the Central American Jesuits were vilified and branded as Communist sympathizers by the Guatemalan government, for reporting that more than 3,200 Guatemalans were murdered in the first ten months of 1979 by right-wing death squads operating with absolute impunity and apparently official complicity."

An AFL-CIO official, knowledgeable about the union situation in Guatemala, told me that in the 18 months ending in January 1980, a dozen labor leaders had been killed and 18 had "disappeared." In his view, these murders and abductions were carried out by management-controlled death squads, with the direct involvement of the military.

Zablocki, chair of the committee, read a letter from the Secretary of Defense opposing all earmarkings, no matter what their purpose, funds for Israel excepted. An overwhelming majority approved the Pease amendment to eliminate the earmarking.

### INDONESIA & EAST TIMOR

Of all the countries examined by the House committee in marking up the foreign aid bill, probably the worst human-rights violator is Indonesia. Since its invasion and incorporation of East Timor four and a half years ago, anywhere from 100,000 to 250,000 East Timorans have been killed or have died in fighting or famine.

No effort, however, was mounted by human-rights organizations or by any member of Congress to limit military aid to Indonesia. Indonesia is a close ally of the U.S.; it produces oil, and most important, the Indonesian government despite its brutality is not threatened by imminent collapse as is the case in the Philippines and Zaire. In addition, it was the overwhelming consensus among human-rights advocates that the prime objective should be to take those actions which would bring more humanitarian attention to the plight of the East Timorans.

Consequently, Representative Tony Hall (D-Ohio)

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Best wishes to ADA  
and congratulations to  
William Winpisinger  
as the recipient of a  
special award.

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Organization  
is happy to have hosted  
members of National ADA  
for the National  
March for ERA.

Best wishes for a  
successful convention



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## Shull

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new in 1980—has been able to raise enough money to make substantial contributions to a wide range of candidates for the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives.

In view of the harsh, intensive, financially fat and often irresponsible campaigns against some of the nation's finest lawmakers, it is important that ADA members not only work hard for these incumbents but also make available some of the necessary funds for the increasingly expensive campaigns which must be mounted between June and November. It is equally important that we support liberal candidates seeking to unseat conservative incumbents or to fill vacant seats. It is encouraging to be able to report that we have made considerable progress in this direction and that for the first time ADA is supplying not only warm bodies for campaign work, but also significant amounts of cold cash.

The presidential race represents a sharp challenge to U.S. liberals in general and ADA in particular. At our 1979 convention we urged the candidacy of Senator Kennedy. We did so largely because issues are important to ADA. ADA urged the candidacy of Senator Kennedy not only because he has been an outstanding Senator and a major liberal force in the United States, but also because he stands for the kinds of solutions to our problems which are acceptable to liberals.

In the months ahead ADA once again will have to assess the political scene; a number of choices will be open to us. If Senator Kennedy remains a candidate at the time of the Democratic National Convention, the choice will be easy; we already have made it. But if he cannot be nominated, then ADA will have to face a difficult political decision. This decision probably will confront ADA after the Republican and Democratic nominating conventions have taken place. It is an issue, however, which we now must begin to discuss if we are to make a wise decision. □

## Letters

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### NUKES AGAIN

Let's get several Senators and Members of Congress to introduce legislation mandating that every nuclear facility must have as resident for five years a top corporate officer and the design-or-construction engineer responsible for its existence. They are to maintain permanent residence within five miles of the installation, and may be replaced by officers of similar status after three years....

J.S.

After reading your May-June [1979] issue, I feel I must add a word on nuclear power. It was disturbing to

see two letters defending nuclear power, and none on the other side. Hope they weren't representative of all the mail you've been receiving on the issue.

Robert J. Benke apparently doesn't realize that nuclear power is one of the most capital-intensive and least labor-intensive forms of energy....

Carol Pettjohn

I find your attack on nuclear power irresponsible, repugnant, and irrelevant to the purposes of Americans for Democratic Action.

I am therefore not renewing my membership. Please remove my name from your mailing list.

Richard R. Howe

## Human Rights

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introduced a sense-of-Congress resolution calling upon the President—

- To encourage Indonesia to give international relief agencies increased access to East Timor,

- To encourage Indonesia to allow free emigration, and

- To encourage Indonesia to allow international journalists access to East Timor.

A similar motion was adopted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

When one recalls that the present Indonesian government presided over the deaths of upward of 1.1 million people in the consolidation of its power in the period of 1965-67, and upwards of 250,000 East Timorans since 1975, this is a modest step.

What it does, however, is to focus a little more attention on the plight of the people of East Timor. And it will, to some extent, strengthen the hands of those members of the Administration who really want to direct world attention to the needs of the East Timorans.

For under both the Ford and Carter Administrations, the State Department has achieved one of the more notable cover-ups of our time. There is little public knowledge about the continuing famine in East Timor, and even less realization that the famine is largely the result of Indonesia's invasion. And there is virtually no public recognition that it was the timely military aid of Western nations in late 1977 and early 1978, led by the United States, which enabled the Indonesian army to launch a year-long offensive which destroyed the indigenous independence movement and produced the current famine. □

## International Woodworkers of America AFL-CIO, CLC



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