

After three years of sacrifice Chrysler workers say 'Enough!'



Militant/Elizabeth Ziers

From time it got 1979 giveback contract, Chrysler Corp. kept pushing to take away more. Workers staged this July 1979 picket protesting slated shutdown of company's Hamtramck plant.

10.1% jobless! Socialists offer fightback program

BY ERNEST HARSCH

What many people have already known for some time became official on October 8: American working people are the victims of double-digit unemployment.

That very same day, the New York Stock Exchange went wild. More than 123 million shares were traded, the fifth heaviest buying activity on record.

So while millions of workers are pounding the pavement looking for jobs or agonizing over which bills to ignore, there are some people who obviously have lots of money to throw around. Some of them are the same ones, in fact, who are closing down unprofitable plants across the country.

With the announcement that the official unemployment rate had climbed to 10.1 percent, both Democratic and Republican party candidates were quick to blame each other, their eyes fixed on the November 2 congressional elections.

President Reagan placed the responsibility for much of the unemployment at the feet of the Carter administration. Democratic party officials, on the other hand, have focused their fire exclusively on the Reagan administration's economic policies.

While the attacks of the Democrats have been heavy on campaign rhetoric, they are light on any concrete proposals for how to fight unemployment. At best, they suggest band-aid programs that would do little to bring down the astronomical unemployment figures, even if they were implemented.

That's not surprising. Neither the Democratic nor Republican party has an answer to the job losses that are disrupting the lives of millions of working people in this country, because *both* parties reflect the interests of the very same class of employers that is responsible for the scourge of unemployment.

While the big-business politicians are scrambling to get into office — or to stay there — unemployment has become a

day-to-day reality for most working families in this country. For those who have not already lost their jobs, the threat of layoffs or plant closings has dimmed their hopes for the future and for that of their children.

The official unemployment figure of 11,260,000 jobless workers in the United States — while serious in its own right — vastly understates the actual number of unemployed.

This figure does not include the 1.6 million workers who have been without jobs for so long that they have given up actively looking. And it does not include the 6.6 million who are partially unemployed because their working hours have been arbitrarily cut back.

If taken together with the 10.1 percent counted by the Labor Department, these unemployed workers would raise the overall unemployment rate to more than 17.5 percent — nearly 20 million workers. In absolute numbers, that would be as many workers without full-time jobs as during the Great Depression.

Because of the turnover in the ranks of unemployed *one out of every four* workers has been unemployed for some period during the past year.

As always, this unemployment has hit the weakest and least organized sectors of the workforce the hardest. Official unemployment among women who maintain families is 12.4 percent, while for women in their teens it is more than 23 percent. Latinos suffer from an official unemployment rate of nearly 15 percent, while for Blacks it is more than 20 percent. Nearly half of all Black teenagers are unemployed.

Reduced benefits

Social benefits and services that cushioned the effects of job losses for many workers in the past are now being whittled down.

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Collaboration with employer rejected

After three years of helping to bail out their employer, Chrysler workers have said, "Enough!" They have defiantly turned down a proposed contract that only offered them continued cooperation with Chrysler in imposing speedup and more stringent work rules. In return for this collaboration, they were to receive

EDITORIAL

absolutely no guarantees of wage gains or job security.

The rejection of this contract is a blow to Chrysler and to the entire employing class; and its meaning for the working class is being discussed by workers from coast-to-coast.

As a result the employers will find it more difficult to impose their demands in steel and other industries where workers have been targeted for givebacks to the corporations.

When the Chrysler workers accepted big wage cuts and other concessions for the first time three years ago, this was praised by employers everywhere. The Chrysler workers became the example that was pointed to of how workers should extend a helping hand to corporations trying to improve lagging profit rates.

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Found jobs not saved by givebacks

BY JON OLMSTED

DETROIT — By a whopping two to one majority, Chrysler workers are rejecting the proposed contract with Chrysler. Voting began October 6 and will be completed October 14.

Workers are outraged at being offered a contract that gives them close to nothing. "Three times was enough," was how one worker put it.

Since 1979 Chrysler workers have been forced to accept three rounds of major concessions. They have gone through the bitter experience of union-management collaboration that was supposed to save their jobs. From the local plant level to United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser's decision to join Chrysler's board of directors, the strategy of collaboration has been carried out.

UAW and Chrysler officials reached agreement on the proposed contract September 16. Voting was delayed for three weeks to allow time for a hard sell from company executives, the media, and top union officials. It scarcely affected the vote. The fact that the UAW's Chrysler bargaining council accepted the agreement by a very close vote showed that it was in trouble from the beginning.

The widest margins in the local vote
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\$250,000 fund aids socialists as movement gains new ground

BY HARRY RING

A quarter of a million dollars.

That's the goal of our Socialist Publications Fund and it's the largest drive of its kind that we've ever attempted.

The drive is now approaching the halfway mark and though we're a bit behind schedule, we are confident that we're going to make it.

The \$250,000 will help to sustain this paper as well as its sister publications, *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Intercontinental Press*.

The need to raise this kind of money is the result of the unrelenting inflationary pressure. All of our costs continue to rise at a faster pace than our income.

As an anticapitalist paper, we've always had to rely on our supporters for financial backing. This time we had to ask for more than ever at a time when our supporters are in far from the best position to dig so deeply.

But they're doing it.

The fund was launched this past August at the Socialist Activists and Educational Conference sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. The completion date is December 31.

A majority of the conference participants were industrial workers. Many had been hit by the widespread layoffs. Few of those working could feel assured

about how long their jobs would last.

Yet they dug deeper than ever to meet our financial needs.

So far 920 people have pledged more than \$250,000 to the fund.

Higher paid workers, of course, pledged the most. Oil workers at the gathering for example, made pledges of \$1,000 each, with some going as high as \$1,500.

Union garment workers, who generally don't earn much above the minimum wage, pledged a week's pay. For them that's a big hunk of money.

The willingness of these working people to give so generously sprang from something more than agreement on the importance of maintaining the socialist press.

They had an important added motivation — a conviction that the socialist movement is now in a position to make some advances.

Workers' resistance grows

That conviction stems from their experiences in the workplace.

Some five years ago, the members of the SWP recognized that the changing political and economic situation meant that this is the time to become a party of industrial workers. They saw that the

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Socialists offer program to fight for jobs

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State and federal unemployment benefits have been significantly cut. Workers in many states are no longer able to get the 13 weeks of supplementary benefits that they were previously eligible for after their 26 weeks of state benefits had run out. The benefits for some 60 percent of all unemployed workers have now run out.

Moreover, the amounts of the benefits are becoming more and more meager. In July, the average unemployment check was \$114.60, just 42 percent of the average weekly wage of \$269.98. Forty years ago, the proportion of unemployment compensation to average wages in most states was 60, 70, or 80 percent.

On top of this, Social Security and disability benefits have been attacked. Food stamp and school lunch programs have been slashed.

'You feel less than a person'

Even workers who have been at the same job for years, and have felt a certain amount of job security, now have to pore over the want ads, wondering how on earth they will make ends meet.

Because of the cuts in federal education loans, their children are forced to discontinue college or to give up hope of ever going. With workers unable to keep up payments, cars, furniture, and other things bought on time are repossessed. With home mortgage foreclosures running at the highest level since the 1930s, some 750,000 homeowners are expected to lose their homes.

What causes unemployment?

The employers and their government in Washington try to blame unemployment on high oil prices, Japanese imports, immigrant workers — on everything but the way the capitalist economic system functions.

The fact is that in a system based on production for private profit, unemployment is a regular structural feature. The employers deliberately maintain a reserve of unemployed. This helps them use the constant threat of joblessness to pit workers against each other, making it easier to depress wages and impose speedup.

With the increase in automation — which the bosses use to boost their profits rather than to benefit workers — this level of structural unemployment has been steadily rising.

In the past, "full employment" used to be defined by the government as around 4 percent unemployment. In a speech in

Ohio on October 4, Reagan casually remarked, "maybe . . . the normal unemployment rate . . . instead of being that 4 percent . . . might be 6 or 6.5 percent."

In addition to such "normal" unemployment, joblessness increases during periods of capitalist economic crisis. The deeper the downturn, the greater unemployment is.

As part of their scramble for profits, companies seek to beat out their competitors by expanding, automating, and throwing huge quantities of goods onto the market, in an unplanned and anarchistic fashion. Since the purchasing power of the majority of people cannot keep up, the markets become glutted at a certain point. That means the companies cannot sell their goods and make a maximum profit by operating at full capacity.

Their answer: begin laying off workers. That reduces buying power even further. More goods are unsold. More workers are laid off. A chain reaction sets in.

To maintain the profit levels of the employers, workers are forced to sacrifice with their jobs.

The fight for jobs

Many workers are searching for answers to the problem of mounting unemployment. They are waging battles and skirmishes against layoffs.

Such battles result in some victories and some losses. They are an essential part of the process by which the class is organizing itself, gaining experience, and thinking out what needs to be done.

But the answer to unemployment cannot be found on the level of the individual plant, nor even in a single industry. Unemployment affects the working class as a whole, as a class. It is rooted in the private ownership of production and the drive of the employers to maximize their profits. This system is supported by government at every level.

In contrast to the empty promises and fake solutions put forward by the Democrats and Republicans, the Socialist Workers Party, through its election campaigns, is presenting a concrete program for fighting joblessness. The SWP is running more than 60 candidates in 26 states across the country.

These candidates are putting forward the following proposals:

- To begin with, the jobless must receive full unemployment compensation at union wages, for the entire time that they are unemployed. This will also pre-

vent the bosses from using the threat of unemployment to drive down wages and push through speedup.

- A crash program of public works should be launched to put all the unemployed to work on socially useful projects: building schools, low-rent housing, medical facilities, child-care centers, modern transit systems, parks and recreation centers, and so on. Special priority should be put on projects that would help eliminate the particularly depressed conditions in the Black and Latino communities.

The billions of dollars needed for this — as well as for full unemployment compensation — is available. It could be raised by transferring the gigantic sums that are spent on the war budget to create jobs. It could be raised by shifting the burden of taxation from the working people who produce all wealth to the super rich who profit from our labor.

- As a long-term measure, the workweek should be shortened with no cut in weekly take-home pay. This would make it possible to spread out the available work to all who need jobs. Preferential consideration should be given to hiring Blacks, Latinos, and women, who have been hardest hit by unemployment.

The employers will claim they cannot afford to shorten the workweek with no cut in pay. They said the same thing when the legal workweek was 60 hours.

Chrysler workers reject contract

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ing were at the Warren Stamping plant in Detroit, where the vote to reject was 1,559 to 323; and Twinsburg, Ohio, where the vote to reject was 2,316 to 315. At the big Jefferson Ave. Assembly plant in Detroit, where the sell was particularly heavy, the workers voted it down 3,129 to 1,787.

Chrysler workers were hit with heavy attacks as management attempted to make them an example for all workers. Since Chrysler claimed it was on the verge of bankruptcy in 1979 and demanded that the workers help bail them out, workers have lost an estimated \$1.06 billion in wages and benefits. Today those still working make \$2.68 an hour less than General Motors and Ford workers.

They were promised that if they collaborated with the company and made concessions in work rules and wages their jobs would be saved. Then when

Corporate ledgers should be opened to allow the workers to inspect the company's finances.

The bosses and their political representatives — the Democrats and Republicans — will howl that such proposals are "unrealistic." What they really mean is that their profits would be hurt. And the government in Washington operates from the standpoint that what's good for big business is good for the country.

Working people cannot accept that. If the government of big business refuses to implement such proposals for ending unemployment, it should be replaced.

Workers and farmers in this country need their own government. They need a government that will defend their interests and those of all the oppressed and exploited.

To fight for such a government, working people also need their own political organization, a party of labor that can take on the political monopoly of the two employers' parties.

A labor party, based on the trade unions, can put forward a real working-class program for creating jobs, and wage a concerted fight for its implementation.

To the millions now standing on the unemployment lines and the millions of others wondering if they'll have a job tomorrow, this prospect is not only a realistic one, but a crying necessity.

Chrysler was again making profits they would be able to regain parity with Ford and GM workers.

In 1979, Chrysler employed 76,000 workers. Today there are approximately 45,000. Thirty thousand jobs have been lost since the "job-saving" concessions, and eight more plants have been shut down.

The company's attitude towards parity was summed up by Chrysler Vice-president Thomas Miner: "Whether the union likes it or not, Chrysler will never pay General Motors- and Ford-type wages."

Why contract was rejected

The primary reason workers voted no was that after three years of giving management a helping hand the only thing they were offered was more stringent work rules and a phony cost-of-living (COLA) formula geared to

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Polish workers' strike defends Solidarity



Solidarity, the mass workers union born out of the 1980 strike wave, has been banned.

BY ERNEST HARSCH

OCTOBER 13 — The strike of Polish shipyard workers that erupted in Gdansk October 11 was a powerful demonstration that government repression has not smashed Solidarity.

The workers at the Lenin Shipyard, where Solidarity was born in 1980, defied cops and troops to stage a massive strike protesting the October 8 action of the Polish parliament banning Solidarity. Since last December 13, when mar-

tial law was imposed, the union had been "suspended."

Workers in other Gdansk factories joined the shipyard workers in the walkout. The strikers also demanded the release of Lech Walesa and other imprisoned Solidarity leaders.

The new law likewise outlaws Rural Solidarity, the 3 million-member farmers' organization that was allied with Solidarity.

With the permanent ban on the two

unions, the government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski provided the Reagan administration in Washington with a new handle to step up its anticommunist propaganda drive and its attacks on the Polish workers state.

The day after the banning, Reagan imposed new economic sanctions against Poland. He suspended Poland's most-favored-nation trade status, which will raise tariffs on Polish manufactured exports to the United States.

Reagan again hypocritically proclaimed his support for Solidarity. Meanwhile, in the United States, he is carrying out a systematic assault on the rights and living standards of workers and farmers. In Poland, moreover, these new U.S. sanctions, on top of those imposed last December, will only add to the suffering of Polish working people.

The new law envisages the formal revival of trade unions, beginning on January 1, 1983. But these unions will be extremely weak and totally dominated by the government's bureaucratic apparatus.

They are to be limited for at least two years to the confines of individual factories, with no opportunity to collaborate with one another. They are legally barred from addressing broader social and political questions. Special government-appointed tribunals will have the right to change union leaderships.

While strikes will still be allowed on paper, they can only be legally called following long and complicated arbitration procedures, which in effect will

make most strikes illegal. Sympathy strikes, or strikes of a "political character," will be totally prohibited, with the authorities having the right to determine what constitutes a political strike. Strike pay, one of the gains won by Solidarity, is now forbidden.

On top of all this, the government has declared that the Solidarity leaders now in detention — the real elected leadership of the Polish working class — will have no right to resume trade-union activities.

The purpose of these new unions will not be to represent the interests of workers, but to maintain the bureaucracy's control over them. In effect, they are the same as the bureaucratically run unions that the workers revolted against in 1980.

What Solidarity has fought against in the two years since its formation are the bureaucracy's anti-working-class policies, its gross mismanagement of the Polish economy, its enormous material privileges, and its efforts to stifle the most democratic rights.

By banning Solidarity, the Jaruzelski government will not be able to eliminate the basic conflict between the country's restive working class and the bureaucracy. It will not be able to abolish the demands or aspirations of Solidarity's millions of supporters. Ten months of martial law — during which Solidarity's activities were "suspended" — has not been able to do that.

Clandestine Solidarity committees exist in many factories around the country. Some 1,700 underground bulletins and newspapers are being published. Several union radio stations are continuing to broadcast. A National Coordinating Committee (TKK) is still functioning as a provisional national leadership, although one of its key members, Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, was arrested just days before the union was banned.

The August 31 protest demonstrations called by the TKK gave a measure of the union's continued active support. Many tens of thousands of workers turned out across the country. The government has now admitted that demonstrations were held in 66 different cities.

On September 13, new demonstrations were held in Wroclaw, Krakow, Szczecin, and Lodz. On September 30, some 10,000 workers marched through Wroclaw, and other actions were held in Gdansk and Warsaw.

Solidarity leaders have responded to the banning of the union by calling on its members to stage a four-hour protest strike November 10. A statement issued by the TKK proclaimed, "We appeal to all working people, no matter to which unions they belong, for a massive nationwide protest against lawlessness and poverty."

From Intercontinental Press

North Carolinians score toxic waste dumps

BY GREG McCARTAN

AFTON, N.C. — "When Governor [James] Hunt picked on Warren County, he thought we wouldn't fight," said Blaine Tharrington, a leader of the Warren County Citizens Concerned About PCBs, at a rally October 4 that kicked off the fourth straight week of protests against the dumping of PCB-laced dirt at an Environmental Protection Agency-approved landfill here.

"Students Concerned about the Future" was the theme of the demonstration of 350, of whom 86 were arrested. The number of people arrested to date is 500.

For such mobilizations, students from county schools are given excused absences to participate. Students from colleges and universities around the state join the protests.

The rural county that Hunt thought wouldn't fight has produced what an older demonstrator here called "a civil war."

Workers, farmers, and students are squarely lined up against Hunt, the Democratic and Republican parties, and the major daily newspapers in the state.

The PCBs, a potent cancer-causing agent, were illegally dumped along 210 miles of North Carolina roads more than four years ago. That contaminated dirt is now being transferred to a site here in Warren County.

The local residents believe that dumping the PCBs here is preparation for the

establishment of a major industrial waste site for the state. Hundreds of tons of toxic waste is produced by two of the major industries in the state — textile and electronics. The dump is a small part of a 140-acre plot recently acquired by the state.

Residents explain that it is not just the PCBs, but what would follow, that has them "fighting for our lives," as many put it.

"What right do they have to kill us just because we are poor and largely Black?" asked a retired Black farmer. Noting that his son had been killed in Vietnam, and that the U.S. government is getting involved in new wars, he said, "Why should we go fight somewhere else? They're killing us right here. Our fight is right here."

When plans for the dump were first announced four years ago, local residents filed a lawsuit through the Warren County Board of Commissioners, but the suit was secretly dropped by the commissioners last spring.

Citizens then started organizing demonstrations, rallies, and making themselves into human roadblocks to stop the trucks rolling into the dump site.

The major actions take place along a seven-mile stretch of highway leading into and out of the dump.

Hunt has gathered a force of up to 50 riot-equipped state troopers, a National Guard helicopter which constantly circles overhead, and a collection of prison buses and vans.

Farmers, workers, and students, both Black and white, gather at the Coley Springs Baptist Church on a daily basis to march along the roads and move in front of the trucks.

A big plywood sign in front of the church reads, "Stop Adolph Hunt."

The October 4 rally featured Leon White, of the Commission for Racial Justice of the United Church of Christ from Raleigh, and Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), who was later arrested.

White blasted the Democratic Party for refusing to even talk with anyone concerned about the dump. "If they don't take a stand and work with us, I say away with them. Why is it that the gov-

ernor can send state troopers down here, but he won't come and talk with us?"

Hunt is clearly gearing up to run against North Carolina's U.S. Senator Jesse Helms in 1984. White asked the crowd, "If Jim Hunt runs against Jesse Helms, who would you vote for?"

"Nobody," the crowd yelled back.

Two poems were read by local high school students condemning Hunt and expressing determination to continue the fight.

After the march and the arrests, Golden Frinks, an SCLC organizer, told the remaining group that "we might as well be in a country with a dictatorship as in North Carolina."

People in Warren County believe they are doing something for the whole country by taking on this fight against "toxic aggression." Their struggle deserves the full support of trade unions, students, farmers, and environmental groups.

Messages of support can be sent to Coley Springs Baptist Church, Inez Road, Afton, N.C.

Antiwar protests set for Oct. 16

BY NELSON GONZALÉZ

The national office of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES) reports that in response to a call from the recently formed World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador based in Mexico City, CISPES chapters in 30 cities across the United States are planning protest activities on October 16. Some chapters have organized activities for the following week on October 23.

In a news release CISPES explained, "In activities ranging from a 38-mile march from Fresno, California to Lemoore Naval Air Station, to a statewide teach-in to occur in Michigan, to walk-a-thons and rallies taking place in New York and Washington, D.C., activists will conduct educational and protest events to focus on the expanding role assumed by Washington." The actions will expose U.S. intervention "in the political affairs of El Salvador, as well as the alarming development of increased U.S. involvement in directing counterinsurgency warfare in that na-

tion and in the Central American region."

The October 16 activities will concentrate on "U.S. intervention in El Salvador," "U.S. regionalization of the conflict and the threat of a regional war in Central America," and "the link between intervention and budget priorities."

The events in the United States also form part of an October "Month of Solidarity with the Peoples of Central America," a period designated by the Network in Solidarity with the People of Guatemala, CISPES, and the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People for forums and other educational activities.

In response to the October 16 call a major demonstration is planned in Puerto Rico and protests will also take place in Canada, Mexico, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Holland, and Australia.

For more information regarding activities in your area call the CISPES national office at their new number (202) 887-5019 or contact your regional CISPES office.



Militant/Greg McCartan

"Our fight is right here"

Fund aids socialists as movement gains

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crisis of a bankrupt capitalist system was going to deepen rapidly and that this would mean heavy blows directed against the rights and living standards of working people. They knew the industrial workers would bear the brunt of this attack, and they wanted to be in a position to participate in the fightback that they knew was certain to come.

Now working people are beginning to fight back. And a growing number of them are ready to discuss and consider socialist ideas about what needs to be done.

Example: We're currently in a drive to expand our circulation. Four socialist workers employed in the New York City transit system compared the results they've obtained so far as compared to our sales drive of last year.

During the last drive, they sold an average of two or three copies of the *Militant* each week to co-workers.

In the first two weeks of the present drive, they've sold 34 copies, plus three subscriptions.

Their experience is not unique. That's why in the first week of the present drive we registered 124 percent of our weekly sales quota.

Help sell the 'Militant'

Example: In Dallas, three new readers of the paper decided they wanted to help sell the *Militant* and joined in the sales drive.

In Pittsburgh, there were eight people like that, including a group of five junior high schoolers.

Pittsburgh *Militant* supporters went to nearby McKeesport to sell at a union jobs demonstration. They also distributed a leaflet announcing a local meeting later in the day to hear Mark Zola, the SWP candidate for senator from Pennsylvania. Thirty people bought copies of the paper. Thirty-five people, mainly unemployed workers, came to the SWP campaign meeting.

But it's not just the jobless who are looking for answers and action.

Employers have utilized their escalating unemployment rate to try to beat down those still on the job. And, with the present misleadership of the union movement, there's no question that the bosses have taken plenty out of the hides of working people.

But now there are measurable signs that they may not have so free a hand in this.

One very significant indicator of this was the big vote of Chrysler workers to reject a phony contract that would have tied wage increases to immediate company profits.

An impressive example of a relatively small but resolute group of unionists determined not to keep taking it, was the Teaneck, New Jersey, high school teachers who defied jail, fines, and threat of firings and finally compelled a union busting school board, and judge, to back down.

And surely it was a welcome sign of better things to come when angry coal miners in West Virginia walked off the job to protest the discriminatory firing of Bill Hovland, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from West Virginia.

Coming on top of a calculated company drive against safety conditions and other hard won union rights, the miners decided not to accept the victimization of their socialist fellow worker. Their action won his reinstatement.

These are illustrations of the kind of thing that has motivated our supporters to make this record financial commitment at a time when giving isn't all that easy.

Contributions from co-workers

And they're doing more than that too. SWP branches and YSA chapters are soliciting contributions from co-workers and other supporters of our three publications. We've begun to get reports on the results of these efforts and hope

more will be coming in. We'll try to share them in future issues.

We have already received some \$713 directly from readers, and we hope this too will increase substantially. For those who have already made pledges to the fund, we would urge that payments be made as speedily as possible. There's no better assurance of success than to catch up and then get a bit ahead of schedule.

The returns on helping to keep the socialist press going are immediate as well as long term.

One final example: The New York YSA just concluded a series of introductory classes on why capitalism is the problem.

Seven new friends attended regularly. Five of the seven are Latinos, one from Spain, the other from Africa. All were met as a result of reading the *Militant* or *Perspectiva Mundial*. Two have already joined the YSA.

One of the new members, Ramón, began reading *PM* while in prison. That led him to reading books on Marxism.

The day after his release, a Saturday, he was at the SWP-YSA hall and went

out with a sales team. He's also become an effective campaigner for the SWP gubernatorial ticket.

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Chrysler workers reject contract

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Chrysler's profits. No immediate wage increase was offered.

The new COLA formula will give them 16 cents an hour in December, their first raise in three years. The provision that would give workers an \$80 bonus if Chrysler should post a profit in any quarter, is viewed as a joke by many. As one worker at Eldon Ave. Gear and Axle in Detroit put it, "Who will look at the company's books and what books will the company show?"

Another sore point for the workers is the proposed new absentee program that enables the company to discipline workers after five absences in a six-month period and ultimately fire them. Provisions also allow them to discharge workers who have been out sick more often than the company feels they should.

Bilal Melik, a Detroit Chrysler worker, said this was his main reason for voting no. "It takes away our human dignity," he said.

The large size of the rejection came as a shock to top UAW officials. After the first big locals turned it down, President Fraser's lame reply was, "At first I was hopeful, now I'm doubtful, and tomorrow I'll probably be hopeless."

This is the first time in history a contract that was recommended by the bargaining committee has been rejected by the membership.

Sitting on \$1 billion

Fraser is blaming Chrysler President Lee Iacocca for the vote; not because the company is trying to force this contract on its workers, but because Iacocca is not doing a good enough job of crying poverty. Prior to the contract, Chrysler posted \$107 million profit in the second quarter. Iacocca openly boasted that the company now sits on over \$1 billion in cash.

The idea that concessions can save your job is losing ground. The declining buying power of workers combined with massive unemployment — 17 percent in Michigan — makes the crisis in auto even worse. As one Chrysler worker put it: "We are building cars we can't afford to buy." Sales are now their lowest per capita since the depression of the 1930s.

One of the biggest gainers from the billion dollars lost by Chrysler workers is the banks. Last year alone, Chrysler paid out over \$400 million in interest payments to the banks.

Faced with the choice of another period of union-management collaboration or company bankruptcy, many are now saying let it go down.

Elizabeth Ziers, an assembly worker at Ford's huge River Rouge plant, re-

ports that her co-workers are cheering about the Chrysler vote.

The demand now being raised by Chrysler workers is to return to the bargaining table to fight for a decent contract. If no progress is made they will then discuss a strike.

* * *

BY ALICIA MEREL

CLEVELAND — Workers at Chrysler's Twinsburg stamping plant here are angry. They don't think they should be forced to give up any more in concessions. As one worker explained to me, "After what we gave up last time, I figure this plant doesn't belong to Chrysler, it belongs to the UAW, to us."

The mood at the plant had been angry as the deadline for agreement on the proposed contract approached on September 14 and then was extended for 24 hours.

The following night at midnight, with no word from Detroit, workers set up picket lines. This was in defiance of UAW Local 122 President Sherwood (Bill) Weissman, who told a TV reporter, "This local won't go on strike unless I say so. I'm in control here." Picketers told TV reporters, "He might control that office over there, but we decide what we'll do. This is our union, we make the decisions."

Angry at Weissman's comments about his control of the union, one striker told the *Militant*, "We need more real workers representing our union, not Weissman and Fraser."

Workers voted to end the walkout on September 18 and to return to work while the discussion and vote on the proposed contract took place. Meetings to explain the contract were held September 22 and 23.

The *Militant* was told that at the meetings Weissman presented a summary of the contract, explaining what he called the worst parts. He added that presidents of 9 of the 12 biggest locals in the Chrysler system, including himself, were recommending rejection of the contract. His explanation that workers shouldn't subsidize Chrysler's bankruptcy by working for nothing was interrupted by shouts of "shut it down!"

Workers leaving the meeting talked with the *Militant*. One explained, "We're not going to take this contract. We'll stay out till hell freezes over." Another added, "We gave up so much and now they want more and more concessions. We'll have nothing left. It's just a hype with Fraser on the board of Chrysler — he's outvoted by the other 12 anyway. He's not trying to represent us." Another Black worker called out, "We had this 400 years ago — back then they called it slavery."

Socialist Publications Fund Where We Stand



Visit with mayor of Israeli-occupied city of Nablus

BY DOUG JENNESS

NABLUS, West Bank — When we drove up to the home of Bassam Shaka'a, the expelled mayor of Nablus, an army jeep was sitting in the driveway. Four Israeli soldiers with M-16s slung loosely over their shoulders sullenly greeted us. One of them was wearing a green beret, indicating membership in an elite army unit. He asked if we had permission to see Shaka'a. We explained that we had called from Jerusalem and had set up an appointment to see him on that day, September 9.

In our car were several members of an international commission collecting information about Israeli atrocities committed during the war in Lebanon. They included Professor Richard Falk, Department of International Law at Princeton University; Dr. Brian Bercusson, lecturer of law, University of London; Professor Geruad de la Pradelle, Paris University; and Ernie Ross, a Labor Party member of the British Parliament from Dundee, Scotland.

Others included Michel Warschawsky, an activist from Jerusalem in the Committee Against the War in Lebanon, our Palestinian driver, and myself.

We had driven from Jerusalem to see Shaka'a, one of the best known and most respected Palestinian leaders on the West Bank. His courage and commitment to the struggle of his people are legend. In 1976, he was elected mayor of Nablus, the largest city on the West Bank. Along with many other officials elected during the municipal elections that year, Shaka'a publicly proclaimed his support for the Palestine Liberation Organization.

In June 1980, Bassam Shaka'a lost both his legs when a bomb, planted by Israeli terrorists, exploded in his car. A similar car bomb blew off Ramallah Mayor Karim Khalaf's foot. The assailants have never been arrested.

On March 25, 1982, both Shaka'a and Khalaf were dismissed by the Israeli authorities and placed under virtual house arrest. Today mayors in eight of the nine largest cities on the West Bank have been dismissed. They refused to go along with Defense Minister Ariel Sharon's scheme to try to integrate the civil administration of the West Bank's cities and villages into the Israeli state apparatus.

Rebuffed by guards

We knew Shaka'a's visitors were often hassled by military authorities. But we also knew that up until now international reporters and delegations, usually after annoying delays, had been admitted to Shaka'a's home.

But the Israeli soldiers stubbornly insisted that we couldn't see Shaka'a.

Ernie Ross explained that he was a MP in the British parliament and that Dundee and Nablus had established a



Bassam Shaka'a is welcomed back on return to Nablus after medical treatment for injuries from terrorist attack.

fraternal relationship as "twinning" cities. The soldiers, unimpressed, asked to see his passport. They also searched Pradelle's briefcase, which mostly contained clippings in French on the war in Lebanon.

After arguing for 15 minutes, we demanded that they contact their superiors. They called their office on a field radio and we were informed that somebody would come and talk to us.

While we were waiting, Bassam Shaka'a, his wife, two of his daughters, and a couple of Palestinian friends who were visiting came out into the driveway. They warmly greeted us. The teenage daughter brought out a tray of cold drinks.

Shaka'a, who now wears artificial legs, stood with the aid of crutches. Speaking in English, he told us that he and his wife cannot leave the house without permission. Each day that they want to go into town to buy groceries, to visit friends, to see a doctor, or whatever, they have to ask for permission. Some days they aren't allowed out of the house. A guard detail is posted outside their home day and night. We asked how long this was supposed to last. They said it was indefinite.

Children harassed

They also explained that the soldiers harass their children. Their 15-year-old son, for example, has been stopped by soldiers on his way home from school and provocatively interrogated about his activities. His parents have been insulted.

"He comes home so angry," Shaka'a said. "He feels so helpless, because he wants to get back at them and can't. I tell him he'll get his chance when he's a few years older."

He recounted how the soldiers torment their six-year-old daughter. When she plays in the sand outside the courtyard of their home, the soldiers will sometimes tell her that she can't play in the spot where she's at, that she has to move to another location. When she moves, she is then told her new play spot is off limits.

"One day she threw a stone at one of the soldiers," Shaka'a said, "but the soldier caught it. She came into the house very



Palestinian youth in Nablus protest dismissal of West Bank mayors Bassam Shaka'a and Karim Khalaf by Israeli authorities last March.

upset. 'Next time,' she told us, 'I'm going to throw six stones at once at him. Then he won't be able to catch them all.'

"It's sort of a six-year-old's version of a cluster bomb," Shaka'a chuckled.

As we stood quietly talking, we suddenly heard shots in the valley below the hill on which Shaka'a's home rests. The four soldiers rushed over to the edge of the hill and looked down, one of them with a pair of field glasses. "They're chasing a boy," one of them yelled in Hebrew. More shots rang out. "They caught him!" the man wearing the green beret yelled jubilantly.

"He's a bad one," Shaka'a said referring to the green beret guard. "I've been watching him for the last few weeks, and he gets really excited whenever there's any shooting."

He told us that there had been a lot of shooting during the past week. A 16-year-old apprentice mechanic had been shot dead in Nablus the Friday before. He was killed when Israeli border cops fired into a crowd of young people coming out of a religious service.

Israeli authorities claimed that the youth, along with three others who were wounded by gunfire, had stoned the jeep and attempted to seize one of the soldier's guns.

Nablus residents reacted strongly against the shooting. On Sunday, September 5, while Nablus staged a complete commercial strike, 2,000 people gathered in al-Husseini quarter, chanting nationalist slogans and carrying Palestinian flags and raising portraits of PLO chairman Yasir Arafat. Israeli soldiers encircled the demonstrators and fired live ammunition into the crowd, injuring two more youths.

The situation in Nablus had been tense throughout the week, with military vehicles patrolling the city.

It was about a half hour before the Israeli military commander for Nablus arrived in his jeep. In contrast to the other soldiers he was all smiles. He smiled when he told us we couldn't see Shaka'a because the area around his house had been declared a military security area.

We were told that we would have to get permission from Menachem Milson, the civilian administrator for the entire West Bank. If we have to get permission from Milson, we responded, there must be political reasons why we can't see Shaka'a.

Still smiling, the officer said there were both military and political reasons.

"Is it because of our fact-finding investigation?" one of the professors asked.

"I can't say," he said smiling.

"What are the military reasons?" we asked.

"I can't say," he replied.

"Is it because of the shootings and demonstrations?" we asked.

Still smiling, he said he couldn't tell us.

Then he sneered and told us that even if we did get a meeting with Shaka'a we wouldn't be able to talk to him because his English was too bad.

It would have taken hours to locate Milson and attempt to get permission, so we left.

It was dusk when we bid Shaka'a's family goodbye. They told us that we were the first international guests to be turned away from their door by the occupation authorities.

West Bank Arabs defy 'civil' administration

Since Israel seized the West Bank from Jordan in 1967, it has imposed military occupation on the area.

The 800,000 Palestinian residents have been stripped of most civil rights. Any Palestinian may be detained, imprisoned, or deported at any time without charge. The government even issues different colored license plates to Arabs on the West Bank than to Jews, for more easy identification.

In order to establish a permanent presence on the West Bank and prepare for its annexation, the Israeli government has promoted the creation of Jewish settlements. Since 1967, 100 settlements with 30,000 settlers have been set up. The goal is 100,000 settlers by 1985. The settlers are able to buy land cheap with generous government loans.

The settlers belong to a special unit of the army and have their own officers. The settlements are like military forts. They are surrounded by high fences and gigantic tangles of barbed wire. Many settlers conduct vigilante attacks vandalizing Palestinian shops and homes and abducting teenagers.

During the 1976 municipal elections, many pro-Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) officials were elected. To

move toward weakening their influence and that of the whole antioccupation resistance, the Begin regime decided last fall to restructure its occupation government.

The center of its plan was to build up an alternative Palestinian base to the municipal governments. For several years such a base was being built up through the League of Villages, associations of moderate Arabs willing to work with the Israeli authorities. To undermine the municipal governments, the Israeli government used the Village Leagues as the channel for the meager budgets it allocates for the West Bank and for the contributions from abroad, mostly from Arab regimes.

By separating the military and civil functions of the occupation government, Defense Minister Ariel Sharon believed it could induce some Palestinians to collaborate. Professor Menachem Milson, a reserve colonel and former official in the military occupation government, was appointed to head the civil administration. Some of the civilian administrators are the same officials who were serving in the military administration. For them the restructuring simply meant changing from their uniforms into civilian clothes.

Few Palestinians support the Village Leagues and they have become very isolated. When the plan went into effect last fall, the immediate response by the Palestinians was massive protests.

In March, Sharon and Milson pressed on with their attack by outlawing the Committee of National Guidance, a broad united front to which many of the mayors belonged.

At the end of March, Bassam Shaka'a and Karim Khalaf were ousted as mayors of Nablus and Ramallah. The dismissal of the mayors generated big protests. On March 30, the whole of the West Bank and Gaza Strip were on strike and the Palestinians in Israel joined the struggle.

This confrontation on the West Bank was deepening when Israeli troops invaded Lebanon in June.

Following the siege of Beirut, the Begin administration is again intensifying its drive against PLO influence on the West Bank.

But Palestinians on the West Bank, inspired by the struggle waged by Palestinian fighters in Lebanon, are mounting a militant opposition to these attacks.

Campaigning at Minn. state fair

ST. PAUL — Tens of thousands out of the million people who attended the Minnesota State Fair here saw a first: the Socialist Workers Party campaign had a booth, made possible through dollars and volunteer time contributed by supporters.

Thousands of fairgoers stopped at the booth, where they met SWP candidates Bill Onasch, running for U.S. Senate; Kathy Wheeler, governor; and Carole Lesnick, lieutenant governor.

More than 7,000 people got copies of the socialist candidates' campaign platform.

Many were concerned about the prowar, antilabor policies of both the Democrats and Republicans. "People are looking for alternatives to the two capitalist parties," Onasch reports. "They want to know what socialism is, how a labor party could fight in their interests, and they want our views about the U.S. war drive."

Wheeler spoke with people about her recent fact-finding tour to Nicaragua and the gains made possible by the government there, which helps the workers and farmers instead of the big capitalists and landlords.

Many farmers were interested in discussing the economic crisis they face; more than a dozen bought literature on how Marxists view the fam-

ily farmer and on the socialist answers to their problems.

In all, fairgoers bought \$155 worth of literature, 165 copies of the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*, and 283 political buttons. Two hundred people signed up for more information about the campaign.

Colo. socialist ruled off ballot

BY MAUREEN McDOUGALL

DENVER — Eileen Thournier, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 1st District, has been ruled off the November ballot after a challenge by Colorado Secretary of State Mary Estill Buchanan.

A federal court order to put Thournier back on the ballot is being sought by ACLU attorney Richard Borchers.

Thournier did not learn that her ballot status was being challenged until the afternoon of September 29 — the day before the hearing, which took place in district court.

The basis for the challenge is a requirement that independent candidates must be registered as unaffiliated for a year prior to running for office.

This requirement, Thournier noted, is unconstitutional and would "effectively exclude most people from running for office independently of the two big-business parties."

"The two parties who write

the laws write them in their own interests," she said. "The Democratic and Republican parties are run by big business, so they want to keep me and other working people off the ballot."

Union meeting hears socialist

BY CLEMENS BAK

HARRISBURG, Pa. — Mike Finley, candidate for U.S. Congress in the 3rd District on the Socialist Workers Party ticket, spoke recently before the South-central chapter of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union.

Finley was one of a number of candidates who addressed the union, which is an affiliate of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU).

Finley, who represented the state SWP slate, which includes Mark Zola for governor, Katherine Sojourner for lieutenant governor, and Cathy Emminizer for U.S. Senate, said:

"Tonight we've heard candidate after candidate, both Democratic and Republican, explain how they're against layoffs, how nearly everyone is against Reaganomics, or at least has some 'reservations.' We learned that tonight everyone is prolabor. What these candidates failed to mention is that it is their parties who are responsible for the drive to roll back our living standards, who are slashing social services, and are voting

with both hands for the \$1.6 trillion war budget."

Finley, a member of the Brotherhood of Railroad and Airline Clerks furloughed from Conrail, explained that "instead of wasting our hard-earned money on empty promises from 'friends of labor,' we need to pool our resources and form our own party, a labor party that can fight 365 days of the year in our interests."

"The government today is in the hands of the rich, the corporations and the war profiteers and the Democratic and Republican parties are their loyal servants. Instead of providing jobs for the unemployed, building schools and decent housing, and rebuilding the mass transit system, they are squeezing us for every penny to finance their war drive abroad."

Finley was interrupted several times by applause, and several union members told him afterward that they agreed with him.

Campaign helper fired by GM

FRAMINGHAM, Mass. — General Motors has fired a socialist campaign supporter at its auto assembly plant here.

A statement by Valerie Johnson Eckart, socialist candidate for U.S. Congress in the 9th District, and Don Gurewitz, socialist candidate for governor, points out that the fired worker, Michael Fliss, had a perfect at-

tendance record and never had problems with management.

Fliss was fired after he helped distribute campaign literature at the plant before going in to work.

The reasons given by GM for firing Fliss include giving an incorrect starting date on a job he held 10 years ago. Fliss' union, United Auto Workers Local 422, is pursuing a grievance in the case.

Ballot victory in Illinois

BY DON DAVIS

CHICAGO — A victory for democratic rights was recently won here when a federal judge reduced the number of signatures required to put a candidate for the state legislature on the ballot from 3,000 to 1,500.

The lawsuit was brought by the Communist Party, Citizens Party, and an independent candidate. They argued that it was unfair to force legislative candidates to meet the same signature requirement as senatorial candidates who represent districts twice as large.

The decision, by U.S. District Court Judge Susan Getzendanner, was based largely on a 1979 decision in a suit by the Socialist Workers Party. The judge in that case ruled it unconstitutional for Chicago to require mayoral candidates to collect more than 35,000 signatures when only 25,000 were required to get on the ballot for statewide office in Illinois.

Albany cops drop charges against socialists

BY PETER THIERJUNG

ALBANY, N.Y. — Charges have been dismissed against Patricia Mayberry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 23rd District, and Young Socialist Alliance member David Wall, for putting up campaign posters here.

Mayberry and Wall were arrested September 30 for putting campaign posters up, which is a common election practice here as elsewhere.

"You go through Albany and it's like

a bulletin board, not only for political events, but for concerts, garage sales, and other things," explained Mayberry, who is a railroad worker.

The charges against Mayberry and Wall were so flimsy that it took 20 minutes for the cops who arrested them to make the decision to do so. A police sergeant refused to allow his squad car to be used to take the socialists to the station.

The judge who handled the case the next day said he didn't understand it. "I

post lamp posts with my campaign literature, and I intend to do it next election," he said.

Even so, the judge did not dismiss the charges until October 8, a week later.

The judge received protests from the International Union of Electrical Workers Local 301, among others. The local represents workers at the giant General Electric plant in Schenectady.

The socialist campaign has been harassed in other ways, too. In August, Troy cops threatened to arrest petitioners. And just two weeks ago anti-Semitic trash was posted on the front of SWP campaign headquarters here.

A few days later, a phone threat from the "German Defense League" said socialist campaign supporters would be "turned into fertilizer."

The caller claimed to have friends in the Schenectady Police Department and warned, "Don't bother to go to the police."

It took two hours and six phone calls to get Schenectady cops to come to the socialist headquarters to fill out a report. Mayberry's supporters charged that the police failed to take the threats seriously.

Supporters of the socialist candidates began a media campaign that resulted

in top-story coverage on television, radio, and in newspapers for four days.

Encouraged by this, community activists and others stepped forward with information about similar threats. This played an important part in the formation of the Schenectady Committee to combat Racism and Anti-Semitism, which includes the NAACP, the Human Rights Commission, the Inner City Ministry, and the Jewish Federation. The committee held a teach-in on racism and anti-Semitism October 13.

In response to the public outcry, Schenectady Mayor Frank Duci issued a statement to the media, following a visit by a delegation from the Socialist Workers campaign, that "Bigotry will not be tolerated in the Schenectady Police Department or in the City of Schenectady."

On October 3 a defense-campaign rally was held at the Best Western Hotel here, and covered by TV and other media, to demand the charges against Mayberry and Wall for putting up posters be dropped.

Five days later, they were. Mayberry commented, "The Socialist Workers campaign will not be muzzled by cops or right-wingers. We have a message to bring to the working class here, and we're doing it."

Socialists tour Colo. farm country

BY LOIS REMPLE

DENVER — A group of Socialist Workers campaigners recently spent four days touring the San Luis Valley, an agricultural region in southern Colorado. We talked with working people and farmers and distributed campaign literature in this mainly Chicano region.

As the Socialist Workers candidate for lieutenant governor, I spoke before a meeting of farmers in Antonito who have been involved in a long, hard fight for land-grant rights.

We also visited migrant worker camps near Center, where lettuce and potatoes are being harvested.

At one camp, the workers told us that they were only working a few hours a day and that the price of food is higher than in a large town.

Living conditions are poor. The workers are housed in big wooden barracks, with beds on both sides. There are cracks in the walls. "The flies are bad," one worker commented.

At a second camp we talked with a group of 8 or 10 men. Some spoke of the Vietnam experience and the threat of war in Central America.

"We have to learn from experience," one observed. "They're doing the same thing in El Salvador."

At a camp in Manzanola, I spoke be-

fore a group of 25 to 30 workers. The meeting was organized by a local campaign supporter.

Housing at the Manzanola camp is bare and run-down. Drainage is poor, and heavy rains cause flooding inside as well as outside the housing complex.

The workers are hired to pick onions by crew leaders who contract with local farmers. The crew leaders can keep wages low because the workers don't know how much the farmers are paying. By law, the crew leaders are supposed to tell workers what benefits they're entitled to, but often they don't. At the meeting, the workers signed an open letter to public officials they had drafted earlier. The letter detailed violations of state laws that are supposed to protect them.

They discussed the problem of how to make the *patrones* (bosses) obey the law and the difficulties of trying to organize when they are so much on the move during harvest time.

They listened with interest to our idea that working people need to organize a labor party and work for the creation of a workers and farmers government to replace the present government of the rich.

They eagerly seized copies of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*.



Socialist candidates Pat Mayberry (left), rail worker running for U.S. Congress (23rd C.D.), and Peter Thierjung, Albany sheet-metal worker running for lieutenant governor. Mayberry was arrested for putting poster on light pole.

JDL supporter assaults socialist candidate

BY OLGA RODRÍGUEZ

NEW YORK — Eva Chertov, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in New York's 19th district, filed charges with federal attorneys against Ira Meadow for "interference with the right of a candidate to campaign." This is a federal offense under U.S. Code, section 245.

The charges stem from an incident on October 9 when Meadow physically assaulted Chertov and Mike Taber, a supporter of her campaign. They had been distributing the SWP's campaign platform, as well as selling copies of the *Militant*, to residents and shoppers on Fordham Road in the Bronx. Meadow, 28, confronted Chertov as she was explaining the *Militant's* coverage of the U.S.-Israeli war in Lebanon to a shopper. Meadow began shouting at Chertov and pushing her. He knocked the papers out of her hands. He yelled, "The JDL will get you!" (The Jewish Defense League is a pro-Zionist group that has carried out attacks on supporters of Palestinian rights in the past.)

Chertov moved to another corner to avoid any further incident. However, in a couple of minutes, Meadow approached the campaign table that Taber was staffing, kicked it over, and attempted to destroy the literature. He threatened physical violence against any socialist campaigners who returned in the future, as well.

A crowd had gathered by this time. Several bystanders attempted to get Meadow to stop the harassment of the socialist campaigners, asserting that Chertov and her supporters had every right to be there. Meadow lurched out at Chertov, who had returned to the table, tore her glasses off her face, threw them to the pavement, and crushed them under his foot.

When Taber tried to calm Meadow, he was struck in the mouth. At this point campaign supporters summoned police nearby. A plainclothes policeman arrested Meadow.

Meadow has been charged with resisting arrest, assaulting Chertov and Taber, and several other misdemeanor charges. He was released on his own recognizance, despite the threats of continued violence against Chertov and other campaign supporters. A court date has been set for November 19.

This attack is not an isolated incident. In the wake of the Israeli-backed massacre of Palestinians in Beirut, the demands for immediate withdrawal of Israeli, U.S., French, and Italian occupation forces from Lebanon and self-determination for the Palestinians have mounted. Pro-Zionist forces in this country are more isolated than ever. In addition to threatening phone calls to organizations that have built actions against the U.S.-Israeli war in Lebanon, there has been another serious incident.

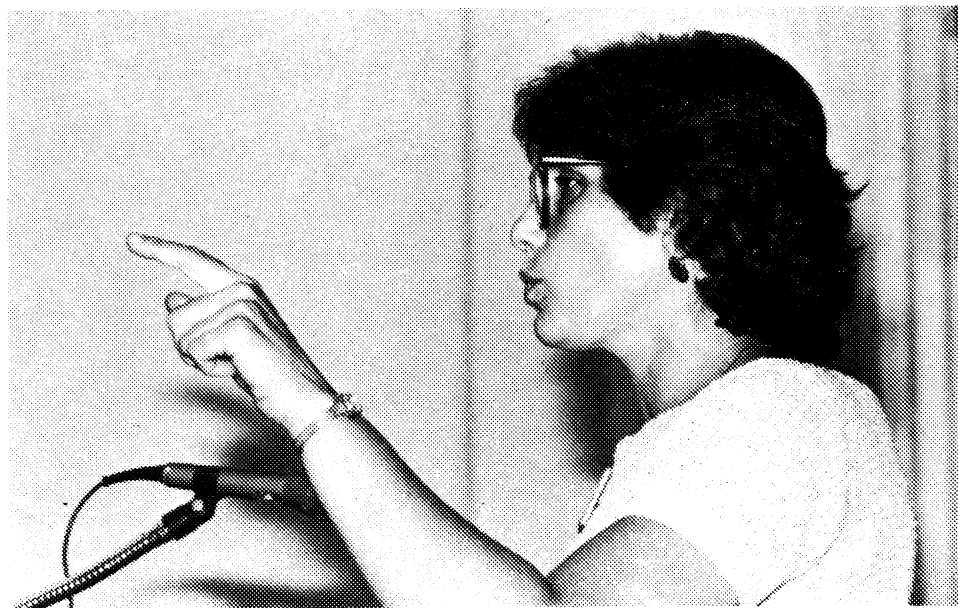
On the evening of October 4, five men — one masked and carrying a gun — forced themselves into the offices of the People's Anti-war Mobilization (PAM). PAM has cosponsored several of the demonstrations against U.S. and Israeli

policy in Lebanon. The two staff people who were in the office at the time were held at gun-point while the thugs ripped out phones, kicked over literature, and threw valuable office equipment to the floor. After ransacking the offices, the assailants warned the staffers that if PAM printed or did anything against Israel, they would return and kill them.

Chertov, who expressed outrage at the cavalier treatment of this attack by Bronx police authorities, issued a statement to the news media stating:

"The threat that 'The JDL will get you' is a threat on my life, the lives of other Socialist Workers candidates and our supporters."

She told the *Militant*, "Meadow dared us to show up again on Fordham Road. We have been campaigning there and selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* long before this and have no intention of stopping now."



Militant/Lou Howort

Socialist Workers candidate Eva Chertov

AP repeats smear of SWP; ruling appealed

BY MATTHEW HERRESHOFF

The Socialist Workers Party has launched an appeal in its \$106 million libel suit against Associated Press (AP) and New York City Police Commissioner Robert McGuire. The lawsuit charges AP and McGuire with libel and slander for falsely linking the SWP to the holdup of a Brink's armored car in Rockland County, New York, last fall.

The appeal, filed last month, seeks to get the appellate division of the New York Supreme Court to overturn a May 5 ruling by a New York judge in favor of AP and the cops.

The suit was in response to a series of stories last fall, in which AP falsely charged that Judith Clark, one of those accused in the Brink's holdup, "is now a figure in the Socialist Workers Party." This statement appeared on front pages across the country.

At first, AP said the FBI made the allegation. Later, AP said the story came from McGuire. Both the cops and the FBI now deny making the statement.

In dismissing the SWP's suit, the New York judge said: "The statements involved herein are not defamatory as to plaintiffs."

This ruling coincided with AP's and the cops' main defense — their claim that if the socialists were linked to the Brink's holdup or branded as "terrorists," it's because they are.

In legal papers filed this spring, the cops charged that "the injuries alleged by the plaintiffs were caused in whole or in part by and arose out of plaintiffs' culpable conduct."

AP, in arguing to have the socialists' case thrown out of court, charged that the SWP has a "reputation as a secretive, militant, revolutionary, communist organization which espouses the overthrow of the United States government."

To back up its continuing attempt to brand the SWP as a terrorist or pro-terrorist organization, AP relies on the *Trotskyite Terrorist International*, a booklet published by the witch-hunting Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. The booklet reprints the 1975 testimony of one Herbert Romerstein, "a consultant to a group called Friends of the FBI" and a former staff member of the notorious House Un-American Activities Committee.

In its appeal brief, the SWP challenges these charges by AP and the cops.

To further back up its slander against the SWP, AP alleged that "the fact that Leonard Boudin, father of arrested Brink's robbery suspect Kathy Boudin, represented the Socialist Workers Party in its lawsuit against the federal government, further suggests that there was no inherent improbability in a report that Judith Clark was believed to be a member of the Party." Boudin has represented the SWP in its \$70 million lawsuit against government spying, harassment and disruption and in many other cases.

In their brief, SWP attorney Shelley Davis hits this smear job: "Such an illogical leap," she wrote, "makes clear that the AP would utilize any scrap of circumstantial evidence to slander the SWP."

This will be a key issue when the SWP's appeal is heard in December.

In dismissing the SWP's suit last spring, the judge said: "The statements [that Judith Clark is a 'figure' in the SWP] are not 'of and concerning' the Socialist Workers Party. They concern the alleged actions of one who was reported to be a member of the organization."

In the SWP's appeal brief, SWP attorney Davis responded, saying: "The court's conclusion completely ignores the clear meaning of [AP's and McGuire's] statements. . . . The false accusation that a leader of the SWP is a prime suspect in allegedly politically-motivated crimes is clearly 'of and concerning' the SWP."

"Nor does the challenged statement refer to a member or 'reported' member of the SWP," Davis continued. Instead, AP and the cops "have linked the SWP to a person who has never been associated with the organization in any way."

But the facts don't stand in the way when the government and the big-business press decide to go after their political opponents. The smear campaign around the Brink's robbery is a standard method used by the political police to disrupt political groups.

Since the day of the robbery, the cops and the news media have used the

Brink's holdup to smear Black and working class organizations.

The press published reports suggesting that "radical factions" had "come together" to commit the robbery.

Black activists like Fulani Sunni Ali have been falsely arrested. Many have been jailed for refusing to testify at secret grand jury hearings "investigating" the holdup.

Midnight raids in the New York Black community have targeted members of the Republic of New Africa, former Black Panthers, and others.

The government and the big-business press have used the Brink's robbery as a pretext to attack the political rights of working people.

The SWP was slandered as part of this effort to tar the Black and workers movements with the brush of "terrorism."

In September, pretrial hearings for those accused in the Brink's holdup began. It is clear that the government plans to use the upcoming trials to further smear Black and working class groups. Already, the pretrial hearings have received sensational press coverage.

But, while the government continues to use these prosecutions to smear Black and working class groups, AP and the cops have done all they can to block a trial in the SWP's lawsuit.

They fear a trial that could help expose the criminals who are using the Brink's job as an excuse to attack the Bill of Rights.

Black man slain by cops in Calif.

BY JULIET MONTAUK

RICHMOND, Calif. — Willie Lee Drumgoole, a 36-year-old Black man, was murdered in the Richmond city jail October 1. The cause of death is listed as "traumatic neck injuries."

The police claim that Drumgoole's murder was "justified." The *Oakland Tribune* reported on October 2 that the police department here is saying, "the 'traumatic neck injuries' of Willie Lee Drumgoole were the result of a struggle with two officers and a civilian jailer after Drumgoole refused to return to his cell."

The NAACP claims that Drumgoole was beaten and that the infamous "chokehold" was used on him. They have called for the U.S. Attorney's office to investigate Drumgoole's death.

The chokehold became a matter of public controversy last spring when it was revealed that 15 people had died from the chokehold in Los Angeles since 1977. Twelve of them were Black. Los Angeles City Police Chief Daryl Gates claimed at the time that more Blacks die from this practice because "in some Blacks when it is applied, the veins or the arteries do not open as fast as they do in normal people."

In Oakland, the city council is holding hearings on legalizing the chokehold, as well as the use of attack dogs, by Oakland police. The National Black Independent Political Party is leading the fight against these practices.

In Richmond, the city council has been forced to call for an independent investigation by the Attorney General's office. Police violence is generating angry protests here, especially among Blacks and Latinos. Four people have died this year at the hands of the cops.

Selling the *Militant* in Richmond projects, I sensed the tremendous fear and anger. The *Militant* coverage on the Baltimore cop's invasion of the Pimlico Black community lead to discussions with many people who have been the victims of police terror. One woman, who didn't want her name used for fear of the cops, said that while she was pregnant, she was stopped and harassed about holding drugs. When she refused to be searched, the cops held her by the neck and kneed her in the stomach, causing her to lose her child. The cops claimed, of course, that the brutal violence was "justified."

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Cuban government requests rescheduling of foreign debt

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

At the end of August Cuba requested renegotiating \$1.2 billion of its \$3.5 billion debt owed to banks and governments in Britain, Canada, Japan, Spain and other imperialist countries.

The immediate cause of Cuba's financial problems is the collapse in the world price of sugar, Cuba's chief export item. From a level of 40 cents per pound in October 1980 the price of sugar plunged to only 6 cents per pound. That's a drop of 85 percent.

Washington is trying to take advantage of the situation to press its economic attacks against Cuba. The September 13 *Wall Street Journal* reports that, "In the U.S. view," a U.S. official declared, "Cuba's economic problems were caused by that country's dependence on sugar, mismanagement of its domestic economy, and Cuba's military and other involvement abroad. 'We assume the creditors will view Cuba's problems from a financial perspective . . . and that Cuba will have to perform in a manner fully in accord with any other debtor in trouble.'"

The request was presented in an interview with Ismael Morera, vice-president of the National Bank of Cuba, in the September 19, 1982 weekly edition of the Cuban English-language newspaper *Granma*. According to the introduction the interview was "duly authorized by the government."

Explaining why it was necessary to renegotiate part of the foreign debt, Morera stated that, "Cuba has been faced with a temporarily difficult situation in terms of financial obligations with the capitalist countries as a result of two key factors. First of all, a credit restriction policy has been applied to our country, something which has become common practice with capitalist banks, and governments. This is the result of the profound economic crisis which faces capitalism that led to an even more profound financial crisis. Given the huge accumulated debt — especially of underdeveloped countries — and the repeated requests for debt renegotiations by many of them, capitalist banks have instituted a cautious policy of restrictions and withdrawals of funds.

"In our case, matters are made worse by Washington's aggressive campaign against Cuba, including U.S. pressure on banks and governments. All this has been reflected in the fact that during the last eight months more than \$550 million have been withdrawn from short-term deposits and loans usually maintained by international banks in our country. This is a blow which no economy the size of Cuba's can sustain without defending itself."

In answering *Granma's* question as to whether it might have been possible to foresee the problem, the Cuban bank official explained, "Since last year, as the gradual worsening of the international financial situation became evident, the Party and government took drastic steps to sharply cut back on imports from the capitalist countries that were not absolutely essential. Thus, imports in freely convertible currency which in some years were as high as \$1.8 billion were reduced to \$600 million in 1982, at current international market prices."

Morera told *Granma* that Cuba was not bankrupt, "because bankruptcy would mean the impossibility of meeting existing obligations, with the resulting heavy losses for the creditors. Our case is very different, since it is a postponement and not a bankruptcy."

He pointed out to *Granma* that, "Since 1970, nearly 30 underdeveloped countries have totally or partially renegotiated their debts."

The Cuban official explained that, "This difficult financial situation facing

the underdeveloped countries, including some with considerable oil deposits, is due to the constant instability of the world capitalist economy, which is subject to continual economic crises. The most recent of these crises — the one in the last two years — is of unprecedented gravity, especially in the financial field, and threatens to equal and perhaps surpass the 1929-33 capitalist economic crisis known as the Great Depression.

"The underdeveloped countries have been the main victims of this crisis of capitalism," Morera pointed out, "Inflation has significantly cut down on the foreign purchasing power of the underdeveloped countries. The capitalist recession has also lowered the prices of raw materials, semifinished goods and basic commodities exported by the nations of the so-called Third World."

Granma asked the National Bank vice-president whether the renegotiation reflects any weakness of the Cuban economy. "Absolutely not," Morera declared, "Paradoxically, Cuba is having to deal with the result of this situation at a time when its economy is the most solid and the outlook is the best. This was explained by our Commander in Chief Fidel Castro on the 26th of July and is covered in greater detail and with data in the . . . report of the National Bank of Cuba."

According to Morera, "Cuba's development does not depend on its economic ties with the capitalist countries. Our economic development is assured, guaranteed by the relations existing with CMEA [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] members states and first of all the substantial, constant and equitable cooperation between the economies of the USSR and Cuba."

"What impact will it have on the development of the Cuban economy and



William Price

Mechanical cane cutter: Cuban economy makes progress despite problems.

the standard of living of our people?" *Granma* asked.

"Of course it would be absurd for any of us to underestimate the negative aspects of the renegotiation," Morera answered, "because it will certainly lead to problems in Cuba's credit status, even though Cuba is only one of many countries which have renegotiated and international experts feel that this year and in the next few years nearly all developing countries will be forced to do likewise. This issue was one of the demands raised by Comrade Fidel on behalf of the developing countries in his very important speech at the 34th session [1979] of the UN General Assembly, in which he said that the debts of least developed countries should be eliminated."

"Regarding the direct effects on the people," the Cuban banking official went on, "we have been told that in planning for 1983 the financial situation that developed in 1981 and 1982 was taken into account, so the plans which were drafted are in keeping with the restrictions imposed by the world economic situation and the drop in sugar prices. In light of these inevitable

restrictions, Comrade Fidel has repeatedly spoken to our people about these problems and, in particular on the 26th of July, announcing with the clear and frank style characteristic of our political leadership that difficult situations were approaching. If the renegotiation takes place normally, as everything seems to indicate, the negative impact will be felt chiefly in what is called social consumption, where there will be some restrictions, and some national industries will be affected by a shortage of raw materials which will not be imported."

Morera told *Granma* that "We have been given instructions to give priority in our imports to everything related to the sugar industry, since it is our chief source of foreign exchange, and also to imports of food and medicine."

He indicated the key to overcoming the difficulties would be "greater efficiency in production for export and better utilization of the materials we must import. I know that the management, with the support of the Party, the Young Communist League and the mass organizations, will mobilize the people to help achieve this goal."

Canadian socialists to field candidates

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

The Revolutionary Workers League in Canada has announced that it is fielding candidates for mayor in the coming city elections in Vancouver, Montreal, Toronto, and Hamilton.

According to the September 27 issue of *Socialist Voice*, published biweekly in Montreal, Ned Dmytryshyn, a 37-year-old woodworker at Macmillan Bloedel's White Pine sawmill, is running for mayor of Vancouver.

In Montreal, Katy LeRougetel, a 24-year-old aerospace worker and member of the International Association of Machinists, is running for mayor. She was one of three women fired by Pratt and Whitney's plant in Montreal in 1979 on the basis of her political views.

The candidates in Toronto and Hamilton haven't been announced yet.

According to an editorial in the *Socialist Voice*, "the RWL candidates are not just campaigning for a socialist city hall. They are also campaigning against the Liberal government of Pierre Trudeau which, like Clark's Tory government before it, is acting not on our behalf but only in the interests of the ruling rich.

"Working people and their organizations," the editorial continues, "need to fight for a different kind of government: a workers and farmers government. A government which is prepared to confront the wealthy corporations. A government determined to enact socialist policies in the interests of the overwhelming majority who produce the wealth of this country."

Such a government would follow "policies to create jobs for the million and a half unemployed and to ensure the

livelihood of thousands of small farmers threatened with bank takeovers." It would achieve "the conversion of Canada's enormous \$7 billion war budget to peaceful and productive services, like affordable housing and free daycare centers for working people." It would "guarantee . . . equal job opportunities and full rights for women, Québécois, youth, and native people, who are the hardest hit by the economic crisis and by the racist and sexist policies of the bosses.

"At the center of the campaigns of the RWL mayoral candidates," *Socialist Voice* explains, "will be the need for independent labor political action, for presenting a working-class alternative to the bosses' parties at every level of government." The campaigns will be "discussing how workers in English Canada

and Quebec can unite in a common struggle for a workers and farmers government committed to socialist policies."

Socialist Voice also points out that the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party, has "refused to wage a campaign for the mayoralty of any major city."

The editorial states that "despite the burning need for a radical change in government at every level, beginning in Ottawa, neither the unions in English Canada and Quebec, nor the New Democratic Party in English Canada is providing the working class alternative we so badly need.

"Rather than leaving working people and their allies with no alternative, the Revolutionary Workers League is running campaigns which chart the way forward for the labor movement."

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Japanese rulers rewrite history to justify new military buildup



Japanese imperialism slaughtered thousands of Chinese who were fighting against national oppression in the 1930s and 1940s.

BY ERNEST HARSCH

As part of a broader propaganda drive to justify rebuilding Japan's military might, the Japanese ruling class is seeking to rewrite history.

According to new school textbooks approved by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Tokyo's military aggression against China, Vietnam, Korea, the Philippines, and other Asian countries during the 1930s and 1940s is no longer considered an "invasion," but an "advance."

This and other revisions of Japanese history textbooks have prompted a storm of protest and outrage throughout the region, particularly among those peoples who were the victims of the mass slaughter and destruction carried out by Japanese imperialist troops.

The changes are all intended to gloss over the brutality of the Japanese conquest of much of Asia — and even to provide some justification for it. The revisions are numerous:

- The 1937 "rape of Nanking," in China, is no longer portrayed in the textbooks as a massacre. The previous figure of 200,000 Chinese killed by the Japanese is dropped entirely, as are references to the Japanese army's plundering of the city.
- Mention of the forcible conscription of tens of thousands of Korean workers to labor in Japan between 1939 and 1945 is completely dropped.
- Accounts of a Japanese massacre of hundreds of Okinawans in the closing days of World War II have been deleted. (Although Okinawa is today officially considered a prefecture of Japan, it is, in fact, a colony.)
- The March 1, 1919, uprising in Korea is no longer described as a revolt against Japanese colonial rule, but as a "riot." The fact that more than 7,000 Koreans were killed when the Japanese suppressed the rebellion has been dropped.

Military buildup

These textbook revisions are not just indications of the Japanese ruling class's efforts to deny responsibility for its past aggression against the peoples of Asia. They are closely linked to its moves to build up Japan's *current* military forces and prepare for future attacks on revolutions in Asia.

An article in the September 6 issue of *Sekai Kakumei* (World Revolution), the weekly newspaper of the Japan Revolutionary Communist League, Japanese section of the Fourth International, pointed out that "the reactionary strengthening of the textbook approval system is an integral part of the broader policy of the regime and big business."

According to *Sekai Kakumei*, it is part

of the Japanese ruling class's "attack on people's livelihoods" within Japan, and another step on the road toward changing the Japanese constitution, which places restrictions on the level of Japan's military forces.

On July 23, just as the news of the textbook revisions was coming to light, the government of Prime Minister Zenko Suzuki adopted a five-year \$64 billion weapons program, the largest since World War II. It did so at the urging of the U.S. government, which has been seeking to shift more of the military burden of policing imperialist interests around the world onto its allies.

This weapons program will concentrate on building up Japan's air and naval capabilities. As part of it, the Japanese government intends to nearly double the number of F-15 jet fighters in its arsenal, from 80 to 155.

This \$64 billion program will require yearly increases in military allocations of between 6.5 percent and 8 percent. In-

creases in military spending in recent years have already outstripped the yearly increases for practically all other key budget items.

Washington is pressing Tokyo to go even further. It has been urging the Japanese government to take responsibility for helping to defend imperialist interests within a radius of 1,000 miles from Japan's shores — an area that not only covers important parts of China, but also most of the Philippines and all of the Korean Peninsula.

Broad protests

It is moves such as these that have accounted for the extent of the protests against the textbook revisions. Angry responses have come from China, Taiwan, North Korea, South Korea, Vietnam, Singapore, the Philippines, and other countries.

A commentary in late July, in the *People's Daily*, the official newspaper of the Chinese Communist Party, attributed the textbook revisions to Japanese "militarists" who "cannot dispel the painful memories of their aggressions, killing and torture and plunder from the minds of the Chinese people." It warned that Sino-Japanese relations could be affected as a result.

On September 8, *Nhan Dan*, one of the main Vietnamese dailies, condemned the "attempt to whitewash the crimes committed by the Japanese militarists against the people of Asia and the Pacific before and during World War Two, including their unpardonable atrocities against the Vietnamese people." It noted, "The revision of school textbooks and other efforts in the same vein are part and parcel of a scheme to step up the arms race and revive militarism."

The September 2 *Rodong Sinmun*, the newspaper of the Workers Party of Korea published in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea), called the changes "a mockery of and insult to the Asian peoples." It noted that Japan's "large-scale arms buildup" was being reinforced by "prep-

arations in the ideological, educational and cultural fields, too."

On September 15, thousands of students in South Korea held mass meetings and demonstrations to protest the revisions. At Seoul University, about 1,500 students demonstrated for four hours, chanting, "Denounce Japan's distortion of history," "Oppose Japanese neo-militarism," and "Away with Japanese capital." Nearly 400 riot police stormed the campus. The same day, 600 students at Songgyungwan University held a demonstration. Other student actions have also hit the dictatorship of Gen. Chun Doo Hwan for its subservience to Japanese imperialism.

This widespread sentiment in South Korea has forced the Chun regime itself to come out formally against the textbook revisions.

Within Japan, the printer's union and various local organizations, including many antinuclear groups, have organized protests against the textbook revisions. In Okinawa, unions and women's groups have organized a campaign to collect 100,000 signatures on a petition demanding that the revisions be reversed. The Ainu people, an oppressed minority in northern Japan, have also protested.

Sekai Kakumei commented, "It is necessary to fight for the demands of the Chinese, Korean, and other Asian peoples — as well as the Okinawan and Ainu peoples — for an immediate re-writing of the textbooks and abolition of the system of textbook control."

In face of these widespread protests, the Suzuki regime made some concessions. It said that it would change the new passages in the textbooks. It did not, however, specify how they would be changed, and claimed that new textbooks could in any case not be prepared for at least two years.

Whatever happens on the textbook issue, the Japanese government has every intention of pressing ahead with its plans to build up its military strength. That is the real danger lurking behind the textbook revisions.

From Intercontinental Press

Antonio Maceo Brigade will travel to Cuba

BY JOSÉ G. PÉREZ

The Antonio Maceo Brigade, an organization of progressive young Cubans in the United States, is celebrating its fifth anniversary by organizing a contingent of young Cubans to visit and work in Cuba for several weeks in December.

The group is named after Antonio Maceo, a central leader of the Cuban independence movement in the nineteenth century.

The Brigade, which opposes the U.S. government's economic blockade of Cuba and supports normalization of relations between the two countries, has played a prominent role in organizing protests against U.S. military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

The Brigade's first contingent to Cuba in 1977 paved the way for the dialogue between Cuban authorities and the Cuban community abroad that led to the release of thousands of persons who had been jailed in Cuba and the return to Cuba of hundreds of thousands of Cubans abroad for brief visits.

The Brigade's second contingent, which visited Cuba in the summer of 1979, was named "Carlos Muñiz Varela," in memory of a member of the group's national committee who was murdered by right-wing Cuban terrorists in the spring of that year. Opposition to the counterrevolutionary terrorists who operate with impunity in the

United States has been a central focus of the Brigade's work.

"We travel to Cuba because we feel a need to get to know our homeland again," said Mariana Gastón, national organizer of the Brigade. "In addition, we hold that Cubans who live outside Cuba have a right to a permanent dialogue with the Cuban government."

The trip will be carried out despite the ban on travel to Cuba imposed by the Reagan administration several months ago. Brigade members will be guests of the Cuban government, which will pay

expenses forbidden under U.S. regulations. Technically, U.S. regulations prohibit only spending money to travel to Cuba, not visiting the island itself.

The contingent is open to all young Cubans who oppose U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean and support normalization of U.S.-Cuba relations and the idea of a permanent dialogue between Cubans abroad and the Cuban government. Further information is available from: Antonio Maceo Brigade, P.O. Box 1125 Cathedral Station, New York, N.Y. 10025.

Ghana: a revolution begins to unfold Intercontinental Press tells the story

A revolution is unfolding in Ghana and Intercontinental Press (IP) has provided up to date coverage of the events there.

The July 5, July 12, and October 4 issues carried articles written by IP staff writer Ernest Harsch providing detailed coverage of the upsurge in Ghana.

Unfortunately the *Militant* was unable to reprint these articles, but they can be obtained from IP by sending \$2.50 for issues 25, 26, and 31.

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National NOW conference debates strategy

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

INDIANAPOLIS — The annual conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW), which took place here October 8-10, elected a new president, Judith Goldsmith, and four other national officers committed to continuing the political course pursued by the leadership of the organization for the last several years.

That had been expected. But what was significant was the strength of the political opposition to this course. In the final round of balloting for the office of president, nearly 40 percent of the delegates voted for Goldsmith's major opponent, Sonia Johnson.

The outcome of the elections, which dominated the three-day conference, means that NOW will intensify its concentration on efforts to raise money for and work to elect Democratic Party candidates to office at all levels of government.

The widespread opposition to the direction NOW is taking gave rise to a great deal of serious discussion and a more open political debate than at any time in recent years at a NOW national gathering.

Among the 3,200 participants who made this the largest convention in NOW history were hundreds of young women, many attending their first national NOW convention. Many were not activists in NOW, but had come in search of discussions with other feminists they knew would be gathering from across the country.

The "age gap" was clearly visible as the younger women tended to be far more critical of NOW's political course than the business and professional women in their late 30's and 40's who dominate the leadership.

Like other recent conventions of NOW, the percentage of Black women and Latinas was minuscule (little more than one percent) and the number of trade unionists and other working-class women was extremely small. But those women were among the most vocal in demanding a different political direction for NOW.

The outgoing leadership, headed by Eleanor Smeal, who has been president of NOW since 1977, campaigned hard for Goldsmith, the outgoing vice president-executive. Goldsmith, Smeal's de-

signed choice to succeed her, ran as part of a slate of candidates nominated for the five national posts.

Running against "The Goldsmith Team," as they called themselves, were other candidates for each office, but no other slate.

Sonia Johnson campaign

The strongest challenge to the Smeal-Goldsmith leadership was posed by Sonia Johnson. Johnson first came into the public spotlight several years ago when she was excommunicated from the Mormon church for her support to the Equal Rights Amendment.

She has since received wide publicity for her participation in various civil disobedience actions in support of women's rights. She was one of eight women who conducted a 37-day hunger strike earlier this year as part of an unsuccessful campaign to win passage of the ERA by the Illinois state legislature.

Johnson's appeal to many NOW members was based on the question of democracy within NOW, as well as her personal reputation as a fighter for women's rights. She presented herself as a candidate who had no preconceived program she would try to impose on NOW. "The chapters must decide what issues they want to work on and what methods will be the most effective. I have confidence that the members of NOW will make the right choices," she told delegates.

Addressing herself to the widespread opposition to NOW offering money and support to politicians who oppose women's rights, she added, "You don't have to choose between your principles and being effective, between your heart and your head."

Democracy in NOW

The question of democracy within NOW is an important one. Increasingly bureaucratic methods have been used by the national leadership in recent years to impose its unpopular political perspectives on an organization of feminists who don't agree they should subordinate the fight for women's rights to the dictates of the Democratic Party.

For example, the flagrantly undemocratic attempts by the San Francisco chapter leadership to expel three lead-

ers of the chapter for building a supposedly "unauthorized" women's rights demonstration last March 8, were widely known among NOW activists at the conference.

Obviously fearful that it would be an explosive issue at the convention, and one that would put more wind in the sails of the Johnson campaign, the national leadership was forced to reverse the suspensions of the three members on the eve of the convention. They were reinstated, though banned from holding office in NOW for one year.

During informal discussions throughout the conference, and in a special meeting organized by the Caucus for Democracy in the San Francisco NOW chapter, many women voiced their outrage at the undemocratic San Francisco proceedings and related similar experiences in chapters in Maryland, Ohio, and elsewhere.

Message to NOW leadership

Hundreds of NOW members voted for Johnson despite the fact that she had no alternative political perspective that would advance the struggle for women's rights — and in fact holds reactionary positions on some issues, such as calling for harsher jail terms for men convicted of rape, which dovetails with the government's racist law-and-order campaign.

Women voted for Johnson because they sensed that if she won there would at least be some room within the organization for feminists with widely divergent views to discuss, debate, and work together to hammer out a program of action that would mobilize women's potential power, rather than channel it into the Democratic Party.

The final vote was 705 for Johnson to 1137 for Goldsmith. As Johnson remarked later in the plenary, the vote sent a message to the NOW leadership that thousands of members "want some changes. . . . We want our diversity honored and welcomed."

Elect Democrats

As explained in its campaign literature, in the workshops, caucus meetings, news conferences, and on the conference floor, the political platform of the Goldsmith-Smeal leadership was simple: "The assaults of the Right Wing on women's rights will only be halted with the defeat of the Reagan Right at the voting booth."

"From now at least through the elections of 1984, a key component of our efforts must be in the arena of electoral politics. To take any other course would be to abdicate our responsibilities to stop the devastation of the Right Wing."

The major efforts projected by the NOW leadership to implement its program included:

- Continuing to strengthen the NOW Political Action Committees (PAC), which they claim are fast becoming the most powerful PAC network in the country. NOW/PAC plans to raise \$3 million to finance Democratic Party campaigns in 1982.

- The establishment of an Institute for Feminist Politics, financed by NOW/PAC, to recruit and train a "new breed" of candidates, starting with NOW members.

- Preparation of a "political analysis/targeting program" to assist chapters in "identifying 'winnable' seats and developing campaign strategies for electing our candidates to office."

Throughout the conference the NOW leadership argued forcefully that it was necessary to reject the "purist" and politically unsophisticated notion that



Left to right: outgoing NOW President Judith Goldsmith; and Sonia Johnson, opponent in race. Right: picture on featured quote from suffrage fighter Susan B. Anthony, sentiment of many conference par leadership's political line.

women fighting for our rights should judge political parties or candidates on the basis of their records on issues like the ERA, abortion rights, or affirmative action.

As Smeal put it in one of the PAC workshops, we have to "look at the total picture. Look at where people sit in legislative bodies and who would be there if they weren't."

In deciding who to endorse or give money to in an election, Smeal argued, "It may be better to save a person with seniority than to back someone with no seniority who is 100 percent with us," because that person with seniority may be blocking someone "worse" from becoming chairman of a key congressional subcommittee.

Throughout the conference, the debate was sharp between the Smeal-Goldsmith supporters and members of NOW who have become increasingly outraged by NOW's abandonment of its commitment to fight uncompromisingly for women's rights.

Opposition centered in the California and New Jersey delegations, though it was not limited to those states. One of the more popular stickers worn by conference participants was distributed by New Jersey delegates. It took the form of a multiple choice questionnaire stating, "In the name of political pragmatism I will sell out:

- ☐ Equal Rights Amendment
- ☐ Reproductive Freedom
- ☐ Lesbian Rights
- ☐ All of the Above
- ☒ NONE OF THE ABOVE."

Final plenary

Supporters of the Smeal-Goldsmith perspective prevented most resolutions opposing their line from reaching the plenary floor.

For example, a strong antiwar resolution, which included reversing NOW's position favoring extension of draft registration to women, was adopted by the special issues hearing on Militarism. But a motion to prioritize discussion on this issue was defeated, thus effectively restricting discussion on U.S. foreign policy and military actions abroad.

The resolution reported out by the Lesbian Rights issue hearing, however, contained a final be it resolved clause that stated, "The NOW National Board shall not recommend to the National PAC the endorsement of or financial contributions to any political candidate whose stands on ERA, Reproductive Freedom, Lesbian Rights, or Minority Rights are inconsistent with NOW's overall stands on these issues."

In the final plenary session devoted to discussion and adoption of resolutions, Smeal-Goldsmith supporters moved and won adoption of a substitute motion on criteria for support to political candidates. It reiterated current NOW/PAC policy that a candidate's stand on NOW's main issues would be weighed. But this would occur only "within an overall political strategy recognizing

NOW members back unionist's fight for job

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

INDIANAPOLIS — Ann Riley Owens is fighting to regain her job as a lab technician at the McDonnell Douglas aircraft plant in St. Louis. At the recent conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW), Owens received a lot of support as she explained that she lost her job because of her union activities and her political ideas. Owens, a member of the International Association of Machinists, is on the executive board of her local Coalition of Labor Union Women chapter and is a member of NOW.

Owens was laid off in a discriminatory manner when the company shifted higher seniority workers into her department in order to get rid of her. At issue is the right of union militants to work in plants with Pentagon contracts, free from company and government victimization.

Owens explained her case at the conference workshop on equal pay for women for work of comparable value. She also announced her case in the Labor and Employment issues hearing, and distributed leaflets and fact sheets there.

One hundred and thirty people signed a petition of protest that is being circulated on her behalf, including individual members of the Service Employees International Union, Communication Workers of America, and the American Federation of Teachers.

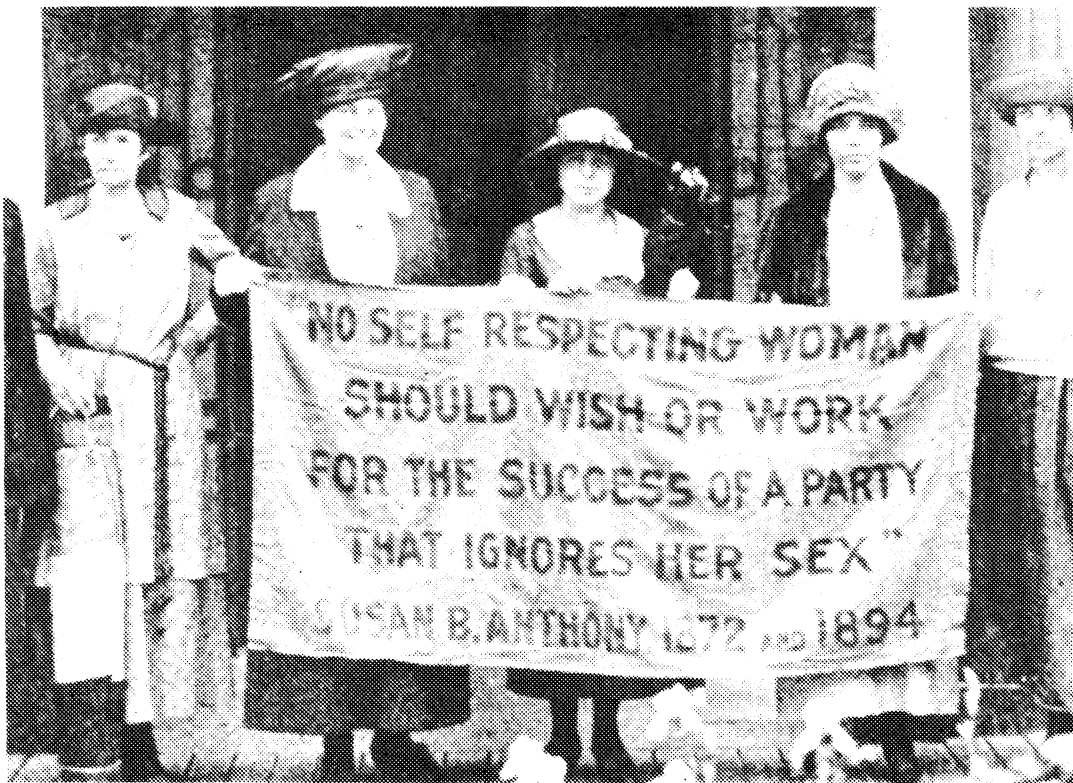
A professor at the State University of New York at Brockport, who is a union activist, immediately saw a similarity between Owens' case and her own experience at work. The university is shifting higher seniority people into other departments resulting in the layoff of those with lower seniority, even though many have tenure.

NOW members from Granite City, Illinois, want Owens to come to a local NOW chapter meeting to explain her case. They said there are a number of women in their chapter who have been laid off from steel mills in the surrounding area.

Letters demanding that Owens get her job back can be sent to Sanford McDonnell, chairman and executive officer, McDonnell Douglas Corp., P.O. Box 516, St. Louis, Mo. 63166.



Militant/Holly Harkness
**leanor Smeal; newly elected Johnson, Goldsmith's major
 it of convention booklet fea-
 B. Anthony which captured
 ipant's opposition to NOW**



he importance of the political power structure, the balance of power and realistic expectations that will continue to further the goals of equality for women."

Most supporters of the original resolution on criteria saw it as a way to block NOW from selling out the fight for women's rights by working to elect foes of abortion rights, lesbian rights, minority rights; and other demands women are fighting for. But only a few delegates pointed clearly to the real problem.

Even if an individual candidate does support NOW's position on those questions, as long as she or he belongs to a political party that opposes women and represents the economic interests of those who profit from women's oppression, supporting that individual only reinforces the political power of women's most deadly enemies.

As Toby Emmerich, a member of Toledo, Ohio, NOW and a laborer at the OHIO oil refinery there, explained in the plenary debate: "We are suffering blows because the Democratic and Republican parties are opposed to our rights. As long as we give money to candidates running in those parties, we are just spending money to defeat ourselves."

Emmerich referred to the photograph that appeared on all the official convention literature showing women holding a banner with Susan B. Anthony's proclamation that "No self-respecting woman should wish or work for the success of a party that ignores her sex." "That must be our motto today," Emmerich said. "We must stop supporting the Democratic and Republican parties. We must work with the labor movement and the Black movement to start a new political course. We need a party that represents our interests, not those of the rich."

A number of delegates noted that there was no guest speaker from the trade union movement at any of the plenary sessions and that the Coalition of Labor Union Women received virtually no mention.

The workshops and special interest hearings on Labor and Employment, Working with Labor on Feminist Issues, and Sexual Harassment in the Workplace were all marked by the small numbers of union women present and their failure to deal with the most pressing issues faced by working women.

Oppressed nationalities

The small number of Black, Latina and Asian women at the NOW conference was another expression of the political orientation of the NOW leadership.

But many conference participants were fully aware that women will never build a movement capable of winning the battle for equality unless the power and determination of the most oppressed and exploited women is mobilized. That awareness brought many women to the special hearing on minority issues — Women of Color and Those

Who Care — hurriedly organized during the conference by women angered that no discussion on questions of special concern to Black, Latina, and Asian women had been scheduled.

Well over 100 women, 30 or 40 of whom were Black or Latina, attended.

A resolution from the hearing was reported to the plenary session by Brenda Frazier, a long time activist and leader of NOW from Pittsburgh. It called attention to the failure of NOW to implement previous resolutions on minority women's issues and outlined a number of specific proposals including the establishment of "a fulltime administrative management position for a racial minority member who shall be responsible to the membership to promote the interests of minority women in all aspects of the organization."

The resolution also called on NOW to support and build an anti-Klan demonstration

for November 6 in Washington, D.C., organized by the Anti-Klan Network.

When the resolution hit the floor it produced the most heated debate of the conference.

First an amendment to delete mention of support for the anti-Klan demonstration was proposed and adopted after Smeal, who was chairing the session, declared that NOW would be too busy with election activities to really implement it even if it were adopted.

Then Sandy Roth, outgoing NOW national secretary, moved to delete all but one of the remaining subsections of the resolution on the grounds that they mandated hiring staff. "We've just elected an entire new slate of officers," she argued. "They need flexibility to shape their new staff."

Smeal again took advantage of her control of the chair to expand on the arguments presented by Roth, saying that

'Militant' well received by feminist fighters

BY MARGARET JAYKO

INDIANAPOLIS — The *Militant* was well-received by participants at the recent National Organization for Women (NOW) conference. (See news story on facing page.)

Conference-goers purchased 172 single copies of the *Militant* and 23 subscriptions. The *Militant's* exhibition booth was a popular gathering place for women who wanted to have political discussion on a wide variety of current events.

More than \$100 worth of socialist literature was sold. Titles on the fight for women's liberation were best-sellers, especially the pamphlet *Reagan's War on Women's Rights*. Books and pamphlets about the revolutionary struggles in Central America and the Caribbean and the socialist analysis of the class forces and politics in the Middle East were also popular.

Women who are running for public office across the country on the Socialist Workers Party ticket received applause when they spoke about their campaigns in workshops and at the final plenary session. Women were interested in finding out about the program these candidates were running on.

The enthusiastic response that the socialist campaigns and the *Militant* received reflected the composition of conference participants — feminist fighters, angry about what the government and employers are doing to women, Blacks, Latinos, and working people everywhere and looking for explanations for what's happening and ways to fight back.

Glenda Conway from Lexington, Kentucky, bought a *Militant* subscription. Like many other women at the conference, Conway was not a NOW activist. But she has been a feminist for years and recently was involved in a program

aimed at finding jobs for women. This led her to the conclusion that there was no way to solve the problems women face by "chipping away" at them piecemeal.

She came to the conference hoping to meet other women concerned with these kinds of problems. Conway thought that the women's liberation movement should be based on working-class women, and should be involved in the struggles of Blacks, who have been hardest hit by unemployment and attacks on democratic rights.

Among the large percentage of young women at the conference, there were many who were radicalizing as a result of the U.S.-backed Israeli war in Lebanon and the new Vietnam that Reagan is dragging us into in Central America.

Perhaps the single biggest reason that many women picked up the *Militant* was the front page headline on Lebanon.

One woman came by the *Militant* table and said she couldn't understand the meaning of what was going on in the Middle East. A woman from Los Angeles, who was browsing over the literature on the table, told her that she too used to think it was complicated.

But, she explained, the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the bombing and massacre of Beirut, and the U.S. role in all this, made her begin to rethink and re-study Middle East politics. She bought a *Militant* and a book on Israel as a colonial-settler state.

Pat Grogan sold 10 *Militants* outside the convention center during the lunch break on the first day. Many of these women bought the paper after Grogan explained that the *Militant* has eyewitness coverage of the ongoing revolution in Nicaragua, and the U.S.-backed attacks against it.

the national office couldn't supervise such a staff person. "I beg you, please don't do this to your new officers. Give them time to implement their policies."

After an explosion of shouts that the chair was out of order, the discussion got under way.

One delegate pointed out that the resolution did not propose the hiring of someone who needed to be supervised. Instead, it instructed national NOW for the first time to hire a minority staff member "as a supervisor."

Speaker after speaker took the floor to demand that NOW radically alter its past policies and practices.

"My mother was born in El Salvador and my father in Mexico," a delegate from San Fernando Valley, California, told a hushed convention hall. "When he went to work people used to call him a lazy Mexican."

"Especially in light of what the Reagan administration has done, it is high time that we mandate NOW to implement a strong racial policy. We as an organization have to show Reagan we will not backtrack on civil rights. Women in this country will not stand for racism under any circumstances."

Another delegate from San Francisco was greeted by applause as she argued, "This is a question of life and death for NOW. If we continue to be seen as an organization of upper-middle-class white women promoting their own careers, that will be the death of us as a women's rights organization."

The delegates decisively voted down the motion to delete the substantive

Continued on Page 14

Many women at the conference were familiar with the *Militant* already. One woman who bought a copy had gone to Miami to be part of the ERA ratification drive there. That led her to be politically active in other struggles as well. And that had led her into the Militant Bookstore in Miami.

Some women bought copies of the *Militant* early in the conference and, after reading it, returned to the table to buy a trial subscription.

More than 100 conference participants stopped by a reception hosted by the *Militant* on Saturday evening. Many of these mostly young women wanted to see the slide shows of recent trips to Cuba and Nicaragua by Young Socialist Alliance leader Holly Harkness.

Others came because they wanted to meet and talk politics with socialists and discuss a working-class perspective on the fight for women's rights, a perspective that was the opposite of what was projected by the NOW leadership at the conference.

Women from Indiana were able to meet Beth Julien, a laid-off auto worker who is the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in Indiana.

Three women from Columbus, Ohio, were part of a feminist study group and planned on having a discussion on what to do about the 1982 elections at their next meeting. They came to the reception partly to find out what socialists thought about the elections.

Three conference participants signed up to attend the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) convention, which will be held in Chicago on December 30-January 2, 1983, and expressed interest in joining the YSA. One woman wants to set up a YSA chapter in Tallahassee, Florida.



Militant/Rich Robohm

Mark Burroughs, socialist rail worker, was interviewed by WIND

Socialist engineer says rail strike taught big political lessons

Co-workers cheer his defense of union

CHICAGO — Striking rail workers here, outraged by the slanders voiced against them on a local radio station call-in show, were able to get a hearing for their views. Mark Burroughs and a dozen co-workers, walking the picket line on September 27, the last day of the rail engineers strike, were listening to a talk show about the strike on radio station WIND. They didn't like what they heard.

"The callers said we were greedy and overpaid," Burroughs told the *Militant*. "The real issues of the strike were being distorted."

Burroughs, who is a member of the United Transportation Union in engine service and a Chicago leader of the Young Socialist Alliance, heard enough. He went to a pay phone and called the station and explained that a bunch of engineers on the picket line wanted their views of the strike presented.

Burroughs was interviewed by WIND. When it was over, his co-workers, who were listening to the radio, greeted him with clenched fists, cheers, and shouts of "Right on, Mark!"

Later that day, the House of Representatives voted 383 to 17 to order the engineers back to work under the terms of a presidential commission. The congressional resolution left work-rule changes to be negotiated at the carrier (rail carrier) and local levels instead of nationally, and voided the union's right to strike.

What the striking rail workers thought about this bipartisan back-to-work order was shown in their enthusiastic response to Burroughs's comments during the interview.

Burroughs told the *Militant* about a discussion following the interview between two engineers who were discussing the idea of labor breaking with the two bosses' parties, the Democrats and Republicans, and forming a labor party.

"Look," one of them said, "I'm not a socialist or a communist. But they've told me all my life to worry about the Russians. Why the hell should I worry about the Russians when I have to worry about what my own government is doing to me?"

Burroughs said he believes the political conclusions these workers are drawing "are symbolic of the political price the government and the ruling class it serves will pay for what has been done in imposing this resolution on us."

Following are excerpts from the WIND interview with Burroughs.

* * *

Mark Burroughs: How are you doing?

WIND: Well, the question is, how are you doing?

Burroughs: Oh, we're rolling. We're feeling great. Even though Congress is about to order us back to work and impose the conditions that we'll return under, we're very determined. This is only round one of a long battle that is yet to be finished.

WIND: Yes, this is probably true. Last night, as I'm sure you know, the Senate voted on a resolution ordering you back to work, and it's expected that Congress will do the same today or tomorrow at the latest. What is your attitude toward Congress setting the terms for you going back to work? How do you feel about it?

Burroughs: Well it shows whose side the government is on. It shows that it's clearly on the side of the carriers.

The government exposes its role in defending the interests of big business against working people. We've seen this other times, with the government's role in busting PATCO [Professional Air Traffic Controller's Organization] and its role in attempting to bust the coal miners' strike.

WIND: If that is the case, do you think it's time for the unions to come up with an alternative to striking?

Burroughs: No, but there has to be more than just strikes. What we see here is that even the most so-called "liberal, progressive" Democrats like Kennedy and Tip O'Neill have lined up on the side of the carriers. And this shows that we have no power in Washington. The fact that our struggle for decent wages and working conditions runs head on into the government shows that our problems can not be solved on the picket line alone — they have to be fought on the political plane. I think what's clearly posed for all working people is that we need our own political party that represents the interests of all working people.

WIND: A union political party?

Burroughs: I would say a political party based on the organizational structure and power of the trade unions that reflects the interests of all people — not just unionists, but all working people — unemployed, minorities, women, everybody who is under attack but has no voice or vehicle to fight back.

WIND: When you get to the point in negotiations that you have to go out on strike, you usually go out because you feel you have to make a point, the only way to gain something for your side. What do you think you have gained by the strike?

Burroughs: For the short term, we're going back to work. We're being dictated to — what terms we'll have to go back to work under. But one thing that has been gained is that the role of the government has been exposed to all of us out here on the picket line. There is a lot

of anger. We feel betrayed by the government.

What has been gained is education. We've been standing out here on the picket line, and they are going to force us back to work, and we're going to have to go back to work. We don't want to get fired. But there's been an education. There is a radicalization that they can't shut the door on. We're thinking about all these political questions.

WIND: So you think that the strike has caused the union to become more politicized. Do you think this will reflect itself in the elections?

Burroughs: I don't know. It will reflect itself in the elections, but I don't know if it will in 1982 or 1984. Like I said, the news reports show us that this strike-breaking was bipartisan. Even, like I said, Ted Kennedy, the candidate that most of our union leaders try to pose as the great friend of labor, well, he just stabbed us in the back. So, say for the 1982 elections, what alternative do we have? Who are we going to have to vote for?

WIND: You've seen what happened in the past to a third party. How long do you think it would take before a union candidate was taken seriously?

Burroughs: There is no way to anticipate. The more the government continues to deal us blows, the auto workers, the steelworkers — they're trying to rip up the steelworkers' contracts and impose work-rule changes — the more they attack us, the faster the politicalization and radicalization goes. Just how fast working people get behind this idea depends on how hard they push us.

WIND: Briefly summarize your feelings about the strike.

Burroughs: Well, first of all, the talk about the average yearly salary being \$28,000 to 50,000 is absurd. Not one of us out here made \$28,000. And anybody who made \$50,000 had to be working like a dog, every waking hour and many sleeping hours. I suppose someone could make \$28,000 if they worked every day with some overtime. But the nature of the railroad is that so many of us are on the extra board, that is, subject to call. We only work as the railroad needs us,

so you end up working only three or four days a week. So to say we make \$28,000 to 50,000 is a gross distortion.

WIND: So what would you say is an average salary?

Burroughs: \$23,000, maybe \$24,000.

WIND: So you're saying that the reported average is about \$20,000 off.

Burroughs: Yeah. Now, another distortion is that we're getting 28 percent over 39 months. Well, it's really only an 11 percent raise, and the other 17 percent is cost of living. But we only get that provided the cost of living goes up — which I'm sure it will. But the formulation is only a fraction; we get a miniscule percentage in relation to the actual rise in the cost of living.

Now, one of the biggest slanders is that this strike is simply over this pay differential for engineers. There is much more at stake than that. The reason that there has been no agreement, that we have worked without a contract since April 1981, is that the carriers want work-rule concessions that will have a drastic effect relating to our jobs, layoffs, working conditions, and personal lives. They say that our work rules are archaic. They want to turn the clock back, turn back decades of progress that rail unions have made regarding safety and working conditions that were fought for and won with bitter, bloody strikes.

So, in reality, it is not our work rules that are archaic, but the working conditions that the carriers want us to return to that are archaic.

We are portrayed as greedy and selfish. Well, the issue of safety affects not only us but the general public. One example is that they want to eliminate the caboose. Now, we carry extremely dangerous commodities, like liquified propane gas, nuclear waste, and even nuclear weapons. So, it's very important to have somebody on the hind end of the train to watch for any potential problems that could lead to serious accidents. There have been tragedies where whole communities have been affected by serious derailments. If the public were told the real issues in this strike, they would support us.

Louisiana paper workers forced to strike

BY JOHN CHARBONNET

ST. FRANCISVILLE, La. — Some 750 Louisiana paper mill workers are resisting a union-busting attempt by Crown Zellerbach. The workers, members of locals 752, 927, and 928 of the United Paperworkers International Union (UPIU), were forced out on strike on September 27 at Crown Zellerbach's huge paper mill in St. Francisville, north of the state capital, Baton Rouge.

According to Monty Payne, president of UPIU Local 752, "The main issue is what the company calls 'flexibility.' They want to move workers regardless of seniority or progression to any job."

Payne believes "Crown is taking advantage of the economy and the fears of people to weaken the union."

Union pickets on the one road leading into the plant say they thought carefully before voting 2 to 1 to reject the

company's final offer. They expect a long hard strike. In 1979 they were out for four months.

One worker explained his thinking: "We were willing to work for another year under the current contract, go without a pay raise, and give up some holidays. We know times are hard, but they want to go too far."

"Some people may think we're foolish to strike now during the recession. But if we don't fight now, what's the point of having a union?"

The workers believe they are also fighting to save jobs. They charge that if they accept the company's demand for flexibility, it will lead to several hundred workers being laid off. Although the company's proposal includes a guarantee of no layoffs because of changes in work practices, it allows

layoffs attributed to new technology or production curtailment.

Another picket said that his decision to vote against the company's proposal was a well-considered one. "How would I feel if I vote for the proposal and that causes someone else to lose the job he needs to support his family?"

The local media coverage has implied that the union's position is unreasonable.

Crown Zellerbach is bringing in non-union personnel as scabs from its other plants across the country, each of which has a different contract expiration date. They also hope to shift some orders to other plants.

Union members scoff at the company's claim, which is being played up in the media, that the corporation's production schedule will be unaffected by the strike.

How workers are exploited under capitalism

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB
(fifth of a series)

Unlike earlier economic systems such as slavery and feudal serfdom, capitalism presents itself as a society of free and equal persons. The foundation of this capitalist freedom is free competition and free trade. Everybody is free to buy and sell. One person is as free as another to start a business and take his or her chance on the market.

Still notwithstanding this freedom, one fact remains. At the top of the social pyramid there is a tiny group of very

BEHIND THE RECESSION

rich people. Most of these people have inherited their wealth from ancestors (some times many generations removed) who were successful businessmen. This small group does not have to work, not even in the sense of managing a business. The rich receive huge incomes from ownership of stocks, bonds, and real estate. They are taking a lot out of society but they are putting nothing into it.

The vast majority of people, however, have to work in order to live. After a lifetime of work, few people have any savings to start a business let alone pass on any money to their descendants.

A class divided society

Capitalism is not just a society characterized by commodity production and buying and selling. It is a society where the vast majority of the population that has to work does not own the instruments necessary for work. Instead the factories, machines, mines, land, and other means of production are owned by relatively few people — the capitalist class — who determine their use. The class that does not own means of production, the working class, must work for the capitalist class or face starvation.

Today capitalism is so well established in the U.S. that there is a tendency to assume that society cannot be organized any other way. Yet little more than 100 years ago most Americans were not wage workers. In those days most people were owners of the means of production they worked with — artisans, such as tinsmiths, carpenters and blacksmiths, or free farmers. They owned some land, animals, plows and other tools needed for farming or some other trade. The product of their labor was theirs until they either consumed it or sold it on the market.

But gradually this changed. More and more farmers had to give up farming and get jobs in the cities. Small artisans could not compete with large scale industry. New immigrants also had to work for wages. Blacks, who had been first enslaved and then became largely sharecroppers, also became wage workers.

Today it seems "natural" that factories, machinery, raw materials, and the final product itself do not belong to the workers who use them and produce them, but to the company or corporation. The corporation in turn is owned by a group of stockholders. While there may be a relatively large group of people who own one or two shares, the decisive bulk of the stock is owned by a small group of rich and superrich families.

Since we live in a "free society" nobody legally has to work for the rich. But a person who does not work and is not lucky enough to belong to the capitalist class has to go without the material necessities of life. Labor is therefore in reality forced labor just as surely as it was under the slave system. That is why capitalism has been aptly characterized as wage slavery by the workers movement for generations.

The worker's only real freedom is the right to search for another employer if he or she can find one. The wage worker is not the property of a single owner as

was the case under slavery. He or she is the collective property of the capitalist class as a whole.

Capitalist theory of value

The early leaders of the capitalist class were very proud of the equality of their system. Unlike the feudal system, the new capitalist society proclaimed "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity" as its motto. To be sure there were some very important exceptions to early capitalist equality such as Blacks, Indians, and women. However, the new society established through social revolution provided a far better framework for the most oppressed and downtrodden to wage the struggle for full equality.

The concept of capitalist equality and freedom, that is a society where everybody was free to compete with everybody else on the market, found its reflection in economic thought in the labor theory of value.

British economist David Ricardo (1772-1823) was the most articulate advocate of the labor theory of value.

According to Ricardo the value of a commodity is determined by the amount of labor time that is necessary to produce it. If, for example, it takes twice as much time to produce a coat as it does to produce a pair of shoes, the coat has twice the value of a pair of shoes. The coat will, all things remaining equal, sell at a price twice that of the pair of shoes.

The labor that determines the value of a commodity is not only the direct labor. For example, the value of a car is not determined only by the labor on the assembly line. It also includes the amount of labor needed to produce the raw materials, the machinery, the factory buildings and all other means of production.

Machinery and other means of production that can be used to produce commodities again and again pass on their value gradually to the commodities that are being produced.

For example, if a machine will help produce a million cars before it wears out, the machine will transfer one millionth of its value to each car it helps produce. Assuming the machine is worth \$1 million when it is new, it will add \$1 in value to each car it helps produce.

According to the labor theory of value, the capitalist must on the average pay the full value for every commodity he buys. Naturally each capitalist angles for advantages. They all try to buy cheap and sell dear. This is the nature of competition. But competition tends to cancel out in the long run.

With this presentation of the labor theory of value by Ricardo, an unresolved contradiction remained. He couldn't explain how the capitalist could make a profit.

For example if a given capitalist has to spend \$1,000 on machinery, raw materials, etc., to make a commodity; and if he has to spend an additional \$250 on



Militant/Barry Chann

Worker's unpaid labor is source of boss's profits

labor, he can't make a profit by selling the commodity at \$1,250. At that price he would simply break even.

The labor theory of value in its Ricardian form seemed to be in hopeless conflict with everyday capitalist reality. The idea that everybody's labor is equal on the free market was beautifully in accord with the capitalists' concepts of equality. But it couldn't explain capitalist profit. This was one of the main reasons that capitalist economists abandoned the labor theory of value after Ricardo's death in 1823. They were not, however, able to come up with anything better.

Marx's discovery

The labor theory of value, dropped by capitalist economists after Ricardo's death, was taken up in the mid-nineteenth century by Karl Marx (1818-1883) a revolutionary leader of the workers' movement and a founder of scientific socialism.

Marx recognized that the labor theory of value presented by Ricardo was not just an example of capitalist doubletalk designed to make their system palatable. It was a genuine reflection in the sphere of theory of the underlying law of value that regulates the capitalist economy and all other commodity production. This being true, Marx realized that it must be possible to explain profit on the basis of this law.

The key to the problem, Marx discovered, lay in the distinction between labor and labor power. A popular explanation of this by Marx is found in the pamphlet *Value, Price and Profit*. (This pamphlet can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$1.25 plus \$.75 for postage and handling.)

The worker, Marx pointed out, actually sells his or her ability to work, not his or her "labor" to the capitalist. The boss then uses the worker's ability to work as he pleases during the period in which the worker's ability to work is sold to him. This ability to work Marx called labor power.

Now what determines the value of labor power? Just like any other commodity it is determined by the amount of labor it takes on the average to produce it. In order to labor, the worker must live. He or she must consume a certain amount of food, have shelter, clothes, etc. In addition the worker must be able to support his or her family. Otherwise the worker would not be able to live or produce children that could be workers in the future.

The value of the commodities that the worker and the worker's family needs, therefore, determines the value of labor power. The value of these commodities — and thus the value of labor power — is determined by the amount of labor it takes on the average to produce them.

Marx explained that the amount of labor it takes to produce the com-

modities a worker and his or her family consume in a week and the amount of labor that a worker performs during the same week is by no means the same. For example, the worker and his or her family may need to consume weekly commodities that take only 20 hours of labor to make in order to live at their accustomed standard of living. In terms of hours of labor, the value of the worker's labor power is 20 hours. That is, the boss is paying the worker the full value of his or her labor power (which he by no means always does) if he provides a wage that can purchase commodities in a given week that embodies 20 hours of labor.

But the boss insists that the worker not labor for 20 hours but for 40 hours. This is where *exploitation* comes in. The worker performs 40 hours of labor and yet gets the equivalent of only 20 hours of labor in return. In this case, the worker is being paid for only half the time he or she is working. The other half of the time the worker is working for the boss and getting nothing in return. Needless to say the bosses do everything they can to increase the amount of this unpaid labor.

Same old principle

Under the guise of equal exchange, capitalism retains the same principle that existed under feudalism and earlier exploitative economic systems.

Under feudalism the exploitation that capitalism conceals so subtly was expressed in a more transparent form. It can thus be used to help illustrate the principle common to all exploitative economic systems, capitalism included.

In the feudal system, the serf worked a certain amount of time producing food for himself and then had to work a certain amount of time raising food for the lord. The labor the serfs performed for themselves was necessary for their survival, therefore it is known as necessary labor. The labor the serf performed raising food for the lord was surplus labor, that is, the products produced by this labor enabled the lord to live without working.

It's the same under capitalism. The wage worker, just like the serf, has to work part of the time for nothing for the capitalist. He or she receives nothing for this labor from the boss.

In the middle ages, the serf's surplus labor enabled the lords of the land to live without working. Likewise the surplus labor performed by the wage workers enables the lords of capital to lead a life of leisure. The capitalist's "savings" out of which he makes additional investments that expand his productive forces, also come out of the unpaid labor of the working class.

The vast wealth of the capitalist ruling class can therefore be traced back to unpaid labor extracted from generations of workers.

(to be continued)

For further reading

Wage-Labour and Capital/ Value, Price and Profit

By Karl Marx. One of the best introductions to Marxist economic theory. 62 pp., \$1.25.

Essays on Marx's Theory of Value

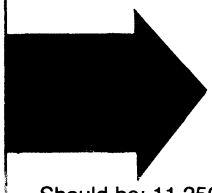
By Isaac Ilyich Rubin, 275 pp., \$3.25.

An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory

By Ernest Mandel. Provides a compact explanation of how capitalism works, using modern examples. 78 pp., \$2.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

Fall Militant/PM Sales Goal



Should be: 11,250

45,000

Week 2: 12,508 sold to date

National drive goes over again

The results of the second week of the national drive to reach 45,000 people with the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are now in. As the scoreboard shows, we have once again surpassed our national goal.

The success so far has led four more areas — Brooklyn and Manhattan, New York; Phoenix, Ariz.; and Seaside, Calif. — to raise their weekly goals. In the days ahead, plans will be drawn up in cities from coast to coast to go way over local goals as a part of a special 10-day pre-election drive beginning October 23.

Taking 'Militant' to coalfields

Socialists in West Virginia began a special campaign last weekend to reach coal miners with the *Militant's* front page coverage of the Philippi, West Virginia miners' struggle against company victimizations and firings. In this effort, they were joined by three teams of *Militant* supporters from Pittsburgh, Pa.

Pittsburgh campaigners sold

48 *Militants* in Wheeling and Moundsville, two mining communities in West Virginia's northern panhandle. Many who bought papers were already familiar with the struggle of miners in Philippi and the firing of coal miner Bill Hovland that sparked a walkout there recently.

A good example to follow

In the course of selling 198 papers last week, socialists in Milwaukee ran into a lot of interesting people. One worker had been subscribing to the *Militant* for 15 years before deciding last week to pay his first visit to the Socialist Workers Party headquarters.

Inspired by the *Militant's* coverage of the Middle East, he asked what he could do to support the paper. After a three-hour discussion with SWP members, he agreed that the best way to support the *Militant* was to help get it out. So anxious to get started, our 15-year reader donated \$125 to the Milwaukee Socialist Workers Campaign, pledged \$25 per week to help make sure the truth continues to be told, and joined three sales teams to take the *Militant's* socialist analysis di-

rectly to other industrial workers.

Jobless looking for answers

Up until a few months ago, jobless workers were flooding into Houston at the rate of 1,000 per week searching for a new beginning. But unemployment has been climbing rapidly in Texas, even though it's still below the national average.

At the United Steelworker-organized Hughes Tool plant, 35 percent of the work force has been laid off since June 1. When the company announced that it was eliminating another 760 jobs last week, socialist workers visited the plant gate with *Militants* and campaign literature. Fourteen papers were sold in 45 minutes.

Too many workers too few papers

Militant salespeople in Baltimore sold 39 copies of the paper at a demonstration called by the Washington DC-Maryland Building Trades Council.

The demonstration had been built as a lobbying effort to protest the use of nonunion labor on a city construction project. But several thousand workers, Black and white, showed up — too many to lobby in the opinion of union officials. The bulk of the workers were sent to a nearby unemployment office to apply for jobs. *Militant* salespeople reported that the response was so good that they ran out of papers well before the action was over.

— BY BRUCE LESNICK

SALES SCOREBOARD

(Militant issue #38, PM issue #18)

Area	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
Baltimore	200/352	0/2	200/354	177
Philadelphia	135/218	15/28	150/246	164
*Atlanta	35/57	0/0	35/57	163
Dallas	45/52	20/40	65/92	142
*Indianapolis	25/34	0/0	25/34	136
Seattle	105/138	5/5	110/143	130
Newark	145/161	30/65	175/226	129
Twin Cities	165/213	5/2	170/215	126
Piedmont	90/113	0/0	90/113	126
Brooklyn	160/175	40/69	200/244	122
Pittsburgh	160/194	0/0	160/194	121
Milwaukee	150/191	15/7	165/198	120
Toledo	70/83	0/1	70/84	120
Detroit	90/98	7/17	97/115	119
Harrisburg	50/61	5/4	55/65	118
Los Angeles	125/113	40/79	165/192	116
Oakland	100/106	5/16	105/122	116
Manhattan	175/202	50/59	225/261	116
Wash., D.C.	120/132	20/30	140/162	116
Houston	90/99	25/33	115/132	115
Phoenix	110/118	50/63	160/181	113
Miami	65/79	15/11	80/90	113
New Orleans	100/109	0/3	100/112	112
Kansas City	90/100	5/6	95/106	112
San Francisco	100/116	30/29	130/145	112
San Antonio	75/86	35/36	110/122	111
Iron Range	40/44	0/0	40/44	110
Cincinnati	90/97	0/0	90/97	108
Price	55/56	5/8	60/64	107
Tidewater	90/96	0/0	90/96	107
Lincoln	50/52	0/0	50/52	104
Denver	102/95	8/19	110/114	104
Portland	60/62	0/0	60/62	103
St. Louis	150/154	0/0	150/154	103
Seaside	35/36	5/5	40/41	103
Tucson	35/36	25/25	60/61	102
Gary	65/66	5/5	70/71	101
Chicago	140/119	20/43	160/162	101
Louisville	80/81	0/0	80/81	101
Schenectady	100/100	2/3	102/103	101
San Jose	90/99	20/12	110/111	101
Birmingham	110/110	0/0	110/110	100
Boston	135/129	15/21	150/150	100
Charleston	70/70	0/0	70/70	100
Cleveland	105/112	10/3	115/115	100
Salt Lake City	90/90	5/5	95/95	100
Albuquerque	55/50	10/10	65/60	92
San Diego	65/64	15/7	80/71	89
Morgantown	85/69	0/0	85/69	81
Totals	4,672/5,287	562/771	5,234/6,058	116

*petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot.

NOW conference debates how to win women's rights

Continued from Page 11

clauses of the resolution, and it was adopted in only a slightly amended form.

Abortion rights

The final big disagreement to hit the convention floor was over perspectives on the fight for abortion rights.

The issues hearing on Reproductive Rights had adopted a strong resolution calling on NOW to work with other forces to organize a massive commemoration in Washington, D.C., on January 22, 1983. That date is the 10th anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion.

By the time the resolution came to the floor, it had been diluted beyond recognition and combined with other resolutions that had very little support among convention delegates.

NOW leader Molly Yard introduced a substitute motion, the heart of which was that NOW "begin to develop a comprehensive action and electoral strategy to defeat the far right and other antiwomen legislators and their agenda in the 1984 elections."

As the question was called and the substitute motion adopted after minimal debate, dozens of women, angered by the fact that the original resolution had never even been discussed, milled around outside the convention hall discussing why NOW refused to do anything except collect money and do precinct work for the Democratic Party.

A different direction

The 1982 annual conference of NOW

did not represent any change in the character or perspectives of the organization. It did show that, despite the strong opposition of a big section of the membership, NOW will continue to follow the political course it has pursued for the last five years.

At the same time, as the impact of the

offensive against the rights and standard of living of women and all working people continues, and as the bipartisan U.S. government escalates its war moves at home and abroad, more and more women are coming to see that concession bargaining with the Democratic Party is no more effective as a strategy

to defend women's interests than selling an arm and a leg to Chrysler in the hopes of keeping a job.

It is only by turning to the potentially powerful forces of the working class that the women's movement can build itself as an effective force capable of fighting for our rights.

N.C. Teamsters back First Amendment fight

WINSTON-SALEM, N.C. — On October 9, in Greensborough, Teamster Union Local 391 passed a motion unanimously to send a letter to the Wake County District Attorney demanding

that charges against supporters of the Meryl Lynn Farber for Congress campaign be dropped.

On June 6, campaign supporters were prohibited by Raleigh police from petitioning to put the socialist candidate on the ballot in the area where a NOW-sponsored demonstration for the ERA was being held.

Farber, who has campaigned for ERA ratification, was among the thousands participating. While discussing the petitioning ban with the rally organizers, campaigners Jeff Miller and Steve Craine were arrested, handcuffed, and jailed on the trumped-up charge of "disrupting a picket."

At the union meeting, Steve Craine, a member of Local 391, gave a brief presentation on the case and asked for the local's support. Craine pointed to the recent arrests of 500 protesters at the site of a landfill in Warren County where tons of PCB-contaminated dirt was being dumped. "There is a connection between the arrests in Warren County and the arrest of Jeff Miller and myself. The message is that you don't have the right to protest." Miller is also a member of Local 391.

R. V. Durham, president of the local, urged members to support the case. In motivating support, he pointed out that while he "doesn't agree with their politics, when First Amendment rights are attacked, that should be the concern of all of us. Unless you're involved in political or labor movements, it is difficult to understand how the powers that be can come down on you. Whether we're Democrats, Republicans, or whatever, we all have to stick together to defend First Amendment rights."

At the recent national NOW conference held in Indianapolis, additional support was obtained. Meryl Lynn Farber and her campaign supporters got over 75 signatures on petitions from NOW members and gave out 300 fact sheets on the case.

Farber reported that several NOW members took extra copies of materials to distribute to their local chapters.

The case will be heard October 22. Messages of protest should be sent to: Randolph Riley, District Attorney, Wake County Courthouse, Raleigh, N.C. 27602. Copies of letters should be forwarded to the SWP 1982 Campaign, 216 E. 6th Street, Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27101.



Militant Holly Harkness
Meryl Lynn Farber at reception

SOHIO goes after miners' union, safety



Earl Dotter

Coal miner setting temporary roof supports. Sagging roofs have long been a safety concern of miners at Kitt #1 in Philippi.

BY JOHN HAWKINS

PHILIPPI, West Virginia — "We're in a war, we've got one of the biggest United Mine Workers locals in District 31 that's still working. And they are out to break the union."

That is how one member of United Mine Workers Local 2095 described the ongoing fight taking place here between miners at Kitt #1 and Old Ben Coal, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Ohio (SOHIO).

Since purchasing the mine from Republic Steel, SOHIO has been on an all-out drive to speed up production, slash

safety, and arbitrarily impose new work rules. A central part of this drive has been a campaign of harassment and attempted victimization against union members, with special emphasis on breaking the local safety committee.

SOHIO attempted to fire one safety committeeman for performing his duties but could not make it stick. Then they tried to remove the head of the safety committee from office. This case is still tied up in arbitration.

After failing in their attempt to fire Bill Hovland, a general inside laborer at Kitt #1 and the Socialist Workers Party

candidate for U.S. Senate in West Virginia, the management has gone after its latest intended victim, Bill Boyd.

Like the cases of the two safety committeemen, Boyd has been especially singled out for company harassment because of his union safety activity. He is also the treasurer of Hovland's campaign committee.

Management at Kitt began its harassment campaign against Boyd early this year when he became involved in a fight around safety in the mine. In February, the local office of the Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) received reports of dangerous roof conditions along the track and belt haulages in the mine and launched a special investigation at Kitt #1.

Sagging roof along these haulages has been a longstanding concern among Kitt miners. The year before, while moving equipment over the track, a woman miner was covered up in a roof fall.

Luckily she escaped with her life. But this near tragedy caused disabling injuries that prevent her from ever returning to work in the mines.

When MSHA inspectors arrived at Kitt #1 February 25 to carry out their investigation, the local safety committee assigned Boyd to accompany them. With Boyd's assistance they uncovered dozens of instances of hazardous roof conditions.

As a result, Kitt management was ordered to correct these conditions within one year — a task which is still costing them, much to their dislike, hundreds of hours of labor.

From that day on, Boyd has been on the company's most wanted list.

Refused coverup

On April 26, when the midnight shift reported for work the elevator that transports miners into and out of the mine was out of order. Boyd and another miner invoked their individual safety rights, refused to go down, and requested alternative work.

Management was herding workers into the mine down the slope.

With the cage down, this meant that miners were working with no adequate secondary escape route. Furthermore, many hazards have been reported along the slope escape route itself.

Instead of assigning Boyd alternative work, shift boss Dave Chapman sent him home. Boyd was denied pay for the shift and slapped with an unexcused absence for the day.

Boyd filed a series of grievances against this attempt to intimidate union members from using their personal safety rights. He also initiated MSHA investigation of company discrimination against him for union activity.

Because of the fight put up, the company backed down and gave Boyd back pay and an excused absence. At the same time it announced that it was stepping up its campaign against him. Boyd was told that if he ever invoked his safety rights again, and he was not 100 percent correct, he would be fired.

Refusing to buckle to this attempted intimidation, Local 2095 pressed the case against the company for unsafe conditions on the slope escape way. MSHA agreed with them and shut the entire mine down for three hours for inadequate handrailing down the slope.

Boyd's discrimination case and several other grievances are still awaiting decision.

During this run-in with the company over the cage, Boyd was given an irregular workers slip — the first step before placing a miner on the absentee program which places a miner under the constant threat of firing.

Company retaliation

Among the days the company claimed were unexcused were a day off ill in which Boyd had presented a doctor's excuse, the day he was denied alternative work, and a day he was excused for union business while attending the UMW District 31 convention as an alternate delegate.

Kitt brass began to drag Boyd into the office to be chewed out. Each time Boyd was accompanied by members of the safety committee, and each time the company stopped short of any action against him.

In an attempt to intimidate him the company assigned Boyd off his regular crew on several occasions.

Out to fire Boyd

Now they are attempting to fire him. They are using the pretext that he was asleep two minutes after his dinner break on the midnight shift.

On October 7 at Boyd's grievance hearing, SOHIO's representative virtually announced that they are out for blood in this case.

Union representatives confronted them with clear evidence that their attempt to fire Boyd was discriminatory.

This would be the first time anyone at Kitt had been fired for sleeping. The most anyone had got was 30 days suspension. Boyd was suffering from bronchitis at the time and had taken medication.

But most of all, this action by the company was part of a pattern of harassment against Boyd because of his union activity.

Despite the evidence SOHIO's bosses at Kitt #1 refused to back down. Boyd's case now goes to arbitration. His hearing has been set for October 14.

In pushing this case to arbitration, SOHIO is not only seeking to get rid of Boyd. They want to intimidate all miners at Kitt #1.

In their attacks on the union safety committee and other union activists SOHIO is pursuing a vendetta against Boyd in order to weaken Local 2095 and break the resistance to its drive to boost production, undercut safety, and arbitrarily impose new work rules.

Like the previous attempts to fire miners at Kitt and attacks on the safety committee this new attack represents a serious challenge to the local.

Black mayor faces death penalty in Miss.

Continued from Page 20

reported that, after his arrest, local police had attempted to get him to implicate Carthan in the murder in exchange for his freedom. The man allegedly refused, saying he didn't even know Carthan.

"According to some sources, however, the second man went along with the scheme to implicate Carthan and his brother in the murder. This man pleaded guilty to a reduced charge — apparently in exchange for testifying that the Carthan brothers ordered the killing."

The trial of the Carthans on this murder charge begins October 19 in Lexington, Mississippi.

The message from the tiny but powerful racist land-owning forces, not only in Tchula, but statewide is crystal clear. They intend to keep the fight against racism and unemployment and for a decent standard of living out of Tchula.

They intend to make Eddie Carthan an example of what will happen to anyone who threatens their wealth and power.

But the last word is not yet in on the battle in Tchula. The National Campaign to Free Mayor Eddie Carthan and the Tchula Seven and to Preserve Black Political Rights is organizing a determined drive to expose this political frame-up and beat back this racist attack.

Nationwide support

Carthan and the Tchula Seven have received nationwide support. On August 18, when the Mississippi Supreme Court

rejected Carthan's appeal, supporters held a rally on the jailhouse steps.

On August 21, over 100 rallied in Lexington, the Holmes County Seat. A week later 200 rallied in Tchula.

Support has also come from Jacqueline Martin, Roosevelt Granderson's daughter, who has denounced the frame-up of the Carthans. Speaking at a recent rally in support of the Tchula Seven, Martin pointed out, "I know that Eddie Carthan had nothing to do with the death of my father. I want you to know that I stand behind Eddie and the Tchula Seven 100 percent."

A national demonstration in Jackson,

Mississippi, has been organized on October 16 by the National Campaign to Free Carthan and the Tchula Seven, which is headed by noted actor Ossie Davis. The action has been endorsed by the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, National Urban League, Operation PUSH, National Black United Front, National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and a host of Black elected officials.

For more information on further activities contact the National Campaign to Free Eddie Carthan and the Tchula Seven, P.O. Box 29, Tchula, Miss. 39169. Call (601) 235-5209 or 834-3080.

Nebraska meatpackers return to work

BY MICHAEL CARPER

DAKOTA CITY, Nebraska — United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 222 here voted October 1, to return to work.

Citing "rough economic times" as the prime reason, members voted to send a letter to Iowa Beef Processors that stated in part, "This is to notify you that effective 12:01 a.m. Monday, October 4, the strike currently in effect at your Dakota City plant will be terminated. On behalf of all employees involved in that strike, an unconditional offer is hereby made to return to work."

"It is a setback for the union," one Local 222 member said. "But it is the best thing we could do now. They are trying to destroy our union."

According to Local 222's business agent, Bill Schmitz, members were los-

ing cars and even homes trying to get by on the \$65 weekly strike allowance.

According to Schmitz, all the striking workers who wish to will be able to return to work. Employees were to register Monday and Tuesday, according to IBP's public relations man, Charles Harness, and were to begin returning to work Wednesday, October 6.

Harness stated that "some" UFCW members were fired for "picket line conduct." No statement from the union has been made in answer to this.

Harness further stated that some 2,500 people who were working during the strike will be retained.

While the strike is ended, the issues that brought it on remain unresolved. Schmitz said negotiations would continue.

Our humane society — The Reagan administration is mapping new food assistance cut-backs. One would restrict food stamps for older people by pass-



Harry Ring

ing a law redefining an older person as 65 or over, not 60 as now. Another move would end food subsidies for orphanages and homes for the retarded.

Maybe a new law declaring them no longer orphans or retarded?

For the up-front type — A *Wall Street Journal* ad offers a "capitalist pig" money clip in sterling, with appropriate engraving. Only \$49.

Natives? — We don't know, or care, about the ancestry of writer Claire Booth Luce. But we were struck by her concern that the country is being overrun by people not committed to "our" values. "Soon," she worried, "there will be as many Mexicans in Texas, New Mexico, Lower

California and Arizona . . . as there are natives."

Got bumped off? — A Paris car dealer is offering a luxurious bullet-proof BMW sports sedan, featuring grenade protection, bullet-proof fuel tank and more. According to the ad, the car was "originally built for royalty."

Bare trap — Confounding critics who contend he's antienvironment, Interior Secretary James Watt is grappling with the problem of nude bathing at a remote beach at Virginia's Assateague National Seashore. Fearful that increased use of the beach may create a people vs.

wildlife conflict, the department is weighing a ban on skinnydipping there.

Really? — "Elderly spend more on housing than they can afford, study shows." — News headline.

Logical — "We don't know how much lemon juice it takes to make lemonade," explained a spokesperson for the Food and Drug Administration. Therefore, he continued, the agency has no standards for what constitutes lemonade. Therefore, it rejected a consumer petition that the word lemonade be re-

stricted to products containing lemon juice.

Tribute to TV programming — Researchers were astonished to find that 75 percent of cable subscribers in a Boston suburb tuned in at least once a week to a channel that offers nothing but commercials. Maybe they just didn't realize the difference.

An equal-opportunity employer — The Green Berets are increasing their strength from 3,600 to 5,000. Former Berets are being encouraged to reenlist, "especially those who speak Spanish."

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally: "Jobs Not War!" Speaker: Martin Boyers, Socialist Workers candidate for governor, member of Steelworkers Local 3004; others. Sat., Oct. 23, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

Who's Responsible for the Massacres at Shabra and Shatila? A panel of speakers on the role of the United States, Israel, and the Phalangists. Translation in Spanish. Fri., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Mel Mason for Governor Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

Seaside

Campaign Rally Barbecue. Speakers: Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor; Henry Fryson, independent candidate for city council; Shirley Rainer, independent candidate for mayor; others. Sun., Oct. 24, noon on. Cutino Park. Ausp: Mel Mason for Governor Campaign Committee. For more information call (408) 394-1855.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Defending Women's Rights: A Working Class Perspective. Speaker: Pat Grogan, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. 555 West Adams. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 559-9046.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Socialist Campaign Rally. Speakers: David Ellis, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, 10th District, member International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Beth Julien, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, member United Auto Workers; Roger "Billy" Jones, SWP candidate for city-county council, member United Steelworkers; Bill Warrick, SWP candidate for mayor; Vernon Bellocourt, leader of American Indian Movement recently returned from Nicaragua,

Reja-e Busailah, Palestinian activist and poet. Sun., Oct. 24, reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 4850 N College Ave. Donation: \$2. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Socialist Campaign Rally. Speakers: Craig Honts, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress; Marvin Abstain, community activist; Corbin Seavers, activist in anti-apartheid movement. Sat., Oct. 23; reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 809 S Broadway. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1982 Campaign Committee. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt. Speakers: Maka Colo Ngcobo, representative of African National Congress; Ike Nahem, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

There is an Alternative: Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Don Gurewitz, SWP candidate for governor, member, International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201; Art LeClair, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, member International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 791; Jane Roland, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, laid-off member, Shipbuilders Union Local 5; Valerie Johnson Eckart, SWP candidate for 9th Congressional District, laid-off member, United Auto Workers Local 422; Mac Warren, an organizer of Student Committee Against Racism during 1974-75 Boston busing struggle, national leader of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 24; social, 6 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. Church of the Covenant, 67 Newbury St. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Statewide Campaign Rally: Michigan Needs Jobs, Not War! Speakers: Tim Craine, Socialist Workers candidate for governor; Liz Ziers, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor, Ford auto worker; Malik Miah, National Chairperson, SWP; Jim Lafferty, antidraft attorney; Bob Fitrakis, former Detroit director, Ferency for governor campaign. Sat., Oct. 23; reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

The Challenge to Rail Workers — Beyond the Engineers Strike. Speakers: Fred Croes, Jr., local chairman, United Transportation Union Local 911; Charles Scheer, St. Paul secretary, 1946 Engineers Strike Committee; Gayle Swann, vice local chairperson, Firemen and Oilers Local 292. Fri., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling (one block north of University). Donation: \$2. Sponsor: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Virginia

Depression in Northern Minnesota: Socialist Workers Campaign Presents a Fighting Program for Working People. Speakers: Kathy Wheeler, SWP candidate

for governor; Bill Onasch, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Oct. 23, 6:30 p.m. Miners Memorial Bldg. Ausp: Minneapolis SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Rally Against Washington's Wars: Why Working People Should Run the Country. Speakers: Jody Curran, Socialist Workers candidate for Senate, member, International Association of Machinists; Marie Cobbs, SWP candidate for governor of Illinois, member, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks. Sat., Oct. 23; open house, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 5007 Waterman (Unitarian Church near Kings Highway). Donation: \$3. Ausp: St. Louis Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA

Lincoln

U.S. Government vs. the Unions. Speakers to be announced. Tues., Oct. 19, 7:30 p.m. Nebraska Union, University of Nebraska. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (402) 475-8933.

How to Defend Family Farmers. Speakers to be announced. Tues., Oct. 26, 7:30 p.m. Nebraska Union, University of Nebraska. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (402) 475-8933.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

New Jersey Candidates Debate. Hear Claire Moriarty, Socialist Workers Candidate for U.S. Senate. Tues., Oct. 19, 10:30 p.m. WNET-TV Channel 13.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

What's Behind Draft Registration. Speakers: Philip Sarah, Palestinian human rights activist; Graham Meyer, member, Student Committee For Human Rights in Latin America; Jeff Jones, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Thurs., Oct. 28, 7:30 p.m. University of New Mexico, Student Union Bldg. Room 231 E. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK

New York

No Draft, No War! Speakout in Support of Draft Resisters. Speakers: Andrea Gonzales, Young Socialist Alliance; others to be announced. Translation in Spanish. Fri., Oct. 22, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks south of Canal off Broadway). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Schenectady

Toxic Wastes: New York State's Silent Killer. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Oct. 22, 8 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1256.

NORTH CAROLINA

Winston-Salem

North Carolina: Dumping Ground for Toxic Waste. Speaker: Representative of Warren County Citizens Concerned About PCBs. Also a report on Navy proposal to sink radioactive decommissioned subs off Cape Hatteras. Sat., Oct. 23, 7:30 p.m. 216 E 6th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor

Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO

Cleveland

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Alicia Merel, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate; Louise Haberbusch, SWP candidate for Congress, 20th District. Sun., Oct. 24; reception, 4 p.m.; rally, 5 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Ohio Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

OREGON

Portland

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Ron Richards, SWP candidate for governor; others. Sun., Oct. 24, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Oregon Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Socialist Campaign Rally: "Jobs, Not War!" Celebrate the grand opening of new headquarters. Speakers: Mark Zola, Socialist Workers candidate for governor; Katherine Sojourner, SWP candidate for lieutenant governor; Cathy Emminizer, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; William Kalman, SWP candidate for Congress, 14th District; Deanne Rathbun, SWP candidate for Congress, 22nd District. Sat., Oct. 23; social hour, 6 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., 3rd floor (corner of Penn Circle S). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Pittsburgh Socialist Workers 1982 Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Houston

Che Guevara. Commemoration of a Revolutionary Leader. Discussion lead by Joanne Kuniansky, member National Committee Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Oct. 17, 6:30 p.m. 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (713) 924-4056.

San Antonio

Defend Rights of Immigrant Workers. Speakers: representatives from *El Pueblo*; Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation in Spanish. Fri., Oct. 22, 8 p.m. 337 W Josephine. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

Massacre in Lebanon: Made in U.S. and Tel Aviv. Speakers: Khalid Abed, Arab Students Association at Old Dominion University; Chris Davis, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., Oct. 23, 7 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Freedom Struggle in Guatemala. Film — *My Country Occupied*, about a Guatemalan family exploited by United Fruit. Speakers: Juan Cosiño from Guatemala; Frank Mikula, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Oct. 24, 7 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

MEXICO-U.S. BORDER CONFERENCE

BAJA CALIFORNIA, MEXICO Tijuana

Conference in Solidarity With the Salvadoran Revolution. Report on the situation in El Salvador by representative of Revolutionary Democratic Front—Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front. Translation in English. Sat., Oct. 30 and Sun., Oct. 31 starting 9 a.m. Sat., Casa de la Cultura, Tijuana. For more information call (714) 287-3297, 292-0912, 284-4368.

CALIFORNIA

San Diego

Benefit Show for El Salvador Conference. A performance of music, poetry, and dance. Sat., Oct. 23, 7 p.m. Oneira Club, 4649 Hawley Blvd. For more information call (714) 299-5737.

Bipartisan policies victimize working farmers

BY JOHN ENESTVEDT

SACRED HEART, Minn. — "State farmers lost \$3 billion in 1981." So read a recent headline in a weekly farm paper. Such reports come to us because production costs have risen to more than \$9.9 billion at a time when farm receipts in Minnesota have dropped to less than \$7 billion. These and other 1981 record-breaking reports of lost farm income, were reported recently by the State of Minnesota Department of Agriculture. What is true for Minnesota is also true for every state in the nation.

The report tells us that this \$3 billion figure amounted to an average loss of \$28,571.50 per farm

AS I SEE IT

in the state last year. Nearly every farm family now expects that its losses will be even worse at the end of 1982.

The report, however, does not tell us the whole picture. We were not told that the purchasing power of farm produce was less than 60 percent of the 1910-14 average for the year ending June 1982. The average purchasing power for farmers in those years compared to what it is today is called parity. In June the price of corn, wheat, and soybeans — the three cash crop leaders in Minnesota — averaged only a fraction above 47 percent of parity. In other words, farmers have to sell more than twice the corn, wheat, and soybeans, in order to make ends meet, than they would have to if prices were 100 percent of parity.

We must remember that this huge loss in farm income hurts nearly everyone whose survival is dependent on the economic well-being of the state as a whole. Hurt most of all are the thousands of people out of work and those hundreds of farmers in Minnesota who are going to be financially wiped out altogether, through no fault of their own. The only



thing they did was to help produce more food than they and other working people have been able to buy back at their present levels of income.

By looking at these huge farm income losses we can understand why thousands of farms are being foreclosed throughout the nation, or forced to sell out in order to free themselves from an impossible state of overindebtedness.

Reagan was able to slash farm programs, as well as social programs, while beefing up the military budget because the Democratic-controlled House of Representatives and the Republican-controlled Senate passed the legislation.

In order to compound even more the injury to all who have low to moderate incomes, the House and the Senate voted to saddle us with even more taxes, while they continue to slash social programs.

This is what goes under the name of bipartisan-ship. The only way we can be sure to keep the Congress doing all this harm to us is to keep on voting for the Democrats and Republicans.

If there was anyone among us who still didn't understand what the old-line political parties have done to us all these years, then they had their eyes opened up in the past few months.

At just about the time that the corn harvest is

about to start, the Democrats and the Republicans in control of Congress, are going to permit the U.S. Department of Agriculture to dump surplus corn grown in previous years on the market. This will enable the food monopolists to buy up corn at even lower prices, while farmers are being ruined.

The Democrats and the Republicans are frisking us and stripping us of everything we have. And they are doing this to us because we have been kind enough to keep on voting for them year after year.

Many of us are already fighting alongside the trade union movement for a better life than we have been able to eke out of our farming operations. For myself, I would like to see the trade union movement in the United States form a labor party. Such a party would run family farmers, as well as workers for Congress and other public offices. The rich, corporations, and banks have led us into wars, inflation, mass unemployment, as well as the current terrible farm depression. I think it's about time that working people get a chance to run the government for a change.

John Enestvedt is a retired farmer in Sacred Heart, Minnesota. A socialist, he has been active in farm protest movements since the Farm Holiday Movement of the 1930s.

Toledo oil workers discuss how to fight firings

BY SUE SKINNER

TOLEDO — In the year and a half that I've worked at the SOHIO refinery here, five workers, four Black and one white, have been fired.

With no previous warning, a Black worker was given 30 days off without pay. Initially the company claimed he was sleeping on the job. But that was a lie, and SOHIO couldn't make it stick. So they gave him

UNION TALK

time off for "being out of his designated area," even though he was driving a dumpster, which has full run of the entire refinery and no specified area.

Another Black worker, after qualifying and working on a job for two years, was suddenly disqualified and put on a lower-paying job.

SOHIO has also gotten foremen to spread false rumors about women and Black workers.

And then they had the nerve to post notices that they wouldn't tolerate discrimination, and urged workers to tell them if any existed. They'd hold this information confidential, of course.

But SOHIO's discriminatory acts make such assurances meaningless at best.

We have begun to take up these problems of overt racism in our union, Local 7-346 of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers.

Though grievances and other claims have been filed, this "just doesn't work," as one worker pointed out in a discussion. "You file them and the company rubber-stamps them 'Denied.' Even at arbitration, it's a 50-50 chance and costs the union money. Especially with the courts and government now, you can't get any justice."

A white member said, "I'm not certain if it's racism or not, but it sure looks that way. But I'll tell you one thing — as soon as they get away with it with Blacks, then they'll get the women. After that we're next, so we better fight it now."

"Maybe," another suggested, "all the Blacks should file a class-action grievance. It's a violation of the contract, where the company agreed not to discriminate."

A young Black worker said, "Well, we have to be careful that we don't split the union over this. That's just what the company wants."

A white worker then suggested, "Then let's all file a grievance against discrimination, the whole union."

Everybody agreed that this was the best way. It would provide an opportunity to explain the situation to everyone in the plant.

Another worker said, "We could even get everyone to sign, because everyone knows what's really going on here, and it would defend all of us without dividing us. It's true that an injury to one is an injury to all, because the precedents they are trying to set with Blacks and women will become established practice for all of us."

One woman suggested, "We can also write about this in our union paper so everyone will know that the union is doing something, and why."

She thought this would also bring more people to union meetings.

So do I. It can only inspire people and make them proud of their union to see it waging a fight for all of us against SOHIO's discrimination.

Sue Skinner is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 9th District.

Documentary exposes capitalist drive towards war

America—From Hitler to Reagan. Created and directed by Joan Harvey. Produced by Parallel Films and the 4th Wall Repertory. Available for rental and purchase from Parallel Films, 314 West 91st Street, New York, N.Y. 10024.

BY PAUL SIEGEL

America—From Hitler to Reagan is a feature-length antiwar documentary that shows the capitalist industrial-financial forces driving the United States to war. A combination of dramatically interweaving interviews, on-the-spot scenes from urani-

um mines and atomic plants, newsreel coverage, and quotations from books and periodicals, it is stunning in its impact.

FILM REVIEW

um mines and atomic plants, newsreel coverage, and quotations from books and periodicals, it is stunning in its impact.

Among those interviewed are figures such as former CIA deputy director Herbert Scoville; retired rear admiral and Pentagon strategic planner Gene La Rocque; retired West German major general Gert Bastian of NATO; and Daniel Ellsberg, formerly of the Office of Strategic Nuclear War Planning and of the Internal and National Security Affairs Office.

These are men who were at the very top echelons of government and were horrified by the continuing attempt by the U.S. ruling class to gain an atomic first-strike capacity. They criticize the arguments and rationalizations that have been used by the Pentagon to justify Washington's atomic arms build-up.

Adolf Hitler, the fascist leader of Germany in the 1930's and 1940's, also used anticommunist propaganda to justify its military build-up. The film also shows by quotations from official and other sources how Hitler was financed, not only by German capitalists, but received support from some U.S. bankers and industrialists. Even in World War II Ford, Dupont, and Standard Oil plants in Germany were not bombed by the U.S. forces.

We are also shown the callous disregard by the U.S. government for radiation victims among soldiers, uranium miners, and atomic plant workers. Particularly effective is an interview with an emaciated uranium miner who looks like a concentration-camp inmate and who died shortly after the interview. Scientists and physicians explain how nuclear power for energy was established on the basis of the government-financed nuclear weapons program and how the nuclear power industry still serves military purposes. They explain how low-level radiation, supposedly safe, is actually a widely dispersed destructive pollutant.

But the film does not leave us in resigned despair. Its interviews with antiwar fighters in labor unions and Black organizations show that there is a gathering force opposed to the warmakers.

America—From Hitler to Reagan was created and directed by Joan Harvey, who also directed the internationally acclaimed *We are the Guinea Pigs*, a documentary on the nuclear industry. This new film will supply valuable ammunition for antiwar activists and renew their determination. It will shake up persons who are politically apathetic or who are inclined to accept the lies of government propaganda.



Director Joan Harvey

Can women take over Dem. Party?

Can women use the Democratic Party as a tool to advance their fight for liberation?

This was the central question discussed and debated at the recent conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW). (See news story on page 10.)

The NOW leadership has made the Democratic Party in particular the recipient of NOW's resources and the focal point of its activities:

- They project raising \$3 million to give to Democratic Party candidates in the 1982 elections.
- They project bringing NOW's membership up to the one million mark as a way to pressure Democratic and Republican politicians to "work for us."
- They're setting up an institute to train feminists to run as candidates for public office in order to "take over" the Democratic Party.

These moves to threaten, buy out, and eventually take control of the Democratic Party were presented at the conference by the NOW leadership as the only realistic and effective way to fight for women's rights today.

That assertion doesn't stand up to the test of events.

For decades, the labor movement and Black rights organizations have been flooding the coffers of Democratic and Republican liberals, providing them with campaign foot soldiers, and even occasionally running some of "their own" on the Democratic ticket.

It hasn't worked.

Working people today are suffering from an assault by the employers and their government the likes of which hasn't been seen since the 1930s. And Blacks, Latinos, and women are hit hardest by these attacks.

Democrats and Republicans alike have voted increases in military spending while they slash social services, cut federal funding for abortion, and kill the Equal Rights Amendment.

What *all* the politicians in both parties have in common — liberals and conservatives alike — is they agree that the priorities of the capitalist system must be defended and preserved — that is, profits — no matter what the human cost. They stand together to use governmental power to advance the interests of the employing class as a whole against the working class as a whole, at home and abroad.

The Democrats and Republicans are the political servants of the class that profits handsomely from a social system that oppresses and degrades women.

This is true in the best of times. Today, with the capitalist economy in crisis, the Democrats and Republicans are carrying out a bipartisan offensive against the rights and living standards of workers, women and oppressed nationalities.

Part of the two party con-game is the attempt to convince people that what counts is the individual candidates and their promises and opinions, not the party. The goal of that pitch is to prevent any struggles for social progress from breaking out of the framework of capitalist politics. The ruling class can always find some silver-tongued politician to try and

draw people back into the two party system.

Thus, women work against themselves when they support the candidates and parties that represent the enemy class. The result is the *subordination* of the fight for women's rights to the needs of the ruling class.

ERA, abortion rights, affirmative action, government-funded child care, the right to a job, and an end to racism — these demands of women challenge the economic inequality on which this entire social system is based.

Women can't take over the parties that administer this system — they must fight against them.

To be effective, NOW should take its hoped-for one million members and organize women in political action *independent* of the two parties of the oppressor class. That means fighting uncompromisingly for the needs of women, no matter who supports that fight, and fighting independently of the political parties and groups that tell women to slow down. It's only in the course of that kind of struggle that women will see who are their friends and who are the enemies that they must defeat.

What happens in Congress isn't decided by Congresspeople. It depends on the clash of strong class forces in the factories, on the picket lines, in the streets, and in battlefields the world over.

Mobilizing and organizing millions of women — and supporters of women's rights — is the most effective way for women to have an impact on the legislatures.

In order to wage such a fight, NOW must be representative of the women of this country, who are overwhelmingly working class. NOW must champion the demands of those on whom the employers' blows fall with the greatest weight — Blacks, Chicanas, Puerto Ricans, and other oppressed nationalities.

This kind of women's organization would be a natural ally of labor and the Black and Latino communities.

And it would work with them to build a new political party based on a fighting trade union movement. This party's interests would be the same as women's, because it would represent a class that is exploited by the same economic interests that oppress women. The emancipation of this class — the working class — is impossible without championing the rights of women.

A labor party would finally give women a political vehicle whose program is in harmony with, not in contradiction to, the struggle for women's liberation. Women's rights fighters will be founders, activists, and leaders of such a party.

This is the perspective that members of NOW who are also candidates running on the Socialist Workers Party platform put forward at the NOW conference, and are putting forward all across the country. This perspective deserves the support of every fighter for women's rights.

Chrysler workers say 'Enough!'

Continued from Page 1

Misleaders in the labor movement hailed this as the strategy for saving jobs in the midst of bad times. United Auto Workers (UAW) President Douglas Fraser's decision to accept a position on Chrysler's board of directors symbolized this spirit of "cooperation" between labor and the employers.

But this cooperation wasn't restricted to the highest echelons of the union officialdom and of management. It was carried to the shop floor, not only in Chrysler, but in General Motors and Ford as well. There, the realities of union-management cooperation meant a decline in grievance procedures and safety, a weakening of union representation, and increased speedup and overloaded jobs.

In the Ford and GM contracts, for example, committees to study "quality of work life" were formalized. A "National Committee on Attendance" and a "National Joint Council for Enhancing Job Security and the Competitive Edge" were set up by GM and the UAW.

Such cooperation puts the union in the position of enforcing discipline for the company, rather than fighting for workers against company attacks.

In the proposed contract just voted down by Chrysler workers, one of the most objectionable proposals was to adopt stricter work rules for disciplining absenteeism. In an October 1 appeal to Chrysler workers to accept this proposal, Fraser and Mark Stepp, head of UAW's Chrysler department, argued that many of the concerns of Chrysler about absenteeism were "legitimate." Rather than holding Chrysler accountable for worker absenteeism due to sickness and fatigue resulting from speedup, forced

overtime, and job overloads, they blame the absentees for "goofing off" and forcing others to work at "less desirable jobs in place of the absentees."

But Chrysler workers, who have had enough of this kind of discipline on the job, didn't buy these arguments.

In rejecting the contract, Chrysler workers stood up to formidable pressures. They were told by the company that there was no money available and that Chrysler even wanted further concessions in medical care.

They were falsely told by Stepp and Fraser that the union's negotiators had "extracted from Chrysler Corporation on every last penny possible." The alternative to acceptance, they were told, was "a prolonged strike" that "would jeopardize the Chrysler workers' jobs."

This was a threat to Chrysler workers that, by rejecting the contract, they would put the company out of business and thus lose their jobs. But it didn't work.

Chrysler workers, like others, know they're not responsible for the current crisis of the capitalist system. And like other workers, they are discussing the causes of this crisis and what can be done to get out of it. They have decided that they have sacrificed enough and that concessions to the corporations will not save jobs.

And most significant, a substantial layer of workers are learning from their daily experience that collaboration between labor and the bosses leads only to worse conditions. Recognition of this essential fact is the beginning of wisdom in moving towards adopting a strategy of independent working class struggle. That's the only road forward for labor.

History will judge Che as one of the world's great revolutionaries

Che Guevara was murdered at the hands of imperialism 15 years ago on October 8. Che was a leader of the Cuban revolution and is today a symbol of the revolutionary aspirations of millions throughout the world. He was killed in Bolivia by the CIA.

The most outstanding characteristic of Che was his internationalism. He took part in the revolutionary struggle in Guatemala. In 1955 he joined Fidel Castro and fought tirelessly for the next five years against the Fulgencio Batista regime in Cuba.

With the victory of the Cuban revolution, Che became an outstanding leader of the new government. As minister of industries, he played a leading role in the struggle by the working class to transform Cuba into a workers state.

At the Inter-American Conference at Punta del Este, Argentina, in 1961, the Kennedy administration launched the so-called Alliance for Progress.

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

Che, attending for Cuba, sharply counterposed the perspective of armed revolutionary struggle in Latin America to the schemes of imperialism put forward by Washington's sterile allies in Latin America.

Che became a symbol for a new generation of revolutionary internationalists.

Memorial meetings were held throughout the world to commemorate the life of Che and to pledge rededication to the struggle he embodied. Fidel Castro addressed hundreds of thousands of Cubans October 18 in a commemoration of Che. In Mexico, more than 1,500 students met in Mexico City. Six hundred attended a London memorial meeting. The Revolutionary Communist Youth of France (cothinkers of the Young Socialist Alliance) sponsored a meeting of 1,600 to evaluate Che's contributions to world revolution.

In New York, the Militant Forum sponsored a memorial meeting on November 3. Over 350 people heard speakers including Pedro Juan Rua, of the New York branch of the Movement for Puerto Rican Independence; Julius Lester of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Derrick Morrison, from the Young Socialist Alliance; Paul Sweezy, coeditor of *Monthly Review*; and Edward Shaw, of the Socialist Workers Party.

The *Militant* ran an editorial in the October 23, 1967, issue titled "His cause will triumph." Below are excerpts.

* * *

The murder of Major Ernesto "Che" Guevara by the Bolivian military dictatorship is a grievous blow to the world struggle for socialism. But the struggle will continue and it will inevitably triumph. That was Che's deepest conviction and history will affirm him.

That fact does not mean that he will not be sorely missed. Clearly, in the battles that lie ahead it will not be easy to make up for the loss of this towering figure who symbolized for millions the very essence of bravery, incorruptibility and indomitable revolutionary will.

History will surely judge him one of the world's great revolutionary figures. It will record his magnificent contributions to the victory and shaping of the Cuban Revolution and his dramatic departure to carry on the struggle in Bolivia. But it will say even more. Che's greatness lay in the totality of his revolutionary consciousness. He was a thinker and a man of action. It would be idle to speculate which — action or thought — had primacy for him. For Che the thought and the deed were inseparable.

His remarkable capacities as a man of action sprang directly, logically and consciously from his conviction that mankind could not lead a decent life until imperialism and capitalism were rooted out of this planet. And he was equally convinced that this could be accomplished only through stubborn, organized, armed struggle on a global scale.

In leaving Cuba to help advance the struggle in Bolivia, Che understood full well the risks involved. But the overriding consideration was the critical urgency to extend the struggle.

It was for good and sufficient reason that the imperialists and their puppets feared and hated Che. The Bolivian "gorillas" and their U.S. masters feared him so much that after capturing him they murdered him in cold blood.

Now these killers are chortling over their "victory." But their obscene grins will freeze on their faces as they come to realize that Che lives. He lives in his irrepressible revolutionary ideas and he lives in all those who will continue the struggle that can only end in victory.

Vital part of reading

Just a short note to let you know that I enjoy your socialist publication, and that I am subscribing for a year of *Militant*. I was turned on to your publication at the June 12 nuclear disarmament rally in New York City and have found it to be a much needed source for alternative ideas. I especially enjoy your constant update of the important developments in the labor movement. Being from South Carolina, where an alternative newspress does not exist, I find the *Militant* a very vital part of my reading.

Randy Gabany
Spartanburg, South Carolina

Handgun law

Proposition 15 will be on the ballot in November for the state of California. This proposal is a cynical attempt by so-called liberal elements to disarm poor and working people. If the law passes, the only handguns that will be available will come from private individuals at a highly inflated price beyond the reach of working-class people.

Under this law, the rich, the military, and the police will be the only people able to possess handguns in just a few short years. As the economy worsens, poor people will be forced to sell whatever handguns they might have in order to keep body and soul together. They will then not ever be able to afford to buy them back. I resent the fact that the initiative does not contain any regulation that would force the police to begin disarming and halt their incredible race to obtain lethal weaponry. Of course, the framers of this bill had no intention of doing that.

I believe people on the left must take a stand against this bill and give their own arguments to oppressed people. Normally, I have little faith in electoral politics but I believe that this proposal is so dangerous that we must become involved in fighting it. If we do not, we will wake up the morning after the election and find that fascism has made a giant step forward, once more at the expense of working-class and other oppressed people.

This bill could be the first in a nationwide trend if it is success-

ful, as was the handgun ban in Morton Grove, Illinois. One thing you could do would be to give this proposition coverage in your newspaper. Mel Mason could also speak out against the initiative. People must become aware of this impending obliteration of one of their most important rights.

In conclusion, I would like to say that I have a deep respect for your position on the defeat of U.S. imperialism and I hope you will agree with me that defeating this fascist legislation can be an important part of the struggle. We have to work to insure a resounding "No on Proposition 15."

Bob McComak
Oakland, California

Stunt backfires

I had received a few free copies of the *Militant* after signing Joe Swanson's nominating petition for governor of Nebraska. I am troubled by the invalidation of Joe's petition (and of Mel Mason's in California). I hope that ugly stunt by the Republican-Democratic people backfires on them. It has swung me more solidly in favor of the socialist struggle.

Allan Stibal
Lincoln, Nebraska

Disagrees on Iran

As a longtime reader of the *Militant*, I have become increasingly dismayed and angered at the Socialist Workers Party position on Iran over the past several years. The recent articles answering other readers' criticisms only serve to solidify the *Militant's* opportunist stance toward the current Iranian government and its sectarian stance toward progressive opposition groups in Iran.

Polemics have focused on the Mujahedeen to the exclusion of all other oppositions such as the Organization of People's Fedayan Guerrillas. While correctly exposing the treachery of the Mujahedeen's bloc with the Bani-Sadr forces, the *Militant* then lumps all other opposition groups together as being "demoralized middle-class elements," promotes the current government as the best that can be gotten under the circumstances, and projects the three Fourth

International groups as the vanguard of Iranian socialism.

When repression is ever mentioned, it's linked to a telegram campaign for Fourth Internationalists imprisoned in Iran. Basic issues, like the connection between the wider repression and the continuing war with Iraq, are glossed over. The recent trial and execution of Sadeh Ghotbzadeh is quietly ignored in the *Militant* as the bourgeois media is thus allowed to saturate Americans with anti-Iran hysteria.

Defenders of the February 1979 revolution do not in any way apologize for the current capitalist regime. The temporary unity brought about in 1979 between the worker and peasant masses and the parasitic Shi'ite clergy is quickly unraveling and the *Militant's* shrill stance toward leftist forces inside and outside Iran can only be interpreted as back-handed endorsement of the current regime.

What makes this contradiction so great is that the *Militant* has recently broadened its definition of revolutionary currents to include the Vietnamese Communist Party, the Palestine Liberation Organization and other currents. Why the refusal to seriously discuss the left in Iran?

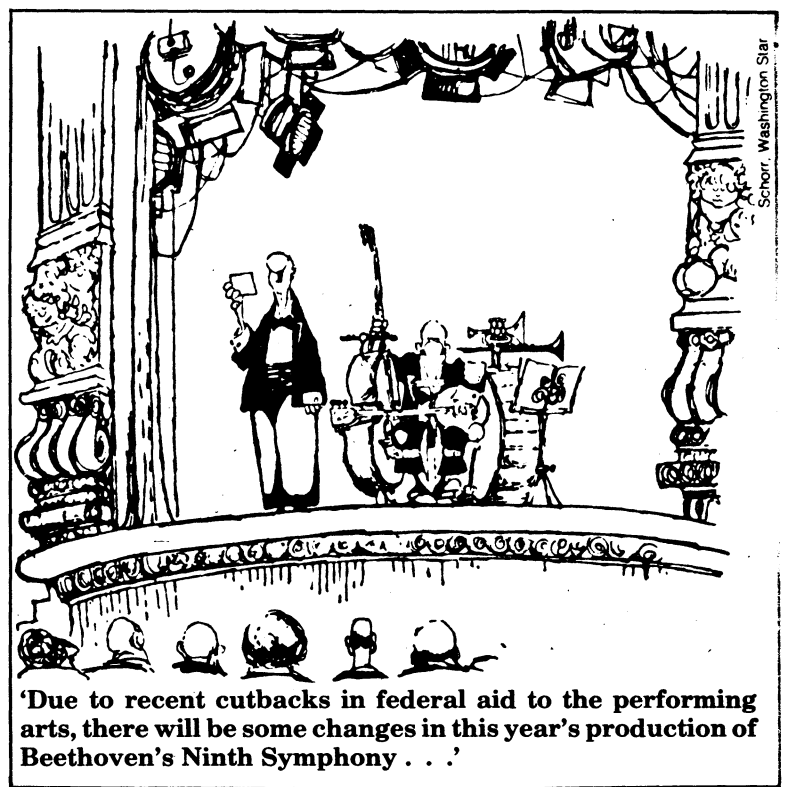
Militant polemics also run the theme that Iranian exile groups are "intervening" in Central America Solidarity groups. Following the *Militant's* position, Central America solidarity activists should view this support with suspicion, and view anti-Khomeini Iranians as, at best, misguided, and at worst, counterrevolutionaries. This approach sounds a little too much like the exclusionism that wracked the U.S. antiwar movement in the 1960s.

Mark Dressler
Miami, Florida

Sports & capitalism

Professional sports, college, even high school sports are more examples of how the everything-for-a-profit system exploits, corrupts, and eventually ruins all that it controls.

Athletic games and competitions are a healthful and fun form of human recreational ac-



tivity. But, under capitalism it's neither healthful or fun. Organized sports from high school to the pros are simply another way the system exploits human beings for money.

The "As I See It" column in the October 1 issue of the *Militant* by Will Reissner in support of the NFL players strike should have gone deeper into the topic and done more than simply side with the players in their dispute over how to divide up the TV networks money pie.

Will points out that the owners denounced the players demand for 50 percent of the revenues as "socialistic." There is nothing "socialistic" about this. But why? How would socialists propose funding sports? What has Cuba done? What is the *Militant's* position regarding pro sports?

Rich Mitts
Cincinnati, Ohio

Looking forward

I look forward to continued excellence in coverage of the many topics in the *Militant*, *Young Socialist*, and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Bruce Johnston
Schenectady, New York

Capitalist news media

Sometime during the night of September 26, a man climbed inside the polar bear cage at the

Central Park zoo and was mauled to death by the polar bear.

A day later, the man was identified as a Cuban "refugee" whose last known address was a slum apartment he'd been evicted from a year ago. He had been chased out of the zoo several times that day because he was trying to get into the animals' cages.

As a way of glossing over the horror of someone so alienated and isolated by a couple years' experience with capitalism that he preferred death with the zoo's wild animals, the TV news has incorporated this event into its "anticrime" campaign.

The initial news was shown in a series of stories on muggings and murders. And a day later, the 11:00 pm news showed a woman reporter asking the zoo commissioner, "Don't you think the bear should be punished for its action?"

Another reporter interviewed people visiting the zoo, and played this reaction from a young child: "It was like if someone broke into your house — the bear was protecting its property."

Any day now I expect we'll see an editorial in the *New York Times* demanding a law that would prevent the bear from using the insanity defense or getting parole.

Lee Martindale
Brooklyn, New York

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Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 611 E. Indian School. Zip: 85012. Tel: (602) 274-7399. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

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. Seaside: Pathfinder Books, 1043A Broadway, Seaside. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 555 W. Adams. Zip: 60606. Tel: (312) 559-9046.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405.

Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613. Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165. Zip: 50311.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 475-8933.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-

3341.

NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Pad-

dock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17102. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA,

P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19. P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

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

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WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

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

Black mayor faces death penalty in racist frame-up trial Oct. 19

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

Eddie Carthan, the former Black mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, will go on trial for his life on October 19.

His crime was attempting to better the lives of working people in Tchula.

Tchula is one of the poorest cities in the country. It is located in Holmes County, one of the 10 poorest counties in the United States.

Tchula's population is 85 percent Black, and 30 percent of the adult population is unemployed. Two out of three residents receive welfare, half the homes lack indoor plumbing, and 81 percent of the homes have been classified as "deteriorating."

In 1977 Blacks in Tchula decided they wanted a change. They elected Eddie Carthan as the first Black mayor of a Mississippi delta town since reconstruction.

Carthan immediately began implementing a series of reforms. These included obtaining Comprehensive Employment Training Act funds to weatherize and remodel Tchula homes. A nutrition project was set up to provide meals for senior citizens and the handicapped. Grants were obtained to build a public library. Child care and health care programs were started. Plans were made to construct public recreational facilities.

Refused bribe

However, this was not the way the top ruling circles in Mississippi thought things were supposed to be done in Tchula. A political representative of the most powerful figures in the state offered Carthan a \$10,000 bribe if he would halt the reforms. When he rebuffed this proposition, they launched attacks against him, including sabotage, intimidation, and physical threats.

The opening shot came when the town aldermen forced two appointed officials in Carthan's administration to resign. The aldermen's white appointee who replaced the Black water supervisor then refused to pay the city's telephone and light bill. Carthan's salary was sub-



Tchula Seven; Mayor Eddie Carthan, center

Southern Advocate/Ted Quant

sequently lowered from \$600 to \$60 a month.

To intimidate Carthan's supporters from organizing protests, the aldermen raised taxes and refused to pay city employees for two months.

City Hall was locked up for eight weeks and guarded by a white police chief with shotgun in hand and with orders to "shoot anyone who tries to enter." Meanwhile Carthan's family received threatening phone calls and racist letters.

In April 1980 the police chief resigned and Carthan appointed Black officer Johnny Dale, as a temporary replacement. Without informing Carthan, a fraction of the city council illegally appointed Jim Andrews police chief. Andrews was the white candidate Carthan had defeated in the mayoral race.

Andrews, without taking an oath or being bonded, went to City Hall to take over the police department. Learning of these actions, Mayor Carthan, with the

aid of six regular and auxiliary policemen, successfully disarmed Andrews and got him to leave City Hall.

Following this confrontation, Carthan and Andrews filed charges against each other. But only Andrews' charges were acted upon. Carthan and the other six officials were convicted in April 1981 of assaulting a "law enforcement official." Carthan was sentenced to three years in the Mississippi State Penitentiary, while the others were given three-year suspended sentences and fines.

Jurors misled

Carthan appealed the conviction on the assault charge to the Mississippi Supreme Court. But on August 18, 1982, the court rejected his appeal. Shortly afterwards, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Byron White refused Carthan's plea for emergency bail while the conviction is appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

These decisions to return Carthan to jail came in spite of the fact that two of the jurors publicly asserted that they had been "pressured" and misled by the judge. They said they believe the seven men are innocent of the charges for which they were convicted.

Carthan is currently locked up in Holmes County jail, awaiting trial on even more serious charges. In April 1982 he and his brother Joseph were arrested and charged with the June 1981 murder of former Tchula alderman Roosevelt Granderson. The Carthans were implicated by Vincent Bolden, who was convicted of murdering Granderson in a robbery attempt. Bolden was one of two Black men who were picked up by local officials and brought to trial for Granderson's murder.

According to an article by Joseph Delaney, editor of *North Mississippi Rural Legal Services Notes*, in the October 15, 1982, *WIN* magazine, "One of the men

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Alabama socialist candidate foils company attack

BY ANDY ROSE

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — Martin Boyers, Socialist Workers candidate for governor of Alabama, has beaten back an attempt by O'Neal Steel company to fire him.

"This victory was won because of the strong support given by my co-workers, by the Steelworkers union at O'Neal, and by other defenders of civil liberties for my right to campaign without being victimized," Boyers said.

Boyers, an angle shear operator at O'Neal for three years, was ordered out of the plant on Friday, September 24, by plant superintendent Bob McCarley. McCarley told him to report back to the superintendent's office the next Tuesday to be informed of any further company action.

The suspension was openly political. McCarley claimed that a campaign leaflet by Boyers — a statement in support of striking Alabama Power workers — had been posted on a company bulletin board. When Boyers explained he had not posted any literature anywhere in the plant, McCarley maintained Boyers was responsible anyway, because the

leaflet was issued by his campaign.

O'Neal officials had made earlier attempts to intimidate socialist campaigners who regularly sell the *Militant* at the plant gate. To discourage workers from stopping to talk, supervisors have stood watching the campaigners from office windows. They even ordered Boyers to remove his O'Neal hardhat while campaigning.

The week before his suspension, Boyers was issued a warning about campaign literature allegedly found on a bulletin board.

"I have every reason to believe O'Neal management is preparing to fire me," Boyers told the news media in a widely reported statement on Monday, September 27. "They are dead set against a worker and unionist running for public office against the Democrats and Republicans."

At all three shift changes that day, Boyers and his campaign supporters distributed an open letter to members of United Steelworkers Local 3004 at O'Neal.

"My suspension is part of a bigger attack on our union," it explained, point-

ing to "a series of unjust firings and disciplinary actions." Workers have been fired for such offenses as being injured too often. The union grievance committee chairman was even issued a warning for taking too much time off to process these company-provoked grievances.

O'Neal has been especially anxious to weaken and discredit the current union leadership — a predominantly Black group that ousted long-entrenched, conservative, white officials in last April's union elections.

Boyers' open letter concluded: "We should all stand together behind our union and oppose these attacks on our basic rights. . . . The union is opposing my suspension and is trying to block the company from firing me. I am distributing this letter so you will know the facts, and to ask you to support the union's efforts."

A number of workers made a point of shaking Boyers' hand and wishing him well as they took the letter — in full view of company supervisors. These included not only workers friendly to Boyers' campaign. One who strongly opposes his socialist views said, "I disagree

with your politics, but this is a case of defending the union, and on that I'm behind you 100 percent."

Meanwhile, the socialist campaign also alerted civil liberties, Black, anti-war, and women's rights movement leaders in Birmingham. Several of them telephoned O'Neal to demand that Boyers not be fired.

On Tuesday it became evident the company had not expected the storm of publicity and opposition their suspension of the socialist candidate had provoked. They said their "investigation" had revealed that Boyers had not violated any company policy after all. He was reinstated to his job, with full back pay and with the suspension removed from his record.

Boyers reports that inside the plant the reinstatement is seen as a real victory for the union. "A lot of discussion is needed, of course, on how to turn back the big attacks on our union, our jobs, and our rights," says the socialist candidate. "This one incident has helped make real the idea that if we stand together and fight, we can win some victories."