

Reagan incites anti-abortion violence

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Dr. Héctor Zevallos operates an abortion clinic in Granite City, Illinois. On August 12, he and his wife, Rosalie Jean, were kidnapped by anti-abortion terrorists.

This abduction is the most dramatic of an escalating series of right-wing attacks against abortion clinics, fostered by the federal government's increasing offensive against the right of women to obtain abortions.

'Army of God'

An organization calling itself the "Army of God" took responsibility for the kidnapping. This is apparently the same group that firebombed two abortion clinics in the St. Petersburg area of Florida on May 29, causing extensive damage to both.

The kidnappers left a letter demanding that abortions be stopped and that President Ronald Reagan publicly denounce abortion.

The president, who has repeatedly done just that, said nothing to condemn the kidnapping.

The FBI responded with a friendly communication to the kidnappers which counseled, "The preservation of life is a concern of all of us and therefore we wish to establish a contact, so that your cause can be furthered and human life can be spared."

The couple was released on August 20 unharmed, a short distance from their home.

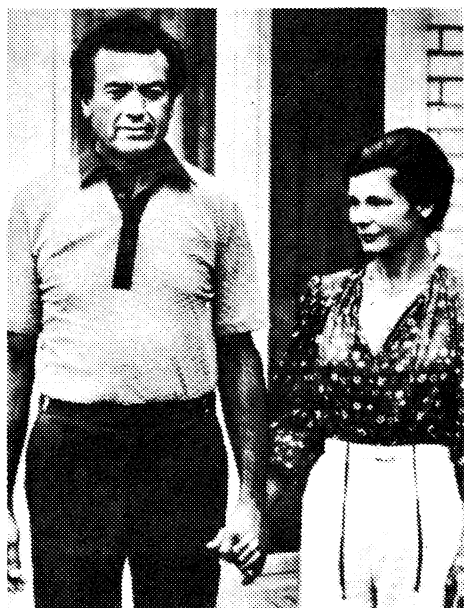
Dr. Zevallos, a native of Peru, opened the Hope Clinic for Women in 1974 in Granite City, a small steel town. Granite City has been hard hit by the recession.

Norman Ruf, a railroad switchman who lives two blocks from the clinic and whose wife is a patient of Dr. Zevallos, told reporters, "I have no feeling about abortion one way or the other. Taking sides on whether you should or shouldn't have abortions is one thing, but I don't buy this kidnapping at all."

He added, "This is a poor neighborhood, and a lot of the people in it use the clinic because of the Federal aid available there."

The Hope Clinic had been the scene of

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Kidnap victims Dr. Héctor and Rosalie Jean Zevallos.

Israeli army presses aggression in Lebanon



Israeli armor in Beirut. 'Phase 2' of Zionist invasion is setting stage for new attacks against Palestinians and Lebanese.

BY ERNEST HARSCH

As the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) began withdrawing its forces from West Beirut August 21, Israeli troops and tanks moved further into northern Lebanon and into the Bekaa Valley in the east.

The Zionist regime calls this "Phase 2" of its invasion. It sets the stage for new attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese people and against Syria as well.

And with the selection of the ultrarightist Bashir Gemayel as Lebanon's new president August 23, the Israelis now have a trusted ally in the presidential palace.

A terrorist as president

Gemayel is the central leader of the Phalange, a 25,000-member militia force based among the Maronite minority. It was particularly notorious during the 1975-76 civil war for its massacres of Lebanese Muslims and Palestinian refugees.

Following the civil war, the Phalangists began receiving large quantities of arms from Israel. Gemayel has supported the Israeli invasion from the beginning, and his militia forces have helped staff Israeli roadblocks and checkpoints.

A broadcast by the Voice of Arab Lebanon radio station in West Beirut summed up the real political character of Gemayel's so-called election: "A military governor has just been appointed for Lebanon on Israel's orders."

Both President Reagan and Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin quickly sent off congratulatory messages to Gemayel. The one from Begin was signed, "Your friend Menachem Begin."

Under the discriminatory political system in Lebanon that was imposed by the French colonial rulers before they pulled out, the president must be a Maronite Christian, chosen by parliament. This provision was designed to get

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Labor's stake in defending Nebraska meat strikers

"Business as we pursue it here at IBP [Iowa Beef Processors] is very much like waging war." That was the view of Currier J. Holman, founder of IBP, the largest beef processing company in the country.

Members of Local 222 of the United Food and Commercial Workers — up

What is involved here is a deadly serious precedent being established by the government.

It is no secret that the capitalist class is on the offensive against the living standards of working people. Hardly a day goes by without another giveback contract in some industry. At IBP, the union had proposed a two-year wage freeze and no cost-of-living raises for three years. But even those concessions weren't enough for IBP. The bosses demanded a four-year wage freeze and the complete elimination of cost-of-living raises.

In industry after industry — from

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EDITORIAL

against Holman's successors at IBP — are experiencing firsthand the kind of undisguised class war that Holman took for granted.

Local 222 was forced out on strike by IBP in June at the corporation's Dakota City, Nebraska, plant.

When the company decided to reopen the plant with scab labor in July it turned to the state government for help. One hundred state police used tear gas, mace, and clubs against the picketing workers. Dozens have been arrested. And on July 27, Gov. Charles Thone called out two units of the National Guard, complete with armored vehicles, for use against the strikers.

This kind of unconcealed class struggle, with the government openly on the side of the bosses, is becoming increasingly common. It was just one year ago that PATCO leader Steve Wallaert was taken away in chains for his role as a leader of the air traffic controllers union.

PATCO activists have been subjected to spying and harassment by the FBI, to blacklisting by the government, and to jail for the "crime" of using their right to strike.

In Richmond and Jasper, Indiana, striking workers have been set upon by armed company guards and attack dogs.

And now we have seen armored personnel carriers in the streets of Dakota City. "It's just like Vietnam," one woman striker said.

Catholic hierarchy provokes confrontation in Nicaragua

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MASAYA, Nicaragua — Two people were killed and at least seven wounded here August 16 when armed counterrevolutionaries fired on a peaceful demonstration demanding action against a right-wing Catholic priest.

The first incident of its kind in a major city in the three years since the triumph of the revolution, the attack constituted a major probe by the counterrevolutionary forces inside the country.

It also underscored how combustible relations between the church hierarchy and the revolutionary government have become in this country, where an overwhelming majority of the population are members of the Catholic faith.

The attack in Masaya

Unarmed demonstrators were fired on from the grounds of the Salesian School, a privately run Catholic institution with

some 5,000 students. The school is located at the entrance to Masaya's Monimbó barrio, a large community of Indians that was one of the first areas to rise up in insurrection against the Somoza dictatorship in 1978.

The fact that the shootings occurred on the edge of Monimbó, the confusion that immediately followed, and the fact that barricades went up almost instantly in self-defense was enough for several international news agencies to broadcast immediately that Monimbó had risen up again — this time against the Sandinistas.

"That's what they'd like to believe," Donald Telica, a 35-year-old Monimbó artisan told the *Militant*.

Telica, an eyewitness to the shootings, described briefly what happened.

A demonstration of several hundred supporters of the revolution marched through the streets of Masaya August

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Israeli army presses war in Lebanon

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around the fact that the majority of the population is Muslim, and someone like Gemayel could never become president through a genuine election.

But considerable coercion was needed to get him chosen even with this rigged system.

Because of the widespread fears among the Muslim population that Gemayel would unleash new massacres, most Muslim legislators called for a boycott of the parliament session held to vote on the new president (Gemayel was the only declared candidate).

Phalangist gunmen visited a number of legislators to force them to go to the session and to vote for Gemayel. One, Hassan Rifai, was shot and critically wounded when he refused.

The session was held on August 23, not in the parliament building in the center of Beirut, but at a military barracks in Fayadayeh in the Phalangist-

and Israeli-controlled area east of Beirut. The outcome was a foregone conclusion.

Imperialist 'peacekeepers'?

Gemayel's rise to the presidency came as additional imperialist troops started to arrive in Lebanon.

The first of some 850 French troops landed in Beirut the day before the beginning of the PLO withdrawal. They are to be followed by 400-500 Italian troops and 800 U.S. marines.

The Reagan administration — which has backed the basic aims of the Israeli invasion from the beginning — claims that the purpose of this force is a "pacific" one: to supervise the PLO withdrawal and to prevent further fighting in Beirut.

Washington certainly wants to ensure that the PLO gets out. But that has nothing to do with preventing further fighting in Lebanon. The U.S. rulers and the Zionist regime both want to deepen the blow that has already been inflicted against the Palestinian liberation struggle, to force the Syrian troops out of Lebanon, and to consolidate the new proimperialist Lebanese regime. None of these aims can be achieved without new military operations.

The U.S. troops in Lebanon may yet wind up in the middle of such military moves. As Reagan noted in an August 20 televised speech, "The presence of such an American force will . . . facilitate the restoration of Lebanese Government sovereignty and authority."

Threats against Syria

Extending the authority of Gemayel's new regime means three things: pushing the 30,000 Syrian troops in the

Bekaa Valley out of Lebanon; expelling the PLO forces from the area around Tripoli in the north and in the Bekaa Valley; and occupying West Beirut, which continues to be held by left-wing and Muslim militias that fought against the Israeli invaders alongside the PLO.

Following the PLO's decision to withdraw from West Beirut, Israeli forces quickly began moving to extend their control over even more of Lebanon.

Armored detachments and artillery units have moved into the north, taking up positions within artillery range of the port city of Tripoli, which has a population of half a million. There are several Palestinian refugee camps in Tripoli, and several thousand PLO fighters are based there.

According to reports in the August 21 issue of the Lebanese daily *L'Orient-Le Jour*, hundreds of Israeli tanks have moved to the floor of the Bekaa Valley from the mountain range just west of it. The valley is crucial to the defense of Syria.

The Begin regime has made no secret of its eagerness to strike at Syria. During the first days of the invasion, large-scale air battles were fought and Israeli jets bombed Syrian antiaircraft emplacements in the Bekaa Valley and in Syria itself.

In recent days, Israeli forces have engaged in heavy artillery and rocket duels with the Syrian units.

Israeli Defense Minister Ariel Sharon on August 21 explicitly threatened to strike directly at the Syrian capital, which is close to the Lebanese border. "Damascus, all of Damascus, is in range of our artillery," he warned.

Retreat with dignity

It was the same kinds of Israeli threats and attacks against the population of a major city that prompted the PLO to withdraw from the predominantly Muslim West Beirut.

The PLO forces and their Lebanese allies put up a heroic resistance to the massive Israeli invasion. Against overwhelming odds, they managed to hold off the powerful Israeli military machine for two and a half months.

In deciding to retreat, the PLO liberation fighters are leaving with dignity and with the conviction that their struggle for national self-determination will ultimately triumph.

The route the departing PLO fighters took to the harbor in West Beirut — from where they boarded ships to various Arab countries — was lined with thousands of supporters. The fighters carried their weapons and wore garlands of flowers. Hundreds of supporters fired automatic weapons into the air in a salute to their courage.

"Revolution, revolution, until victory!" the PLO fighters chanted. Handwritten posters carried by their supporters read, "All roads lead to Jerusalem" and "Palestine or bust."

One of the top PLO leaders, Saleh Khalef (also known as Abu Iyad), expressed this determination in a statement published in several newspapers in Beirut on the day the withdrawal began:

"We shall pursue our struggle from

any Arab land on which we are present."

In deciding to withdraw, the PLO explained that the only alternative would have been an even bloodier Israeli massacre of West Beirut's Lebanese and Palestinian inhabitants.

Estimates are that some 15,000 Lebanese and Palestinians have been killed since the beginning of the Israeli invasion on June 6. They died during the widespread devastation of southern Lebanon and the constant bombardments of West Beirut.

Many of the dead and wounded were victims of U.S.-supplied cluster and phosphorus bombs. In the first two weeks of August, West Beirut was particularly hard hit by the incendiary phosphorus bombs. Troy Rusli, a doctor at the Lahout Hospital in West Beirut, described one 60-year-old victim who was brought in with a piece of phosphorus-coated shrapnel lodged in his chest:

"Smoke from the burning phosphorus inside him was coming out of his nose and mouth with every painful breath. We had to cut the shrapnel out of him before we could finally stop the burning by cutting away the scorched tissues".

'The face of ugly imperialism'

The barbarity of the Israeli invasion has brought unprecedented international revulsion against the Zionist regime and its backers in Washington.

One example of their diplomatic isolation came on August 19, when 120 member states of the United Nations voted for resolutions calling for sanctions against Israel and the creation of a Palestinian state.

Only the Israel and U.S. delegates voted against the resolutions.

After the U.S. delegate vetoed an earlier Security Council motion for sanctions against Israel on August 6, the Jerusalem Arabic-language daily *Al Shaab* commented that U.S. policy toward Israel was not "two-faced," as some Arab governments maintained.

"It is untrue that it [Washington] has two faces and untrue that it speaks two different languages," *Al Shaab* said. "The truth is that it has one face — the face of ugly imperialism, and it talks with the language of exploitation, suppression, treachery and tyrannical military might."

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The Militant

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Longtime socialist dies in L.A.

LOS ANGELES — Howard Rosen, a longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party, died here August 21 at age 69. A meeting will take place in Los Angeles to pay tribute to his contributions to the revolutionary socialist movement since he first became active in the 1930s. It will be held Monday, August 30, at 7:30 p.m. at 2546 West Pico Boulevard. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

September 11 march on Washington to denounce Israeli-U.S. war

BY RICK CONGRESS

NEW YORK — A national march on Washington to protest the Israeli-U.S. aggression in Lebanon is planned for September 11. It is called by the November 29 Coalition, named after the date declared by the United Nations to be a day of solidarity with the Palestinian people.

The demands of the demonstration are: Oppose U.S.-Israeli invasion of Lebanon; Immediate, unconditional withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon; Fund jobs and human needs, not U.S. arms to Israel; No U.S. troops to Lebanon; No puppet Israeli government in Lebanon; Self-determination for the Palestinian people.

Demonstrations are also planned September 11 in San Francisco and Austin, Texas.

Neil Saad, a leader of the November 29 Coalition and the Palestine Congress of North America, told the *Militant* that the big rise in opposition to Zionist aggression offers a special opportunity to build this action and educate large numbers of people to the true nature of Zionism and the just struggle of the Palestinian people.

The November 29 Coalition is also helping circulate a statement by trade unionists against the Israeli invasion. The statement says in part — "As trade unionists we cannot and will not stand for the identification of the trade union movement and workers of this country with the Israeli actions in Lebanon. . . .

"As trade unionists, we join with millions of Americans in calling on the U.S. government to end delivery of arms to Israel."

Given the endorsement of the Israeli invasion by the AFL-CIO Executive Council, the statement is an important one to spread widely in the labor movement.

The union statement is available from the Ad Hoc Committee of Trade Unionists to Oppose the Israeli Invasion of Lebanon, P.O. Box 676, Old Chelsea Station, New York, New York 10011.

For information on buses and plans for the September 11 march on Washington, call (212) 695-2686 (New York); (202) 462-1488 (Washington, D.C.); (415) 821-6545 (San Francisco); and (713) 661-4236 (Houston).



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Lebanese masses vs. ultraright Phalangists

BY HARRY RING

With the installation of Bashir Gemayel as president of Lebanon, there is new media focus on the Phalange, the political/military movement which he heads. The Phalange is the strongest force among Lebanon's Maronite Christians, the adherents to a particular version of Catholicism.

A lot has been written in the commercial media about the long-standing conflict between Lebanese Christians and Muslims, and the role of the Phalange in that conflict.

Presenting the conflict in Lebanon as basically religious is intended to cover over the real source of the struggle there.

The Christian population in Lebanon is guaranteed political domination of the country by a discriminatory system that goes back to the days of French colonial rule. Because of this history, most of the poor people — and they are many — happen to be Muslims, and most of the ruling rich happen to be Christians.

The Phalange, which was formed in 1936, is named after the Spanish fascist movement, General Franco's Falange. It's ideology stems from there and from the German Nazis.

Hitler had his Brown Shirts. The Lebanese Phalangists are the Green Shirts.

It was the well-armed Phalangists who blocked the exits from West Beirut as Israel poured phosphorus and cluster bombs on the Lebanese and Palestinian people entrapped there.

The Phalange has received arms and training from the Israeli government and engages in close political and military collaboration with it.

With 25,000 members, the Phalange is now the most powerful single military force in Lebanon — bigger and better equipped than the official Lebanese army. Its function is to defend the interests of the Lebanese Christian capitalists and to help advance Israel's planned domination. All of which coincides with Washington's drive to keep all of the Arab people subjugated.

Posh ghetto

Back in 1975, when Lebanon was gripped by a civil war, a reporter for the French daily, *Le Monde*, described the life of the wealthy.

"The privileged live ostentatious lives: several big cars . . . country homes . . . apartments in Paris, Geneva, London, New York . . . yachts anchored out at Taslik, off Beirut. . . ."

"Beirut's capitalist class does not rub shoulders with ordinary mortals. Their luxurious apartments are in the city's posh, often as not Christian, quarter, a kind of ghetto. . . ."

Even before the cruel Israeli onslaught, the other Beirut was the polar opposite.

With one of the world's highest population densities, West Beirut was jammed with Lebanese and Palestinian refugees from Israeli attacks on southern Lebanon, as well as large numbers of farmers driven off the land by the government's refusal to spend money on essential projects.

How did Lebanon become a land divided along religious lines?

That was arranged and organized by imperialism.

For a long period, ending with World War I, Lebanon was part of Greater Syria, then ruled by the Turks.

During the war, Britain, France and Czarist Russia signed a secret act partitioning Syria. The southern part, Jordan and Palestine (which became Israel), was allocated to the British imperialists. The northern part — present

day Syria and Lebanon — was handed over to the French colonialists.

But handing it over was not that simple. In 1920, French troops, faced with a rising Arab independence movement, had to occupy the Syrian capital of Damascus after bloody fighting.

The French then embarked on a calculated plan of divide-and-rule.

During the occupation period, France proceeded to carve Lebanon from Syria and then to gerrymander Lebanon.

The Maronites and the other Christian sects, originally constituted a bare majority of the population, and the French played them off against the Sunni and Shiite Muslims, and the Druze, a Muslim offshoot. Arab nationalist opposition to colonial rule was historically stronger among the Muslims than the Christians.

In 1943, popular opposition to direct French rule forced the imperialists to hold elections.

But it was agreed that seats in the new parliament would be apportioned on a religious basis — 30 seats for the Christians and 25 for the Sunnis, Shites and Druze.

Even such a discriminatory government was not totally subservient to the French, voting itself powers beyond the French dictate.

General strike

France suspended the new constitution and this was greeted by a general strike.

At the end of the war, France was compelled to grant Lebanon formal independence, although the French remained in control until 1946.

But the capitalist government which emerged agreed to maintain the unwritten "national pact" providing for the religious division of public offices. That agreement remains in force until this day.

According to the agreement, all government positions, local and national, are parcelled out in a ratio of six Christians to five Muslims.

The presidency, a powerful office in Lebanon, is reserved for the Maronites, along with the post of army chief of staff.

Even on the reactionary basis of religious representation, the setup is rigged. The 1932 census establishing a Christian majority was conducted by the French and was suspect at the time.

Since 1932, the country's rulers have persistently refused to conduct a national census. They know such a census would clearly establish that, because of a higher birthrate, the Muslims are definitely the majority today.

Arrival of Palestinians

From the outset, the bankers and merchants who dominated the Christian community distrusted and feared the Muslim majority, which naturally resented the unjust political system that guaranteed the Christians a privileged status. The Christian rightists' fear was intensified by the arrival of more than 100,000 Palestinian refugees driven out of their homeland by the Zionists in 1948.

The mostly Muslim Palestinians swung the balance in the population further against the Christian minority. And in the mid-1960s, to the horror of the Lebanese rulers, a mass movement for self-determination grew up among the Palestinians, who by this time numbered more than 300,000.

The development of the Palestine Liberation Organization had a huge impact on Lebanon. The ranks of the PLO were drawn from the most oppressed and exploited layers of the Palestinian refu-



Militant/Nick Medvecky

One of most dramatic expressions of Lebanese solidarity with Palestinian struggle occurred in Beirut in August 1969. Body of Palestinian guerrilla killed in Israeli air raid in Jordan was brought back to Beirut for funeral. In addition to Palestinian refugees, mammoth crowd of Lebanese poured out to register support for Palestinian cause.

gees. Armed and organized in the PLO, these liberation fighters repeatedly took the side of the Lebanese and Palestinian workers and farmers in disputes with the bosses.

Furthermore, the Palestinians were putting pressure on the Lebanese government to stand up to the constant Israeli raids on southern Lebanon that began to take place in this period.

Finally, the PLO was a radicalizing force that inspired the Lebanese Muslims to stand up for their rights and to demand a change in the discriminatory political system and in the reactionary social policies of the rightist government.

All this led to an escalating political conflict between the Christian rightist forces in Lebanon and a coalition of the Palestinians, the Lebanese left, and traditional Muslim leaders who wanted to reform the political system in the country.

Finally, in 1975, Gemayel's Phalange touched off a civil war in Lebanon that lasted for more than a year and took tens of thousands of lives.

Palestinians murdered

The struggle reached an explosive point on April 13 of that year when Phalangist killers ambushed a busload of Palestinians returning from a rally. They gunned down 27 of the Palestinians.

In the political crisis that followed, the Lebanese president, responding to Phalangist pressure, tried to install a military regime. The mass of the Lebanese people responded with a general strike and the regime was forced to resign in three days.

But the civil war was on.

In the summer of 1976, the Phalange committed an atrocity which was typical of their actions during the civil war. The Phalange and other rightist forces decided to wipe out Tel Zaatar, a refugee camp in East Beirut.

Who were the residents of Tel Zaatar?

According to *Time* magazine of Aug. 23, 1976, they were both Palestinian refugees and homeless Lebanese.

They "came from villages along the border of what is now northern Israel. They settled in Tel Zaatar in 1950. Lat-

er they were joined by impoverished Lebanese from areas of south Lebanon devastated by Israeli attacks. The flow of refugees eventually swelled to a crushing 30,000. At Tel Zaatar they provided a cheap labor force for the Christian owned factories in the area."

But cheap labor or no, the Phalange apparently decided that was too many Palestinians and poor Lebanese in one place. They laid siege to Tel Zaatar, under the command of now President Gemayel.

For 52 days the Phalangists shelled the besieged residents of the camp. Finally, on Aug. 12 of that year, they overran it.

A grisly massacre followed. The British news agency, Reuter's, reported that two doctors who escaped from the camp estimated there were 2,000 dead and 3,000 wounded.

A correspondent for the French Press Agency entered the camp a day after the Phalangists. He reported:

"On Friday morning, two enormous bulldozers, using the full width of the blades, pushed corpses through the ruins of the Tel Zaatar camp. The northern entrance . . . is a vision of horror; it is necessary to wear a mask to walk through the narrow streets which are blanketed with a putrid odor."

"Dozens and dozens of dead bodies are strewn about this sector. It is impossible to count them, for it would be necessary to enter one by one the houses whose walls have been crushed by artillery fire to count the men, as well as the women and children who lay dead on the ground."

With warm congratulations from Reagan and Begin, the man who heads the Phalange has now taken the presidency of Lebanon.

Reagan, Begin, and Gemayel. Three blood-soaked bandits who are going to bring "peace, progress and enlightenment" to Lebanon.

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Puerto Ricans defy ban on travel to Cuba

BY WILL REISSNER

Nearly 300 Puerto Rican sports fans defied the U.S. ban on travel to Cuba to cheer their athletes in the 14th Central American and Caribbean Games, held in Cuba August 7-18. The travel ban was announced by the Reagan administration on April 19 and is punishable by up to 10 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine.

The Puerto Rican Olympic Committee had received a special license from the U.S. government authorizing athletes, coaches, associated personnel, and about 36 local politicians to attend the games. But no licenses were granted for ordinary fans to attend.

Among the Puerto Ricans who defied the travel ban were Rubén Berrios, head of the Puerto Rican Independence Party, and Carlos Gallisá, president of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Berrios told reporters, "it is our moral and patriotic duty to go to Cuba to unmask the colonial regime in Puerto Rico."

A Justice Department spokesperson said that the State Department would be consulted before a decision was made on whether to prosecute the fans who travelled to Cuba.

The travel ban was particularly galling to many Puerto Ricans because the 14th Central American and Caribbean Games had originally been scheduled for Mayagüez, Puerto Rico. But Puerto Rican Governor Carlos Romero Barceló withdrew all financial support, citing a budgetary crisis. As a result, on March 18, 1981, Germán Rieckehoff, who is head of both the Puerto Rican Olympic Committee and the Central American and Caribbean Sports Organization responsible for organizing the games, announced that the games would have to be cancelled for the first time in their history.

But Rieckehoff also sent a letter to the Cuban Olympic Committee, asking "the Cuban Olympic Committee and by way of it the Cuban government to agree to serve as host for the 14th Games, thus assuring their continuity."

The Cuban Olympic Committee agreed to shoulder the task, even though there was less than a year and a half in which to organize the competition in 24 sports. But because there has been a tremendous expansion of sports facilities in Cuba since the revolution, it was possible to use already existing facilities in a number of cities.

At the opening ceremony, Germán Rieckehoff presented Cuban President Fidel Castro with a cap bearing the Puerto Rican flag. Photographs of Castro wearing the cap appeared in many Puerto Rican newspapers.

Over 3,000 athletes from more than 25 countries and territories participated in the games. Even before the August 18 end of the competition, the Cuban team, which had set a record for the number of medals won at the 13th Games held four years ago in Medellín, Colombia, far surpassed their previous tally. The second largest number of medals was won by the Mexican team, which was far behind the pace-setting Cubans. The Venezuelans took third place in the final standings, and the Puerto Rican team came in fourth.

The New York Spanish-language daily *El Diario* noted the "highly political" character of the crowds at the sports events in Cuba. It pointed out that at the opening day ceremonies crowds chanted "Fidel, for sure, hit the Yankees hard," and heartily cheered the teams from Grenada and Nicaragua, while giving "much weaker applause" to teams from countries like Guatemala.

In addition, the image of Che Guevara, a hero of the Cuban revolution, was flashed repeatedly on the electronic scoreboards.



Puerto Rican sports fans at Central American and Caribbean games in Cuba.

Claridad/Freddie Toledo

Church hierarchy provocation in Nicaragua

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16, demanding excommunication of a certain Father Bismarck Carballo (of whom more later).

Without warning, the protesters were fired upon as they neared the Salesian School, which had been taken over earlier in the day by right-wingers. Two of the demonstrators were killed instantly; seven more were wounded. In the confusion, a bystander was accidentally run over by a police vehicle.

Barricades went up. Militia members from Masaya and Monimbó surrounded the school, armed with the revolvers and shotguns they had used against Somoza's National Guard four years ago. Shots were exchanged.

Finally, sufficient government forces arrived to enter the school and take into custody all who were inside.

To avoid an international incident, the Sandinista authorities did not arrest the two foreign priests from Spain and Costa Rica who were inside. Instead they were taken to their respective embassies, until their specific role in the shootings could be determined.

Bishops seek confrontation

The shootings capped months of growing conflicts with high officials of the Catholic church here, in particular Msgr. Miguel Obando y Bravo, archbishop of Managua, and his right-hand man, Fr. Bismarck Carballo.

The Church hierarchy has made no bones about its opposition to the deepening of the revolution, and has worked hand in glove with counterrevolutionary forces inside the country and with imperialist propaganda mills abroad.

In February, Nicaragua's bishops issued a statement echoing imperialist slanders about the Sandinistas' treatment of the Miskitu Indians. The fact that none of the bishops had even visited the Miskitu resettlement area proved no obstacle to their joining in the campaign of lies.

In April, Obando y Bravo was named by counterrevolutionaries as a prospective member of the "government in exile" they were then considering setting up in Costa Rica. The archbishop did not dissociate himself from the project until publicly challenged by Commander Tomás Borge on May Day.

In July, Obando y Bravo ordered the transfer of a highly popular priest from Managua's Santa Rosa barrio — a working-class stronghold of the Sandinista revolution. To add insult to injury, the replacement priest was a reactionary who had been widely publicized in the right-wing daily *La Prensa*.

Transfers are common practice for dealing with priests and nuns who sup-

port the revolution, but this time the tactic backfired.

The outgoing priest, Msgr. Arias Caldera, had been an early supporter of the revolution, working with the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) as far back as the early 1960s.

The residents of Santa Rosa bitterly protested the transfer, even occupying the local church. In response, Obando y Bravo's public spokesman, Carballo, declared that all who had protested the transfer were "excommunicated" — expelled from the church. A grave step in a Catholic country, the excommunication order and the uproar over it deepened the conflict between the church hierarchy and the hundreds of thousands of Nicaraguans who are both church members and supporters of the revolution.

Case of Father Carballo

In mid-August Father Carballo hit the front pages again, but in quite different circumstances.

Surprised by an outraged husband and driven from the bed of a young woman to whom he claimed to be providing "spiritual guidance," Carballo ended up in the street — stark naked — in the midst of an unrelated demonstration.

The padre's escapade was at first withheld from the press at the government's orders. The FSLN issued a statement saying that this was done "out of respect for the religious sentiments of our people."

But when the right-wing rumor mills began to spread charges that Carballo had been "set up," and that "censorship" had denied him the right to "defend himself," the government responded by authorizing the press to publish the full account of how Carballo had ended up naked as a jaybird — with abundant photographs to boot, snapped by reporters who had been accompanying the demonstration the priest inadvertently ran into as he fled.

This turned out to have unforeseen consequences.

Attention was suddenly shifted from the hierarchy's attacks on the revolution to the case of the naked priest. The hottest topic of discussion since the departure of Somoza, the way the matter had been handled satisfied virtually no one.

Opinion was divided, but largely among those who either believed the claims that Carballo had been set up and those who felt that, even if he had been caught in the act, it had been an invasion of privacy to publish such photos.

Seven people the *Militant* questioned at random here in Masaya were unanimous about one thing. Whether or not Carballo had been involved with the woman in question, "the press shouldn't

print such things," as one woman high-school student put it.

Pope backs right-wingers

In the meantime, relations between the revolutionary government and the church have been further complicated by the arrival of a letter from Pope John Paul. The pope's missive came down heavily on the side of the hierarchy (Obando y Bravo) in any dispute with the membership of the church (the Catholics of Santa Rosa).

A government decision to delay publication of the letter in light of the tense situation was further seized upon by right-wingers, who claimed that the Sandinistas had "declared war on religion."

This, then, was the situation in which opponents of the revolution began to encourage "protective" takeovers of Catholic institutions, setting the scene for the shootings here in Masaya.

Occupations of several other Catholic schools, in other parts of the country, were cleared without incident.

The conflict with the church hierarchy is the most visible reflection of the growing polarization in the country.

Encouraged by Washington's increasing economic and military pressure on Nicaragua, opponents of the revolution are becoming more brazen in their probes for internal support. History and tradition make the Catholic church the logical place to start.

Through the events in Masaya and the occupations of Catholic schools in other parts of the country, the reactionary church hierarchy demonstrated that it still has great ability to spread confusion and doubt, despite the massive popular support that exists for the revolution and the FSLN.

It is this mass support for the revolution that is the Achilles' heel of the rightist forces. The church hierarchy can mobilize broad support only insofar as it is able to obscure the real political issues involved in its dispute with the Sandinista government.

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Fired Atlanta socialist wins back his job

BY JEFF ROGERS
AND TOM FISKE

ATLANTA — A victory for workers' rights was won here August 15 when Maceo Dixon, a member of Teamsters Local 528 and the 1982 Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Georgia, was rehired at his job at the Oxford Chemicals factory in Chamblee, Georgia.

Dixon had been illegally fired for his union activity and political beliefs a month before. Technically, the company had called his firing a layoff. Actually, the company violated provisions of the union contract, including seniority rules, in order to get Dixon out of the plant.

Six weeks previously, Oxford had fired Garrett Brown, also a member of Local 528 and the chairman of Dixon's campaign committee. Brown was fired under a different pretext than Dixon. However, the real reason they both were fired was their union activity in fights against the chemical company's safety violations and speedup attempts, and for discussing their socialist views with co-workers.

Teamsters Local 528 filed grievances on behalf of Dixon and Brown, and vowed to take their fights all the way.

All the workers at Oxford understood that the company was out to get Dixon. His co-workers actively showed their support to get his job back.

When Dixon held a press conference outside the plant to protest his firing, more than 10 co-workers appeared to show their solidarity. Discussions about the firings of Dixon and Brown continued throughout the plant for weeks. Many workers viewed the firings of Dixon and Brown as direct threats to the union. Of 90 workers at the plant, 45 signed a joint grievance against the company's unionbusting tactics.

In the space of two weeks, over 500 people in the Atlanta area signed petitions circulated by his campaign committee demanding Oxford rehire Dixon and Brown.

Among the signers of the petition were Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young and Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) President Rev. Joseph Lowery. A number of public figures also sent protest letters to Oxford, including Fulton County Commissioner Reginald Eaves; American Civil Liberties Union President Martha Gaines; and Feminist Women's Health Center Director Lynne Randall.

Garrett Brown's grievance is now being scheduled for arbitration.

The state of Georgia is trying to force the 1981 campaign committee to reveal the names, addresses, and employers of financial supporters. The key issue in the suit is whether or not employers and government agencies attempt to victimize supporters of Socialist Workers campaigns in Georgia. The firings of Dixon and Brown offer ample evidence that this is the case.

To back up this contention, Sally

Dohrn, a lawyer provided by the ACLU, has sent subpoena notices to the Oxford plant manager, plant foreman, and plant supervisor to force them to testify about their efforts to victimize Dixon and Brown for their political activities as socialists and militant unionists.

In addition, Brown has filed a complaint with the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), that an important factor in his firing was his activities fighting safety violations in the plant. OSHA investigators are scheduled to meet with company lawyers about this soon.

Also, Dixon has filed a complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission against the racist character of his firing.

Both Dixon and Brown have vowed to continue the fight to regain Dixon's back pay, and to get Brown rehired.

The union and the workers in the plant want to continue the fight as well. Sidney Colbert, the shop steward, explained, "Getting Maceo back doesn't win everything. We've still got to pursue the grievances and get Garrett back. I hope both Maceo and Garrett will be here when contract discussions start."

Another worker explained, "I heard

Maceo's coming back — that's great! You all didn't let them get away with anything — that's why they're bringing him back here. But it isn't over yet. Let's see what else they got up their sleeve."

A maintenance worker expressed a sentiment shared by many — that this was a victory against harassment of all workers at Oxford. He noted the plant manager, David Parr, was now seldom seen on the plant floor. "He doesn't show his face much when he's been whipped."

"This victory is important," Dixon said, "because it shows when you fight the company you can make some gains, but if you lay down and collaborate with the company, you're at their mercy."

"I think this victory will help other fights against company victimizations and firings as well. For example, 15 members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party are fighting against the Lockheed-Georgia company to regain their jobs after they were fired for their union activities and political beliefs just like I was. Union activists and working people in Atlanta can see more easily now that these 15 workers can also win by fighting."

The 15 fired Lockheed workers have recently won new support for their case



Militant/Andrée Kahlmorgan

Maceo Dixon

from important figures in the labor and civil rights movements. Among those signing petitions demanding their jobs back and an end to such firings are Marc Stepp, International Vice-president, United Auto Workers; Harold McIver, director, Industrial Union Organizing Department, AFL-CIO; James Orange, international representative, ACTWU; Jesse Jackson, Operation PUSH; and Rev. R.B. Cottonreader, a field director for the SCLC.

Where Minnesota gubernatorial candidate stands on unemployment, farmers' crisis

Below is an interview with Kathy Wheeler, the Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Minnesota. Wheeler recently made a fact-finding trip to Nicaragua. The interview was conducted by Militant correspondent Dave Salner.

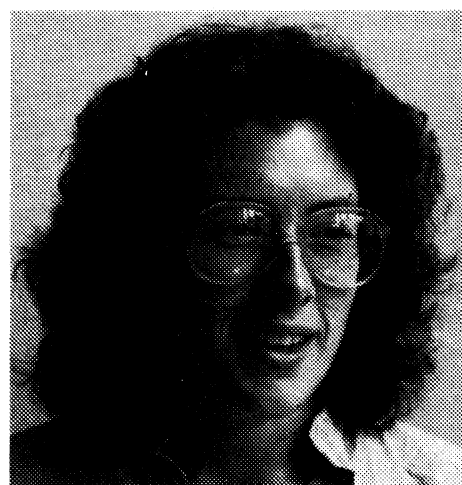
Question. You are a resident of Northern Minnesota. How has the recession affected that part of the state?

Answer. The economic crisis has hit industrial workers and their families in Minnesota especially hard. Unemployment in northern Minnesota is running as high as 50 percent. The economy on the Iron Range, where I live, is based on iron ore mining. In some Iron Range towns — Silver Bay and Babbitt — unemployment is 70 percent! Seven out of eight mines are shut down. Twelve thousand out of 14,000 miners are out of work.

The situation facing Blacks, Latinos, and Indians is the most bleak. Affirmative action and other social programs are being attacked. On the White Earth Indian reservation, for example, joblessness is 95 percent.

Q. What about the situation facing Minnesota farmers?

A. Since May, about 150 Minnesota farmers have put their farms on the market each week. Most of the land for



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Socialist candidate Kathy Wheeler

sale isn't selling. But title to more and more of it is reverting back to mortgage companies.

The trend is just the opposite in Nicaragua. Titles of plots of farmland are being handed over to peasant families on one condition — that they produce on it. The Nicaraguan banks are public institutions, not privately owned. There, the poorest farmers are guaranteed low-interest loans. Basic foodstuffs are government subsidized. Food is affordable and farmers are guaranteed a living for their labor.

The new Sandinista government in Nicaragua represents workers and farmers. Since it came to power in 1979, the Nicaraguan people have established a program that has reduced unemployment from as high as 50 percent to approximately 15 percent. The government has supported the formation of organizations of workers and farmers. For the first time, genuine unions have been formed that fight for Nicaraguan farmers.

Q. What's your program for dealing with the problems of workers and farmers in this country?

A. My campaign stands for full benefits for all the unemployed at union wages as an immediate first step.

I call for an immediate moratorium on all debts owed by family farmers to the banks and big corporations that want to grab their land.

In order to create more jobs, we need to cut the workweek with no cut in pay. And we need a crash public works program, in which millions of workers could be employed at union wages to build

much-needed housing, hospitals, schools, and recreational facilities.

In addition, affirmative action to achieve real equality for Blacks, Latinos, Indians, and women needs to be defended and strengthened.

Q. Where would you find the money to fund such programs?

A. A good place to begin would be the \$200 billion military budget approved by Democrats and Republicans alike. It's that money that is being used to wage war against peoples all over the world, including in Nicaragua.

I plan to use my campaign to alert the people of Minnesota to the fact that the U.S. government is waging a brutal, undeclared war against the people of Nicaragua.

The CIA has set up a public war chest of \$19 million for destabilization. The dictatorship in neighboring Honduras is funneling large-scale U.S. military aid into this war. An army of over 5,000 right-wing troops is being trained with the help of as many as 95 U.S. military advisors operating out of Honduras.

During the two weeks I was in Nicaragua, Honduras launched two especially deadly attacks — one on the port of Corinto, an oil storage facility, and the other on Nicaragua's only oil refinery. It's to fight wars like this that the U.S. government is trying to reinstitute the draft.

This war against Nicaragua is just the other side of the war on our rights and living standards here in this country.

Q. How can we win our war at home?

A. It's clear that the current government, run by the two parties of big business, is opposed to any solutions to the crisis that are in the interests of working people, at home or abroad.

We could be taking big steps in the fight for a workers and farmers government here in this country if we had our own political party. We need a labor party, based on a fighting trade union movement, to unite in struggle unionists, farmers, Blacks, Latinos, Native Americans, and women. We need a party that would fight *with* all of us *against* the bosses.

Louisville mayor tries to scuttle September 4 anti-Klan rally

BY CHRIS RAYSON

LOUISVILLE — A rally to "Rededicate Ourselves to the Civil Rights Movement" will be held September 4 in Louisville, despite efforts by Louisville Mayor Harvey Sloane to have it called off. The rally is to counter an antibusing rally called by the Ku Klux Klan for the same day.

The antiracist rally will now be held at Grace Hope Presbyterian Church at 702 E. Breckinridge at 7:30 p.m. Permission to use the larger facilities at King Solomon Missionary Baptist Church was revoked last week by church officials.

In a phone call August 20 from his vacation spot in Mexico to Mattie Jones, chairperson of the Ad Hoc Coalition Against the Klan, Sloane said that he

feared something ugly would happen if the civil rights rally was held. Jones told the *Militant* that it is the mayor's job "to prevent anything ugly from happening."

Plans to go ahead with the antiracist rally were also reaffirmed at a widely covered news conference called by the Kentuckiana Interfaith Community. The conference blasted the Jefferson County School Board's decision to allow an antibusing, prosegregation Klan rally at Valley High School on September 4 and 5.

Over 20 area ministers attended the news conference. The ministers plan a silent vigil on September 2 outside the Old Federal Building on Sixth and Broadway, where the suit against the school board will be heard in U.S. District Court.

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Where Palestinian fight stands today

Interview with Dr. Hatem Husseini

The following interview with Dr. Hatem Husseini, director of the Palestine Information Office and a PLO representative, was conducted at the United Nations August 18 by *Militant* correspondent Suzanne Haig.

Question. The U.S. big-business press claims that the Palestine Liberation Organization has been dealt a mortal blow. What is your evaluation?

Answer. The PLO has won the battle militarily and politically because after 75 days of war it has not been destroyed, because its forces still remain in south Lebanon, in the mountain areas, and in West Beirut.

Politically, it has gained at the Arab and international levels. Everyone knows now that military means cannot be used to destroy the Palestinian cause.

Beirut is like Hanoi and Stalingrad and London in World War II. The fascist and military forces have in these cases tried to destroy cities militarily, but the will of the people has not been destroyed. Their determination and will to survive has grown stronger.

The struggle will continue. The PLO is redeploying its forces from West Beirut because of the civilian population and the city.

The redeployment of forces aims at saving West Beirut, for Israel does not care. Israeli propaganda in the United States claims that the PLO is holding the city hostage. If that were true, the PLO would not withdraw.

It is Israel that is the destroyer, laying waste to 40 percent of the city. Three refugee camps around the city have been totally destroyed from the bombing. The population has been denied water and medical supplies.

The PLO respects Lebanon's sovereignty and independence and has reached agreement with the Lebanese government. The PLO hopes that the government will be able to reassert its sovereignty and control on the basis of Israeli forces withdrawing from all of Lebanon.

Q. What is the situation in southern Lebanon?

A. The situation in southern Lebanon is extremely serious. Israel is taking steps to annex southern Lebanon, opening government offices, business offices, and airline offices. It is uprooting Palestinian refugees, dispersing them, forcing some to go to Syria, and it is allowing Maj. Saad Haddad's armed fascist groups to beat up people, while not allowing the Lebanese officials to govern in the south Lebanon-Sidon area.

In addition, there are 10,000 Palestinian and Lebanese men, aged 12 to 60, being held in Israeli concentration camps in Lebanon with no medical care and very minimal water and food.

It is the responsibility of the international community that supposedly opposed concentration camps during the Nazi period to oppose concentration

camps now and help release the thousands of detainees.

Women and children of the detainees have been left alone without shelter. Many have demonstrated in front of Israeli military headquarters and have been beaten up by Israeli officers and police.

Nor does the PLO have the names of these detainees. In addition, 190 doctors and nurses, both Palestinian and non-Palestinian volunteers in Palestinian hospitals and clinics, have been taken prisoner in southern Lebanon and have not been released.

Six major refugee camps in southern Lebanon have been totally bulldozed and Israeli troops are bulldozing Palestinian-owned shops to try to drive the refugees out of Lebanon.

In addition, in Megiddo, 7,000 Palestinians and Lebanese are being held in detention as war criminals. Most are civilians and freedom fighters. They should either be declared prisoners of war or released.

There have been reports of Israeli troop movement north of Beirut, possibly to clash with the Syrian army. Such action would mean the continuation and expansion of the war.

Q. What has the war shown the world about the aims of the Israeli government and its backer, the U.S. government?

A. Israel has ignored every United Nations resolution — 10 of them — calling for a cease-fire. They have thus indicated their defiance of the international community and shown their willingness to use further force to attain their aims.

The U.S. use of its veto in the United Nations Security Council and Washington's continued support for Israel's aims has given Israel the green light to continue its war of aggression and genocide.

How hypocritical for Reagan to say he is upset about the Israeli bombing when the U.S. government continues to supply Israel with cluster and phosphorous bombs and aircraft — the tools allowing Israel to continue its occupation of Lebanon.

The U.S. government funding of Israel comes to \$8 million a day. These millions allow Israel to continue the war, and at the expense of American working men and women.

The war is hurting the American working class because ultimately the United States will foot the bill, which will come to \$5 to \$6 billion, for the war is now entering its third month.

Progressive Jews have rallied around the Palestinian struggle, as have freedom-loving people in Greece, Africa, and Asia.

The fathers of Israeli soldiers who have been killed have said the blood of their sons is on Sharon's hands. The commander of one of the tanks entering Sidon resigned, saying he could not justify the killing of women and children.

Among progressive American forces, there have been strong voices condemning the war and opposing the U.S. government's support to Begin. They recognize that the only solution is to help the Palestinian people gain their self-determination and an independent state in their homeland.

This is the core of the problem and this is why increasing international support, among the American people in particular, is so important. It can have a great impact on the U.S. government's policy.

The war in Vietnam came to an end when the American people stood up and made their voices heard. We hope the American people and the U.S. movement against war will continue to rally support for our cause.



"It is the responsibility of the international community to help release the thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese detainees."

South Africa continues raids against Angola

BY FRED MURPHY

The racist rulers of South Africa have again launched major military raids into southern Angola from Namibia.

The raids began on June 11, according to South African military officials. As of mid-August, the operations were continuing.

The full scope of this invasion has not been revealed in the U.S. news media. However, the August 16 issue of the London weekly *West Africa* reported that Angolan Foreign Minister Paulo Jorge had said in Tripoli earlier in the month "that the following armies and equipment were massed on the southern border [of Angola]: four brigades, one independent regiment, 34 battalions, 40 armoured cars, 200 artillery pieces and mortars, 60 fighter planes and 30 helicopters."

South African air raids on the towns of Cahama and Chibemba on July 21 killed 22 and injured 42 civilians and military personnel, Jorge said.

The current raids are the biggest since South Africa's August 1981 invasion of southern Angola with 10,000 troops. At that time, the racist forces laid waste to much of the area, burning and bombing towns and villages, destroying bridges, and slaughtering villagers. Some 700 Angolans were killed and at least 160,000 were forced to flee their homes.

The South African rulers claim these raids are aimed at the guerrilla fighters of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). SWAPO is fighting to free Namibia from illegal South African occupation.

The current raids come at a time when talks are again taking place at the United Nations to implement a solution to the Namibian conflict. Under a plan that both South Africa and SWAPO are on record as accepting, a UN-supervised cease-fire is to take effect, followed in seven months by elections in which the Namibian people are to choose a new independent government.

The South African rulers know, however, that SWAPO enjoys overwhelming support among the more than 1 million Black Africans who make up the vast bulk of Namibia's population. Thus the apartheid regime has continually scuttled attempts to resolve the conflict. It is now doing so again by invading Angola.

Besides wanting to maintain their control of Namibia's rich mineral deposits, the South African rulers fear the impact that a successful freedom struggle in Namibia could have on the Black majority inside South Africa itself. Also,

they want to continue using Namibia as a base against the Angolan government.

Ever since Angola won its independence from Portugal in 1975, both Washington and Pretoria have tried to impose a subservient, proimperialist regime there. These aims were thwarted soon after independence when the new Angolan government requested the aid of Cuban military forces to turn back a South African invasion. Cuban troops still remain in Angola to help protect the country from South Africa's attacks.

The South African regime and Washington are now trying to use the presence of Cuban forces in Angola as a pretext for blocking the settlement in Namibia. According to the July 15 *New York Times*, South African officials who met with Reagan's National Security Adviser William Clark and the State Department's top Africa aide Chester Crocker in June 1981 agreed to maintain their acceptance of the UN's Namibia plan only after the U.S. officials "undertook to guarantee that it would be accompanied by a Cuban withdrawal" from Angola.

"This was something the Americans initiated, wanted and pursued," a South African official told the *Times*.

The Angolan government recently reaffirmed a joint Cuban-Angolan statement of last February to the effect that the Cuban forces would be withdrawn only when it was clear there were no further military threats to Angola and when South African forces had been withdrawn from Namibia.

Speaking in Bayamo, Cuba, on July 26, Cuban leader Fidel Castro also reaffirmed this position. He warned the South Africans, "If they attack the republic of Angola on a large scale and arrive at our defense lines, we are going to fight very seriously with all our means and energy against the racist, fascist South African mercenaries. We already fought those racists and fascists once, and they well know the tenacity, courage, and dedication of our fighters. It would be better for the imperialists to abandon their threats, because they are not going to intimidate us in that way."

NEW YORK

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The freedom struggle in South Africa



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

African National Congress leader David Ndaba addressing August 6 rally.

The following are major excerpts from a speech by David Ndaba, a representative of the African National Congress's (ANC) mission to the United Nations. The ANC is the liberation movement in South Africa. The speech was delivered at an international solidarity rally held at Oberlin College in Ohio August 6. It was part of a national educational conference sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

On behalf of the oppressed and struggling working people of South Africa and their liberation movement, the African National Congress, I would like to express our sincere gratitude and appreciation to the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance for this opportunity to share with you once more our views on the international struggle against imperialism.

I bring you greetings from young men and women who are today crossing the rivers, the valleys, the mountains of South Africa and Namibia, fighting with guns in hand for the liberation of their motherland.

We are meeting today at a time when the liberation struggle in southern Africa has reached a very difficult stage. At a time when the people of Namibia are at the very threshold of power, they have been delayed by the maneuvers of the so-called western Contact Group led by the United States.*

We are also meeting at a time when the people inside South Africa have risen up. For many years now the apartheid regime has tried to repress each and every move by the resistance movement inside South Africa. For the past 20 years our liberation movement, the African National Congress, has been illegal in South Africa. It has been banned by the apartheid regime.

Despite all that amount of repression, despite all those instruments of repression — the army and the police, with their arsenal of weapons supplied by the Western countries — the people inside South Africa have declared in action that the ANC still lives.

Seventieth Anniversary

The movement that I represent, the African National Congress, was formed in 1912 and today we are celebrating our 70th anniversary. It is the oldest liberation movement on the African continent.

We tried to achieve our freedom through peaceful means of struggle, appealing to the British government in London, appealing to the white government in Pretoria, but to no avail. All those peaceful means of protests, dem-

onstrations, and strikes were met with force and yet more force.

At Sharpeville in 1960, 69 African people were brutally massacred for protesting against the apartheid laws. A state of emergency was declared in South Africa, the African National Congress was outlawed, and then hundreds of the ANC leadership were arrested.

But that never stopped the people from their forward march to freedom. A year later the African National Congress's military wing, called Umkhonto we Sizwe — the Spear of the Nation — was formed in order to pick up arms to fight for our freedom.

I know of no other organization in the world that for 50 years tried to achieve freedom through peaceful means. It was after all those peaceful means were met with force that we decided to pick up arms as well.

As our commander-in-chief, Nelson Mandela, who has been in jail for the past 20 years, said in 1961: "The people's patience is not endless, there comes a time in the life of any nation when there remains only two choices — to submit or fight. The time has now come for South Africa. We shall not submit. We have no choice but to hit back with everything at our disposal in defence of our freedom, our people, and our future." His words are still true today.

We in the ANC maintain that our land was seized by force and that the apartheid regime is the rule of the force of arms. This was witnessed in the Soweto uprising of 1976 when more than 1,000 children were brutally massacred for protesting against their inferior education and all the racist laws in South Africa.

Never the same after Soweto

When we left South Africa in 1976 we all said in one voice that after Bloody Wednesday, after June 16, 1976, South Africa will never be the same again. Indeed it hasn't been the same again.

Today, we are meeting at a time when those young men and women — survivors of Bloody Wednesday — are going back into South Africa, having received the necessary skills to face that regime

with arms. Since arms have been used to oppress us, we are convinced that there is no other way that you can establish in South Africa a just society under the white minority regime. A just society can only be established with the overthrow of the apartheid regime, and to this cause we will fight until the last.

Inside South Africa itself the African National Congress is politically mobilizing the people from all walks of life, but particularly the working people. We've called on the people to form their own organizations, their own unions, and their own committees. We've called on the women to organize themselves around each and every issue that affects their lives. We have emphasized that the workers, particularly the black working class inside South Africa, should take the leading role as the vanguard force in this liberation struggle.

I must say that we have not been disappointed by the response of the working people inside South Africa. Even the apartheid regime, the rulers themselves, have acknowledged that over the past 18 months there hasn't been any industry or any region in South Africa that has not been affected by massive strikes and boycotts.

In the meantime we are concentrating on increasing the capability and striking power of our guerrilla forces. ANC guerrillas have now spread throughout South Africa. The press itself reported that there have been a number of sabotage attempts carried out by the ANC guerrillas against electric power stations, oil and fuel plants, police stations, and even against the biggest military base in South Africa. The ANC guerrillas have used the biggest artillery weapon in their hands, the 122-millimeter rocket, to attack the military base inside Pretoria itself.

Apartheid regime finds friend

Only through the combination of political mass action by the workers and armed activities will we finally achieve our freedom.

The apartheid regime has never been as isolated as it is today. Internationally working people have all come out opposed to the apartheid regime.

This regime has never needed a friend and an ally as much as it does today. It has found that friend and ally in the United States administration.

The apartheid regime, whose hands are dripping with the blood of our people, a regime that is unleashing terror and violence all over southern Africa — in Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe — a regime that has murdered more than 25,000 people in the past 10 years, has now been embraced as a friend and ally of the United States by the Reagan administration.

This came as no surprise to us because the imperialist forces benefit from the apartheid system. The apartheid system insures that they have Black labor at their disposal. The multinational corporations in South Africa are not there despite the apartheid system, they are there, *because* of the apartheid system.

Today they are closing down steel

plants in Ohio, closing down auto plants in Detroit, closing down other industries. They are causing problems right here in the U.S. by denying the American workers their jobs, while in South Africa they are opening up new industrial plants, new auto industries, new steel plants. Now they are even importing coal into the U.S. because it is cheaper to import the coal from South Africa than to dig that coal inside the U.S. itself. This is why we say we are facing a common struggle and a common enemy.

We must fight on all fronts

The Reagan administration is supporting the reactionary regimes in Latin America and the apartheid regime in racist South Africa. It is carrying out an act of war in the Middle East. In other words, the Reagan administration is fighting us on all fronts and everywhere. Therefore we, the working people, must fight our enemies everywhere and on all fronts.

Our fight for freedom is not recognized by the imperialists. By fighting for freedom the imperialists say that you are merely creating conditions for "Soviet expansionism." When our freedom fighters have carried out successful actions they say that "a Russian-made bomb was used," that "Russian-made weapons were used."

We want to tell all those imperialist allies that we have no particular liking for Soviet weapons. But we *do* have a particular liking for weapons, because it has been weapons that have been used to oppress us.

We are neither pro-North, pro-South, pro-East, nor pro-West. We stand for African independence and self-determination. For that reason we are going to fight side by side with the working people in the U.S.

We are one with the people of Palestine under the leadership of the PLO. We say to you, the working people in the U.S., that unless you engage in each and every effort to stop the Zionist dictatorial regime from eliminating the Palestinian people and the people of Lebanon, it will encourage the racist regime in South Africa to embark on massive aggression against Angola, against Mozambique, against Zimbabwe, against independent states.

Solidarity with U.S. workers

I want to call upon you to embark on this act of solidarity. An act of solidarity which is not an act of charity, but an act of mutual aid between forces fighting for the same objective.

We salute the victorious people of Grenada, Nicaragua, Vietnam, and Iran because we recognize that each and every victory of the oppressed masses all over the world is not only a victory for those peoples, but it is also a victory of those who are still struggling for those same objectives. And for us all these victorious struggles, particularly in southern Africa — the victory of the people of Angola, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe — have further changed the balance of forces in favor of the liberation movements.

We greet the heroic people of El Salvador and their movement, the FDR-FMLN [Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front], assured of their inevitable victory over the imperialist-backed dictatorship.

Finally, we express our solidarity with the working people of the United States, right in the belly of the beast. We vow that we are all in the common struggle. In expressing our solidarity with your struggle for fundamental changes in this capitalist system, to be replaced by a more progressive system where the world exploitation of man by man is ended, we vow that we will never rest until the last vestiges of racism, colonialism, and imperialism have been completely wiped out from the African continent.



Ernest Harsch

South Africa White Rule/Black Revolt

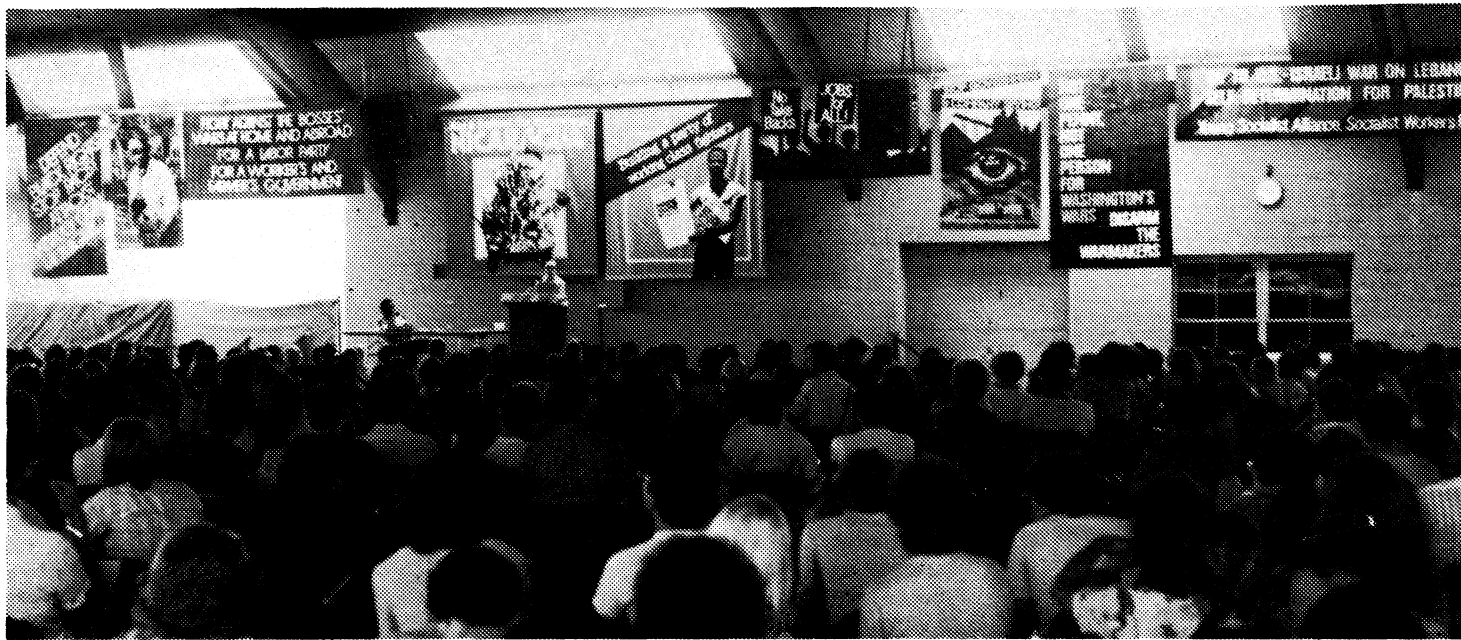
Ernest Harsch

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Socialist conference discusses labor's struggle against war and capitalist economic crisis



Conference heard major presentations by SWP leaders. Here Jack Barnes, SWP National Secretary, addresses gathering on capitalist crisis and state of U.S. working class.

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

OBERLIN, Ohio — Some 1,200 people met here July 31-August 5 for a socialist activists and educational conference. Participants came from cities and towns all over the United States, and there were more than 70 guests from other countries.

About half those attending were workers from major industries and unions where the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance — the organizers of the gathering — have many members: coal mining, steel, auto, rail, garment and textile, petrochemical, electrical, aerospace and machinists, transit, and teamsters.

Half of those attending were under 30, and nearly 100 had never attended this kind of conference before. Some 73 participants were Afro-Americans, and 66 were Latinos.

Answers to questions on the registration forms reflected the activist character of the conference. Those present included members of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the National Organization for Women, Casa Nicaragua, the Antonio Maceo Brigade, the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, local committees in solidarity with Palestine and Lebanon, as well as numerous labor unions.

A good number of Black conference participants left early to attend the NBIPP's second annual congress held in Raleigh, North Carolina, August 5-8. Other activists headed straight from the conference to attend a convention of the Ohio-based Farm Labor Organizing Committee.

Political activities

The week-long conference was packed with political activities. Seven major presentations were given to the conference by SWP and YSA leaders. These were: "Imperialist War and the Fight Against It," by YSA National Chairperson Malik Miah; "The Capitalist Crisis and the State of the U.S. Working Class," by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes; "American Farmers: Labor's Ally on the Land," by Doug Jenness, coeditor of the *Militant*; "Revolutionary Cuba Today," by Mary-Alice Waters, national cochairperson of the SWP; "The Marxist Approach to the Workers States," by Barry Sheppard, also a national cochairperson of the SWP; and

"Fall Perspectives and Tasks in Building the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance" by Mac Warren, coordinator of the YSA National Office.

All conference participants also attended a special presentation on financing the revolutionary movement. Two rallies were held during the conference.

The first rally was held in nearby Cleveland, Ohio, and featured Mel Mason, the socialist city council member from Seaside, California, who is running as an independent for governor of that state. American Indian Movement leader Vernon Bellecourt also addressed that rally. The Rev. Ben Chavis, former Wilmington Ten defendant and a leader of the National Black Independent Political Party, was scheduled to speak but at the last minute was unable to attend. A special videotaped message to the meeting from Chavis was presented.

The second rally, held the last night of the conference at Oberlin, was organized around the theme of international opposition to imperialist war and oppression.

In addition, there were meetings of activists who work in major industries; panels and workshops; and some 100 classes. These covered three broad areas: Marx, Engels and revolutionary politics; the class struggle in the United States; and international revolutionary developments. There was also a series of introductory classes for people new to the socialist movement.

Among the most-attended classes was a five-part series on the workers and farmers government presented by Steve Clark, a member of the SWP Political Bureau. The classes were based on a report adopted last spring by the party's National Committee analyzing the importance of workers and farmers governments as the first form of government that is likely to arise following a successful anticapitalist revolution.

Classes in Spanish

For the first time since the SWP and YSA began organizing these conferences in 1970, several of the main class series were presented both in English and Spanish, including a five-part series on the *Communist Manifesto*, a three-class series on Marx and Engels on the peasantry, and a two-class series on Marxism and the class struggle in the revolutions in Europe in 1848.

In addition, all the major presentations and rallies, as well as many classes, were translated simultaneously into

Spanish and French, as has been done in the past.

The presentation of several major class series in Spanish reflects the SWP and YSA's success in attracting to its ranks young fighters who are recent immigrants from Latin America. It is also a measure of the progress these organizations have made in becoming a bilingual movement, which is necessary given the changing composition of the U.S. working class.

Some 211 conference participants indicated on the registration forms that they speak Spanish — though not all fluently — and 230 said they are studying the language. Seven Spanish-speaking activists said they were studying English.

Following the conference, the National Committee of the SWP held a three-day plenary meeting. Among the principal points on the agenda were a political report and discussion assessing the conference and a report and discussion on how the party's deepening roots in the working class have confirmed and strengthened the SWP's internal norms of democratic and disciplined functioning.

The fight against war

The conference was kicked off by Malik Miah's presentation on the fight against imperialist militarism and war.

Miah spent much of his report explaining the stakes and forces involved in the confrontation in Central America and the Caribbean — the attacks against the Sandinista revolution in Nicaragua by CIA-backed counter-revolutionaries operating from the Honduran border and within Nicaragua itself; the civil wars against U.S.-sponsored dictatorships being waged by the peoples of El Salvador and Guatemala; and the U.S. military threats and economic pressures against the Cuban and Grenadian revolutions.

Miah stressed that "the communist approach, the working-class approach today in the fight against imperialist war and militarism begins with one simple fact: *imperialist wars have begun.*"

"To be effective, any movement for peace, any movement for freedom that arises today has to speak out against these wars in which our country is involved."

Miah said the conflicts in Central America are central to world politics today. What is involved, he explained, is the extension of the socialist revolution.

The U.S. capitalists will do everything

in their power to prevent the extension of the socialist revolution, he said, as they have shown with their wars against Korea and Vietnam and their unabated 23-year campaign to overthrow the Cuban revolution.

The imperialists must try to stop the extension of the socialist revolution because it directly attacks their most vital interests: their markets, their properties and their profits. Furthermore, the consolidation of the socialist revolution in Nicaragua, or the victory of the insurgents in El Salvador, would further tilt the relationship of forces on a world scale against imperialism.

It would inspire hundreds of millions of toilers in Latin America and throughout the world to redouble their struggles against the oppressors and exploiters, and would show the peoples of the colonial and semicolonial world that revolutionary struggle and socialism is the answer to imperialist oppression and capitalist exploitation.

Reagan is intervening

Miah stressed that "Reagan is not just *threatening* to intervene in Central America. He *is* intervening, and he's going in deeper and deeper each day."

But this ever-growing direct U.S. participation is being hidden from the American people, Miah said, citing as an example the recent sharp escalation of attacks against Nicaragua, which has been covered up by the daily press.

"Defense of the Nicaraguan revolution is a central task for Marxists here in the United States and around the world," he said. "This is especially important in the context of the other wars in Central America as well as the stepped-up pressures against revolutionary Cuba and Grenada."

Antinuclear protests

Miah explained that the growing opposition to nuclear power and weapons and the mounting sentiment for nuclear disarmament strengthens the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America and elsewhere. He hailed the June 12 disarmament rally, calling it "the largest protest demonstration ever held in the history of the United States." It sent a clear message to Washington that the American people don't want to be dragged into new wars.

Class-conscious workers should continue to participate in antinuclear protests and explain that the threat of nuclear annihilation comes from imperialism, and above all from U.S. imperialism, Miah said.

"The fight against nuclear war can't be separated from the so-called conventional wars being waged by the United States," he explained, "because it is precisely out of such wars that a nuclear holocaust could develop."

Barbaric Israeli invasion

Miah also discussed the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, denouncing it as barbaric. The U.S. government bears full responsibility for this invasion, he said, since it gives massive amounts of military aid to the Israeli aggressors. "The cluster bombs that are killing Palestinian and Lebanese children all bear the legend, 'Made in USA,'" he said.

Miah singled out the fighting capacity and heroism of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). "They have fought better than any Arab government in a war against Israel. The PLO's political standing among the world's population has risen considerably since the war began, and the Israeli government's has



Israel's barbaric invasion of Lebanon. Talk by Malik Miah pointed out Israel's massive war machine bears legend "Made in USA."

dropped. Israel remains politically isolated on a world scale and Begin has not achieved his main objective, which was to destroy the PLO, not only militarily, but above all as a political factor."

"Yassir Arafat, chairman of the PLO, is displaying capacities that any working-class fighter must recognize and identify with," Miah continued. "He is calm in leading his troops against a superior force, and does it with honor. He is also placing the PLO in the strongest political position for the next phase of the struggle."

Miah also singled out the emergence of an antiwar movement within the state of Israel. "That is an unprecedented development," Miah said. "It is so significant that the PLO leadership has gone out of its way to appeal to this movement for peace."

"Just think of it — tens of thousands of Israelis marching in the city of Tel Aviv against the war and the big lies of the government, led by soldiers just returning from Lebanon."

"Not only in Israel, but worldwide and especially inside the United States, growing numbers of workers see that Israel's policy is one of annexation of more and more Arab land, under the guise of establishing what the Zionists call genuinely secure borders."

"The Zionists know, the imperialists know, just as well as we do, that there is no such thing as secure borders when you are sitting on someone else's land."

Internationalism

Internationalism ran like a thread throughout the entire conference.

One of the highpoints of the weeklong gathering was the international rally held the last night.

Speakers included representatives of the New Jewel Movement of Grenada, Casa Nicaragua, the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, the African National Congress of South Africa, and the U.S. Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea and Laos. The Washington-based Palestine Information Office also sent greetings.

Every single speaker — from Nicaragua to South Africa — not only appealed for support to their own struggle, but called for solidarity with all those fighting imperialism, and especially with the Palestinian people. Every one of these appeals was met with cheering, applause, and shouts of "PLO, PLO, PLO!"

In addition, representatives of the Grenadian New Jewel Movement and of the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in the United States gave special presentations to the entire conference. They described the achievements of the revolutions in their homelands and the constant threats and attacks they face from Washington.

Numerous classes were given on the histories and struggles of other peoples. These included classes on southern Africa, Argentina, Iran, Palestine, Poland, Nicaragua, Cuba, Haiti, Brazil, Puerto Rico, Mexico and the struggle of the oppressed Maori people of New Zealand.

There were also extensive discussions of antiwar and solidarity work in a separate workshop on this topic and at meet-

ings of activists working in industry.

From these discussions, it became clear that socialists are involved in countless such activities, everything from marches for nuclear disarmament to Nicaraguan flood relief to antidraft and antiregistration protests.

Marx and Engels on war

The overall political approach that guides socialist workers in these antiwar activities was also taken up in Miah's presentation. He outlined the traditional attitude of the communist movement towards war, beginning with the teachings of the founders of scientific socialism, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels.

"They explained repeatedly," Miah said, "that the war of the slaves against their enslavers is the only justifiable war in history: slaves against patricians in ancient Rome; peasants and serfs against the feudal landholders during the middle ages; the exploited majority classes and the oppressed nations against exploitation and oppression today."

"Most importantly," he added, "Marx and Engels explained that only by fighting uncompromisingly for the victory of the enslaved, for the expropriation of the exploiters, can reactionary wars be held off or defeated and the threat of war ultimately eliminated by humanity."

Miah explained that the SWP and YSA also based themselves on the teachings of Lenin. In fighting against World War I — a war between various imperialist robbers over the division of their booty — Lenin contrasted the opposition of genuine Marxists to that war to that of bourgeois pacifists and middle-class radicals.

Lenin explained that class-conscious workers do not limit themselves to condemning wars between nations as brutal and barbaric, as the bourgeois pacifists do. We differ from them, Lenin explained, in that we understand the inevitable connection between wars and the class struggles within a country.

Wars cannot be abolished unless classes are abolished, and this can only be done through socialist revolution. History shows that this will entail

bloody civil wars because the capitalists will fight against the immense majority of society to maintain their privileges and property.

Lenin always explained that it was necessary to study each war concretely. "Our principle is that we stand with the oppressed against the oppressor in every war," Miah said.

As an example, Miah cited the Iran-Iraq war, a conflict that has caused a great deal of confusion among many radical groups. "Although at first it may appear that this is simply a war between two semicolonial capitalist countries, much more is involved."

"In fact," Miah continued, "Iran is a country in the midst of a great people's revolution which is being opposed and subverted by imperialism. By invading Iran in 1980, because it feared the spread of revolution, the Iraqi government served the interests of imperialism. Marxists applying Lenin's method support Iran in this war."

Miah said the working-class program for the struggle against war and militarism is simple: "Unilateral nuclear disarmament of the imperialists; dismantling of all overseas U.S. military bases; elimination of the U.S. war budget and utilization of those funds to meet human needs at home and abroad; full political rights for soldiers; replacement of the standing imperialist army with a popular militia."

"In a phrase, not one penny, not one person for Washington's war machine."

The task of revolutionary socialists in the struggle against war, Miah explained, is to advance the working class in incorporating this program into its defense of its own class interests.

The fight against imperialist militarism and war forms an integral part of the broader program that workers and farmers will need in the fight to establish their own government and carry out the socialist transformation of society. Socialism, by eliminating the class antagonisms that lead to military conflicts, will guarantee an end to all wars.

At the heart of the week-long conference were the fraction meetings — meetings of activists who work in a given industry — and the workshops and classes

geared to discussing through the political work that SWP and YSA members carry out with their co-workers.

SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes presented an assessment of these meetings in his political report to the post-conference National Committee plenary meeting.

Barnes stressed the importance of the SWP and YSA becoming firmly rooted in the industrial working class before the decisive battles against the capitalists begin.

He explained that the current period is a preparatory one that will lead to immense confrontations between the employers and the workers in coming years. In this sense, it is analogous neither to the period of social protest movements of the 1960s nor to the post-World War II strike wave. It is most analogous to the years immediately preceding 1934, which set the stage for the all-out war to organize decisive sectors of the American working class into industrial unions.

"The preparatory period is precious to us," Barnes said. "It means we can be there beforehand, go through the transformation of the American working class and transform our party in this process."

Barnes explained that this isn't simply a question of where individual socialists work, but of the party as a whole going through the evolving discussions and debates, as well as the skirmishes and battles that are already being fought.

This is impossible unless the big majority of SWP and YSA members are industrial workers and carry out their political work in the plants as part of fractions.

Three key categories

He said that among the socialists' activities in the labor movement today, three broad categories could be singled out:

- Explaining concretely that at the root of the problems working people face is the capitalist system.

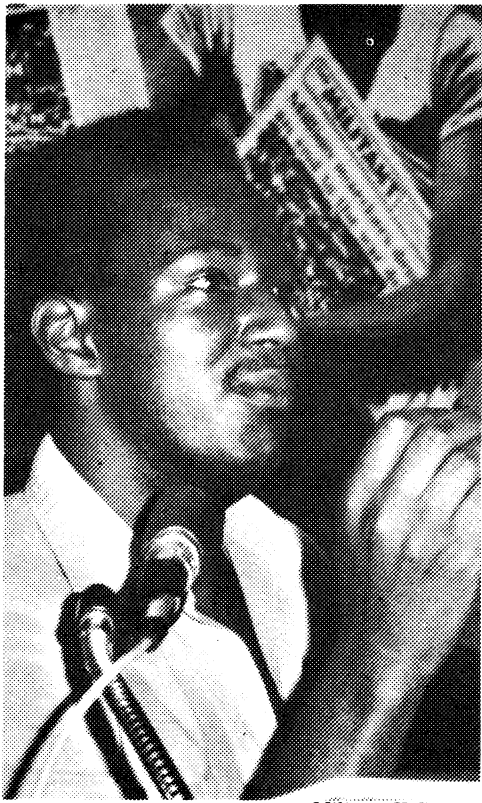
- Popularizing a program of demands to defend working people against the employers' offensive. Such demands, taken as a whole, point the road toward the formation of a labor party based on a militant and democratic union movement which will carry out the fight for a workers and farmers government.

- Participating in and helping to draw the lessons from the many class skirmishes and battles that are already breaking out.

Continued on next page



Cops outside struck Iowa Beef Processors in Dakota City, Nebraska. Jack Barnes said "meat packers strike is an example of the undisguised class battles that are increasingly becoming common."



Militant/K.C. Ellis



Militant/Salm Kolis



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

Talks were given on tasks and perspectives by Mac Warren (left); on Cuba, by Mary-Alice Waters; and on fight against imperialist war, by Malik Miah.

Continued from previous page

Barnes explained that battles such as the strikes of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) against the government, and of the United Food and Commercial Workers against Iowa Beef Processors in Dakota City, Nebraska, are of great importance. They are open and direct forms of class struggle, and as such, play a vital role in the workers gaining experience in class combat and becoming conscious of their position in society and interests as a class.

"It's wrong to think that a working-class leadership tested in battle can be formed, or that a radicalization of the workers can take place, without such struggles, without defeats, without strikes that are partial victories, without a vanguard learning how to lead retreats as well as advances. That is literally impossible.

"Even when these fights end in defeats," Barnes said, "the lessons we and other working-class fighters draw from them are invaluable in learning how to organize to win victories. There are some victories, there are some defeats.

"Even in the case of PATCO, the employers paid a price, a hell of a price, to do what they did to PATCO."

Socialists in industry

For this reason, there is no substitute for revolutionary Marxists going through these kinds of experiences as part of the industrial working class.

The SWP and YSA began concentrating their members in large industries several years ago. Today, about half of the party members hold industrial jobs and some 76 percent are either in industry, temporarily laid off from industrial jobs, or have left such jobs for a brief period to work full-time for the party.

The meetings of workers in various industries revealed that, despite the sharp economic downturn, the percentage of party members with jobs in industry has not declined significantly.

Many party members in industries like auto, steel, or rail have been laid off. But the number hired in other sectors of the economy, such as petrochemical, garment, and electrical, has compensated for these layoffs.

Even in some of the hardest-hit industries, such as auto, the anarchistic nature of capitalist production — which is guided exclusively by the search for higher profits — has meant that occasionally a plant or shift is reopened even as other factories or shifts in different cities and parts of the country are laying off workers or shutting down altogether.

Speaking of this experience, Barnes said: "The most important test for us was a very simple one. We went through a bad year of depression, with massive layoffs and massive pressures, yet there's no fundamental change in the party. Some fractions have been weakened, some people have changed jobs, but the party as a whole hasn't been changed.

"We haven't fled from the industrial

working class as a result of these pressures. We're in. We're in to stay. We're part of what's going on."

"We're more and more not going through an experiment, but going through these experiences as part of the working class."

Industrial concentration

In his report to the plenum, Barnes went over the key factors that led the SWP to decide at the beginning of 1978 to concentrate the big majority of its members in basic industry.

"The background to this," Barnes said, "is the decisive social weight and political role of the strongest contingents of the labor movement, the largest unions in industry and manufacturing."

He explained that these were also key elements in the party's decision at its national convention a year ago to build a national fraction in the garment and textile industries in addition to the other industrial priorities established several years ago.

"It's there that we begin," Barnes explained, "with the economic weight of those two industries and the size and importance of these unions. But that's not the ending point. The composition of the workforce — overwhelmingly immigrant workers and oppressed nationalities, and largely female — and the character of the struggle that will be necessary to transform the unions were additional weighty political considerations.

"The discussions here have made clear that our members in garment and textile are also the nucleus of an industrial fraction, built through unions, in an industry, and oriented toward building a national industrial fraction," Barnes said. "It's extremely important that we have that as our starting point."

Barnes stressed the importance of SWP branches having functioning jobs committees to help laid-off members as well as those looking for industrial jobs for the first time. Given the nature of the capitalist crisis, he reported, SWP branches have found that they need these job committees as permanent institutions.

"We are absorbing the fact that this is the way it is going to be. We're not going through a temporary difficult period. This is the way it is going to be."

"The real conquest of the fractions above all," Barnes said, "is that we are part of the industrial working class now. Our political problems are the problems of the vanguard of our class. We have no individual, special problems as the SWP. From firings to winning new people to socialist ideas, from good experiences to defeats, everything we go through is what the vanguard of our class is going through.

"And it is from that vantage point that we participate in the fights against U.S. intervention, nuclear power and weapons, racism and attacks on women's rights."

Barnes elaborated on these themes in his presentation on "The Capitalist

Crisis and the State of the U.S. Working Class," given to the conference a few days before.

Class struggle

He began his talk by reading the sentence that stands at the head of the first full chapter of the *Communist Manifesto*: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles."

"There are times when this seems like an extreme statement," Barnes commented, "or hardly an accurate one-sentence generalization. But as the years go on in the 1980s, that sentence sounds more and more not only like it could be an accurate summary of history. More and more, we can see we're living in that history right now."

Barnes pointed to the Dakota City, Nebraska, meat packers strike as an example of the undisguised class battles that are increasingly becoming common. Cops, national guardsmen and scabs have viciously attacked the picket line in an attempt to crush the strike. He cited the point of view of Currier J. Holman, founder of the company, who said: "Business, as we pursue it here at IBP (Iowa Beef Processors) is very much like waging war."

"That," Barnes noted, "is at least an honest, straightforward and accurate description of business and business-labor relations."

Barnes pointed to numerous aspects of the ruling-class offensive against the democratic rights and standard of living of working people: attacks on busing for school desegregation, the mounting death row population, attempts to roll back abortion rights, and raids by immigration cops in factories where Latinos work and neighborhoods where they live.

"These struggles," Barnes said, "aren't reducible to the struggle between labor and capital in its purest form — in the plant, in the mine, in the union negotiating committee. But all these are expressions of the fact that the history of our society, which we are living through, is the history of class struggle.

"Grasping that, understanding that it's not just a phrase, not just a way of being for our side, not just a way of pointing to a period of extreme problems, but the most fundamental single fact of our lives — that is the only way to find solutions to what we face."

Barnes said that Reaganomics, monetarism, supply-side economics, or Keynesianism, are neither the cause of the problem facing workers nor its solution. "The problem is capitalism. The political problem for those of us who are part of the oppressed and exploited is how to understand this, how to break out of the myths that surround and hide this fact.

"The solutions put forth by the rulers are lies," he continued. "They're not even wrong theories, they're simply rationalizations for whatever policies

they need to apply at a given time to advance their interests."

Decline in profit rates

He added that the reason capitalists aren't investing in new plants, and are shutting down many of those that exist, is because they aren't getting enough return on their invested money. For decades, despite the massive profits the employers have reaped from the unpaid labor of workers, the rate of profit has tended to decline in industry after industry.

The forces that drove the post-World War II boom of the world capitalist economy have largely become exhausted. Without expanding markets, numerous capitalists have learned, investing in new plants and equipment is not good business, and can sometimes be suicidal.

Barnes pointed to the example of McLouth Steel, which installed the most advanced steelmaking equipment to a much greater degree than its competitors. The result was that McLouth went bankrupt.

He contrasted this to U.S. Steel, which decided to invest billions of dollars in Marathon Oil stock instead of buying new steelmaking equipment. "It may not seem like a rational decision from the point of view of the majority of humanity, but it is a rational decision for U.S. Steel as capitalists," Barnes said.

"It is much more effective for socialists to explain the capitalist rationality of that decision than to simply denounce the evil character of the employer that would do that."

This is why the concession-bargaining strategy adopted by the U.S. labor officialdom at the behest of management is a trap, Barnes said. Concessions will lead to higher profits — but not to new investment to create and preserve jobs. This is because even substantial concessions can't bring a reversal of the long-term downward slide of the rate of profit.

The idea that workers can buy out individual bankrupt factories or companies from the employers and run them more efficiently under capitalism is equally false. Under the lash of competition, the managers hired by the workers would be forced to make the same kinds of decisions as those hired by the capitalists, and for the same reasons.

Program to defend workers

Instead of relying on a strategy of concession bargaining, or on the idea that the workers can simply buy out the capitalist class, revolutionary socialists put forward a program of struggle to defend working people against the capitalist economic crisis and to strengthen their unions and other fight-



Militant/Salm Kolis

Conference-goers heard jazz concert by Thiago de Mello and his band 'Amazon.'

ing organizations of the oppressed and exploited.

Among the measures socialists advocate, Barnes said, is a reduction of the workweek with no cut in pay to combat unemployment. To protect working people from inflation, all wages, pensions and unemployment benefits should be automatically adjusted to compensate for increases in the cost of living. Socialists also call for a massive program of public works to build schools, hospitals, mass transit systems, decent housing, and other badly needed facilities and to put millions of people back to work.

The purpose of these demands, Barnes explained, is not to draw a picture of what a socialist America would look like. They are aimed at charting a course of mobilizing the working class and other oppressed and exploited layers in struggle against the employers, instead of continuing to rely on the bankrupt course of class collaboration.

Barnes pointed out that the blows being suffered by the working people tend to drive them closer together. Nevertheless, these blows don't come down equally, due to national and sex oppression, which are an inextricable part of U.S. capitalism.

The lower wages and higher unemployment of Black, Latino and women workers are then used as a club by the employers to further depress the standard of living of all workers.

That is why fighting for affirmative action — preferential training and hiring, and adjustment in seniority lists — for women and members of oppressed nationalities is an essential part of the program needed to draw together all working people in a united struggle against the employers.

Two roads for Black struggle

The two roads forward for Black people and the working class as a whole were symbolized by two conventions, Barnes said. One was held a few days before his presentation; the other was scheduled to be held a few days after.

The first was in Gary, Indiana. This was a conference of procapitalist Black leaders called together by Mayor Richard Hatcher. There, Andrew Young and other Black leaders tied to the two-party system projected Black capitalism as the road forward for Black liberation. They said Blacks could use their economic power to carve out a niche in the business community.

The second convention was the congress of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), held the weekend following Barnes's talk.

Discussions at that conference, Barnes said, would focus around the NBIPP's charter, which projects a course of building a Black party independent of the two-party system through anti-imperialist and anticapitalist struggles.

"It's those two roads symbolized by those two conferences that captures the debate on which way forward for the Black movement," Barnes said.

Women's rights

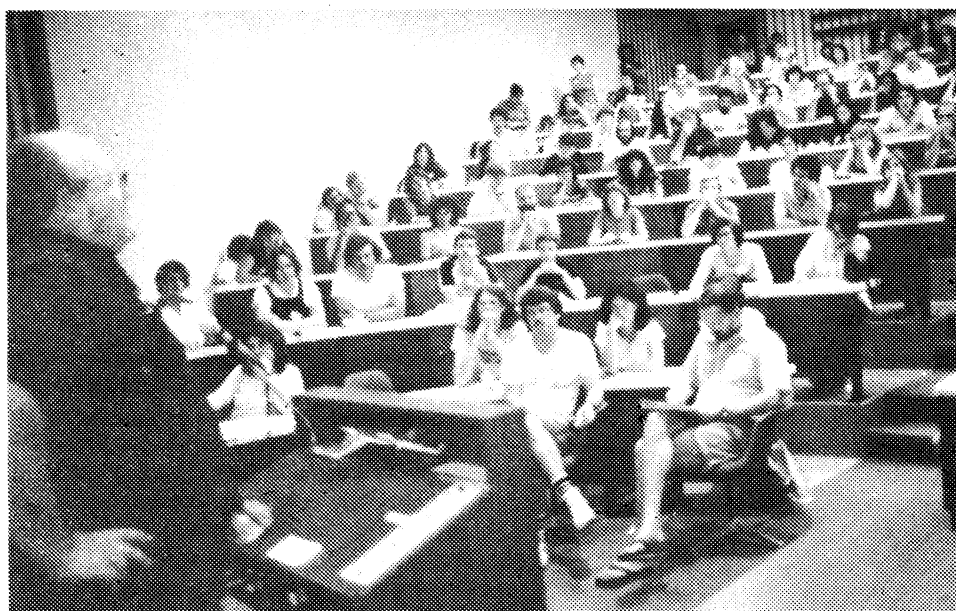
The need for a class-struggle approach is also at the heart of the women's rights fight today.

A workshop at the conference took up struggles for equal rights by women in industry and in society as a whole. It was led by Margaret Jayko, a member of the YSA National Executive Committee and coordinator of the SWP's participation in women's liberation activities.

Women coal miners, oil workers, garment workers, steel workers and others described ongoing skirmishes on the job over sexual harassment, affirmative action, and other issues.

They reported a growing openness to socialist ideas among women co-workers, and projected stepping up efforts to circulate the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* and to win more working women to the SWP and YSA.

The discussion indicated that being in industry has strengthened the party's ability to effectively participate in all arenas of the women's liberation struggle — from battles on the job and in the



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

SWP leader Fred Halstead gave class on fight against war and nuclear weapons.

unions, to groups like the National Organization for Women and the Coalition of Labor Union Women, to the various protest actions against attacks on legal abortion and other women's rights.

Worker-farmer alliance

In his presentation on "American Farmers: Labor's Ally on the Land," *Militant* coeditor Doug Jenness explained another aspect of working-class strategy in the United States.

Like wage workers, working farmers are also an exploited class, and they are exploited by the same bankers and big businessmen that rob the workers. In addition, production of food and fibers is one of America's biggest industries.

Workers should support farmer's struggles to develop solidarity between the two classes that produce all the wealth of the country. These struggles are being organized around demands aimed at protecting the standard of living of farmers and against foreclosures and forced sales of their land.

He particularly singled out the struggle being waged by Missouri farmer Wayne Cryts and his family against the right of grain elevator companies to use the crops farmers have stored with them to cover their debts when they declare bankruptcy.

Class-conscious workers should explain to farmers that the cause of the farmer's problems is the same as that of the workers — capitalism. Jenness said the labor movement should put forward a program addressing the problems of farmers and charting a course towards replacing the capitalist government with a workers and farmers government.

Cuba's role

Because of the central role it plays in world politics and in the development of a Marxist vanguard on an international scale, a separate talk on "Revolutionary Cuba Today" was given to the conference by Mary-Alice Waters.

Waters explained that Cuba follows a working-class internationalist foreign policy designed to advance the anti-imperialist struggle and the world socialist revolution.

The Cuban leaders, she said, have played a vanguard role within the Movement of Non-Aligned Nations and other international forums, mobilizing world public opinion against imperialist attacks such as the British colonial aggression against Argentina and the Israeli government's invasion of Lebanon.

The Cuban people have also provided aid — especially substantial considering Cuba's modest resources — to countries fighting imperialist domination. Their aid includes everything from doctors, teachers and construction workers to military assistance in repelling armed aggression.

The Cuban Communist Party's revolutionary course is also manifested in the domestic policies it follows within Cuba, Waters said. The Cuban leaders have waged a consistent struggle to mobilize the working class against tendencies towards bureaucratism, and have consciously promoted and led an

increasing participation by the Cuban masses in governing society.

Defense of workers states

Related themes were taken up by Barry Sheppard in his talk on "The Marxist Approach to the Workers States."

The Soviet Union, China, Cuba and other states where capitalism has been overthrown, Sheppard said, represent fundamental conquests of the world working class. Therefore, these countries must be defended against all imperialist attacks.

He pointed to the achievements in culture, science, and technology made possible by the elimination of capitalism and the institution of a planned economy based on state property.

He also noted that the existence of workers states, and the creation of new workers states over time, has helped shift the relationship of class forces on a world scale to the benefit of the toilers.

For example, the victory of the Soviet people against German imperialism in World War II set the stage for the carrying through of the socialist revolution in several other nations — including China, the world's biggest country — and for successful independence struggles throughout most of the colonial world.

Nevertheless, Sheppard said, most of the workers states are bureaucratically deformed. Government decisions are not made in the interests of the toilers and with their participation; instead, they are geared to defending the material privileges of the governing bureaucracy.

Sheppard said that the bureaucratized workers states are analogous to bureaucratized trade unions. In both cases, their capacity and power to fight the enemies of the working class is hampered by misleadership.

But both unions and workers states remain fundamental conquests of the working class, despite misleadership.

Class-conscious workers, Sheppard said, should support the struggle for workers democracy in the bureauc-

ratized workers states, such as that being waged by the Solidarity labor union in Poland. The SWP and YSA view these struggles as steps towards a political revolution by the toilers to replace the bureaucratic misleaders while maintaining and strengthening the planned economy based on state property.

Fall tasks and perspectives

Fall perspectives for building the socialist movement were outlined in a presentation by Mac Warren on behalf of the SWP Political Bureau.

Warren began his report by noting that, from discussions at the meetings of industrial workers and at workshops, "it was universally agreed that there is a significant and important increase in receptivity to our ideas on the job."

Together with the good response received by salespeople for the socialist press, and by petitioners engaged in ballot drives to put SWP candidates on the ballot, the response in the workplaces confirms that, under the blows of the deepening crisis of capitalism, more and more working people are beginning to consider a revolutionary alternative to this outmoded social system.

Warren explained that the number one priority for the SWP and YSA this fall would be reaching out to the growing numbers of people who are willing to consider socialist ideas through the 1982 Socialist Workers Party campaigns.

"The number one antiwar, antiracist, antisexist, anticapitalist activity we will be carrying out," Warren said, "will be the socialist election campaigns."

He explained that the SWP is fielding candidates in 27 states and Washington, D.C. In 22 states and the District of Columbia, the party has launched drives to place candidates on the ballot, since being on the ballot greatly increases the impact of the campaigns.

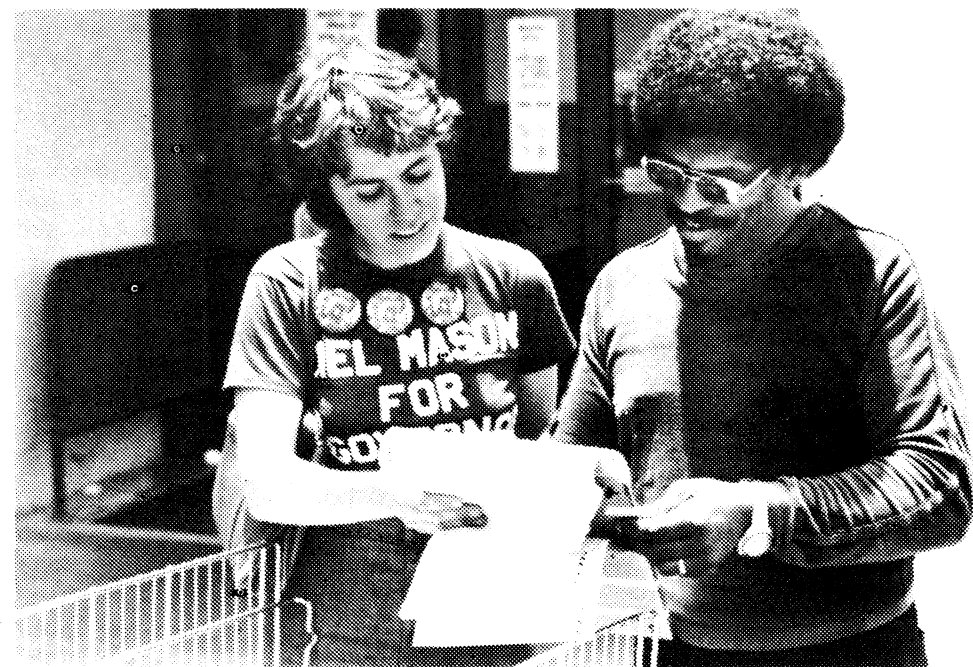
To place socialist candidates on the ballot, more than half a million signatures on nominating petitions are required. Warren explained that as of the time of the conference, some 430,000 had already been collected, leaving about 100,000 to go. By far the biggest effort was in California, where SWP members and other supporters of the independent campaign of Mel Mason for governor collected more than 210,000 signatures on nominating petitions, nearly double the official requirement. Mason is a member of the Seaside City Council and of the SWP National Committee.

In addition to supporting Mason, the California SWP is also backing Henry Fryson, a Black community leader running for Seaside City Council against the candidates of the Democratic and Republican parties. The party is also fielding a slate of SWP congressional candidates in the November elections.

Gains of petition drives

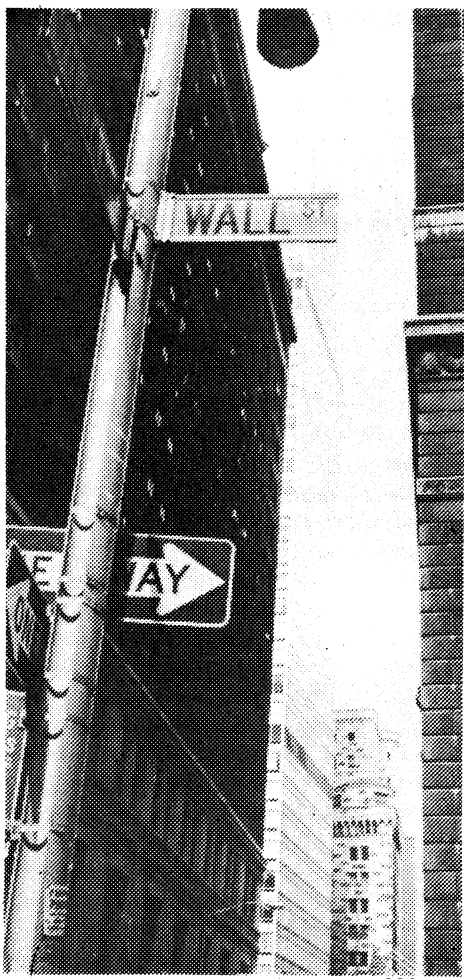
"Just think about what we were able to do over the course of the petitioning campaigns," Warren said. "We talked to hundreds of thousands of people all over

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Militant/Dick Roberts

Petitioning to place gubernatorial candidate Mel Mason on California ballot. Socialist election campaigns will be at center of fall activity for SWP and YSA.



Militant

Wall Street has been shaken by a wave of bankruptcies and financial shocks such as the crisis of the Mexican peso.

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

During the first week of August John H. Perkins and Donald C. Miller, president and vice-chairman respectively of Continental Illinois National Bank & Trust Co., met with officials of top Wall Street firms at the exclusive Four Seasons restaurant in New York City. Though these men are little known to the general public, their decisions will help determine the fate of thousands of businesses and millions of jobs.

The subject of the conversation at the Four Seasons was the spreading repercussions of the failure of the Oklahoma City-based Penn Square Bank on July 5.

Penn Square is by no means the only bank to fail recently. For some time, a wave of failures and forced mergers has been sweeping the savings and loan network. Recently a growing number of small commercial banks have either failed or been forcibly merged. Twenty-four federally insured banks have failed during the first seven months of this year.

Most of these failures represent the collapse of small capitalists who have fallen victim to the three-year-long recession. However Penn Square is different. While itself a relatively small bank, it has connections that lead to the very summit of U.S. and world banking.

Oilmen on slippery slope

In 1974, a clique of oilmen led by William Jennings and Carl Swan bought control of the then-tiny Penn Square Bank. Between 1974 and 1981, deposits at Penn Square rose from \$29 million to \$470 million. Jennings, Swan and other bank directors used the money that was entrusted to them by Penn Square depositors to finance their various business enterprises.

For example, Penn Square loaned Swan and various businesses that Swan had interests in some \$200 million. One of these businesses is now in bankruptcy. That is, it is refusing to return the money that it had "borrowed" from Penn Square. Other Swan companies have paid virtually no money on Penn Square loans since the beginning of the year, though so far they have not resorted to the legal niceties of bankruptcy proceedings.

Jennings, the chairman of Penn Square, received some \$18 million in loans from Penn Square and associated banks. Like Swan, one of Jennings' companies is in bankruptcy and others are paying little or no principal or interest.

Things went sour for Jennings, Swan, and company when the long recession cut into the demand for gas and oil. In

Penn Square bank failure: why Wall Street is worried

1974, when Jennings and Swan took control of Penn Square, it seemed to some as though the supply of oil and gas would never catch up with demand. Superprofits seemed assured.

But once again the familiar capitalist phenomenon of overproduction caught up with the oil and gas market. A huge oil glut developed as more oil and gas was produced than could be sold in a recession-stricken economy. Prices of oil and gas slumped. Suddenly the "sun belt" was hit by recession. The borrowed money that Jennings and Swan so liberally invested in their oil and gas ventures proved hard to recover.

Link to big banks

In and of itself, the collapse of such middle-size capitalists as Jennings and Swan would not set off tremors throughout the banking world. The problem was that Jennings and Swan had unloaded many of their loans on much larger banks, including some of the biggest in the country.

What Penn Square did was "sell" its loans to other banks, which would pay cash for an IOU, planning to make their profit by collecting the outstanding loan. Penn Square, meanwhile, would then loan the proceeds of these sales once again — perhaps to companies controlled by Jennings, Swan, or other Penn Square directors.

The operation would be repeated again and again. It is estimated that through these methods the Penn Square directors got their hands on more than \$2 billion. This does not count the generous fees they collected for their "services."

Now, with many of the loans that Penn Square sold uncollectable, the banks that bought the loans are stuck with the losses.

Among the banks that Penn Square sold loans to are Continental Illinois Bank, based in Chicago, and New York's Chase Manhattan Bank. Continental is the sixth-largest bank in the United States, while Chase, closely associated with the vast Rockefeller financial empire, is one of the most important banks in the world.

The purchase of dubious loans from Penn Square is not Continental's only problem, however. The giant Chicago-based bank has loaned millions to such bankrupt companies as Nucorp Energy, Alfa of Mexico, Braniff, and AM Inter-

national. The Penn Square scandal threatens to be the straw that breaks the camel's back for Continental.

It has been disclosed that James Harper, an executive vice-president of Continental, sold all his 68,938 shares in the bank April 22. And Harper is not the only one who has a lack of faith in Continental's future. The bank and its senior officers are the subject of a class-action suit by some Continental stockholders charging them with fraud.

Clouds over Chase

While Chase Manhattan is a much sounder bank than Continental (it has the Rockefeller fortune to back it up, after all), it has shown a knack of late for being involved in practically every major financial fiasco. Besides its purchases of Penn Square loans, Chase recently lost tens of millions in the failure of Drysdale Government Securities and Lombard-Wall, two Wall Street government security firms.

The August 17 edition of the *Wall Street Journal* reports that capitalist investors are becoming uneasy about lending money to Chase. And when the money men are uneasy about Chase, they are uneasy about a lot of other things as well.

Behind the banking failures and scandals is the wave of bankruptcies and other financial shocks that is sweeping the world economy. The insolvency of AEG-Telefunken in West Germany, the failure of Banco Ambrosiano based in Italy, and the sharp devaluation of the Mexican peso are some examples that have occurred in just the last few weeks.

After three years of recession, the world capitalist economy has reached the very brink of a new Great Depression. With unemployment in the United States officially at 9.8 percent and at similar levels in Western Europe, depression conditions already exist for millions of workers and farmers in the advanced capitalist countries. In the colonial and semicolonial countries, the plight of hundreds of millions of workers, peasants, and unemployed is becoming desperate.

Rescue by Federal Reserve?

It's becoming clear that a few more months of credit squeeze and the world

economy will be in a depression fully comparable to that of the 1930s.

There is mounting evidence that the U.S. central bank, the Federal Reserve Board, is now trying to pull the world capitalist economy back from the brink. On August 13, the Federal Reserve cut its discount rate, the rate at which it lends money to the banks, from 11 percent to 10.5 percent. It was the third such cut in a month's time.

The central bank is mobilizing its own vast financial power to prevent the collapse of Continental National, Chase Manhattan, and thousands of other business enterprises. Can the Federal Reserve's rescue operation succeed?

In the short term the central bank may very well ease the mounting financial tensions. Interest rates have already declined considerably in recent weeks. The stock market has rallied. With the Federal Reserve expanding the money supply, industrial production and economic activity in general may well pick up in the coming months. Unemployment may even decrease somewhat. Even in its death agony capitalism does not decline along a straight line. The capitalist economy continues to experience cyclical ups as well as downs.

But if the Federal Reserve does succeed in staving off a full-scale crash this time, it will actually worsen the underlying problems of capitalism.

Banking crashes play a necessary role under capitalism. By periodically causing a collapse in credit they force business to slash production. Weaker enterprises go bankrupt. In this way, surplus commodities and means of production are eliminated. The way is thus prepared for a new long-term upswing of the capitalist economy.

Assuming the Federal Reserve Board rescue operation is successful, the problem of too many commodities being produced by "unsound" businesses will be worsened. The current mess is, after all, the cumulative result of such Federal Reserve rescue operations in past recessions.

The real choice confronting decadent monopoly capitalism is to take the plunge into the second Great Depression of the century now or do so a little later under even more desperate economic circumstances. This is the only choice this dying system offers.

Palestinian, Israeli activists hit Lebanon war

BY MICHAEL SMITH

As the guns and planes of the Israeli armed forces continued their bombardment of the Palestinian population of West Beirut, Anan Ameri of the Detroit-based Palestine Aid Society and Israeli antiwar activist Ur Shlonsky shared a New York platform on August 12 to discuss the impact of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon on the future of the Middle East.

Their comments reflected the growing awareness among segments of Israeli society of the need to recognize the just cause of the Palestinian people and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and the realization among Palestinians that they have important potential allies within the Israeli population.

Ameri and Shlonsky shared the view that the Israeli invasion had been planned for a long time and was carried out as a result of the Israeli government's failure to break the struggle of the Palestinian people on the West Bank, despite 15 years of Israeli occupation.

The Begin government has been unable to create a body of collaborators on the West Bank, Shlonsky maintained, "because Israeli inflexibility and brutality have unified the Palestinian popula-

tion. Thereafter Israel sought to attack the 'heart' of the Palestinian resistance, the PLO in Lebanon."

Ameri noted that it is "most accurate to call [the move into Lebanon] an Israeli-U.S. invasion." She pointed out that Washington's goals are to "protect U.S. oil interests in the Middle East, to bolster the reactionary regimes in Egypt and Saudi Arabia, which have become particularly important since the fall of the shah of Iran, and to crush the PLO once and for all."

The Palestinian activist pointed out that "it is an irony of history that the only Lebanese willing to ally themselves with the Israelis are the phalangists." Ameri explained that in 1936 the then-head of the Phalangist toured Hitler's Germany as he sought to build the Lebanese fascist movement, which is based on the purported racial superiority of the Maronite Christians.

Despite the tremendous toll in Palestinian casualties and the huge physical destruction caused by the Israeli invasion, Ameri noted that "the Palestinians are optimistic. Perhaps Lebanon will be Israel's Vietnam. For the first time there is a peace movement in Israel."

She concluded that since the Israelis have not been able to control the West

Bank in 15 years, their occupation of Lebanon may also drag on. "We should demand Israeli withdrawal, an end to U.S. aid to Israel, and that the U.S. recognize the PLO and self-determination for Palestine."

Shlonsky, who is also active in the Israeli Committee for Solidarity With Bir Zeit University (a Palestinian school on the West Bank that is continually shut down by Israeli authorities) concurred with the demands put forward by Ameri. He pledged that his organization, the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, would seek to broaden its base in Israel.

Baptist meeting condemns Israel

The Progressive National Baptist Convention passed a resolution August 5 condemning Israel's war in Lebanon and calling for Israeli troops to pull back and lay down arms.

The church group, whose membership is overwhelmingly Black, also passed resolutions for the cutoff of all U.S. aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship and for the suspension of U.S. relations and trade with South Africa.

SWP conference discusses wars, crisis

Continued from Page 11

the country. Hundreds of people signed cards asking for more information and got subscriptions to the *Militant*. Many thousands of people signed our petitions not just because they support our democratic right to be on the ballot, but also because of what we have to say on fighting war, racism, and on the big issues of the day."

Warren explained that, until the last few years, the tendency had been to ask people to sign petitions on a civil liberties basis, often without explaining what the SWP stands for. But the deepening radicalization of the U.S. working class had changed this.

"Throughout the course of this petitioning we campaigned for socialism, we explained our ideas," Warren said.

"Petitioning is not the end of the ballot fight," he added. "Experience has shown the bipartisan bureaucrats who run elections don't care that the signatures we get are valid. If they can get away with keeping us off the ballot, they will."

The biggest challenge, Warren said, is the fight to ensure Mel Mason a place on the California ballot. Socialists and

other supporters of Mason's candidacy have launched a campaign of getting public statements demanding he be certified for the ballot now that nearly double the number of signatures required have been filed.

Warren reported that a legal suit had also been prepared demanding that state authorities place Mason on the ballot.

Running socialist workers for public office enhances the ability of SWP and YSA members in industry to gain a hearing for their ideas.

He cited the example of Diane Wang, SWP candidate for governor of New York. "She told me that right before this conference, she went to a meeting of her local of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. She stood up and participated in the discussion and the local president, who was chairing the meeting said, 'So you're Diane Wang, I've wanted to meet you. I hear you are running for governor.'"

"Diane says she talked a little, then after the meeting several workers came up to her to ask her about the campaign, signed petitions, and took leaflets."

Warren reported that other socialists

running for office had told of similar experiences with their co-workers.

Fall circulation drive

Integrally tied in with the election campaigns, Warren explained, was the projection for the fall circulation drive of the *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The SWP and YSA project selling a total of 45,000 copies of the two publications from September 25 through November 19. Each area will have a weekly goal as well as a cumulative goal, the total for the eight weeks of the drive.

In addition, there will be a special ten-day national subscription campaign starting with a national mobilization on the weekend of October 23 and 24 and winding up on election day.

Warren reported that these projections had been discussed in the industrial fractions, workshops, and individually with SWP and YSA leaders from many areas. "Everybody agrees that this is a very realistic goal to meet this fall. Everybody's been saying that if we can go out and convince 500,000 people to sign petitions to put socialists on the ballot, we can convince 45,000 people to buy copies of socialist newspapers."

Warren said that the increased publicity and attention socialist candidates will receive in the weeks leading up to the elections will be a big help in meeting the circulation goals.

Socialist press fund drive

In addition to the circulation campaign, members and friends of the SWP and YSA at the educational conference launched another major campaign to promote the socialist press.

At a special presentation on financing the revolutionary movement held at the beginning of the conference, SWP Political Bureau member Larry Seigle outlined the big advances registered by the SWP in this field since its last convention, as well as the big challenges ahead.

Seigle reported that the financial campaign to raise the weekly per member contributions to the party, launched at the SWP convention a year ago, had been successful. The campaign to reduce debts owed by local party units to various national party departments went well over its goal.

Nevertheless, Seigle explained, owing to continued inflation and other effects of the ongoing economic crisis, it would be necessary to make deep cuts in the party's publications and other national departments unless \$250,000 could be raised in the coming months. This is by far the largest such fund the SWP has ever projected.

In addition, Seigle explained, the

socialist press fund would be used to launch a new publication. Following the talk on financing the revolutionary movement, SWP Political Bureau member Steve Clark presented a report announcing that the party's National Committee had decided to launch a new quarterly magazine of Marxist theory and politics, with the first issue to be printed by the end of the year.

This decision was met by cheering and applause, since it fills a long-felt need in the party's educational work.

The initial contributions and pledges for the \$250,000 fund were taken at the rally held in Cleveland the night before Warren's presentation.

When Warren announced during his talk the next morning that a total of \$211,000 had been pledged the night before, the party members and supporters present jumped up cheering and applauding for several minutes.

This figure is all the more impressive in that virtually all contributions were in the range of a couple of thousand dollars and down, with the big majority concentrated in the range of under \$500.

Warren explained that gathering the initial pledges was only the first step in meeting this challenge. It would now be necessary to carry out a systematic campaign to ensure the collection of the whole amount, as well as to ensure that the many SWP and YSA members and friends unable to attend the conference have a chance to participate in the fund drive.

YSA convention

Warren concluded his presentation by explaining that in the past year or so there has been a noticeable increase in the number of people joining the YSA and the SWP, and that more people had decided to join during the course of the Oberlin conference.

Winning new people to the socialist movement, and thereby helping to build the kind of vanguard the working class will need to overthrow capitalism in the United States, is a top priority for the SWP and YSA.

He also explained that one of the best ways to win new people to the movement is to let them see for themselves its work on a national scale at a national conference or convention of the SWP or YSA.

The next such gathering will be the YSA convention to be held in Chicago, Illinois, December 30-January 2. During the Oberlin conference, the YSA National Committee met and projected an aggressive campaign to publicize the convention, including publishing a bilingual brochure and poster, speaking engagements, and fielding a full-time team of YSA members to build the convention in the Chicago-Gary area.

Dems, GOP join to pass anti-worker tax bill

BY WILL REISSNER

Democrats and Republicans joined together in the House of Representatives to pass President Reagan's \$98.3 billion tax-increase on August 19. The measure, which passed by a margin of 226 to 207, won the approval of a majority of members of both parties in Congress.

In addition to boosting taxes over the next three years, the bill also cuts federal spending by \$17.5 billion, with more than \$13 billion slashed from Medicare benefits and \$1.1 billion cut from Medicaid payments. Medicare provides

medical payments for the elderly, while Medicaid gives assistance to the poor.

About \$350 million will be taken from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children programs.

When the new tax bill goes into effect, working people will be hit especially hard. For example, the federal levy on cigarettes will double from 8 cents per pack to 16 cents. The telephone tax will triple from 1 percent to 3 percent of monthly bills.

The bill also substantially lowers the deductions that taxpayers can take for medical expenses and will make more of unemployment compensation taxable. Currently, unemployment compensation is only taxable if the annual income of an individual is over \$20,000 or a couple's income is over \$25,000. The new measure lowers these limits to \$12,000 and \$18,000.

Another measure in the bill is designed to increase the taxes paid on tips collected by already low-paid restaurant workers.

Banks will also begin withholding taxes from interest paid to savers.

In addition to the spending cuts contained in the new tax law, Congress passed additional measures that will cut social spending by an additional \$13.3 billion. Included are a \$1.9 billion drop in allocations for food stamps, a \$4.7 billion cut in agricultural price supports, and a \$4.1 billion cut in pensions for federal employees.

These new cuts in social spending come on top of the cuts already made in Reagan's 1981 and 1982 budgets, and additional cuts of \$35 billion over the next three years that had already been passed.

But despite the tax increase and the spending cuts, President Reagan's budgets for the next three years will pile up record deficits. The Congressional Budget Office estimates that in 1983, 1984, and 1985, federal deficits will be in the range of \$140 billion to \$160 billion annually.

These record deficits are largely due to the three-year tax cut of \$435 billion passed by Congress last year (a cut that the *New York Times* described as "benefiting mostly business and the well-to-do"), combined with record increases in military spending.

Under Reagan's budgets, military spending is scheduled to rise to \$214 billion in 1983, \$243 billion in 1984, and \$279 billion in 1985. But the president has already indicated that he will press for even higher arms spending in 1984 and 1985.

Corporation taxes keep dropping

Over the past three and a half decades corporations have been paying a smaller and smaller percentage of total federal taxes, while the proportion paid by workers has steadily climbed.

This has taken place under Republican and Democratic administrations.

In 1946, individual taxpayers provided 50.1 percent of all federal tax revenues, while corporations paid 30.7 percent of the total.

By 1976, three decades later, individuals were paying 77.1 percent of federal taxes, and companies were paying only 15.5 percent. Since then the proportion paid by corporations has continued to drop. In 1980, only 13.9 percent of federal taxes came from companies, and Reagan's 1981 tax law will bring the figure down several percent further.

The Reagan administration claims that high taxes on profits are a major cause of the current economic recession. This is his justification for so-called supply-side economics: the corporations and rich get tax cuts on the theory that this will stimulate investment and ultimately trickle down to consumers.

But during the prosperity of the 1950s, businesses paid 28 percent of all federal taxes collected. In the boom decade of the 1960s, corporations were still paying 22 percent of all federal taxes. But the decade of the 1970s was marked by a long economic slump, even though the share of taxes paid by corporations had already dropped to 16 percent.

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

No More Vietnams: Rally Against Washington's Wars

Speakers: **Mel Mason**, independent candidate for governor of California; and **Shirley Peña**, Socialist Workers Party candidate, 20th CD.

Sunday, Sept. 5, La Quinta Motor Inn, 1001 E. Commerce at I-37. Reception at 7 p.m., program at 8. Donation \$2.

Socialist Educational Weekend

The Chicano Movement: Which Way Forward?

A panel discussion with Antonio Cabral, editor of *El Pueblo*; and Norma Saldaña, SWP candidate, U.S. Senate. Saturday, Sept. 4, 2 p.m.

Texas Unions: How Can They Survive and Fight Back in the 1980s?

Speaker: Steve Warschell, SWP candidate, governor of Texas. Sunday, Sept. 5, 11 a.m.

Why We Need a Labor Party: Lessons From the Chicano and Black Struggles

Speaker: Willie Mae Reid, 1976 SWP vice-presidential candidate. Sunday, Sept. 5, 2 p.m.

Classes at 337 West Josephine.

Also: After the AFL-CIO Labor Day Parade Monday, Sept. 6, attend an Open House with Mel Mason and other working-class candidates, 2 p.m., 337 West Josephine.

For more information: (512) 736-9218. Ausp: Texas Socialist Workers 1982 Campaign.

Labor's stake in Nebraska strike

Continued from Page 1

auto to rubber to trucking — bosses are winning concessions and then coming back for more. These concessions have done nothing to overcome the capitalist crisis imposed on working people, as the latest rise in unemployment demonstrates.

Cuts in wages, erosion of safety rules, speed-up, more layoffs, and forced overtime — this is just the beginning. The employers are determined to raise their profit rates at workers' expense. Ultimately, what the bosses need to do — and intend to do — is to break down the big industrial unions so that the working class can be forced to accept wages and conditions that are currently considered out of the question.

An economic offensive of this scope cannot be carried out without attacking the political rights of the working class as well — the right to picket, to organize, to demonstrate, to engage in independent political action.

And the fact is that such attacks on democratic rights are being stepped up. Workers who speak out against Washington's wars are being fired. The government is moving to throw opponents of draft registration into jail. The Equal Rights Amendment has been rejected. The Senate has just passed a new bill attacking the rights of immigrant workers. And the pretense of bringing the FBI and CIA under some legal curbs has been scrapped.

The calling out of the National Guard in Dakota City should be seen in this context.

This capitalist offensive is not merely the policy of President Reagan or of the Republican Party. It is a

bipartisan attack that flows from the most basic needs of the profit system. None of the legislation passed under Reagan could have been approved without the cooperation of the Democrats. In Nebraska, Republican Governor Thone called out the National Guard, but Democratic Party gubernatorial candidate Bob Kerrey has come out in support of his move.

The increased use of the government as strike-breaker poses the need for the labor movement to put forward its own political alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties. There is no mass political party that speaks in the interests of working people today, and there won't be one until the unions begin the task of forming their own labor party, one that would champion the rights of all the oppressed and exploited, and fight for a workers and farmers government.

But right now, the strikers in Dakota City need the solidarity of the labor movement as a whole in their fight against IBP.

The Nebraska AFL-CIO's call for a tri-state rally September 11 in defense of the strike deserves full support.

Trade unions around the country should also publicize the fight in Dakota City, and help organize rallies and forums where the strikers can explain their case and reach out to allies among farmers, students, civil rights organizations, and others.

If the capitalists succeed in breaking the union at IBP, it will be a green light for them to take another big step in their offensive against all working people. The entire labor movement has a big stake in the struggle going on in Dakota City.

Congress resolution against Cuba

In a move to deepen Washington's intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, the Senate and House have both passed a resolution against revolutionary Cuba. The resolution states that: "The United States is determined to prevent by whatever means may be necessary, including the use of arms, the Marxist-Leninist regime in Cuba from extending by force or the threat of force its aggressive or subversive activities to any part of this hemisphere."

Coming on the heels of Reagan's certification of the Salvadoran junta's "human rights" record, and stepped-up involvement of U.S. military troops in Honduras, near Nicaragua's border, this new move by the Democrats and Republicans against Cuba is another ominous sign of Washington's plans.

The rebel forces in El Salvador immediately warned, "This resolution is a clear declaration against Cuba, Nicaragua, and the revolutionary movements of El Salvador and Guatemala. It constitutes a political prelude to the imperialist military invasion of Central America."

Sen. Charles Percy, chair of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, pointed out that the resolution gave Reagan "a blank check" and "may be considered as a Gulf of Tonkin resolution for Cuba."

The reminder is apt.

In 1964, after the Pentagon falsely claimed that North Vietnam had attacked a U.S. destroyer in the Gulf of Tonkin, Congress approved a resolution re-

quested by President Lyndon Johnson. This resolution was used to escalate U.S. aggression against Vietnam without any declaration of war by Congress.

Just as the U.S. government is doing today against Cuba, Johnson used the charge of "aggression" and "subversion" against the Vietnamese to justify and disguise the use of U.S. military power against a popular revolution.

The new resolution on Cuba also declares it will be U.S. policy to work with "freedom-loving Cubans" to promote "self-determination" for the Cuban people. This gives a further green light to Cuban counter-revolutionary terrorists in this country. Antonio de Varona, head of the right-wing Cuban Patriotic Junta, said of the measure: "We are euphoric."

The resolution comes in the context of other steps against Cuba, such as Reagan's ban on travel to the revolutionary island, and his efforts to get Congressional funding for "Radio Marti," which would broadcast U.S. propaganda to Cuba.

The fact is that Washington, not Havana, is steadily increasing its aggression and subversion in Central America and the Caribbean. Cuba's only crime is to stand foursquare with the workers and peasants of the region in their battle against U.S. intervention.

All opponents of Washington's new Vietnam in Central America and the Caribbean should vigorously denounce this latest move by Congress to deepen that war.

The Attica rebellion: 'sound before the fury of the oppressed'

On September 9, 1971, the prisoners at Attica prison in New York rose up in rebellion against the racist, dehumanizing conditions they faced. Their battle against prison authorities and the armed force of the government awakened international consciousness to the brutality of the capitalist prison system. The ruthless crushing of the rebellion, in which hostages taken by the prisoners as well as inmates themselves were gunned down by state troopers, opened the eyes of many to the real source of crime and violence in this society.

The following are excerpts from an editorial that appeared in the September 24, 1971, *Militant*.

"We are men. We are not beasts, and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such. . . . What has happened here is but the sound before the fury of those who are oppressed." — from the September 9 statement of the Attica rebels.

"We no longer wish to be treated as statistics, as numbers. We want to be treated as human beings. If we cannot live as people, we will at least try to die like men." — Brother Flip [Charles Horatio Crowley]

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

"[The hostages are] sleeping on mattresses, but I ain't sleeping on no mattress. They treat us like animals, we take care of them. Well I ask you, does animals take care of people or does people take care of animals?" — Brother Champ

* * *

From Attica, New York, last week the rebellion of a significant segment of humanity, demanding to be treated as human beings, shook this country to its very marrow.

Within hours after the brutal slaughter of dozens of helpless victims of white ruling-class "justice" in America, the selfsame rulers were exposed, caught once again in their own cynical web of lies. The hostages had all been killed by bullets — fired by troopers attempting to retake the prison with naked force.

Responsibility for the unspeakable atrocity of the Attica prison massacre lies squarely on the shoulders of the highest government officials from Nelson Rockefeller on up to Richard Nixon himself.

The common theme running through the statements of the Attica rebels, both written and spoken, was the assertion of their humanity. They were demanding their right to be treated like human beings, rejecting the category of despised non-humans, to which they had been relegated as "prisoners" and "inmates."

In asserting their humanity and demanding their rights, the Attica rebels were proving once again that there is no sector of the population too downtrodden, too outcast, to stand up and fight, to lash out against the oppression they suffer and assert their dignity as human beings.

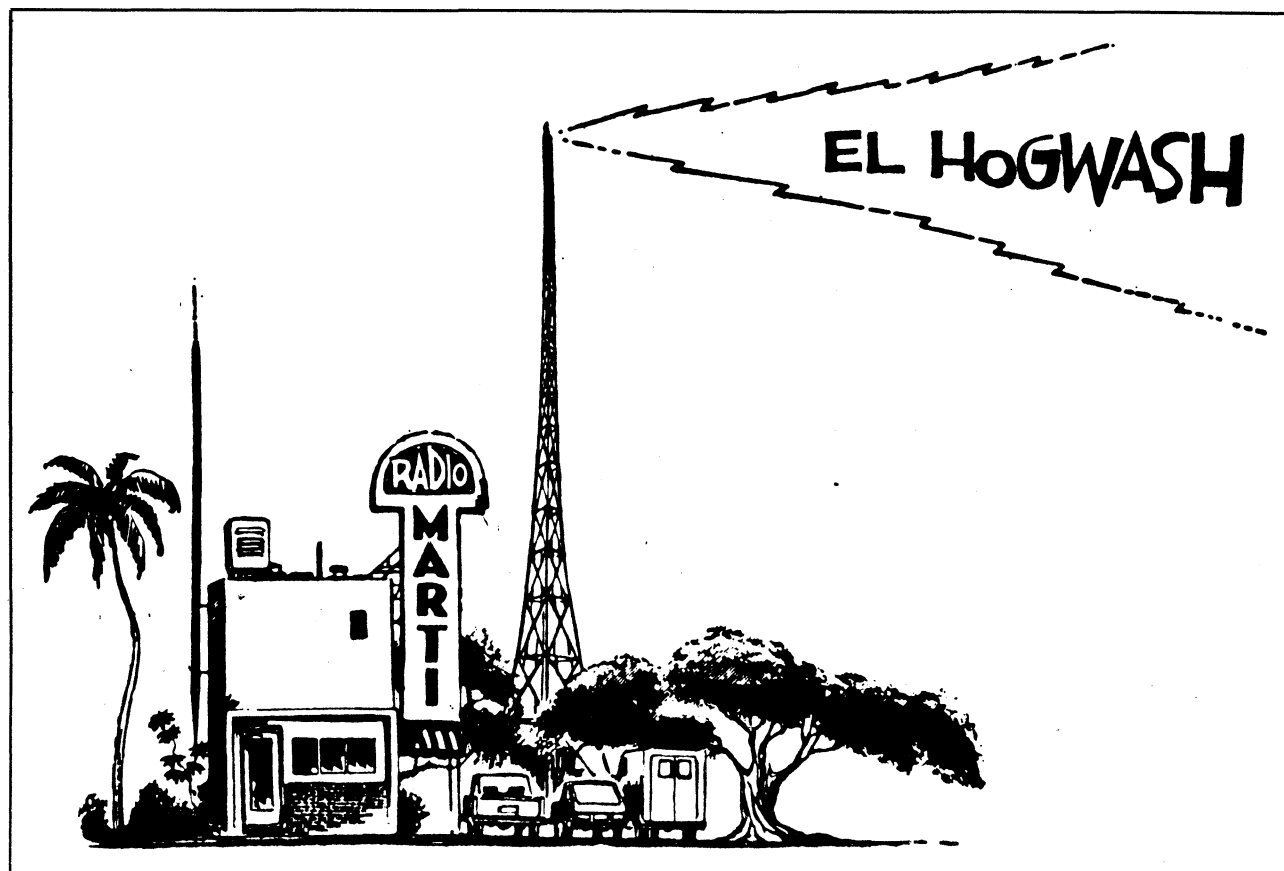
And for millions of Americans who had not believed it or had not wanted to believe it before, the indescribable inhumanity of the assault on the Attica rebels opened their eyes to the reality of who are the criminals, the murderers in this society.

Pious liberals, reacting to the ruthless butchering of the Attica rebels, decry the violence while proclaiming the justness of most of the prisoners' demands — then quickly add, as did the September 15 *New York Times*, "It was the prisoners' intransigence when confronted with a final appeal 'to achieve a peaceful resolution of the situation' that left the prison strewn with the dead."

With equal truth, the *Times* might claim that slaves brought massacres on themselves by rebelling against their slave masters.

Attica is indeed a pillar of the corrupt, brutal, dehumanizing society in which we live.

Despite the gruesome price the brothers of Attica paid in standing up for their own identity as human beings, they struck a blow for all of humanity.



Don Wright/Miami News

Quite deadly — Anticipating a rising death rate, Wall Street analysts are recommending the funeral folk as a "growth industry."



Harry Ring

But this past year was a bummer, deathwise. One market analyst explained, "It

was a very, very healthy winter. The winter was cold and germs were held down. There was a considerable decline in influenza and pneumonia." Enough to shake your faith in the system.

Keeping America great — The Senate OKed a tax bill authorizing business deductions for "grease" payments. One solon declaimed: "These payments are to make things move faster and it all translates into more jobs for America."

Shopping tip — What with a small drop in sales, a Rolls

Royce exec suggests it needn't only be millionaires who buy the car. Who then? "The person who only makes a couple of hundred thousand a year could justify the purchase too — people who start with a used Rolls for maybe \$20,000 and keep trading up until they get a new car."

P.S. — Prospective buyers should keep in mind that installment payments are "almost unheard of" for a Rolls.

Problems, problems — Some congressmembers are be-

coming shy about being publicly identified as pro-pollution. Said one aide, "It's hard to get up and argue that you have to let the big steel and chemical companies pollute so they can make more money. There are a lot of voters who are still suspicious of big business."

Plain talk dep't — Maryalice Fullmer, head of a junk mail agency, plans to get in on the ground floor of hitting people directly through cable TV and home computer terminals. "I knew that if you had the hardware to sell," she explained,

"there would be a need for people to manipulate the consumer — and that's what advertising is all about."

Things are tough all over — Hard-pressed federal judges are demanding better wages and benefits. Current starting salary is but \$70,000 and retirement benefits only 100% of pay.

Thought for the week — "You should take those things you would take for a vacation trip of a week or more." — Civil Defense instruction for the Austin, Texas "Risk Area."

Reagan incites anti-abortion violence

Continued from Page 1

several anti-abortion demonstrations in the past year.

In January, the center was badly damaged by fire. But, just like in the case of the kidnappings, no arrests have been made.

Uta Landy, executive director of the National Abortion Federation, said there had been a notable increase in threatening telephone calls, picket lines and marches on clinics, harassment of staff and patients and threats of firebombings, as well as actual bombings.

Helms and Hatch

The kidnapping was in progress as the Senate opened debate on proposals to outlaw abortion rights. This discussion is supposed to take up two measures that would overturn the 1973 Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion.

One is Sen. Jesse Helms's (R-N.C.) Human Life Bill, which would designate fetuses as legal human beings, thereby making abortion murder.

The other is Sen. Orrin Hatch's (R-Utah) constitutional amendment, which would give Congress and individual states the ability to make abortion illegal.

In order to make his bill more palatable for his fellow senators, Helms modified the wording without changing the content. His latest proposal, which is being put forward in the form of an amendment to the bill to increase the federal debt ceiling, also states that human life begins at conception. It says that the Supreme Court "erred" in its 1973 decision guaranteeing women access to abortion.

In addition, it would make permanent the prohibitions on federal financing of abortion, which Congress has enacted

each year for the last several years. It would prohibit federal employees' health insurance from paying for abortions, and the use of federal funds for abortion-related research. It would also provide for a direct appeal to the Supreme Court if any federal judge struck down a state law restricting abortions, thus providing an opportunity to get rid of the 1973 decision altogether.

After five days of "debate" in the Senate, marked by the absence of any discussion on the fundamental issue of the right of women to decide whether and when to have children, the senators adjourned for their Labor Day recess, and will continue the discussion in September.

An emergency picket line was held on August 16, the day the Senate discussion opened, in San Francisco. Three hundred people from women's and reproductive rights organizations protested any attempts to curtail abortion rights.

'States' rights, not abortion rights'

Also this fall, the Supreme Court will review two state laws and a city ordinance that severely restrict women's access to abortion.

In an unprecedented move, the Reagan administration, through the Justice Department, submitted a "friend-of-the-court" brief to the Supreme Court supporting the laws in Akron, Ohio, and Missouri. This brief was the first ever filed by the Justice Department in an abortion case in which no federal law is formally involved and in which the government is not a party to the case. The brief does everything but outright ask the Court to overturn its 1973 decision.

It comes close.

The brief argues that the 1973 ruling

— which indicated that in the first three months of pregnancy at least, the woman's decision to have an abortion is not subject to any state restrictions — should now be dumped.

The Akron ordinance, endorsed by the brief, includes the requirement that teenage women must obtain parental consent in order to have abortions. It would also force doctors, under threat of imprisonment, to inform their patients

—CALENDAR—

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Eyewitness Report from Grenada: Slideshow. Speaker: Maurice Williams. Sun., Aug. 29, 7:30 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals Rd. SE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

LOUISIANA

New Orleans

How the Vietnam War Began: It Looks a Lot Like El Salvador Today. Speaker: Suzanne Weiss, SWP candidate for Congress. Fri., Sept. 10, 8 p.m. 3207 Dublin St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign '82 Committee. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

NORTH CAROLINA

Winston-Salem

Reagan's War on Women's Rights: How to Fight Back. Speakers: Meryl Lynn Farber, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, 5th District; others. Sat., Aug. 28, 7:30 p.m. 216 E 6th St. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

U.S.-Israeli War on Palestinians. Speakers: Taleb Rifai, Palestinian and member of General Union of Palestinian Students. Bill Osteen, Socialist Workers Party, member, United Auto Workers Local 834; others. Sat., Aug. 28, 7:30 p.m. YWCA, 2027 Chestnut St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Delaware Valley Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, General Union of Palestinian Students, Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

TEXAS

San Antonio

Rally Against Deportations. Sat., Sept. 4, 10 a.m. Main Plaza. Ausp: El Pueblo. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

The Truth About the War in Lebanon: U.S.-Israeli Aggression Against the Palestinian People. Speakers: Steve Tolley, recently returned from Lebanon; Jabir Abas, professor at Marshall Univ.; Ned Measle, YSA. Sun., Aug. 29, 7 p.m. 1584-A Washington St. E. Donation: \$2. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

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CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

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Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

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VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

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WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

California officials claim socialist 'not qualified' for November ballot

BY DICK ROBERTS

LOS ANGELES — In a blatant attack on the democratic right of a worker to run for office, California Secretary of State March Fong Eu has declared that Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California, should not be on the November ballot.

The secretary of state made the statement in a legal document filed in response to a lawsuit by Mason.

On July 16 Mason filed 214,699 signatures, 100,000 more than the required

113,610. When Secretary of State Eu failed to tell Mason within the legally required 24 days how many of these signatures were valid, Mason filed suit. The suit was filed in California Supreme Court August 13 to force Eu to put Mason on the ballot.

The secretary of state's legal response to the suit, filed August 20, declared that Mason should not be on the ballot because he had submitted only 88,157 valid signatures, that is, signatures of registered voters. The additional

126,542 were ruled invalid, giving a validity rate of 41 percent. According to the secretary of state, 65 percent of Californians eligible to vote are registered. It is impossible to conceive such a wide gap. The signatures have clearly been invalidated through any means to prevent Mason from appearing on the ballot. This was done because of his political views.

Mason's suit states, "It is not because Mr. Mason lacks community support that Respondent [Eu] seeks to exclude

him from his right to ballot status. It is because Mason is an experienced politician, an elected official in his home city of Seaside, and a respected leader of working people and particularly Blacks, who are disaffected with the two major political parties. . . ."

The Supreme Court is to decide this week if it will hear Mason's case.

Support for Mason's right to be on the ballot has come from around the country and California.

Such prominent Black leaders as Southern Christian Leadership Conference President Joseph Lowery and the Rev. Ralph Abernathy have signed petitions demanding that Mason be placed on the ballot.

In the FMC plant in San Jose, Mason supporters have collected more than 80 signatures from co-workers on a similar petition addressed to Secretary of State Eu.

One FMC worker was particularly angry about the state's refusal to certify Mason: "This brother who is running for governor has a lot of ideas about Black people and poor people," he told other workers as he got them to sign up.

"The government is trying to stop Mason. He's done everything he's supposed to [in filing nominating petitions]. He's trying to do something for us. They're trying to knock him down."

At a gathering in Los Angeles for Anthony Mazzocchi, past candidate for president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union, Mason supporters explained that Mason has been attempting to popularize the idea of a labor party in his campaign.

Mazzocchi and six union shop stewards at the meeting signed the petition demanding that Mason be put on the ballot.

At a 500-strong rally in San Diego supporting draft resister Ben Sasway, a number of people signed the ballot fight petition. They included longtime anti-war figure Daniel Berrigan and Bill Rowe, cofounder of the San Diego Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

Also in San Diego, at a commemoration of the U.S. atom-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, people signed the Mason petitions. Among them was Miguel Salas, a past Ironworkers local president.

Santa Cruz Mayor Mike Rotkin has also signed the Mason petition, as have 42 striking hotel and restaurant workers in Monterey.

In Los Angeles, at a meeting to plan a pro-Palestinian demonstration, signers for the Mason ballot fight petition included Berkeley City Council member Florence McDonald; Max Gundy, treasurer of the Los Angeles chapter of the U.S. Peace Council; and Macho Shabaka, of the Pan African Student Research Collective.

Monterey hotel strikers win



Militant/Larry Lukehart

Victorious after 18-day strike against major Monterey Peninsula employers are these members of Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union Local 483. In picture at left is Mel Mason, socialist City Council member in Seaside and independent candidate for governor of California. Mason was well received by strikers for support of their struggle.

BY LYNDIA JOYCE

SEASIDE, California — In these days of giveback contracts, members of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees Union Local 483 have scored a victory. On August 23 the union ratified a contract with the Monterey Peninsula Hotel and Restaurant Association after an 18-day strike.

The gains: wages up by an average of 30 percent over the three years of the contract; two paid holidays and sick-leave days a year to be phased in; meals for all workers; the probationary period lowered from 60 to 45 days; a 46 percent increase in employer contributions to the health and welfare fund; and other advances related to overtime and pay, working supervisors, and seniority.

Most of the strikers consider the contract a victory, but one clause including amnesty for scabs was hard to swallow. "This is a union-busting tactic," explained a banquet waitress. "Everybody is hot about it. We went out and worked for their raises."

Gardener Susan Schaaf spoke for most strikers: "The contract we got means we have a foot in the door to move forward. This strike really brought the union together. There was a lot of solidarity."

After the vote, Leonard O'Neill, the union's chief negotiator, remarked, "We took these big companies like the Hilton, Hyatt, and 20th-Century Fox head on. They didn't think a workforce like

ours, with so many minorities, could do it, but we showed them we could."

On Sunday, August 22, a planned strike support rally turned into a victory rally. Five hundred people came out, including members of unions in San Francisco, Oakland, San Mateo, and Hayward, and a representative from the United Farm Workers.

Just the announcement of the rally forced a tentative agreement, and pickets were called off the day before the rally.

The first major strike of culinary unions in 30 years here, where tourism is the biggest industry, began August 5 when 75 percent of the membership voted to strike.

The new contract covers the 22 hotels and restaurants whose owners are members of the employers' association. The union includes 3,500 members in about 100 hotels and restaurants in Monterey Peninsula cities, Salinas, and Santa Cruz.

Rooms at these hotels go for \$90 to \$150 a night, with suites costing much more. Yet maids at these luxurious resorts for the rich were getting \$3.45 to \$4.10 an hour, and no tips.

While the hotels and restaurants are in such posh places as Cannery Row, Carmel, and Pebble Beach, most of the union members live in Seaside and Marina. Many are young, Asian or Black, and female.

The strike was widely supported by workers here. Teamsters, many tour bus drivers, and telephone company workers refused to cross picket lines, as did 10 greenskeepers at the Pebble Beach golf course.

The Fresh Food and Vegetable Workers union in Salinas donated \$500 to the strike fund. Union members at nonstriking hotels and restaurants donated tips to the fund.

A familiar figure on the picket line was Seaside City Councilman Mel Mason, a socialist who is running as an independent for governor of California and a former member of local 483.

Mason, who was joined on the lines by Seaside candidates Henry Fryson (for city council) and Shirley Rainer (for mayor), was warmly welcomed by the strikers.

One striker, a veteran of the 1980 San Francisco hotel-restaurant strike, told Mason, "This is really hard to believe — a city councilman on the picket line supporting a strike."

At the city council meeting August 19, Mason introduced a resolution in support of Local 483 and calling on the Hotel and Restaurant Association to negotiate a favorable contract.

The mayor and the rest of the city council quickly shoved Mason's motion under the table. Strikers and strike supporters at the meeting said Seaside needed an entire city council of Mel Masons for labor to get a hearing.

Protests needed

The Mason for Governor Campaign is urging that protests demanding that Mason's name be placed on the November ballot be sent to Secretary of State March Fong Eu, 1230 J Street, Sacramento, California 95814, and copies to the Mel Mason for Governor Campaign, 2864 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, California 94609.