

## Vote Socialist!



Militant/Fred Murphy

It is estimated that about two-thirds of those qualified to vote will stay home on election day.

It's not apathy that's keeping those millions home. It's an expression of disgust with both major parties — a realization that

### EDITORIAL

neither is doing anything about the crisis that working people of this country are living through.

We believe, though, that there is an alternative for working people — a meaningful choice — in this election. That choice is the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party (see listing on page 7). They are running on a platform of working-class struggle.

Today working people are under fierce attack. Double digit unemployment. Con-

tinuing inflation. Young people being forced to register for the military draft that's coming. The threat of direct involvement in the counterrevolutionary wars Washington is promoting in Central America.

We have seen the Republican-Democratic collusion to defeat the Equal Rights Amendment and to curb women's right to chose abortion.

The bipartisan drive to roll back the civil rights gains of the 1960s is unrelenting. Along with women workers, Blacks and Latinos suffer the heaviest blows of the present depression. Last hired, first fired is the rule of the day.

Small farmers haven't been so bad off since the 1930s.

From 1979 to 1981, farm income dropped by one-third. That left about one out of four farm families living on less than \$10,000 a year — in poverty, even by government standards.

## Rebels gain in El Salvador

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Freedom fighters of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) have launched one of their biggest military campaigns yet against the brutal U.S.-backed dictatorship in El Salvador.

FMLN units of up to 700 fighters began coordinated attacks on military targets throughout much of the country on October 10. Daily broadcasts monitored here from Radio Venceremos, the FMLN's official voice, reported considerable successes in the first week of the new offensive.

Three towns were captured in Morazán Province in the northeastern part of the country, and two in Chalatenango Province, north of the capital, San Salvador.

The offensive also included the first actions in several months in the capital itself. Small FMLN units, in uniform, entered the northern suburbs of San Salvador on October 15, and numerous bombings of telephone and electrical installations were reported throughout the week.

Press reports here October 17 described the streets of the Salvadoran capital as "inundated" with military patrols, following a night of actions by FMLN commando units.

That same day, thousands of government troops were reported heading toward the north and east of the country, where most of the fighting was taking place. Ac-

cording to press accounts and battlefield reports by Radio Venceremos, here is what the dictatorship's forces could expect to find:

- In Morazán Province, all telephone communications and electricity were reported cut off October 14, and the towns of Perquín, San Fernando, and Torola remained under FMLN control. An entire company of government troops at Perquín was defeated by the guerrillas, with all 124 soldiers either killed or captured.

Radio Venceremos reported October 18 that an army battalion moving from the capital of Morazán Province to the FMLN-held towns had been stopped, and that heavy fighting was under way around Joicoaitique and Meanguera, two towns south of the rebel-occupied areas.

- In Chalatenango Province, where large FMLN units occupied the towns of Las Vueltas and El Jícaro on October 10, fighting was also under way. Two thousand government troops had launched counterattacks on both towns October 13 but were withdrawn two days later. One army commander told reporters that "the situation is pretty critical" at El Jícaro, while his troops had encountered "unexpectedly strong" resistance at Las Vueltas.

- Government reinforcements being sent along the Pan-American Highway, the main artery linking Central America, are finding it cut and blockaded in many places.

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The crisis that grips this country is so deep that even such an enthusiastic partisan of our "free enterprise" system as President Reagan finds himself blurting out some of the facts.

For instance, in his October 13 speech on the economy, Reagan reminded his audience that this country has suffered eight recessions since World War II. That's one almost every four years.

Reagan noted that the government debt has now reached \$1 trillion.

A shameless faker, he tried to suggest that this staggering debt is the result of money spent on miserly social programs. He tried to use this as justification to cut such programs back even further.

But Reagan didn't say a word about the billions on billions poured into the fearsome military budget. There's no talk about economy there. No, instead, they're talking about ending federally subsidized meals for orphans and the retarded.

Meanwhile, the Democrats, those sterling "friends" of the working people, can scarcely conceal their glee over the rising unemployment rate. For them it's just a good opportunity to take some votes from the Republicans by trying to paint them as exclusively responsible for the problem.

They, of course, chose to forget that it was precisely the record of the Carter administration on this issue that got Reagan elected in the first place.

And they chose to conceal the fact that the refusal to take any meaningful action on behalf of the jobless is totally bipartisan. Congressional Democrats may beat their gums a bit more than the Republicans about the sorry plight of the unemployed. But they join with the Republicans in refusing to pass legislation that would aid the jobless.

And the Democrats join with the Republicans in covering over the real cause of unemployment.

The cause, quite simply, is capitalism. Periodically, the anarchical capitalist system of production accumulates more goods than can be sold at a profit. That brings production cutbacks, layoffs, and plant shutdowns.

The Democrats and Republicans refuse to discuss, or even admit, this problem because they're 100 percent for capitalism. They know that any meaningful solution to the plight of the jobless means cutting into capitalist profits. And they don't care how long the unemployment lines are. For them profits are untouchable.

As far as the capitalists are concerned, the present 10 percent jobless rate means an opportunity to drive wages down even further and to grab back some of the gains won by the unions. They push for this with the phony claim that it's the way to save jobs.

But working people are learning from hard experience that "cooperating" with the employers by yielding on wages and working conditions won't save a single job.

The Chrysler workers learned that when their misleaders put givebacks over on them in their 1979 union contract. This year, when another concession contract was proposed, they resolutely voted it down by a 7-to-3 ratio.

And it's not just the Chrysler workers who are learning. A lead article in the October 13 *Wall Street Journal* was headlined, "Labor Backlash — Workers Resist Employers' Demands for Pay Concessions."

Citing a series of cases where workers are resisting company demands for givebacks, the paper says, "Many believe the past concessions haven't saved jobs and that calls for such aid have become merely a new management tactic to lower workers' wages."

And the drive to lower wages is part of

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## Protest march hits frame-up of Mississippi Black mayor

BY RASHAAD ALI

JACKSON, Miss. — Chanting, "Free Mayor Carthan and the Tchula Seven" and "Fired up, won't take no more," 1,000 people marched through the streets here October 16. They were protesting the frame-up of Black former mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, Eddie Carthan, and six other residents of Tchula.

Carthan, the first Black mayor of a Mississippi delta town since Reconstruction, was elected in 1977. He was removed from office three months before his term expired after local and state officials carried out a campaign of intimidation against him. Their objective was to block Carthan from implementing a series of reforms for the majority Black residents of Tchula.

Currently serving a jail sentence for charges of alleged assault, of which six of his supporters were also found guilty, Carthan and his brother Joseph have also been charged with allegedly hiring two men from St. Louis to kill Roosevelt Granderson. Granderson, a former Tchula alderman, opposed Carthan's administration and sided with the local and state officials in their attacks against Carthan.

The trial of Eddie and Joseph Carthan on the frame-up murder charges began October 19. Jury selection got underway with 200 potential jurors gathered in Holmes County Circuit Court.

The march and rally was sponsored by the National Committee to Free Mayor Eddie Carthan and the Tchula Seven and to Preserve Black Political Rights.

The march stepped off with Joseph Carthan and the Tchula Seven at its head. The protesters made their way through Jackson, where people lined the streets holding up signs showing their support.

Demonstrators, 75 percent of whom were Black, participated from as far away as Eugene, Oregon; California; Wisconsin; New York; and from many cities in the South. A motorcade of over 30 cars followed the marchers to the rally site where 500 supporters had already gathered.

At the rally Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, told the crowd, "We are here to fight a political lynching. They are trying to lynch Eddie Carthan and the Tchula Seven in Mississippi today as they lynched Emmet Till before."

The demonstrators gave the family of Eddie Carthan a standing ovation as they were escorted to the front. Shirley Carthan, speaking for the family, said, "My husband is innocent and you all know this is a frame-up. Let them know that we're all fired up."

Mississippi State Senator Henry Kirksey of Jackson got to the root of the problem when he explained the real reason why the wealthy racist forces in the Mississippi delta were trying to get rid of Carthan, "There are no jobs for Black folks in this state. Eddie Carthan is in jail today because Eddie Carthan was dedicated to getting jobs for Black people in this state."

Anne Braden and Dick Gregory headed a list of speakers from civil rights and other organizations that were also on hand to address the crowd.

When Shirley Carthan was asked what she thought the effect of the demonstration was, she pointed out, "It will have a big impact on the case. All eyes are on Holmes County."

For more information on the case contact: National Campaign to Free Mayor Eddie Carthan and the Tchula Seven and to Preserve Black Political Rights, P.O. Box 29, Tchula, Miss. 39169, (601) 235-5209 or 834-3080.

# El Salvadoran rebels make big gains

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ces. The Coastal Highway, further south, is entirely paralyzed, as is virtually all ground transportation outside the capital.

• In Cababas Province, between Chaltenango and Morazan, two military posts were captured by the FMLN. In Usulután Province, to the southeast, the seaport of El Triunfo was reportedly blocked off by FMLN units on October 16.

The new offensive was timed to coincide with the second anniversary of the founding of the FMLN on October 10, and with the third anniversary of the October 15, 1979, coup that put the current military strongmen in power. By carrying out extensive and coordinated operations in widely separated parts of the country, the FMLN has given the lie to recent reports in the big-business U.S. news media claiming that the rebels had been seriously weakened and were suffering from internal divisions.

In fact, even as the rebel offensive was in full swing on October 11, the *Miami Herald* featured a front-page story headlined "Salvador's guerrillas lose clout." Correspondent Shirley Christian quoted the claims of Salvadoran Defense Minister Gen. Jose Guillermo Garcia that the rebels were in their "death throes," and cited the opinions of "military experts" who had told her that "the guerrillas are no longer capable of mounting a major offensive."

But the current operations of the FMLN are proving the opposite. They dramatically underscore the strength, mobility, and popular support of the guerrillas.

Meanwhile, the regime's security forces and the paramilitary death squads linked to them continue their bloody work in El Salvador's cities. The bodies of nine men

were found in San Francisco, a suburb of the capital on October 8. The same day, the Christian Legal Aid Society — an arm of the Catholic Church — announced that 474 civilians had been killed in the month of September by "the army and right-wing paramilitary organizations."

Such reports expose the hypocrisy of President Reagan's periodic certifications

to Congress that the human-rights situation is "improving" in El Salvador—a condition for continued U.S. military aid to the dictatorship.

The editors of the *New York Times* felt compelled to warn Reagan September 25 that giving the military butchers in San Salvador a free hand did not look very good in light of the outcry over the recent

massacres in Beirut.

"The inadequacy of Israel's disclaimers of responsibility have been obvious to most Americans," the *Times* editorial said. "When it again comes time to certify 'progress' on human rights in El Salvador, the President would do well to look back at his reactions to the slaughter of civilians in Lebanon."

## 1,000 march in S.F. antiwar protest

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

On October 16 antiwar organizations across the country organized a variety of protest activities in opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador, Central America and the Caribbean. They were in response to a call issued by the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador and mainly organized in this country by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES).

According to a staff person at the CISPES national office in Washington, D.C., actions were held in 50 cities.

The largest was in San Francisco where 1,000 protesters marched through San Francisco's Mission District chanting "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador."

Activists there reported that the demonstration represented an important step forward in the process of uniting diverse antiwar groups in the area. It was initiated by CISPES and included many political, religious, and community groups.

An estimated 25 percent of the marchers were Central American and Chicano. A number of unions endorsed the demonstration including a local of the Oil, Chemical

and Atomic Workers at the Chevron plant in Richmond, California.

Other actions included a march and rally of 500 in Seattle, a march and rally of 250 in Cincinnati, an 80-car caravan in Los Angeles, a march of 300 in San Jose, a picket of 100 people at the Federal Building in Minneapolis, and a rally of 100 in Denver.

In successful fundraising activities in Washington, D.C., a walk-a-thon raised \$1,700, and the CISPES chapter in Ithaca raised nearly \$1,000 for medical aid to El Salvador.

Many international actions were also scheduled for October 16. The only one

which CISPES had received a report from was a solidarity forum that took place in Caracas, Venezuela. It was organized by the Venezuelan solidarity committee and 500 people heard talks from a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, Heidi Tarver from CISPES, and a representative of the Venezuelan committee.

Another important event taking place in solidarity with the struggles of the people in Central America and the Caribbean is the Mexico-U.S. Border conference in Solidarity with El Salvador, which is scheduled to take place in Tijuana, Mexico, October 30-31.

## Support Socialist Workers ticket!

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the employers' drive to jack up their profit rates.

The giant corporations that run this country may have a surplus of unsold goods right now, but they also have a huge reservoir of profits. Profits that could be used to aid the unemployed workers whose toil created those profits.

Taxing the superrich could help fund a massive public workers program.

Put aside the concern for profits, and Congress could legislate a shorter work week, with no reduction in pay, to spread the available jobs.

Put aside concern for the defense of capitalist profits abroad, and the billions being poured into the war machine could be used for a vast program of socially useful public works. That would mean jobs, as well as some of the homes, schools, and hospitals we so desperately need.

Another key plank in the socialist platform is opposition to war. The SWP candidates are absolutely opposed to Washington's growing military intervention in Central America and its support to Israeli aggression in the Middle East.

The Socialist Workers stand solidly in support of the liberation movements of the people of Central America and the Carib-

bean, as well as the Palestinian fight for self-determination and a return of their homeland.

All of these proposals are in the best interests of American working people. We urge you to support these stands by voting for the SWP nominees and by letting other people know there is a good reason to go to the polls.

But the Socialist Workers Party is appealing for more than your vote. The huge problems facing working people are not going to be solved at the polling place. That's just one part of the fight. What's needed is a new party of working people—a labor party that will defend the interests of the workers with the same determination that the Republicans and Democrats fight for the interests of the corporate profiteers.

To do that effectively means establishing a new government in this country, a workers and farmers government.

The fight to win such basic change is a 365-day-a-year proposition. We urge you to join in. Vote Socialist Workers November 2. And check page 19 for a listing of branches of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Find out how you can become part of the movement for a new, socialist society.

## Boston cops attack anti-Klan rally

BY ELOISE LINGER

BOSTON — The Ku Klux Klan got a "Not Welcome" loud and clear from several thousand Boston youths October 15. And the protesters, mostly high school students, got an education on the real nature of the Boston police. A large crowd at Government Center, City Hall Plaza was charged several times by police on motorcycles, horses, and once in a van.

In their zeal to protect 23 hooded racists, the police split heads, wacked bystanders on the back, and maced demonstrators. Linda Giles, an attorney, was standing quietly in the crowd when she was sprayed in the face with mace and clubbed. She lost consciousness and needed 15 stitches in her head.

Mitchell Russo, a photographer from Charlestown, reported that "an officer

walked six feet over to me and punched me in the face. My camera was covered with blood." Russo needed 14 stitches over his eye.

At least eight people required hospital treatment, and others received first aid at a parked ambulance.

During the police attack, several high school students near me gasped, "Do you see that? Look at that, nobody did anything!"

It was their first demonstration for many of the youths, including some who came from South Boston. South Boston has traditionally been a stronghold of opposition to school desegregation.

The action was held to counter a Klan rally. The Klan, however, was only able to muster 23 people for its action.

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Militant/Della Rossa

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Capitalist media campaign falsely attempts to portray PLO leader Yasser Arafat as a capitulator.

# Washington pressures PLO and Arab regimes to make concessions

BY DAVID FRANKEL

For the past three months, the Middle East has been the scene of the most intensive diplomatic activity since the conclusion of the Camp David accords between Israel and Egypt in 1978-79. Half a dozen top U.S. envoys have been shuttling back and forth between Arab capitals and Israel. Arab delegations have come to Washington in the wake of the Arab summit conference in Fez, Morocco. Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) leader Yasser Arafat met with Jordan's King Hussein for four days, and a meeting of the Palestine National Council is widely forecast.

At the center of this diplomatic activity, is the plan proposed by President Reagan on September 1. On the face of it, Reagan's proposal calls for Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza Strip, which would be linked to Jordan in some kind of federation. In return for giving up the occupied territories, Israel would gain recognition from the Arab states and a peace treaty.

But as is so often the case when it comes to diplomacy, what is really involved is something completely different from the formal proposal that the newspaper reports are dwelling on.

## Goal of U.S. diplomacy

All Middle East diplomacy, from the point of view of the U.S. rulers, has one fundamental goal — to get the Arabs to capitulate to Washington's economic and political domination of the region. The military blows struck by its staunch ally Israel in its invasion of Lebanon have provided an opportunity for Washington to try to further divide the Arab world and to force political concessions from Arab governments and the PLO.

Reagan's immediate goal is to get additional Arab governments — Jordan in particular — to join Egypt in recognizing the Israeli colonial settler-state. He also hopes to split the PLO.

Reagan's September 1 plan is the bait that the U.S. rulers are holding out in their diplomatic con game. Far from seeking an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories, as claimed by Reagan, Washington is *opposed* to any such withdrawal.

Over the past 15 years, the occupied territories have been largely integrated into the Israeli economy. They provide one-third of Israel's water, its second-largest export market after the United States, a pool of superexploited labor for Israeli industry and agriculture, and a key arena for the investment of surplus capital.

If Israel were forced to give up its colonial possessions, it would be a blow that would put the very existence of the Israeli state in question. It would certainly make it impossible for Israel to play the same role

that it does now as imperialism's main bulwark against revolution in the Middle East.

The U.S. ruling class is well aware of all this. It has not been building new military bases in the region and tooling up its Rapid Deployment Force for the past five years only to toss aside its strongest and most secure bastion against the Arab masses.

## Imperialists must lie

But Washington cannot stand before the peoples of the world and bluntly declare its real intentions. The imperialists were not able to do that even in the heyday of the British empire. They have to talk about the search for peace, about the right of self-determination, about justice, while they carry out their crimes.

In the case of the Middle East, this diplomatic course is especially important for Washington. While Israel's invasion of Lebanon resulted in a heavy military defeat for the Palestinian people and for the anti-imperialist struggle in the Middle East as a whole, the PLO's political standing was not destroyed.

On the contrary, the heroic resistance put up by the PLO enhanced its prestige and won it new support among the Palestinians inside Israel and in the occupied territories. The Palestinian cause gained recognition and sympathy throughout the world. This is the price that U.S. and Israeli imperialists paid for their bloody aggression in Lebanon. It is this that Washington seeks to counter with the Reagan plan.

While holding out the mirage of an Israeli withdrawal from the occupied territories after years of negotiations, the Reagan plan demands immediate political concessions from the PLO and the Arab governments.

- It calls for the Arab governments to rescind their recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and to give Jordan's King Hussein a mandate to negotiate for the Palestinians.

- It demands that the Arab governments formally recognize the legitimacy of the Israeli state — that is, that they accept

as irreversible the dispossession and expulsion of the Palestinian people, and that they drop their formal support for the PLO's demand for the right of the refugees to return and live together with the Jewish population of Israel in a united Palestine.

- Finally, the Reagan plan is aimed at putting maximum pressure on the PLO to retreat from its intransigent struggle for Palestinian self-determination. This pressure is not being exerted just on the diplomatic front.

## Pressures on PLO

In Lebanon, for example, tens of thousands of Palestinians have been left homeless by Israel's aggression. More are now being victimized by the Phalangist-dominated government, which is threatening massive expulsions of the Palestinian population.

"The pressures building up on the Palestinians in Lebanon may force Mr. Arafat to take President Reagan's peace plan more seriously than expected," *New York Times* reporter Thomas Friedman hopefully suggested October 10.

"With the fate of some 500,000 Palestinians in Lebanon hanging in the balance," Friedman continued, "Mr. Arafat may no longer be allowed the luxury of radicalism."

The Jordanian regime is also turning the screws. Reporting from Amman in an October 14 dispatch, Friedman said of the talks between Arafat and King Hussein: "The King is said to have explained to Mr. Arafat that the hour of decision is upon him: either he signals the Americans in an unambiguous fashion that he is ready to conditionally accept Israel within its pre-1967 boundaries and accept some kind of linkage with Jordan, or the game is up."

Despite such pressures, Arafat refused to issue any such statement recognizing Israel at the Amman conference. But this has not stopped the campaign by the imperialist media to sow divisions within the PLO. Ever since the September 6-9 Arab summit conference in Fez, the imperialist media has been trumpeting the theme that the PLO leadership has decided to align itself

with Washington and to seek a deal in keeping with that perspective.

A particularly clear example of the media-scum was a front-page article in the October 13 *New York Times* headlined, "Arafat Now Sees Positive Aspects In Reagan Plan." But the content of what Arafat said, as explained in the body of the article, was the opposition. It was to reject the Reagan plan "because it did not provide for an independent Palestinian state."

Arafat, according to the article, declared that the Reagan proposal "completely neglected the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and an independent state."

Moreover, "he also said the Reagan plan was insufficient because it did not recognize the P.L.O. as 'the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.'"

After blasting the specific proposals in the Reagan plan, Arafat added the diplomatic formula that "at the same time I can see some positive elements." He declined to elaborate on what these were.

The line of an Arafat sellout was also pushed in the October 16 issue of the British *Economist*. Arafat and King Hussein, the financial weekly claimed, "are working in unison and talking, more or less, the same language." According to *The Economist*, Arafat has already given up the perspective of an independent Palestinian state and is just trying to figure out how to win majority support for this position within the PLO.

But the only evidence for such charges are the claims of the imperialist media, and anybody who takes such claims for good coin is a fool. The fact is that, at the talks with King Hussein in Amman, Arafat refused to endorse the federation proposal in the Reagan plan and refused to endorse the idea of Hussein negotiating on behalf of the Palestinians.

James Clarity reported in the October 17 *New York Times* that Arafat "neither espoused, nor denigrated, the federation idea. He reportedly said it would be possible only after the establishment of an independent Palestinian state, and would require the approval of the Palestine National

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# Nov. 27 protest to back Palestinians

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

The November 29 Coalition has called for a national demonstration in New York City in solidarity with the struggles of the Palestinian and Lebanese people for November 27, with cultural and fundraising activities on November 26 and 28.

Additional demands at the demonstration will be for the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people and an end to the Israeli occupation of Lebanon.

The November 29 Coalition expects that on that weekend officials from the Palestine Liberation Organization will be in New York to address the United Nations.

The coalition, which was formed in 1981 with the goal of creating a movement in the United States in solidarity with the struggle of the Palestinian and Lebanese people, has organized a number of very successful actions in opposition to the continuing U.S.-Israeli wars in the Middle East.

In 1981, to commemorate November 29, which was declared an International

Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people by the United Nations, the coalition organized demonstrations that brought out 5,000 in New York, 1,000 in San Francisco, and 700 in Los Angeles.

In July and August 1982 at the height of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the November 29 Coalition organized a series of national teach-ins that served to educate thousands more as to what the real issues are in the war in Lebanon.

In addition to sponsoring the September 11 national demonstration in Washington this year, it was responsible for initiating the round of nationwide emergency protests that brought out thousands more on September 24 and for several days afterwards in many cities across the country to protest the massacre of the refugees in Lebanon.

The *Militant* has reported on many of these protests. Additional reports have been received from New Orleans and Toledo.

In New Orleans 300 people participated

in an emergency picket on September 25, which was widely covered by the media.

The action was organized by a coalition that included the Islamic Center of New Orleans, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, the National Black Independent Political Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, the New Orleans Nicaraguan Solidarity Committee, and others.

In Toledo, Ohio, a successful "Teach in and Cultural Night About the Palestinian and Lebanese People" on September 26 brought together Arnaldo Ramos from the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Michael Bar-Am, an ex-Israeli soldier and representative of the Lebanese National Movement; and Fred Dube from the African National Congress. The event took place in a Black community church in Toledo and was well received by the participants.

For more information on the November 27 demonstration contact: The November 29 Coalition, P.O. Box 115, New York, N.Y. 10113, (212) 695-2686.

## Mel Mason:

### The making of a revolutionary

Mel Mason, socialist city councilman in Seaside, California, tells his own story of how he became a revolutionary socialist. Pamphlet \$5.00 or free with an introductory subscription to the *Militant* (see page 2).

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

# Grenada: government launches drive to end unemployment

BY BAXTER SMITH

ST. GEORGE'S — The People's Revolutionary Government here is undertaking its most ambitious project since it came to power in 1979: wiping out unemployment.

In this Caribbean island of 110,000 people, just over 7,000 workers are unemployed, accounting for 22 percent of the workforce.

The government has just announced a plan to create 6,000 new jobs over the next three years: 3,000 in agriculture, 2,000 in construction, 500 in tourism, 100 in agro-industries, and the rest in teaching and other sectors.

The announcement of this plan followed a series of mass meetings, conferences, and discussions involving all layers of the population. Meetings have been held in all parishes of the country since early this year, with the goal of discussing how to end joblessness.

Prime Minister Maurice Bishop set the tone for the campaign at a national gathering of unemployed people and delegates from mass organizations in June.

"We come before our people," Bishop said, "openly as always, admitting this problem of unemployment and pointing out that together — party, government, and people — we have to find a solution."

He said it was necessary to find "a mass solution to end unemployment, of trying to end unemployment through increasing production."

"The people themselves," Bishop said, "and in particular, the unemployed themselves, must be fully involved and engaged in finding the remedies that will cure joblessness."

## 'Created by capitalism'

Bishop explained that unemployment is "created by capitalism." He pointed out, "There is more unemployment today in the capitalist world than in the past 50 years." The prime minister stated, "The capitalist world today is going through a major crisis. And one of the major side effects of this crisis is massive, unbelievable unemployment."

High unemployment was plaguing Grenada long before the revolutionary government came to power in March 1979.

In 1970, joblessness was estimated at 30 percent. Then came the 1974-75 world economic crisis. Unemployment was about 50 percent at the time of the 1979 revolution, which was followed by the current capitalist economic crisis.

Last March, in preparation for launching the unemployment campaign, the government undertook a census of jobless people.

The census located 7,040 persons who were either totally jobless, or part-time or seasonal workers. This figure puts unemployment today at around 22 percent — less than half of the 1979 figure.

Sixty-four percent of all persons reached in the census are between the ages of 16 and 25. Seventy-two percent of the jobless are women. The census found that 80 percent of all jobless never began secondary school. Many of these unemployed youth have gone for years without finding full-time jobs.

These figures represent the results of colonial and neocolonial oppression. However, as great as the problem is, conditions are improving.

## Economic expansion

The halving of the jobless rate in just three years indicates the commitment to social and economic progress that has been a hallmark of Grenada's workers and farmers government.

Several thousand new jobs have been created through the launching of major projects such as the international airport; road, school, and housing construction; agro-industries; and health and education expansion. As well, more than 200 jobs have been created through the establishment of cooperatives. (Two hundred jobs in Gre-

nada is equivalent to about 400,000 jobs in the United States, or 100,000 in Britain.)

At the various parish meetings and conferences on unemployment, economic expansion — particularly agricultural expansion — was projected as the major way to end joblessness.

There are more than 7,000 acres of idle land that could be put into production to create jobs. The government estimates that one job could be created per acre, and in the case of banana production, three jobs for every two acres. Additional jobs resulting from greater land usage would include trucking and shipping, packaging, and agro-industries.

At the national and local conferences, jobless youth were pressed to sign up for agricultural cooperatives. The National Cooperative Development Agency, a state enterprise, puts up loans and helps find land for youths forming agricultural cooperatives.

At workshops at these conferences, jobless youths volunteered for, or suggested the creation of, dairy products production; sandal making; bakery, crafts, and construction cooperatives; the teaching of agricultural science in the schools; and more agricultural training schools, among other things.

## Training schools

In particular, jobless youth have been encouraged to sign up for agricultural training. The La Sagesse agricultural training school was opened in June and the Bocage school on September 17. Two more are planned to open soon in Boulouge and Dumfires, the latter on Grenada's sister island of Carriacou.

At the schools, modern methods of scientific agriculture are taught in a 12-week course. The students are urged to set up agricultural cooperatives after graduation.

At the dedication ceremony for the Bocage school, Agriculture and Cooperatives Minister George Louison said that "such training schools will break the vicious cycle of unemployment and develop a new farmer with new skills and methods."

In addition, the National Youth Organisation is spearheading a drive to increase youth involvement in agriculture through radio ads and literature.

As part of the effort to involve all layers in the discussion, the government held a conference with local businessmen in July to solicit their ideas for ending unemployment.

However, this meeting contrasted sharply with others in which workers, farmers, and jobless youth offered their ideas. One businessman, for example, charged that unemployment existed because people are lazy.

These businessmen, who tend to be concentrated in export-import enterprises and tourism, have demonstrated little desire to contribute to Grenada's economic well-being. Nonetheless, Prime Minister Bishop urged them to set up small scale manufacturing. He exhorted: "The time has come for deeds and not words."

## Jobs for women

Because so many of the unemployed in Grenada are women, special emphasis is being placed on devising ways to train women for the new jobs that will be created over the next few years. A key role in this is being played by the National Women's Organisation (NWO).

In September, NWO President Phyllis Coard explained that the NWO is faced with the big task of educating women to fill some 5,000 jobs that traditionally have not been done by women in Grenada, particularly in agriculture. Coard urged women to enroll in the agriculture training schools, and noted that a large number already had applied to the new school in Bocage.

A new department in the Ministry of Women's Affairs has been set up, called Women in Production. It is headed by



Militant/Jerry Hunnicutt

## In revolutionary Grenada needs of workers and farmers receive top priority

Patsy Romain, an executive member of the NWO.

Its purpose, Romain said, will be to "look at and deal with the problem of unemployed women." The department, she said, will help coordinate the recruitment and training of women for the new jobs that are being created.

Besides encouraging women to go into agriculture, Romain's department, in conjunction with the Ministry of Education, plans to establish centers in every parish where women can learn practical construction skills. "Women will learn carpentry, masonry, surveying, and other construction skills at the centers," Romain said. "Right now we have very few women painters, surveyors, and so forth. And we want that to change, too."

In addition, more than half of all schol-

arships offered to Grenadian students for study abroad are being taken by women. Romain said that this includes the study of medicine, science, and engineering.

Getting women into the productive areas of the economy will be a feature of the December congress of the NWO. NWO groups around the island are presently discussing a draft program for the congress.

Finding the means to bring women into the job market is just one way to draw them more into the revolutionary process.

According to a summary of her remarks in the September 18 *Free West Indian*, Coard said that the "NWO needs to educate women about politics, the economy, underdevelopment, unemployment, the ways in which Grenada can be developed, the social problems affecting our people, and in leadership."

From Intercontinental Press

# Nicaragua gov't aids farmers

BY JANE HARRIS

MALPAISILLO, Nicaragua — "Because of the drought, we lost 69 acres of rice and 29 acres of sorghum. I can't tell you how glad we were when the compañeros from UNAG [National Union of Farmers and Ranchers] told us the government would assume the losses," said José Gutiérrez Hernández, one of the 23 members of his cooperative, located some 80 miles northeast of Managua.

A three-month drought, following on the heels of the disastrous floods that hit Nicaragua in May, has destroyed or damaged some 200,000 acres of basic food crops, causing the loss of \$47 million worth of beans, maize, sorghum, and rice. Some 100,000 acres of cotton were also hit by the drought, as were three-fourths of the country's cattle. Total losses are officially estimated at \$80 million.

On September 20, the revolutionary government declared the western region a national disaster zone and instituted the following measures:

- Cancellation of all debts related to drought losses, initially estimated at \$8 million in bank loans to small, medium, and large producers.
- Immediate issuance of new loans, totalling an additional \$8 million, to finance emergency reseedling of corn, beans, sorghum, and rice.
- Stepped up technical assistance to food producers and cotton growers for both reseedling and harvests.
- A government subsidy of 30 percent for food to fatten up the cattle.
- A lower weight requirement for the slaughter of cattle. Cattle that cannot meet the weight requirement will be bought by the government and sent to state farms to fatten up.

This means that Nicaragua, which recently lost some \$350 million from flood damage this past spring, has just assumed \$8 million in debts, extended \$8 million in credit, and expects to lose an additional \$72 million from the drought, although it hopes to recoup part of this sum through replanting.

Some cotton fields stood at 30 inches where they would normally be at 50. Some plants were destroyed entirely and replanted in June. Those stood at 12 inches.

Corn that had been replanted last week was just poking its way out of the ground.

Moving on to visit another cooperative was no simple feat. Had it not been for the agrarian reform agency's (MIDINRA) four-wheel-drive jeep, we never would have made our way through the pools of mud, up the rocky inclines, and over one mile of river that served as the jeep's highway.

"This is nothing," Enrique Chavarría, our guide and MIDINRA's director of production for the province of León, told us. "Many cooperatives are only accessible by horse or mule."

This fact of life has severe ramifications for life in the countryside, as our next visit showed. The cooperative had just lost 78 acres of corn to the floods, 54 acres of rice to the drought, and were wondering how much cotton some 80-90 acres would yield. Yet, 10 days after the government had announced the emergency measures, they hadn't heard about them.

"The word got out on the radio and TV and in the papers," Chavarría said, "but the mass organizations have to do more to inform people."

Here in León, while no shortage exists right now, Chavarría told the *Militant* that his province would feel the lack of basic foodstuffs in November and December — making it necessary to import from other provinces or perhaps trade corps.

"The other thing we're doing," he said, "is encouraging family vegetable gardens, which will be very healthy for the Nicaraguan diet."

The *Militant* spoke to more than a dozen cooperative workers on two farms here. Despite the fact that in the last five months they have had to plant three times — once in spring, again after the floods, and a third time after the drought — they appeared to be standing up to this adversity.

As José Gutiérrez Hernández put it, speaking in the midday sun, "Sure I could use some new clothes, a better pair of shoes, a cold beer, but we're going to get through these times. We're going to make out all right."

## Visit Nicaragua November 21-28

### See the revolution first-hand.

The one-week tour is sponsored by the *Militant* and its sister publications *Perspectiva Mundial* and the *Young Socialist*. The price is \$675 from Miami.

To reserve space on the Fall Economy Tour to Nicaragua, send a deposit of \$150 to Militant/PM/YS Tours, 410 West St., New York, N.Y., 10014. For more information call (212) 929-3486.



# Jobless Baltimore steelworkers discuss crisis of unemployment

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

BALTIMORE — More than 200 laid-off steelworkers recently turned out here for a special union meeting to discuss the problems of the unemployed. The September 30 meeting was called by United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 2609 which represents workers on the steel-finishing side of Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant. Local President Eddie Bartee said this was the first time in the local's history that such a meeting had been organized.

David Wilson, director of USWA District 8 told the workers that the meeting — one of many scheduled across the country — was "a commentary on our times. I've never seen it before and I know you haven't either."

Wilson reported that more than 10,000 steelworkers in Maryland, half the district membership, are laid off. He reported that despite union lobbying efforts, the federal government had rejected a proposal to extend unemployment benefits another 10 weeks. "I'm amazed and surprised," Wilson said. "As a result," he continued, "we will see several thousand steelworkers in Maryland exhaust their benefits in November and December."

Many of these will be workers laid off from Sparrows Point. Over 2,000 members of Local 2609 are out of work. Thousands more are laid off from Local 2610 which represents workers on the plant's steel-making side.

Contrary to some government claims that the recession is "bottoming out," evidence at the meeting was to the contrary.

## Leadership's proposals

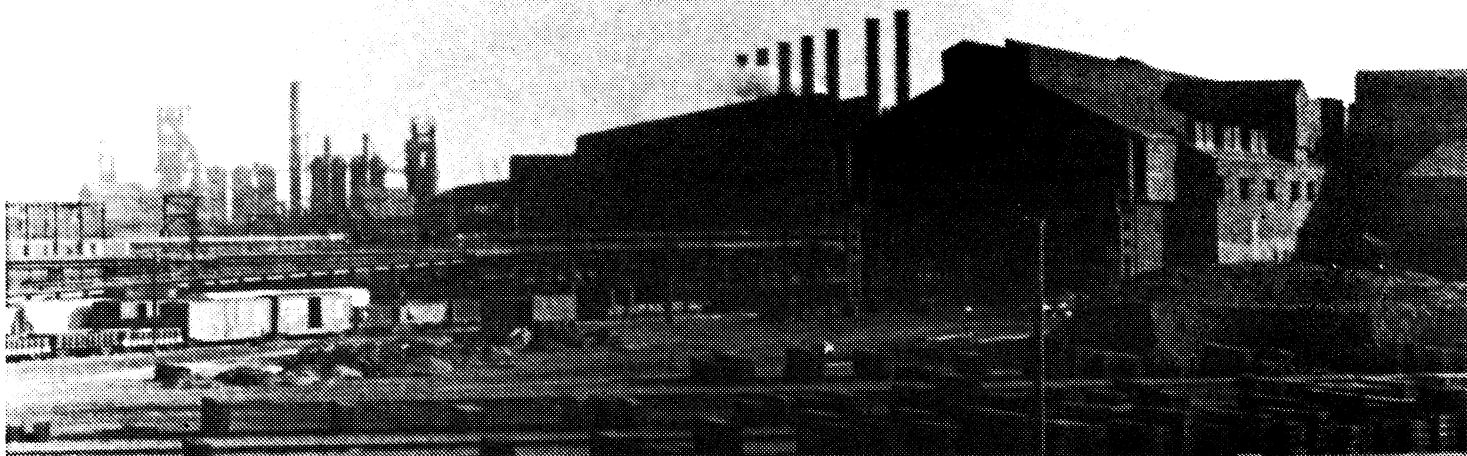
In the face of this deepening crisis the local leadership had called the meeting to outline a series of programs and proposals to help 2609's unemployed members. Wilson, Bartee, Recording Secretary Ed Gorman, and local Vice-president Donald Kellner presented the plans to the meeting.

They put forward a list of six programs beginning with a fundraising effort. Wilson and Bartee both explained that the tremendous drop in dues income because of layoffs had left most locals hurting for money.

They also explained why the international union's \$155 million Strike and Defense Fund is not available. In July presidents of USWA basic steel locals unanimously rejected steel companies' demands for wage and work-rule concessions. As a result, Wilson said, "we may face a strike and we must be ready." This comment met with murmurs of approval from the audience.

Several fund raising plans were outlined. Don Kellner reported on a plant-gate collection that raised \$4,000. This is to be supplemented by future collections (two of the five finishing mills were completely shut due to lack of work at the time the collection was taken) and by a checkoff system through which working steelworkers across the district can contribute.

The union leaders also announced the establishment of a food and clothes bank.



Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point steelmill. Thousands of members of Steelworkers Locals 2609 and 2610 have been thrown out of work here. They are now talking about the causes and answers to the devastation brought on by economic crisis.

Militant/Bob Kissinger

Bartee reported on a phone call the previous week from a laid-off worker whose wife is due to give birth. The worker told Bartee that he and his wife didn't even have enough money to buy clothes for their future child.

Three less specific programs were also listed. These included "some kind" of medical assistance and help with utility, heating, rent, and mortgage payments. However, Bartee stressed that the local could make no promises on these and that, in any event, the aid would only be enough for the "desperately needy."

The limitations of these efforts seemed clear to everyone. The \$4,000, Kellner admitted, "was just a drop in the bucket. But it's a step in the right direction." While many workers appreciate the effort being made, most also see that there is no way that the union can compensate for the tremendous cut in workers incomes due to layoffs, or compensate for massive cutbacks in government social service programs.

## Wrong direction

With this in mind the USWA leaders also proposed some political steps. Unfortunately, these pointed in exactly the wrong direction.

Ed Gorman told the meeting, "We're part of the cause of this mess, you know." One worker called out, "Right, we buy all those foreign cars."

"It's not only buying foreign cars," Gorman responded. "We sat on our duff in November 1980. Some of us thought there wasn't any difference between Carter and Reagan. Well now we know."

"Today, politics is economics," Bartee added. He pointed to the cuts in unemployment benefits and other social programs as reasons why USWA members should vote for the Democrats on election day, "Solidarity Day II", on November 2. He directed those who were not registered to vote to a table at the side of the room and assured everyone that they would receive a list of AFL-CIO-approved candidates in the mail.

Wilson also urged workers to register. "You can't complain if you don't participate," he said. "We must participate in the system and it's a two party system — Democrats and Republicans."

His conclusion was obvious: Like it or not the Democrats are our only choice.

Completely absent from this presentation was any mention of the fact that the Democrats share the responsibility for steelworkers' problems. Many of the same workers in attendance at the meeting had also been laid off at the time of the 1980 election — when Carter was president.

Also unmentioned was the fact that the cuts in social services and other programs needed by working people could not have been made without the votes of Democrats who control the House of Representatives. Many of these "friends of labor" are among the most ardent supporters of the giant increases in war spending while at the same time they vote to cut social programs.

## Foreign imports

Another table in the room carried petitions demanding that Reagan limit foreign imports. This was another theme in the remarks by union leaders at the meeting.

"Foreign imports are killing American industry. Even if you want to you can't buy an American TV, tape recorder, or many other products," Bartee said.

He reported that anti-imports rallies are being organized around the country. The District office, Bartee said, will pay the \$5 registration fee for any steelworker who wants to go to such a meeting in Washington on October 19. It will be an opportunity, "to let Reagan know we're dissatisfied with sending our jobs overseas."

"I don't want to see workers in Japan hurting either, but charity begins at home," Bartee concluded.

Many workers applauded this sentiment and a number signed the anti-import petitions.

In the absence of any other explanation for the crisis in the economy and the loss of jobs, some workers accepted the assertion that imports are the cause. But further discussion in the meeting showed that workers want to do more than sign anti-import petitions.

## Answers wanted

The discussion period opened with some questions from workers who are really hurting and need some help. A Black worker who spoke first had brought his wife and two small children to the meeting. He described his situation: "I'm looking at an eviction notice, my kids have asthma, the gas and electric has been cut off, and my unemployment has run out. What can I do? I only worked one week out of all last year and my wife was laid off in January."

Bartee replied that he'd be receiving a mailing in a week that would outline the assistance program in more detail. The worker's response underlined the seriousness of the situation. "You don't understand, man," he said, "the eviction notice is for tomorrow!"

A white worker asked a question that seemed to be on everyone's mind. "What

are we going to do to help people get a job? I'd rather work than get a handout," he told the meeting.

One young worker wanted to know if lower seniority workers would ever get called back to their jobs. "Most of us here have from two to seven years time," he said. "What are our chances?"

Another worker asked how serious the chance of a strike is when the contract expires in 1983.

The union leaders answered that it was impossible to say how many laid-off workers would ever be recalled. Bartee said the strike threat was real and that this could lead to the recall of some workers this spring if the company decides to stockpile steel in anticipation of a work stoppage. However, many workers say that steel is piled up all over the giant plant right now as a result of stockpiles the company already has.

## Are concessions the way?

A particularly interesting aspect of the discussion concerned the demands for wage and work-rule concessions.

In his initial remarks Don Kellner told the meeting, "You all know that the company has asked for concessions. We said 'no' in July and our position remains 'no'. Concessions don't create jobs. They never have and they never will. All you have to do is look at the auto workers." These remarks were met by loud applause.

The subject came up later in the meeting when one young worker disagreed and said he'd support concessions. "I want my job back," he said, "and I'd negotiate my wage to stop that foreign competition." His remarks were answered by almost unanimous boos and catcalls that prevented him from continuing.

Dave Wilson took the floor to explain that concessions wouldn't get this worker his job back but the original speaker persisted with his arguments. A young Black worker began answering him from across the room. The Chrysler workers took concessions and they didn't get any jobs, he argued. At that point the whole meeting became one big buzz of discussion as workers turned to those around them to talk about the mess we're in and what to do about it.

Among the participants in the meeting was Yvonne Hayes, the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate. Hayes has been laid off from Sparrows Point for seven months.

Almost every worker received a piece of Hayes' campaign literature from steelworker supporters who leafleted the meeting. Many workers at the meeting had worked with Hayes in Bethlehem's pipe mill and others knew her from her activity in the union over the past four years. Hayes participated actively in the informal discussion that followed the meeting.

## Bethlehem wants profits

"Some of the explanations I heard tonight seem off the mark," Hayes told one worker. "People have been signing anti-imports petitions for as long as I've worked at the Point and it hasn't produced a single job. Stopping imports won't do any more

Continued on Page 14



Yvonne Hayes (left), laid-off Sparrows Point steelworker and Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate.

Militant/Salm Kolis

# Socialist candidates receive hearing from workers, farmers

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Have you noticed the many recent TV commercials that show political candidates wearing hardhats and campaigning among workers?

Of course, these Democratic and Republican office-seekers 'want workers' votes, and thus they pose as workers themselves.

But have any of them been laid off in the current economic crisis, as have one of every four industrial workers?

Have any of them lost a home because they couldn't make the payments?

Or walked the picket line with striking unionists?

You get the point. These politicians may pose as workers, but that doesn't make them workers.

Not so the socialist candidates. They're workers themselves, and that makes them different from the candidates of the two

parties of the employers, the Democrats and Republicans.

The differences show in many ways.

\* \* \*

In Maryland, Yvonne Hayes is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Hayes, 29, is a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 2609, and is laid off from Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore. She told the *Militant* about a recent visit she made to Maryland's Eastern Shore with two campaign supporters.

The Eastern Shore, Hayes explained, might seem an unlikely place to campaign at first. The area, which is part of the Delmarva Peninsula, was long isolated from the rest of the state — the Chesapeake Bay bridge was only completed in 1952. Its

economy is largely agricultural and fishing-related.

Nonetheless, Hayes found, working people who live there have pretty much the same attitudes as workers elsewhere on the two subjects the socialists were there to talk about — the capitalist crisis and the socialist alternative.

In Crisfield, a bay town of 3,000, the socialist campaigners talked with watermen. These workers, Hayes explained, own their own boats — many have built them — and, with two or three people working with, or for, them, they bring in crabs and oysters.

They were quite friendly to the socialists, Hayes said, and "didn't think much of the U.S. government. That's because taxes on fuel, a big expense for them, are so high, and because the government lies a lot about pollution."

The government, one waterman told her, "poured billions into the Vietnam War and is doing the same thing in El Salvador." This money, he said, should be used for jobs for young people.

Also on the docks are the processing plants. At Bayside Seafood, a Black worker, after seeing Claudia Robertson's socialist campaign literature, invited her inside the plant along with Hayes, who reported that all of the 80 workers there are Black. "The women," she said, "are crab pickers, and the older men are oyster shuckers."

The women, Hayes said, "were very friendly, and they all took literature, but since they were working piece rate, they couldn't talk much. The boss just came in and out, ignoring us."

A lot of chickens are grown and packed on the Eastern Shore, including those of Frank Perdue, who was able to prevent the United Food and Commercial Workers — which is strong on the peninsula — from organizing his plant in Cambridge.

Workers there, as a result, were hesitant to take any literature, Hayes said. But that hardly meant that Eastern Shore workers didn't like unions.

At Country Pride Chicken in Hurlock, she said, people were eager to talk. A carload of young Black workers screeched to a halt and asked, "Are you from the union?" Told no, one said, "Damn, that's too bad, because we really need a union."

They wanted to know about conditions in unionized workplaces from Hayes and the other socialists.

These workers, she said, "liked the campaign. They clearly saw it as being for and of working people."

Like the watermen, many workers on the Eastern Shore also farm. One, a member of the United Auto Workers, came back out from his plant to tell the socialists he liked the *Militant's* defense of working farmers, "except for nationalizing the land. I have a gun, and no one's going to take my land away from me."

This gave her a chance, Hayes said, to "sharpen up my explanation of our position on nationalization" — which in fact is to guarantee working farmers use of their land, not confiscate it.

The area also has many farm workers, Hayes reports. One of them, she said, "lit up when a supporter explained that we're for a workers and farmers government because, he said, 'farmers keep people from starving, and are important people.'"

There are also migrant farm workers, she said, half of whom are Haitians. The death by dehydration this summer of a Haitian baby caused quite a stir, she was told by two Black farm workers; until then, no doctor or social worker had been allowed in the migrant workers' camp by the owners.

Black janitors and union members at Salisbury State College invited the socialists back, and a Black fraternity, Groove-phi-groove, at University of Maryland Eastern Shore said they'd help the Young Socialist Alliance build a meeting on campus.

Other comments reported by Hayes included those by two women at Jodi Shirt when the socialists approached them: "We



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky  
Gary "T" Trabue, socialist running for U.S. Congress in Houston, Texas.

were just talking about the problems in this country."

Or by a laid-off state worker who said of the *Militant*, "This is off to a good start. I like that title. That's what we've got to be, militant. This system," he said, "has to be changed; something is drastically wrong."

In all, Hayes said, the socialist campaigners went to 11 different plants, 14 times, and "the response in this area, which is supposed to be an isolated backwater, was tremendous."

\* \* \*

"It probably won't surprise you if I tell you the bosses don't like the idea of workers running for office who say that workers should run the country," said Maceo Dixon, socialist candidate for governor of Georgia.

Dixon should know. He and his campaign director, Garrett Brown, were both fired by Oxford Chemicals in Chamblee.

But, with the support of their union, Teamsters Local 528, Oxford has been forced to rehire Dixon, and to negotiate Brown's recall as well.

There have been other such cases during the campaign. Socialist candidates Martin Boyers, running for governor of Alabama, and William Hovland, running for U.S. Senate in West Virginia, were also suspended. Nancy Schwalb, running for U.S. Congress in Virginia's 1st District, was threatened with firing.

Boyers is employed by O'Neal Steel in Birmingham. Hovland works in Philippi for Old Ben Coal, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Ohio. Schwalb works for the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad in Newport News. The respective companies were forced to rehire Boyers and Hovland and to halt attempts to fire Schwalb.

The three candidates were defended by their unions, Boyers by the Steelworkers, Hovland by the United Mine Workers (UMWA), and Schwalb by the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers.

Old Ben Coal had been attacking UMWA Local 2095's safety conditions for some time, and Hovland's firing was part of this.

Dixon does not see running as a candidate as an obstacle to his continued employment at Oxford. Besides running for governor of Georgia in the November 2 election, he is also a candidate for U.S. Congress in the 5th District in a special November 30 election.

Anna Schell is the socialist candidate in the 4th Congressional District in the same election, which comes as a result of a long fight for Black representation in Georgia.

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Verónica Cruz is a garment worker and the socialist candidate for Congress from the 16th District in New York, in Harlem. She and two campaign supporters recently went up to a farming area near Newburgh.

The nearby area is called "Florida," because many of the farm workers are recruited in that state.



Socialist candidates Claire Moriarty, running for U.S. Senate from New Jersey, and Mark Zola, for governor of Pennsylvania.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

## S.F. campaigners jailed

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

SAN FRANCISCO — Two young garment workers, Deborah Liatos and Marilee Taylor, were arrested here October 14 while passing out election campaign material and antiwar leaflets on a public sidewalk outside Horace Mann Middle School in the Mission District here.

The two women are supporters of Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California, and Socialist Workers Party candidate Juan Martínez for U.S. Senate. They are also students in the evening adult education program at Horace Mann. Mann.

Two days before their arrests, they went early to pass out leaflets in front of the school for an upcoming demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The school administrators acknowledged that Liatos and Taylor had the right to distribute material and sell campaign publications on the sidewalk in front of the school. However, they said the women could not distribute anything inside the school, which they had not done and agreed not to do.

On October 14 when Taylor and Liatos got to the school, they learned their classes had been canceled. They decided to stay and distribute material to other students. Two uniformed policemen told Liatos and Taylor they could campaign only on the sidewalk. A third uniformed officer came up, parking his patrol car in the middle of the street. Two plainclothes cops then pushed their way through the group, one shouting "get those fucking communists out of here."

When asked whether they were police, one of them flashed his badge in the two young women's faces and said, "You're damned right we're police, and you're under arrest."

Both women were put in the patrol car. Through the window of the locked car, one

of the arresting officers sneered at Taylor who had been speaking Spanish with her fellow students, and said, "Maybe now that you've been arrested, you'll learn to understand English."

Taylor and Liatos were taken to the Mission District police station, thrown into a small holding cell, and kept there more than an hour. Outside they could hear police saying, "We've got a couple of commies in there" and "go take a look at the commies."

When the two were finally released, one officer threatened Taylor, saying, "The only good communist is a dead communist, and I killed plenty in Vietnam."

Liatos and Taylor were ordered to appear in court November 9 on charges of "interfering with the peaceful conduct of a school," and, in the case of Taylor, "carrying a knife on school grounds."

The police confiscated their campaign material, as well as Taylor's personal notebook, citing its value as possible "evidence" against her. The notebook contained the names and badge numbers of the officers who had threatened her, a list of names and telephone numbers of members of the Socialist Workers Party in San Francisco, the text of a speech Taylor had given against the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazoli bill, and notes from her Spanish class.

The women are both members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. They are also both sewing machine operators at Koret of California, and members of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Supporters of the right of working-class candidates to campaign for office are encouraged to send protest messages to Mayor Dianne Feinstein, demanding that the charges be dropped and that she affirm the right of San Franciscans to campaign without fear of harassment, intimidation, and arrest by the San Francisco police.



Farm workers who live there are separated by nationality "and live in shacks, really cubicles," Cruz reports.

There are Black, Caribbean, Filipino, and other farm workers there, she said, and they liked the socialist campaign. One Black woman told Cruz she used to buy the *Militant* in Baltimore. If she had known there were socialists running, she said, "it would have been worth registering to vote."

She invited Cruz to a meeting that night in which candidates were questioned by a group called Citizens for a Better Society.

The questions were about nuclear disarmament and the wars in Lebanon and Central America, Cruz reported. One Democratic Party candidate was reminded after saying that he was for a nuclear freeze, that he had voted for the MX missile.

"He tried to say," Cruz said, "that he had voted for research on the missile, but not the missile itself. He wasn't received very well."

On the other hand, the socialists got a good response, Cruz reported. "People aren't just taking what the Democrats and Republicans say," she said, "and I think that's really significant."

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It's not just the bosses where socialist candidates work who don't want anyone to hear about the socialists. The media, too, are owned by big capitalists, and they rarely give socialist campaigns anything like adequate coverage — often, any at all.

Other supposedly nonpartisan groups, too, act in favor of the two parties of the employers. The League of Women Voters has frozen out socialist candidates in Milwaukee this year.

They did the same thing in St. Louis, but the socialist candidate for U.S. Senate in Missouri, Jody Curran, and her supporters protested this at an October 14 forum for candidates sponsored by the league.

Curran and her supporters convinced Channel 9, which broadcast the forum, to tape a 15-minute program on her candidacy. This show is to be broadcast October 25 at 7:30 p.m. Curran is a machinist at McDonnell Douglas.

\* \* \*

Because they are workers, the socialist candidates are often found in situations where you'd never see their Republican and Democratic Party opponents.

Take Tim Craine. He's the SWP candidate for governor of Michigan. He's a teacher in Detroit's public school system and was active in the recent teachers' strike there.

He's running against Republican Richard Headlee, who said that teachers who strike should be fired, and Democrat James Blanchard, who is endorsed by many labor bodies.

Craine points out that Blanchard, too, is opposed to teachers' right to strike, and Craine calls this "one more example of why we working people need our own party, a labor party, instead of supporting Democrats or Republicans."

You can also find socialist candidates, like Ron Richards, who is running for governor of Oregon, using their campaigns to



Militant/Andree Kahlmorgen

**Maceo Dixon, socialist candidate for governor of Georgia.**

aid popular opposition to such outrageous attempts to dump radioactive and chemical wastes in sludge ponds 400 feet from the Willamette River.

Or, like Katherine Sojourner, socialist candidate for lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, they are campaigning against U.S. intervention in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Sojourner has visited Nicaragua and has given slide shows and talks in many cities about that country, which has a revolutionary government representing workers and farmers.

When the railroad engineers were on strike last month, joining them was Joe Swanson, socialist candidate for governor

of Nebraska and a member of the United Transportation Union.

How do the socialists assess how well they've done with their campaigns? A letter from John Charbonnet in New Orleans reports on a recent campaign.

Suzanne Weiss, who works at the Tenneco oil refinery there, ran for U.S. Congress in the 1st District. The election was held September 11.

Charbonnet wrote, "Almost everyone at Tenneco knew about this campaign. It was the best possible way to popularize what socialists stand for."

Leaflets, he continued, "were distributed at the plant gate and inside the refinery, newspaper articles were clipped and

posted up by co-workers, and campaign posters were put up around the entrance to the plant. Four co-workers attended campaign rallies and, when tickets were sold for the kick-off rally, over 40 co-workers bought tickets as a way of contributing to the campaign."

Co-workers, he wrote, "liked the idea that a worker from Tenneco was running for office. Many said they liked the socialist platform. A number of workers were surprised and curious about our demand to nationalize the energy industry and to tax the profits of petro-chemical polluters 100 percent. They considered this to be very bold and audacious, and they found it a little amusing for a Tenneco worker to be raising this. They all supported these demands, as well as that against U.S. intervention in El Salvador."

Weiss received 7 percent of the votes in St. Bernard Parish, where Tenneco is located, according to official figures. She came in second in that area.

Many workers in the plant, he writes, now "know what socialists do and do not stand for. We are now in a stronger position to defend ourselves from harassment by the company," he adds.

## Who the socialists are supporting

Listed below are candidates in the November 2 elections who are supported by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The politicians of the two capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, place many obstacles before working-class candidates. Many states have prevented socialist candidates from being listed on the ballot. Write-in candidates are indicated by an asterisk (\*).

In some cases, reactionary age and residence requirements have necessitated stand-in candidates. In other cases, candidates cannot be listed by party affiliation.

For more information about how to vote socialist or about campaign activities, contact the nearest SWP or YSA office. They are listed on page 17.

**ALABAMA**  
Martin Boyers — Governor

**ARIZONA**  
Jessica Sampson — U.S. Congress, 2nd District (Tucson)  
Rob Roper\* — U.S. Senate

**CALIFORNIA**  
Seth Galinsky\* — U.S. Congress, 24th District (Los Angeles)  
Juan Martínez\* — U.S. Senate  
Mel Mason\* — Governor  
Pedro Vázquez\* — Secretary of State  
Shirley Rainer — Mayor, Seaside  
Henry Fryson — Seaside City Council

**COLORADO**  
Eileen Thournier\* — U.S. Congress, 1st District (Denver)  
Alan Gummerson — Governor  
Lois Remple — Lt. Governor

**FLORIDA**  
David Tucker\* — U.S. Congress, 17th District (Miami)

**GEORGIA**  
Maceo Dixon\* — Governor  
Tom Fiske\* — Secretary of State

**ILLINOIS**  
Marie Cobbs\* — Governor  
Rick Young\* — Lt. Governor

**INDIANA**  
Beth Julien — U.S. Senate  
Jesse Smith — U.S. Congress, 1st District (Gary)  
Dave Ellis — U.S. Congress, 10th District (Indianapolis)  
Mitch Rosenberg — State House of Representatives, District 13  
Brenda Brdar — State Senate, District 4

**KENTUCKY**  
Craig Honts — U.S. Congress, 3rd District (Louisville)

**MARYLAND**  
Yvonne Hayes — U.S. Senate

**MASSACHUSETTS**  
(State requires that write-in candidates' addresses be included.)  
Jane E. Roland, 49 Conwell Ave., Somerville\* — U.S. Senate  
Valerie Johnson Eckart — U.S. Congress, 9th District (Boston)  
Don Gurewitz, 608 Franklin St., Cambridge\* — Governor  
Arthur P. LeClaire, 41A Howe St., Wellesley\* — Lt. Governor

**MICHIGAN**  
Steve Beumer — U.S. Senate  
Susan Apstein — U.S. Congress, 16th District (Detroit)  
Tim Craine — Governor  
Elizabeth Ziers — Lt. Governor  
Mark Moldwin\* — Detroit School Board

**MINNESOTA**  
Bill Onasch — U.S. Senate  
Kathy Wheeler — Governor  
Carole Lesnick — Lt. Governor

**MISSOURI**  
Jody Curran\* — U.S. Senate  
Kathie Fitzgerald — U.S. Congress, 5th District (Kansas City)

**NEBRASKA**  
Joe Swanson\* — Governor  
Cheryl Porch\* — Lt. Governor

**NEW JERSEY**  
Claire Moriarty — U.S. Senate

**NEW YORK**  
Steven Wattenmaker — U.S. Senate  
Susan Zárate — U.S. Congress, 11th District (Brooklyn)  
Verónica Cruz — U.S. Congress, 16th District (Harlem)  
Eva Chertov — U.S. Congress, 19th District (Bronx)  
Patricia Mayberry — U.S. Congress, 23rd District (Albany)  
Diane Wang — Governor  
Peter Thierjung — Lt. Governor

**NORTH CAROLINA**  
Meryl Lynn Farber — U.S. Congress, 5th District (Winston-Salem)

**OHIO**  
Alicia Merel — U.S. Senate

Joe Lombardo — U.S. Congress, 2nd District (Cincinnati)  
Sue Skinner — U.S. Congress, 9th District (Toledo)  
Louise Haberbusch — U.S. Congress, 20th District (Cleveland)  
Kurt Landefeld — Governor  
Rachael Knapik — Lt. Governor

**OREGON**  
Ron Richards\* — Governor

**PENNSYLVANIA**  
Cathy Emminizer — U.S. Senate (Kipp Dawson, stand-in)  
Sam Farley\* — U.S. Congress, 2nd District (Philadelphia)  
Michael Finley — U.S. Congress, 3rd District (Philadelphia)  
William Kalman — U.S. Congress, 14th District (Pittsburgh)  
DeAnn Rathbun — U.S. Congress, 22nd District (Pittsburgh)  
Mark Zola — Governor  
Katherine Sojourner — Lt. Governor (Bill Osteen, stand-in)

**TEXAS**  
Norma Saldaña\* — U.S. Senate  
Lee Oleson\* — U.S. Congress, 5th District (Dallas)  
Gary "T" Trabue\* — U.S. Congress, 18th District (Houston)  
Shirley Peña\* — U.S. Congress, 20th District (San Antonio)  
Steve Warshell\* — Governor  
Debbie Lazar\* — Railroad Commissioner  
Diane Sarge\* — Attorney General

**UTAH**  
Kay Sedam\* — U.S. Senate

**VIRGINIA**  
Eli Green\* — U.S. Senate  
Nancy Schwalb\* — U.S. Congress, 1st District (Newport News)

**WASHINGTON, D.C.**  
Glenn White\* — Mayor

**WASHINGTON**  
Chris Remple\* — U.S. Senate

**WEST VIRGINIA**  
William Hovland — U.S. Senate  
Adrienne Benjamin\* — U.S. Congress, 3rd District (Charleston)

**WISCONSIN**  
Cheryll Hidalgo — U.S. Congress, 5th District (Milwaukee)  
Peter Seidman — Governor  
Margo Storsteen — Lt. Governor



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

**Kathy Wheeler, SWP candidate for governor of Minnesota.**

# Socialists seek support of Chicano caucus



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky  
**Lois Remple, Socialist Workers candidate for lieutenant governor of Colorado.**

DENVER — At the convention of the Democratic Party of Colorado, the delegates of the Chicano Democratic Caucus conducted a walkout to register their angry protest at the renomination of Gov. Richard Lamm, a right-winger and an opponent of Chicano rights.

The Chicano Democratic Caucus then decided to consider endorsing a ticket other than the Democrats. At interviewing sessions in June and October, they heard independent candidates including Alan Gummerson and Lois Remple, Socialist Workers Party candidates for governor and lieutenant governor.

Meanwhile, Remple addressed an open letter to the Chicano Democratic Caucus outlining her party's views.

This letter was published as a guest editorial in the September 29 issue of *La Voz*, a Chicano publication with a circula-

tion of 10,000 throughout Colorado. (In *La Voz*, the letter was inadvertently attributed to Floyd Fowler, a campaign worker for the SWP ticket.)

The following is the text of Remple's letter as it appeared in *La Voz*.

\* \* \*

First, I would like to thank the Caucus and its chairman for allowing myself and my running mate, Alan Gummerson to speak before the Caucus this past June.

As you know, Mr. Gummerson and I are running an independent campaign for Governor and Lt. Governor of Colorado. This is perhaps the first time any caucus of Democratic Party activists in Colorado is considering the merits of the Socialist candidates. This is to your credit.

Both your constituents, and my cam-

paign supporters are grappling with the increasingly serious problems that confront all Coloradans. In particular, the situation facing Chicanos in this state and the country at large, is truly alarming.

Working people are outraged at the assaults on the rights of minorities and the raids of La Migra.

It is the scope and scale of the attacks on the rights and living standards of working people that has confused so many. This plus the fact that the attacks upon us are more and more openly bi-partisan.

This, above all, must be faced head-on.

That is why people across the country see no hope of change through the Democratic Party.

The Democratic Congress has gone along — after token resistance — with the Reagan cuts. Democratic "liberals" like Gary Hart and Pat Schroeder are calling for a "leaner, meaner" military and backing Israel's genocide in Lebanon. Exxon throws thousands out of work on the Western slope and in response to the public outcry Governor Lamm can say only "this is no time to burn our bridges with Exxon."

The Governors race here is only a part of the national trend. The Democratic candidate, the present Governor Lamm, wants immigration laws which include more money and men for La Migra and the Border Patrol, more round-ups like Operation Jobs. Lamm wants a national identification card system for every person in this country!

Governor Lamm turns a blind eye to the economic problems of Southern Colorado, and the virus of police brutality in Denver's Chicano communities.

Governor Lamm refused to veto the bill passed by the legislature abolishing bilingual education in this state.

Your Caucus was forced to stage a walk-out at the most recent state convention . . . simply in order for your protest of his nomination to be heard.

Many people, for many years have supported the Democrats as a lesser evil, as better than voting Republican. And, in fact, there are more Chicano office holders — and candidates — than ever before. But the mass of people are worse off, not better. Working people, including Chicanos, have been electing their "friends," but continue to lose their rights! And so they don't vote, or register independent. They are dissatisfied. They want change!

There is an alternative. It means swimming against the stream. It is not easy, but it can — and must — be done. I am speaking of a clean break with the Democratic Party. I believe a serious examination of the situation will lead you to the same conclusion. I am convinced this is the only way out of the straitjacket we are in. Leaders must not be afraid to tell the truth. Leaders must lead.

That is why I am running for Lt. Governor on the Socialist ticket.

The people are tired of promises made with the knowledge that they cannot and will not be fulfilled. Mr. Gummerson and I make no promises, but a commitment, a commitment to fight . . . and to tell the truth.

## Can't afford a house? You're not alone!

The National Association of Homebuilders estimates that only 11.8 percent of U.S. families can now qualify for a 13 percent 30-year mortgage on today's median-priced house.

Housing prices have been rising faster than income since the mid-1950s, and other costs of owning a home have jumped even more. Between 1964 and 1977, home prices rose 180 percent, real estate taxes 341 percent, insurance 321 percent, maintenance 269 percent, and utilities 119 percent.

People buying houses in recent years are paying a far bigger percent of their family income than previously. In 1973, monthly house payments averaged 17.3 percent of family income. By 1981, families were spending 36.7 percent of their income.

Because of the collapse in housing sales, since 1979 the price of homes has risen more slowly than general inflation. But even with real prices of homes dropping, most working people are still priced out of the market.

## Minn. meeting discusses land fight

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

MINNEAPOLIS — An important exchange of views took place here recently at a panel discussion titled: "Robbery of the Land: The Base of Imperialism." The speakers included Riley Konerza, a member of the American Agricultural Movement (AAM), Vernon Bellecourt, a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), and John Gaige, a National Committee member of the Socialist Workers Party.

The panel discussion was held as part of a three-day educational conference October 1-3 titled: "Imperialism: The Roots of War." More than 100 workers and students attended. A few farmers from the region also came.

Konerza, an organic soybean farmer, came to the conference after participating in a protest called by the AAM. Some 100 farmers assembled at the capitol in St. Paul October 2 to protest the wave of farm foreclosures.

Bankruptcy filings in Minnesota are running nearly 300 percent ahead of the number filed in 1981. According to the U.S. Department of Agriculture, "the biggest crunch is being felt by 1.74 million smaller farms, each of which produces less than \$40,000 worth of crops and livestock a year."

"What is beginning to happen," explained Konerza, "is that more and more farmers are being thrown out on the streets just like in the 1930s." But farmers are beginning to fight back — just as they did in the 1930s. Minnesota farmers, for example, stopped the foreclosure of a Westbrook farm by threatening to stage a penny auction in August.

Konerza said the solution to the farm crisis required American farmers to ally themselves with the labor movement and with consumers. "Big business is scared," said Konerza, "that in some future time farmers will get together with labor and really run the government themselves."

Vernon Bellecourt confronted two problems that face the Indian people. In the cities, the U.S. government is foreclosing Indian housing projects. Bellecourt estimated that 75 percent to 80 percent of the programs have been cut.

"There is a bitter scheme taking place to get us out of the project," said Bellecourt. "I can tell you this, that most people living there are saying: 'Hell no, we won't go' — and they mean it because we intend to keep occupying that land."

Bellecourt also talked of the struggle to regain Indian lands stolen by the U.S. government. Bellecourt connected the Indian struggle here with the ongoing struggles for national liberation in El Salvador and Guatemala.

John Gaige developed the Marxist approach to the land and the need to overturn capitalist relations worldwide. He pointed to Cuba as a good example of a country where capitalism has been abolished and where "farming policies are carried out that benefit the Cuban farmers."

Gaige contrasted Cuba's farming policies to those of the U.S. "Today the U.S. is the world's biggest exporter of grain. One hundred nations depend on it. This great surplus is not used to meet the needs of workers and farmers, but to serve the inter-

ests of the imperialists."

He asked: "Why is it that a mere handful of grain merchants decide in secret who gets what and when and for how much? The reason is simple: capitalists want one thing — profits."

Gaige explained that "To eliminate the stranglehold of the system of rent and mortgages has on the farmers, the land must become public. As the Omaha Nation puts it: the earth is like fire and water; it can not be sold."

"This could take on new meaning," said Gaige, "if workers and farmers took power in this country."

The conference also heard an address by Mary-Alice Waters, a national chairperson of the Socialist Workers Party, on "How Cuba Is Leading the Fight Against Imperialist War."

Presentations were given on Lenin's antiwar strategy and his view of imperialism and workshops were held on the role of the Non-aligned Movement and how imperialist oppression perpetuates economic underdevelopment in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

## L.A. march hits draft indictments

BY SARAH MATTHEWS

LOS ANGELES — On October 11, 200 people gathered at the federal courthouse here to protest draft registration. They chanted "No draft, no war, from Lebanon to El Salvador."

The demonstration was called by a new antidraft coalition, the Los Angeles Draft Resistance Support Committee. The action had been planned as a support rally for David Wayte, a 21-year-old Pasadena youth scheduled to be arraigned October 10 for refusing to register for the draft. The arraignment, however, was postponed to October 26.

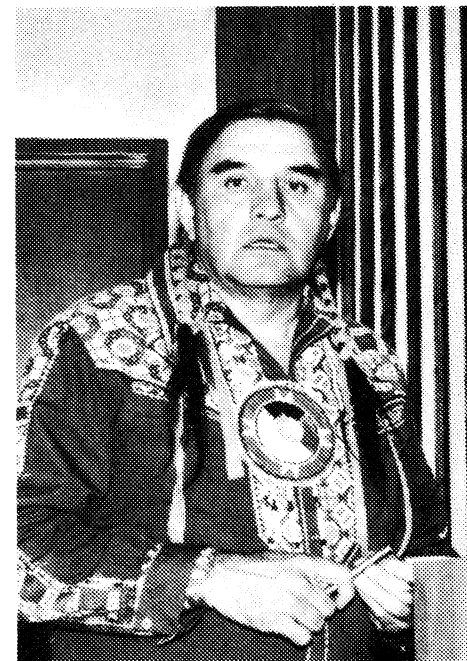
Supporters of the demonstration included two community churches, the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), the Farabundo Martí Solidarity Committee of Casa El Salvador, the Catholic Worker, the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee, the National Black Independent Political Party, the Young Workers Liberation League, the Young Democratic Socialists of America, the Socialist Workers Party, the Young Socialist Alliance, and the Revolutionary Socialist League.

In addition several chapters of the Alliance for Survival and other groups supporting a nuclear freeze also supported the demonstration.

After the picket everyone gathered for a rally.

Judy Simpson representing the Los Angeles Draft Resistance Coalition opened the rally by indicating that, "While David's case is our primary work, we also support all the other draft resisters in the country." She also explained that while her group's primary concern is resistance to the draft, "we also recognize that it is also a part of a military build-up that includes 800 marines in Lebanon and advisors in El Salvador."

With television lights glaring in his face Wayte told the protesters, "I will never register for the draft. Forty-nine percent of



Militant/Salm Kolis  
**Vernon Bellecourt of the American Indian Movement explained Indians' fight for land and decent housing.**

all people eligible for the draft in California and 57 percent in Los Angeles county are in noncompliance. They can't put us all in prison."

The crowd cheered when he ended by saying, "I refuse to take the first steps to cooperate with my government's efforts to go to war."

Wayte's case is being followed closely because trial Judge Terry Hatter, on the request of Wayte's lawyers, has ordered the government to come up with documents describing the procedure they have followed to select which nonregistrants they will prosecute. Wayte's lawyers contend that the government is violating Wayte's First Amendment rights by selectively prosecuting him as an outspoken opponent of the draft.

The government has attempted to evade the judge's order by claiming "executive privilege." But on October 7 David Kline, a senior legal official in the Justice Department testified that among the many letters and memos from the Justice Department to the District Attorney urging prosecution of draft resisters one of them pointed out that only the "willful refusers" and the "most adamant" should be prosecuted.

Bill Smith, one of Wayte's lawyers, told the October 11 rally that, "Never has the government spent so much time and resources to put people like David in jail. They don't want to see a group of draft resisters, leaders speaking out in public because they know the draft resistance movement will grow."

Benjamin Sasway, who was sentenced on October 4 to two-and-a-half years in jail for refusing to register and was recently released on a \$10,000 bond pending his appeal, ended the rally. He said that, "It feels good to be out of jail. But I feel more strongly than ever about the draft, about U.S. foreign policy. I still cannot register for the draft, I still cannot be part of Reagan's war machine."



# How capitalism exploits the farmers



Militant/Osborne Hart

Farmers' tractorcade in Washington, D.C., demands living income.

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

(sixth in a series)

Spokespeople for big business declare that family farmers are businessmen who have common interests with big business against labor unions. They claim that family farmers are capitalists who strive to maximize their profits. But this is false.

## BEHIND THE RECESSION

Most farmers do not exploit wage labor as capitalists do. They, in fact, are exploited by big business.

How can we speak of the exploitation of the family farmer in a scientific sense? Are they exploited like wage workers?

### Series of classes

In order to answer these questions, we must first recognize that farmers are not a single class, but consist of several classes.

First, there are the rural wage workers. They sell their labor power to capitalist farmers just like the city wage worker sells his or her labor power to an urban capitalist. Farm wage workers belong to the same class as the urban wage workers do and are exploited in the same way. I described how this form of exploitation takes place in the article, "How wage workers are exploited" in the October 22 *Militant*.

Then there are farmers who own their own farms and farm it with the labor of themselves and their families. These are the family farmers proper. They are forced to work for a living and they don't exploit the labor of others.

Finally there are the capitalist farmers, both big and small. Large capitalist farms, especially in the production of fruits and vegetables, require substantial amounts of wage labor. They are often owned by big corporations like Tenneco. Small capitalist farms may hire only a few workers, and may view themselves as family farmers who happen to be a little more successful than most. But because they exploit the labor of others, they belong to a different class than the family farmers who do not exploit wage labor and consequently have different interests.

### Many farmers are wage workers

There are also many transitional forms between these three categories. Most small family farmers also depend partially on working as a wage laborer in order to supplement their farm income. They really are semiproletarians. Over time more and more of them are forced to give up their farms entirely and become fully wage workers.

On the other hand, some family farmers may hire wage labor occasionally — during the harvest season for example — but still depend mostly on their own and their family's labor. In time they may become either capitalist farmers, wage workers, or totally dependent on their family's labor on the farm.

The basic movement that occurs is that the great mass of family farmers are being gradually converted into wage workers while a few rise into the capitalist class.

### Family farmers

For the sake of simplicity we will consider here how family farmers in the strict sense — that is those who neither buy or sell labor power — are exploited by the capitalist class.

The farmer must start out with a sum of money which he either owns or often borrows at high interest rates. This he uses to obtain the commodities needed for farm production. He also needs money to either purchase or rent land (unless he has inherited ownership of the land).

Unlike the wage worker, he owns his instruments of labor. Though he certainly works, he is not a wage worker. He has commodities other than his labor power to sell. Since he owns or rents his means of production, including land, he owns the product as well. It is this product which he must sell.

He must sell it at a price greater than the amount of money he laid out to begin with. This is often called the farmer's "profit." We will see, however, that this is very different than the capitalist's profit.

The small farmer uses his profit for personal consumption just like the wage worker uses his or her wages for personal consumption. Each year the small farmer must invest his money in the farm anew. If no profit or a very small profit is made in a given year, the farmer will be forced to use some of the money he would normally spend carrying out farm production for personal consumption. If this situation persists for any period of time, he will be forced to give up farming, as in fact many small farmers are forced to do every year.

### Is surplus value produced?

Like other commodities, the value of the farmer's products is determined by the amount of socially necessary labor needed to produce them. In the case of the farmer's products, this value can be divided into two parts, the value the farm family directly adds by its labor and the value that is passed on from the commodities that the farmer uses to carry out production, (fertilizer, seed, animals, fodder, farmer machinery etc.). In the case of commodities that are used for farm production that last more than one season such as tractors, dairy cattle, etc., a certain portion of the value contained in such commodities is transferred to the farmer's product. If a tractor lasts 10 years, it will transfer one tenth of its value to the farmer's crops each year.

If the working farmer received the full value of his product, he would obtain an income equivalent to the wage a capitalist pays his workers plus the capitalist profit.

For example, assume the owner of a small garment shop employs five workers. He lays out \$100,000 in machinery, raw material, electrical power, etc., per year. In addition he pays \$50,000 per year in wages. The total capital he invests will

come to \$150,000. Receipts for his annual product amount to \$200,000. The difference between \$200,000 taken in, and the \$150,000 laid out, — \$50,000 — is the owner's capitalist profit. Assuming the garment boss sells his product at its value, the workers will be producing \$100,000 worth of value a year. They get half of it in the form of wages, each individual worker getting \$10,000. The other half, \$50,000, is the surplus value that the owner receives in the form of profit. The garment boss can either consume the entire \$50,000 on high living or use some of it to expand his business.

Suppose instead of a garment boss we have a farm family. Let's say they have expenses of \$100,000 for the means of production they must use in a year, just like the garment boss. In addition let's assume that the farmer, his wife, and their three children perform exactly the same amount of labor doing farm work as the five garment workers perform in a given year. They will produce \$100,000 worth of value, just like the garment workers do.

If the farmer receives the full value of his commodity, he would have an income of \$100,000. Assuming that each member of the family consumes \$10,000 worth of commodities per year — the same as the garment workers do — the \$50,000 would constitute the farmer's equivalent of a "wage." He and his family would then have \$50,000 surplus that they could use either to buy additional commodities for personal consumption or to expand the scale of production on the farm. This last \$50,000 would be the equivalent of the garment boss's profit.

However, the catch is that the farmer does not obtain the full value that his family's labor produces. A part of it is snatched away.

Let's say that the value of a wheat farmer's crop is \$200,000. The wheat farmer will not be able to sell the crop for \$200,000. He will have to sell it below its real value to a commercial capitalist.

### Commercial capitalists

Commercial capital operates by buying commodities below their value and selling them at their value. When it buys the commodities produced by the industrial capitalists, commercial capital shares part of the surplus produced by the industrial working class.

For example, the garment boss mentioned above might have to sell his products at \$175,000 to a merchant. In this case he would have to share \$25,000 of the \$50,000 of surplus value produced by his workers with the merchant. The profit of the merchant would be based on the unpaid labor of the garment workers just as much as the profit of the garment boss himself.

When commercial capital buys commodities produced by a family farmer, however, it appropriates part of the value produced by the farm family's labor. Commercial capital is in a particularly favorable position to do this when it buys from a family farmer. There are still millions of family farmers who will work extremely hard and for long hours in order to hold on to their farms. They don't form unions demanding shorter hours and better working conditions. A handful of giant monopolies dominate agricultural trade and pretty much dictate terms to the small farmer.

Our wheat farmer, for example, may be forced to sell his wheat, worth \$200,000, to Cargill (a giant grain trading monopoly) for only \$170,000. Cargill's gross profit will be \$30,000 if it succeeds in selling the wheat for \$200,000. That comes to 30 percent of the \$100,000 in value created by the farm family. In other words, for 30 percent of the time the farmer and his family were toiling, they were working not for themselves but for Cargill. It is exploitation in the scientific sense of the word.

The farmer is also exploited when he buys commodities needed for his production. Many of these commodities are produced by monopolistic corporations who have the market power to sell their commodities to the farmer above their value. For example, the railroad that transports the farmer's product to market might charge a price twice as high as the transportation service it provides is really worth. In this way the farmer is forced to yield some of the value he and his family produce to the railroad.

The small farmer must also borrow money in the spring in order to purchase the seed and fertilizer needed to produce the year's crop. But the banks don't provide free loans, they charge interest. Six months later when the farmer sells his crop he will have to repay the loan plus interest. This means a certain amount of his time is spent producing not for himself but for the bank.

### Debt slavery

The farmer must also periodically purchase expensive farm machinery. In order to raise the sizable sums of money this entails, he must borrow from the banks. The bank, however, will demand a mortgage on the farmer's land as security on the loan. By the time the mortgage is paid off, the farmer will have to buy more modern machinery. He will have to mortgage his land once again.

Thus the family farmer is always in debt and has no real possibility of emerging from it. He must put in long hours of labor just to meet the interest payments coming due on the mortgage. Just as the wage worker has to produce surplus value for the industrial capitalist in order to continue to have the possibility of earning a living, the farmer must continually produce surplus value for the banks (financial capitalists) just to maintain possession of his farm. As Frederick Engels aptly described it nearly 100 years ago the worker is a wage slave, the farmer is a debt slave.

Most farmers have to lease part of their land. Rent payments (or the price of newly purchased land which represents a number of years rent paid in advance) also have to be met. These payments also must be paid out of surplus value produced by the farmer and paid to the landowner.

In addition the farmer must pay taxes on what is left of his income.

By the time all these "deductions" are made, the small farmer is lucky if he is still in possession of any of the value he and his family's labor produced. The farm family must then live off this sum of money until the following year's crops come to market.

Far from being comparable to the employer's "profit" the small farmer's income is simply equivalent to the worker's wage, and is frequently less than that.

(to be continued)

## from Pathfinder . . .



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# Why bilateral nuclear freeze will

BY BARRY SHEPPARD

SAN FRANCISCO — A referendum calling for a "bilateral freeze" on the testing, production, and deployment of nuclear weapons by the United States and the Soviet Union is on the November ballot here in California.

The same or similar referenda will be on the November ballot in seven other states, as well as in Chicago, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., and other cities. The ballot proposal is basically the same as the bilateral freeze bill that has been proposed in the Senate by Edward Kennedy, a Democrat from Massachusetts, and Mark Hatfield, a Republican from Oregon.

Hundreds of thousands of Californians signed petitions earlier this year to put the referendum on the ballot. In September, a freeze referendum passed by a 3-to-1 ratio in Wisconsin, and another won a majority in balloting in Alaska's three largest cities earlier this month.

These figures show the widespread concern over the danger of nuclear war and the ever greater stockpile of nuclear weapons. They also reflect the growing opposition to Washington's military involvement in Central America, the Middle East, and elsewhere, as more and more people fear that another Vietnam could even escalate into a nuclear holocaust.

Does the bilateral freeze proposal mark a step toward these goals held by the vast majority of working people?

The campaign in support of the measure has clearly shown that the answer is "no." In fact, the freeze referendum and the campaign around it actually lead away from effective steps against the real wars that the Reagan administration and bipartisan Congress are carrying out, supporting, and preparing right now.

While claiming to advance the fight against nuclear war, the freeze campaign helps keep working people trapped in the political framework of the two capitalist parties that are responsible for Washington's wars and for its massive nuclear and nonnuclear arms buildup.

Many former high government officials and politicians from both big-business parties, especially Democrats, support the freeze, as one aspect of an effective military policy to promote the interests of their class around the world.

Leading up to the elections this November, Democratic Party candidates have also made use of the freeze proposal to fatten their campaign chests and to portray themselves as "peace" advocates, cynically exploiting antiwar opinion in the population.

Here, in California, Edmund Brown, the current governor, is trying to bolster his campaign for U.S. Senate by emphasizing support for the freeze initiative. His Republican opponent, San Diego Mayor Peter Wilson, opposes the freeze.

Brown has paid for a series of television ads showing a nuclear explosion, after which the announcer points out that while Brown supports the freeze, Wilson opposes it. Wilson has countered with ads where he says, "I want the nuclear arms race to stop. I want the reduction of nuclear arms to begin. We have to do better than just freeze the nuclear cloud that hangs over the earth."

Brown's real attitude toward war became clear the very same week that he launched his television ads. He publicly identified himself with the position of the Israeli government on its invasion of Lebanon and on its claims of innocence for the massacre of Palestinians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps in West Beirut. A real champion of the fight against war!

The bilateral freeze proposal has become a central aspect of the Democratic Party election effort this year and leading up to the 1984 presidential elections.

The measure was adopted at the Democrats' national mid-term conference in Philadelphia last summer, and it is advocated by both of the party's leading presidential hopefuls — Senator Edward Kennedy and former Vice-president Walter Mondale.

The measure has been backed by 19 U.S. senators and 122 members of the

House of Representatives from both parties, mainly Democrats.

Recently an organization called PeacePAC held a news conference announcing that it has already raised \$50,000 in campaign funds to defeat 12 members of Congress who oppose the freeze; all but two are Republicans. PeacePAC plans to raise \$200,000 more for the November election effort.

The chairman of the group is Paul Warnke, Carter's director of the misnamed Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Among other former high government officials backing the freeze are former CIA director William Colby; ex-presidential advisor W. Averell Harriman; and former Pentagon research director, Dr. Herbert York.

PeacePAC's sponsoring organization, the Council for a Livable World, has raised \$320,000 to help elect 14 capitalist party candidates who support the freeze, the big majority of them Democrats.

In addition, an organization called Peace Links has been formed recently by the wives of several U.S. senators, members of Congress, and governors. Its chairperson is Betty Bumpers, wife of the Democratic Party senator from Arkansas. Rosalynn Carter, wife of the previous president, is also involved in Peace Links.

The freeze proposal is designed to give these Democrats a "peace mask," while they plunge ahead with further wars and massive military budgets in agreement with the Republicans. The disputes between the various wings of the two capitalist parties are tactical ones — the pace and extent of the yearly war budget hikes; the "mix" between nuclear and nonnuclear arms spending; how best to stop further victories by freedom fighters in Central America, the Mideast, Africa, and Asia without giving rise to a new antiwar movement at home.

The Democrats get more from the freeze referenda than just a way to raise funds and portray themselves as peace advocates. As *New York Times* associate editor Tom Wicker recently pointed out: "Win or lose,

“Freeze proposal covers up fact that U.S., not Soviet Union, is responsible for the nuclear danger.”

moreover, the freeze issue could turn out many voters who might otherwise have stayed home in a non-Presidential election year."

But win or lose, the bilateral freeze referendum will not bring world peace even a small step closer.

In fact, the campaign for the freeze has been used to blunt the antiwar thrust of demonstrations against nuclear weapons and against U.S. wars abroad. In the meetings to organize the June 12 demonstration here in San Francisco, for example, a proposal was voted down to make opposition to Washington's war in Central America one of the official demands. This demand became part of the action despite attempts to squash it, and it reflected the opinion of the vast majority of the 50,000 people who participated in the march.

Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party, opposes the bilateral freeze initiative. It is also opposed by Juan Martínez, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; and Pedro Vázquez, SWP candidate for California secretary of state; and Seth Galinsky SWP candidate for U.S. Congress in the 24th District in Los Angeles.

The socialist candidates advocate the unilateral nuclear disarmament of the U.S. government. They support the proposal, which has been made by the government of the Soviet Union, that all further production of nuclear weapons be halted. Among other things, this step would mean a reduction in the production of high-level

radioactive material, the accumulation of which threatens life on earth.

But this is not the aim of the bilateral nuclear freeze proposal. Nor, more importantly, will it be the result if this proposal is passed.

The socialist candidates oppose the measure and the campaign around it because it is an obstacle to the independent political mobilization and organization of working people and all those opposed to war in a struggle against the real warmakers — the U.S. capitalist class, its government, and its twin political parties.

The freeze campaign points in the opposite direction, seeking to deflect opposition to war away from Washington's military interventions and nuclear terrorism, and into the capitalist two-party set-up that the warmakers use to implement their policies.

The great majority of working people here in California, as throughout the country, are opposed to war and to nuclear weapons. Many will vote "yes" on this referendum, which will be an expression of this progressive sentiment.

But campaigning for a big "yes" vote will set back the struggle against wars and the threat of nuclear catastrophe. While the socialist candidates are not advocating a "no" vote on the referendum, they instead urge working people to direct their energies to education and action against the growing U.S.-sponsored war in Central America, and against Washington's nuclear and non-nuclear arms buildup and its steps to reimpose the draft.

The beginning of wisdom for any effective fight for peace today is to recognize that the foreign policy and accompanying war policies of the U.S. government are *bipartisan*. The Democratic and Republican parties are the two parties of the capitalist class that rules this country. It is in the interests of this tiny minority of the super-rich to maintain a massive nuclear arsenal and hold the threat of an atomic holocaust over humanity.

This is not because their goal is to blow up the world. They want to preserve the world, but under *their* domination and exploitation.

Since the turn of the century, the source of the danger of war has been the insatiable drive for profits by the bankers and big businessmen who rule the most economically powerful capitalist countries. They are impelled to use military might to dominate markets, sources of raw materials, and arenas for profitable investment around the world. This has led to wars of conquest over Asia, Africa and Latin America — to impose either direct or indirect colonial domination. It has also led to two horribly destructive world wars among these "advanced" countries to divide and redive the world.

That is why these countries are called *imperialist*.

Since World War II, the United States has emerged as the most powerful imperialist country, with overwhelming military predominance. While other imperialist powers (Britain, France, Israel, and South Africa) possess atomic weapons, and countries such as Germany have the technical capacity to produce them swiftly, the U.S. government has a decisive superiority over any and all of them.

Without nuclear weapons, U.S. imperialism could not maintain its dominant position in the world, so the U.S. ruling class will fight to the bitter end to keep these weapons. This is a *bipartisan* policy, and has been for four decades.

The atomic bomb was developed under a Democratic administration, and it was a Democratic administration — with bipartisan backing — that used the bomb for the first and only time against the civilian population of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Since then, the U.S. nuclear stockpile has been built up under Democratic and Republican administrations alike, with bipartisan funding from Congress. Both liberal and conservative politicians in these two capitalist parties have consistently backed the appropriations to expand, diversify, and upgrade this death-dealing arsenal.

Washington's strategic nuclear edge



U.S.S. Ohio submarine armed with Tric of Lebanon, where advanced U.S. nonnu

over other imperialist countries is one reason why wars between them are not on the agenda today, even though economic competition is growing more fierce between the U.S., German, Japanese, and other capitalist classes. More important, these ruling classes know that another war among them would weaken their common defense against the spread of anti-imperialist rebellions and, above all, the socialist revolution.

The tremendous U.S. military buildup since World War II has been aimed at the Soviet Union and other countries where capitalism has been abolished, as well as against colonial peoples fighting for national liberation.

Ever since the workers and peasants, under Bolshevik leadership, established their own government in October 1917, the imperialists have kept up unremitting military pressure against the Soviet Union. Every subsequent advance of the socialist revolution — from the Chinese revolution, to Eastern Europe, to Vietnam, Korea, and Cuba — has also been met with some form of imperialist threat or outright wars.

Each new socialist revolution has made it more difficult for imperialism to roll back the gains made by workers and peasants in previous ones and thereby reopen these countries to direct capitalist oppression and exploitation. Still, the imperialists adamantly seek to contain the spread of revolution and hope to eventually be able to reverse the tide.

This keystone of U.S. imperialist foreign policy, too, is bipartisan.

Democratic President Woodrow Wilson sent U.S. troops as part of a joint imperialist invasion force against the young Russian soviet republic in 1919.

The Korean War, aimed at rolling back the Korean and Chinese revolutions, was launched by Democratic President Harry Truman and continued under the Republican Eisenhower administration.

Democratic President John Kennedy engineered the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, and began the steady military buildup in Indochina. The war against the Vietnamese revolution continued under the Democratic administration of Lyndon Johnson and the Republican White House of Richard Nixon.

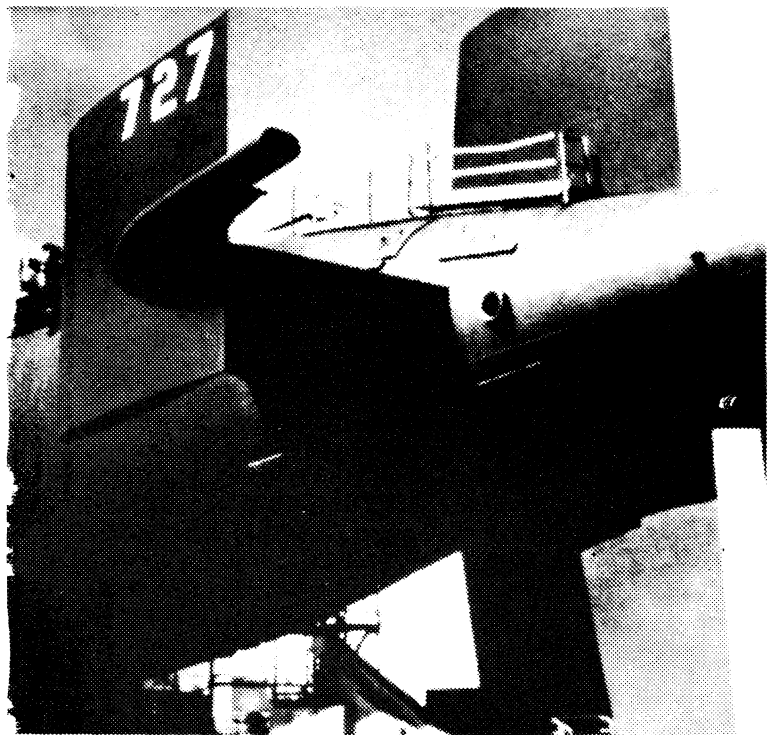
The stepped-up military aid that Reagan is providing to rightist regimes and counterrevolutionary armies in Central America today began under the Carter administration.

In every case, these counterrevolutionary wars have had bipartisan backing from Congress, most often from Democratic Party majorities in both houses.

The USSR's development of nuclear capacity at the beginning of the 1950s blocked imperialism's aim of overthrowing the Soviet workers state by military might. Especially with the successful launching of the Sputnik space satellite in 1957, Washington became convinced that war



# not bring world peace any closer



Two nuclear missiles. Washington's huge military buildup is designed to warn Soviet Union to stay out of colonial wars waged by Washington like the U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon. At right, the brutal bombing of Beirut.

with the Soviet Union would spell its own destruction.

The U.S. ruling class maintains its long-term goal of developing a nuclear first-strike capacity in relation to the USSR, in hopes of some day being able to restore capitalism there. The massive expenditure of resources required to achieve that objective could only be the product of a long period in which the economic growth and technological advance of U.S. capitalism greatly outstripped the USSR. This is certainly not possible in the current period of international capitalist stagnation, which has continued to deepen since the early 1970s.

But achieving a first-strike capacity is not at all the main factor behind the massive expansion of U.S. production and deployment of nuclear weapons, which diverts billions of dollars from socially useful production and fuels the ceaseless buildup of an arsenal of mass annihilation.

The wars that imperialism has fought over the past four decades have been against the colonial and semi-colonial countries. That remains the source of wars and the threat of wars today. The U.S. nuclear buildup aims to warn the Soviet Union to stay out of these wars waged by Washington and other imperialist powers. The constant possibility of nuclear confrontations growing out of wars such as these, in turn, is the greatest danger to humanity's survival today.

Just review the wars and military interventions by imperialist powers over the past year alone. French troops in Africa facilitated the overthrow of the government in Chad. British troops, along with continued policing of imperialist oppression in Ireland, attacked Argentina for reasserting its sovereignty over the Malvinas Islands. Israel invaded Lebanon and massacred thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese citizens, overseeing further mass slaughters by Lebanese rightists. South Africa has continued to combat freedom fighters in Namibia and staged repeated invasions and bombing raids against Angola and Mozambique. Imperialist-backed rightists in Kampuchea have kept up military pressure against the government of that country and against the Vietnamese revolution. The Iraqi regime, with imperialist support, continued its invasion aimed at weakening the Iranian revolution.

Behind all these events has stood the mammoth military might of U.S. imperialism, which maintains outposts around the globe, arms and finances imperialist and proimperialist regimes, and seeks to again use its own troops directly against revolutionary upsurges as it did in Vietnam and many times before that.

The most dangerous situation today is in Central America. There, U.S. imperialism is driven to seek to halt the extension of the socialist revolution — what it calls "new Cubas" — in Nicaragua and the Caribbean island of Grenada. It is arming and directing the organization of a war from Hon-

duras against the victorious Nicaraguan revolution. It is becoming ever more deeply involved in the attempt to crush the revolution in El Salvador, and to push back the developing insurgency in Guatemala.

In imperialist wars such as these, the most up-to-date "conventional" — that is, nonnuclear — forces and weaponry are decisive. That has been shown once again by the imperialist military victories in the Malvinas and in Lebanon.

That is why the Democrats and Republicans have spent billions of dollars over the past decades building up a massive non-nuclear military force, as well as the nuclear arsenal. The Carter and Reagan administrations, in response to the Iranian and Nicaraguan revolutions, have begun developing a Rapid Deployment Force to facilitate quick, coordinated military interventions by the army, marines, navy, and air force anywhere in the world. The White House and Congress have financed the development of sophisticated and deadly new nonnuclear weapons — more powerful explosives, cluster bombs and precision-guided missiles (such as those used by Israel in Lebanon), "smart" bombs, and many others. They have substantially beefed up funds for research and development of chemical and biological weapons and are doing the same for space weaponry.

There is no way to wage an effective fight against the threat of nuclear annihilation without taking up the fight against the

**“Every blow that colonial peoples deal imperialism is a blow for peace.”**

counterrevolutionary imperialist wars that are going on and being prepared right now.

But the bilateral freeze proposal and the campaign around it are consciously designed *not* to do that. The former government officials and Democratic and Republican politicians who support the freeze have not stopped supporting wars to protect capitalist interests around the world. Nor have they halted spending for nonnuclear and nuclear weapons to wage such wars.

The underlying issue in the campaign around the freeze referenda, therefore, is whether it is a step forward, or an obstacle, to the independent political organization of the workers and their allies to fight for their own class interests, which includes the fight against Washington's war policies and its nuclear arsenal.

In fact, this is true for every ballot issue, whether it involves a race for public office or an initiative or referendum. An effective fight against war, unemployment, racism, attacks on women's rights, and all the other evils of capitalist society is impossible

within the framework of the capitalist two-party system and capitalist "solutions."

It is in the *class interests of the ruling rich*, and of the two parties that represent them, to keep the threat of nuclear war hanging over the world in order to maintain their domination and exploitation.

But it is *not* in the interests of workers and farmers, of the vast majority of the population. Our class interests require getting rid of these weapons of mass destruction.

The only way that goal can be achieved is through the political mobilization and organization of working people independent of and against the exploiters and the war-makers. Workers and farmers need our own foreign policy, as well as our own solution to problems facing us here at home. We need our own political alternative to the capitalist parties and politicians, a labor party based on the trade unions.

The bilateral freeze campaign does nothing to advance the working class and our allies toward greater independent organization, greater consciousness of our own class interests. To the contrary, it points toward continued reliance on the Democratic and Republican parties and the fake solutions they present within the framework of capitalism and the two-party system.

The proposal for a bilateral nuclear freeze accepts the political framework of the capitalist system that is responsible for the nuclear danger. Let's take a closer look at some of the arguments raised by supporters of the measure.

The proposal on the ballot here calls on the governor of California to "prepare and transmit" the following statement to the President, Secretary of Defense, Secretary of State, and members of Congress:

"The People of the State of California, recognizing that the safety and security of the United States must be paramount in the concerns of the American people; and further recognizing that our national security is reduced, not increased, by the growing danger of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union, which would result in millions of deaths of people in California and throughout the nation; we do hereby urge that the Government of the United States propose to the Government of the Soviet Union that both countries agree to immediately halt the testing, production and further deployment of all nuclear weapons, missiles and delivery systems in a way that can be checked and verified by both sides."

The voters handbook put out by the state of California contains a statement supporting the proposal by Dr. Owen Chamberlain, a Nobel Prize-winning physicist; retired air Force Brig. Gen. Homer Boushey; and John Rubel, former assistant secretary of defense. They explain that, "The nuclear arms race brings total destruction ever closer, but now we can reduce the danger. A YES vote on Proposition 12, the freeze, is the first step."

Both the proposal and the motivation of

it assume that the United States and Soviet Union are somehow caught up in an "arms race," which is the source of the danger of nuclear war. This is false.

Why is there a nuclear "arms race"? Who is responsible for it? Only by answering these questions, and acting on that basis, can we take effective action against war.

The bilateral freeze proposal covers up the fact that the U.S. government, not the Soviet Union, is responsible for the nuclear danger. Only the U.S. imperialists have ever used nuclear weapons against another people. When those atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan was already suing for peace on exactly the same terms that Washington granted after the nuclear holocaust destroyed those two cities and tens of thousands of their inhabitants.

The objectives of the U.S. rulers in carrying out this calculated horror were primarily connected with preparing for new wars, not defeating Japan. The atom bombings were designed to show the world — above all the Soviet Union and the toilers in revolt throughout the colonial world — that the U.S. ruling class would stop at no crime to defend its profits.

Since then, Washington has initiated each new major technological innovation and escalation of the nuclear buildup. These include development of the more powerful hydrogen bomb, intercontinental ballistic missiles, nuclear missile-launching submarines, multiple-warhead missiles, the MX missile, the cruise missile, the neutron bomb, the "Stealth" bombers, and so on.

The problem is the cold and calculated imperialist war drive, not some irrational or inexplicable "arms race."

The fundamental axis of the freeze proposal is its *bilateralism*. That is, it is directed against the Soviet Union as well as Washington. It places blame "evenhandedly" on the criminal and the victim.

"Both sides" would have to agree to inspection procedures "to check and verify" that the other was carrying out the agreement. This has been the U.S. negotiating position for three decades in the face of Soviet offers of general and complete disarmament. Washington's longstanding insistence on "verification" and "inspection" are primarily aimed at bolstering its propaganda of an alleged Soviet menace. This has been the U.S. government's rationale for the nuclear arms buildup, for the Korean and Vietnam wars, and for its current war policies in Central America.

The section of the freeze proposal urging a prohibition on "further deployment" of all nuclear weapons also applies to the Soviet Union as well as the U.S. government. In certain situations, however, extending the Soviet nuclear umbrella to a country such as Cuba or Angola, threatened with a massive military attack by the U.S. or South African governments,

**Continued on next page**

# Why bilateral freeze will not bring peace

Continued from previous page

could actually prevent a war. Could the Vietnamese or Cuban revolutions have won and survived if only Washington possessed a nuclear arsenal? Clearly not.

The freeze also helps promote the "nuclear nonproliferation" hoax. According to this racist notion, the world is somehow safer with nuclear weapons in the hands of the U.S., British, French, Israeli, and South African imperialists than if the Palestinian, Irish, Latin American, Black African, and Indochinese freedom fighters possessed them.

But the cold fact is that the imperialists have been responsible for the wars, massacres, genocide, and nuclear nightmare. The oppressed and exploited of the world have been the victims. Not the other way around.

And the most ruthless and dangerous ruling class ever to have existed is the one right here in the United States. It already has more than 30,000 nuclear bombs aimed at the working people throughout the world. That's the terrifying level at which the U.S. nuclear arsenal is to be "frozen."

An instructive illustration of what's wrong with the verification, deployment, and nonproliferation parts of the freeze proposal is the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. The crisis was precipitated by the preparations of the Kennedy administration for another military assault on Cuba, in the wake of the CIA-organized Bay of Pigs invasion that had been defeated by the Cuban people the previous year.

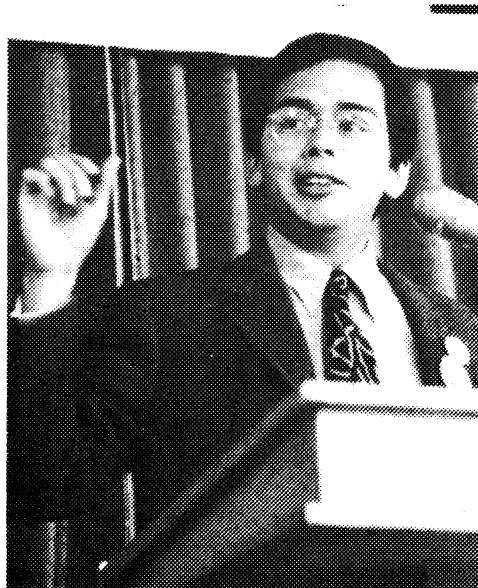
To better defend themselves, the Cubans received missiles from the Soviet Union. President Kennedy threatened to bomb Cuba to destroy the missiles and to stop Soviet ships on their way to Cuba. Finally, the Soviet government agreed to remove the missiles, in return for a pledge by Kennedy not to invade Cuba and for the removal of U.S. missiles from Turkey.

The U.S. government still wasn't satisfied. It demanded on-site inspection of Cuba to "verify" the removal. Cuban President Fidel Castro told Washington that any "inspectors" would have to shoot their way onto the island. And that was that. The U.S. government had clearly been using the "verification" ploy to make a chink in Cuba's sovereignty and to gain a toehold in its affairs.

Earlier this year, Cuban Vice-president Carlos Rafael Rodríguez repeated Cuba's longstanding position on the nuclear nonproliferation question. In an interview with a French Communist Party publication, Rafael Rodríguez explained that the Cuban and Soviet governments do not "have the same views on the treaty on nonproliferation of atomic weapons."

"The Soviets have signed it and call on others to sign," he explained, "which we understand from their standpoint. But we have not signed it because 90 miles from our shores we have the United States armed with atomic weapons."

"This does not necessarily mean that we want to have these weapons," the Cuban leader said. "But we don't want to renounce this right."



Militant/Eric Simpson

**Juan Martínez, California Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate (left) and Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor. They advocate unilateral nuclear disarmament of United States and oppose campaign for a bilateral nuclear freeze.**



Militant/Dick Roberts

It is not hard to see why Cuba holds this position. You don't have to stretch your imagination too much to foresee a current or future U.S. president demanding to send "inspection teams" to Nicaragua, Grenada, or Cuba to "check and verify" that the Russians aren't deploying nuclear weapons there. The bilateral freeze could be cited as the rationale.

Such a possibility is certainly no more fantastic than the U.S. government's current claim that the whole revolutionary process in Central America and the Caribbean is a Russian plot made possible by Cuban and Soviet arms.

The bilateral nuclear freeze initiative also accepts the need for "national security" against the Soviet Union. "National security" has not only long been used by the U.S. ruling class to justify its war policies, but also as justification for attacks on the democratic rights of socialists, antiwar fighters, militant unionists, and other opponents of government policies.

Yet, Harold Willens, coordinator of the California freeze campaign, posed the following question in a letter to the *Los Angeles Times* February 21:

"What if the Russians say no, what then? Our answer, 'Then the whole thing is off.' For as our initiative says: 'The safety and security of the United States must be paramount in the concerns of the American people.'"

Syndicated columnist James Kirkpatrick, a well-known conservative Republican, wrote about the Kennedy-Hatfield freeze proposal in the *Los Angeles Times* last December. "Kennedy and Hatfield and their 100 liberal cosponsors," he wrote, "have seized on an issue of life-or-death meaning to the whole planet, and there is not a sentence in their resolution that thoughtful conservatives could not support."

The term "freeze" is new, wrote Kirkpatrick. "Otherwise, unless words have lost their meaning, the Kennedy-Hatfield liberals are proposing exactly what Reagan's START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks) proposed in November."

Reagan has since come out against the freeze proposal, saying that he is for "reduction" of the U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals, not just a freeze. And he has red-baited supporters of the freeze initiative (see accompanying article).

But Kirkpatrick's point is correct — the bilateral freeze is nothing more nor less than a restatement of well-worn, cover-up formulas for the U.S. military buildup. It has been Washington's negotiating stance in arms talks with the USSR under Republican and Democratic administrations alike.

The real content of the proposal was made crystal clear by a *Los Angeles Times* article by Paul Warnke, Carter's director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and now head of PeacePAC.

"There is, I am quite confident, no risk that we will arrive at a negotiated, bilateral, verifiable freeze too soon," Warnke wrote. "The deployment of air-launched cruise missiles on our strategic bomber force and the addition of the longer-range Trident submarine-launched ballistic missile are too far along to be cut off and, indeed, an exception could be made for them if necessary."

Not only does the referendum not aim its fire at the real warmakers in Washington, it also places confidence in the U.S. government to negotiate the proposed nuclear freeze. Warnke let the cat out of the bag about the kind of "freeze" that ruling-class advocates of the measure have in mind. Clearly, no steps toward getting rid of the U.S. nuclear arsenal can be won by relying on the capitalist government to negotiate them.

Nor can we place confidence in the class-collaborationist bureaucracy that governs the Soviet Union. The leaders of the Soviet government don't look to the struggle capacities of the world's toilers as the road to peace. They base their foreign policy on class collaboration, not class struggle. For half a century, since Stalin's triumph over the revolutionary Bolshevik

**Freeze campaign keeps working people trapped in political framework of two capitalist parties that are responsible for war.**

leadership of the USSR, the Soviet government has chased after the will-o'-the-wisp of reaching a permanent deal with imperialism to preserve the international status quo.

To get such a deal, the Soviet bureaucracy has been willing to betray the struggles of working people, as they did in Spain during the Civil War there in the 1930s, or in Greece and Vietnam after World War II, and in many other instances. What secret understandings would they agree to in negotiations with Washington to obtain a "bilateral nuclear freeze" — regarding Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, or Vietnam, for example?

Revolutionary-minded working people around the world have a different approach to the fight for peace. This class-struggle approach is at the heart of the SWP's opposition to the bilateral freeze campaign. It is based on the independent political organization and mobilization of the working class and its allies, not reliance on the parties of the oppressors and exploiters.

As we've seen, the danger of nuclear war stems from the counterrevolutionary wars that imperialism is fighting to crush struggles by the toilers in the colonial world, above all in Central America today.

Every victory by imperialism over a colonial revolt emboldens the warmakers, making further wars and military interventions more likely. Imperialism would be particularly emboldened if it were to succeed in overthrowing any of the revolutions that have brought to power workers and peasants governments and workers states. With the relationship of class forces shifting their way, the imperialists would risk more nuclear blackmail against the Soviet Union, with all the dangers that entails.

On the other hand, every blow that the colonial peoples deal imperialism is a blow for peace, especially those victories that

overthrow capitalist governments and bring the workers and peasants to power, as in Vietnam, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada.

But the danger of war will not be eliminated until the capitalist system of world domination itself is overthrown by the workers and farmers through a socialist revolution in the imperialist countries — above all here in the United States.

Does this mean there is nothing we can do short of the socialist revolution to fight against war?

Of course not. But keeping in mind the truth that we will live with war and the threat of nuclear annihilation until the U.S. working people disarm the capitalist rulers who are the source of the problem helps guide us in fighting their wars right now. It helps us understand the need to get out the truth about and mobilize opposition to the wars that Washington is carrying on and supporting in Central America and the Middle East, its plans for future wars, its massive nuclear and nonnuclear weapons buildup, and its nuclear blackmail.

The independent organization and mobilization of the working class and its allies against the policies, the twin parties, and the government of the ruling rich is not only the necessary road to staying the hand of the imperialist warmakers. It is also the only road toward the goal of a workers and farmers government that could disarm the warmakers, put an end to the danger of nuclear war forever, and end capitalist exploitation and oppression.

This is the framework within which to judge the campaign for the bilateral nuclear freeze. Does it mark even a small step forward in mobilizing and organizing against Washington's war policies? Does it advance the fight for working-class political independence from the two capitalist parties, the Democrats and Republicans, through which the superrich maintain their political rule and carry on their wars?

The answer to both questions is "no." That is why working people and all those opposed to U.S. war policies and the threat of nuclear catastrophe should oppose the bilateral freeze referendum campaign.

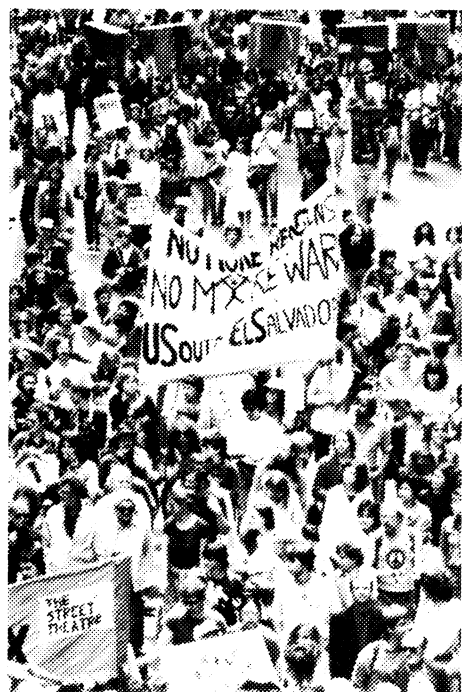
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Militant/Lou Howort

**June 12 anti-nuclear weapons demonstration in New York. Bilateral freeze proposal has been used to blunt antiwar thrust of demonstrations like this.**



# Miners score victory against victimization

BY JOHN HAWKINS

CLARKSBURG, W. Va. — United Mine Workers Local 2095 at the Kitt No. 1 Mine in nearby Philippi scored another victory here on October 15 in its running battle with Old Ben Coal, a subsidiary of Standard Oil of Ohio (SOHIO).

Following a five-hour hearing the day before, arbitrator Thompson reversed SOHIO's firing of Bill Boyd, a shuttle car operator at Kitt.

Boyd was "suspended" with "intent to discharge" October 4 by management at Kitt.

As part of this drive to boost productivity and arbitrarily impose new work rules at the mine, management had gone after a series of union activists.

Among the company targets were two members of the local union safety committee and Bill Hovland, a general inside laborer at Kitt and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate in West Virginia.

Like SOHIO's other intended victims, Boyd was singled out for his union activity. He is also the treasurer of Hovland's campaign committee.

"Even though I got a 20 day suspension out of the whole deal," Boyd told the *Militant*, "a suspension I don't deserve — the fact that SOHIO didn't get away with their attempt to fire me is a victory for our local."

SOHIO, Boyd explained, was deadly serious when they issued him a suspension with intent to fire, using the pretext that he was asleep two minutes after his dinner break on the midnight shift.

"In order to carry out their speedup campaign at Kitt," he said, "they have to try to intimidate every single miner who works there, especially around the question of mine safety."

Boyd has been a target of company harassment ever since he accompanied federal mine inspectors on a special investigation of roof conditions at Kitt in February.

The company intensified this campaign against Boyd after he invoked his individual safety rights in April when the mine elevator was out of order.

"SOHIO's attempt to fire me was totally discriminatory," Boyd said. "They didn't go after me for falling asleep on the midnight shift. They went after me for my union activity."

In similar cases in the past, management at Kitt has settled without pushing for arbitration. Moreover, they have never fired anyone before for the "crime" of sleeping. Past practice in the majority of cases has been to wake the person up and say, "go back to work."

"The credit for winning my job back belongs to the union," Boyd said. "Most of all to the men and women of Local 2095. It was their use of union power that turned back SOHIO's attempts to fire Bill Hovland."

"And in my opinion that display of solidarity more than anything else explains the arbitrator's decision in my case. I am proud to still be a member of the UMW."

Boyd will return to work at Kitt No. 1 on November 1.



Militant/Jane Fisher

Kitt Number One mine, Philippi, W. Va.

## Caterpillar workers strike against takebacks

BY RICK BERMAN

CHICAGO — More than 37,000 workers are into the third week of a bitter strike against Caterpillar Tractor Co. Plants are being struck in Illinois, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Colorado, and Tennessee.

Morale on the picket lines is good and the strike is solid. The United Auto Workers (UAW) began the strike on October 1 after the company refused to consider a last-minute union compromise proposal to extend the current contract for another three years.

The big-business press, union officials, and strikers interviewed by the *Militant* agree that Caterpillar intends to force along strike to wrest deep concessions from the workers and weaken the union.

The headline of an article in *Crain's Chicago Business* summed up Caterpillar's responsibility for the strike in a nutshell: "Why Cat strike timing is purr-fect for firm."

One reason Caterpillar forced the UAW on strike is they are having a hard time convincing workers that concessions are needed to keep the company afloat. After all, Caterpillar has made \$3 billion in after-tax profits during the past five years and hasn't shown a loss (except during strikes) since 1932!

The high percentage of workers who voted to authorize the strike is one sign that not many believe Caterpillar's claim that concessions are needed. In Local 145 in Aurora, Illinois, for example, 93 percent voted to authorize the strike.

Several workers who spoke with the *Militant* in Aurora also pointed to the situation at Chrysler to explain why they were on strike. After giving in to demands for concessions at Chrysler, more workers are laid off there than ever before. Caterpillar workers expect more layoffs no matter what the outcome of contract negotiations.

Despite Caterpillar's high profits, the world recession has cut deeply into their sales. Although Caterpillar is the world's largest producer of earth-moving equipment and its only major competitor is the Japanese firm Komatsu, the company predicts that it will ship 30 percent fewer products this year than last. Since January, more than 18,500 workers have been laid off as inventories built up.

A long strike would be the most profitable way to reduce Caterpillar's giant inventory of unsold products. Never mind that thousands of workers and their families will suffer.

Caterpillar has prepared the strike for months. They shipped \$300 million of extra equipment to dealers this summer, offering the dealers special financing arrangements to handle the extra inventory.

At the big Caterpillar plant in Aurora, Illinois, hundreds of Cat earthmovers are visible in company lots waiting for shipment. Members of UAW Local 145 there told the *Militant* that although production has stopped, shipments have continued during the strike.

Caterpillar's take-back demands are similar to concessions forced on auto workers at Chrysler, GM, Ford, and Inter-

national Harvester. James Sharp, chairman of the bargaining committee for the biggest Caterpillar bargaining unit, Local 974 in Peoria, Illinois, told the *Chicago Tribune* that the concessions "would take us back 30 years." The take-back demands include:

- No wage increase for the life of the contract.

- Reduce cost-of-living payments from 12 to 2, with each payment reduced by 12 cents an hour.

- Job combinations that "would crucify workers in many classifications," according to Jim Schultz, financial secretary of Local 145 in Aurora.

- Eliminate the 13-week paid preretirement leave.

- Elimination of paid personal holidays and some vacation and holiday bonuses.

- Creation of two separate wage scales — one for present employees and one for future employees at substantially lower wages for the same job.

The UAW figures that these concessions would amount to an average \$3.50 per hour pay cut by the end of the contract.

The stakes in the Caterpillar strike are big for all working people. Caterpillar workers are now one of the main targets in the employers' take-back drive against labor.

The strike also has a special importance for the tens of thousands of workers in the farm equipment and construction equipment industries. The UAW leadership targeted Caterpillar for getting a contract that would set a pattern for these industries, organized by the Agricultural Implements division of the UAW.

Caterpillar, John Deere, and International Harvester are the "big three" in this division. Other major companies include J. I. Case, Allis-Chalmers, Massey-Ferguson, and Pettibone.

Earlier this year Harvester and Massey-Ferguson used threats of bankruptcy, layoffs, and plant closings to blackmail the UAW into opening negotiations early and accepting new contracts that include deep concessions.

Deere and the UAW agreed to extend the old contract pending the outcome of the Caterpillar negotiations. Either the company or the union can cancel the extension by giving five days notice.

The outcome of the Caterpillar strike also will have a direct impact on the lives of tens of thousands of workers and farmers in several Midwestern states. Outside of farming itself, more people in Illinois and Iowa are employed by agricultural implement companies than any other industry. The economies of a number of industrial towns like Peoria, Illinois; Aurora, Illinois; and the Quad Cities on the Illinois-Iowa border are dominated by these companies. Many farmers are not only in debt up to their necks to pay for a Deere combine or a Harvester tractor, but are also workers in these plants.

## Red-baiting of peace groups whipped up by Reagan, 'Post'

BY STEVE CLARK

Over the past several weeks, the big-business press and politicians have been red-baiting opponents of the U.S. government's war policies and massive military buildup.

Earlier this month, in a speech in Columbus, Ohio, President Reagan stated that the campaign for a bilateral nuclear freeze "that has swept across our country . . . is inspired not by the sincere and honest people who want peace but by some who want the weakening of America, and so are manipulating many honest and sincere people."

Although Reagan opposes the bilateral freeze proposal, it's not what has him worried. The so-called freeze campaign is supported by many former White House and Pentagon officials, as well as by prominent politicians from both capitalist parties. Reagan knows that his differences with these people are tactical ones over how best to build up a U.S. military machine to protect U.S. capitalist interests around the world.

Reagan's problem is with the many Americans who hope that the freeze proposal will help push back the threat of nuclear war. Reagan knows that these "sincere and honest people" oppose the continued snowballing of the U.S. arms budget and don't want another Vietnam in Central America or the Middle East. That's what has him worried enough to try to whip up a little red scare.

Reagan's comments came only a few days after a red-baiting broadside by Alabama Senator Jeremiah Denton. On the Senate floor, Denton charged that four U.S. organizations "are either Soviet-controlled or openly sympathetic with, and advocates for, Communist foreign policy objectives." The four groups are Women Strike for Peace, Women's International

League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), the United States Student Association, and a committee sponsored by the Institute for Policy Studies. Last year, Denton levelled virtually identical charges against Mobilization for Survival, an organization that opposes nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

In an October 6 editorial, the *Washington Post* claimed to take issue with these slanderous charges. The editorial called Reagan's accusation "a misstatement and a smear." It also chastized Senator Denton, whose charges came in the course of an attack on Peace Links, a group made up of the wives of several U.S. senators and other Democratic and Republican politicians.

Having spoken up for their colleagues in the Senate, however, the *Post* editors went right on to agree with Denton and Reagan. Some organizations and individuals who oppose the government's nuclear arms buildup, the editorial said, are Soviet "fronts" and "stooges." It singled out Women Strike for Peace and WILPF.

Leaders of both these peace organizations immediately shot off letters protesting these outrageous charges and demanding an apology and retraction.

The *Post* published the letters in its October 9 issue. It also ran an editorial halfheartedly acknowledging that "the available public record does not support" its previous charges.

What the *Post* editors gave grudgingly with one hand, however, they snatched right back with the other. The editorial stood by its statement that there is something politically suspect about U.S. organizations or individuals attending international meetings where there are also participants from the Soviet Union. It stated:

"Moscow often seeks to exploit Western citizens who, as private individuals, enter issue-oriented forums in which the Soviet-bloc participants, while claiming to be otherwise, are creatures of" the Soviet secret police.

All working people and opponents of war should condemn these flagrant attempts to stigmatize and silence anyone in this country who speaks out against the bipartisan policies and goals of the U.S. government.

### Labor news

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 of this issue for subscription rates.

**Subscribe to the 'Militant'**

## Sales campaign meets new successes

BY LEE MARTINDALE

Half-way through this fall's eight-week drive to reach 45,000 new readers with the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, it is clear that this is one of the most successful circulation campaigns we have carried out in a long time. Last week 6,251 more *Militants* and *PMs* were sold, bringing the three-week total in the sales drive to 18,769. Initial reports on the fourth week of the drive indicate that this success is continuing.

It is useful at this point to evaluate what we have accomplished and our perspectives for the rest of the drive.

First, is the number of papers that are being sold. Each week so far we have surpassed our national goal and all but a handful of local areas have gone over their weekly goals. Since the beginning of the drive, 16 areas listed on our scoreboard have raised their goals — in some cases twice. The increase in sales of *PM* to Spanish-speaking workers is particularly striking, with many areas far exceeding their weekly goals.

Second, participation in the sales effort has improved. Local units of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance report that more members are selling regularly than in other drives in recent years. Each week a number of areas report close to 100 percent participation. One week the Pittsburgh branch of the SWP reported more than 100 percent participation — nine supporters had helped to sell the press that week.

### Increased workplace sales

The third accomplishment has been the steps taken in selling the two publications at workplaces. Especially significant is the progress that has been registered in sales at steel and auto plants and rail yards by *Militant* supporters who have been laid off in these in-

dustries. In New York, for example, two auto workers laid off from the Tarrytown General Motors plant have participated, with other socialist workers, in selling every week at the plant. They sell fifteen or more papers each week.

Through these sales, socialists reestablish relations and hold political discussions with scores of workers they knew before they were laid off. This is part of the ongoing process of winning new members and supporters and establishing a Marxist current in these important industries.

Socialist workers in coal mines, oil refineries, garment shops, and electrical plants report not only increased sales to co-workers but intense discussions about the war in Lebanon, attacks on women's rights, what to do about unemployment, and how life is different in a country like Nicaragua where workers and farmers run the show.

Coal miners from Pittsburgh sold 20 *Militants* to co-workers last week. In Hoboken, New Jersey, one salesperson in a garment shop of 80 workers has sold half a dozen *PMs* every week in the course of discussions on Nicaragua, El Salvador, abortion rights, and the local union contract.

The increased interest we're finding among workers in the *Militant* and *PM* is another important characteristic of this drive. Beyond our aggressive sales effort, better organization, and increased participation, the success of the sales campaign is due to the gradual but steady change in the way working people are thinking about politics.

We are receiving reports from every area of the country indicating that many of those who stop to buy a socialist paper or who have read a few issues want to discuss politics, learn more about

socialism, and to do something about the crisis working people face.

In Gary, for example, two laid-off steelworkers who bought copies of the paper have called the election campaign headquarters and asked how they could help on the campaign. In Seaside, New Orleans, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Houston, and Dallas campaign supporters who are not yet members of the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance help sell the *Militant* and *PM*.

These readers get involved in building the socialist campaign because they know there are others like them who are fed up with this system, know that the Democrats and Republicans are not the answer, and are looking for a way to fight back.

That's why we have projected a huge mobilization in the 10 days leading up to the election — to meet as many of these people as possible, and introduce them to candidates, newspapers, and a party with a program to fight back. Successful as the sales effort has been so far, there are thousands more workers in every area who would welcome the *Militant* and *PM* if they knew about them.

In Philadelphia, socialists have set themselves the goal of meeting a thousand of these people in the 10 days before the election. To accomplish this, they have decided that each of them will go out selling and campaigning every one of those 10 days.

In addition to campaigning in the cities where they live, socialist campaigners are hitting the road to visit other communities of workers. Teams will be traveling to a mining town in Arizona located on a Navajo reservation, to the industrial cities of Lowell, Lawrence, New Bedford and Fall River in Massachusetts, and to the Rio Grande valley in Texas.

## SALES SCOREBOARD

(Militant issue #39, PM issue #18)

Area	Cumulative goal	Total sold	%
Miami*	740	450	61
Philadelphia*	1,620	786	49
Milwaukee*	1,530	753	49
Baltimore*	2,700	1,332	49
Harrisburg	440	209	48
Dallas*	570	271	48
Oakland*	860	397	46
Piedmont*	700	310	44
Newark	1,400	612	44
Wash., D.C.*	1,390	594	43
Twin Cities	1,360	579	43
Seattle	880	374	43
Los Angeles	1,320	573	43
Detroit	776	334	43
Seaside*	380	159	42
San Antonio	880	372	42
Houston	920	385	42
Charleston	560	236	42
Toledo	560	231	41
St. Louis	1,200	487	41
San Francisco	1,040	423	41
Salt Lake City	760	309	41
New Orleans	800	328	41
Kansas City	760	309	41
Cincinnati	720	293	41
Brooklyn*	1,750	713	41
Tidewater	720	285	40
Portland	480	194	40
Iron Range*	370	148	40
Denver	880	351	40
Price	480	187	39
Phoenix*	1,355	525	39
Morgantown	680	268	39
Louisville*	630	246	39
Gary	560	214	38
Schenectady	800	304	38
Birmingham	880	338	38
Pittsburgh*	1,636	605	37
Chicago	1,280	474	37
San Diego	640	233	36
Cleveland	920	319	35
Manhattan*	2,675	902	34
Tucson	480	157	33
Lincoln*	465	155	33
Boston	1,200	390	33
Albuquerque	520	169	33
San Jose	880	240	27
Atlanta	730	158	22
Indianapolis	475	88	19
Totals	45,000	18,769	42
Should be:		16,874	38

\*indicates area that raised goal

Areas petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot: Atlanta, Indianapolis

## Albany cops frame up leader of defense committee

BY STUART ADAMS  
AND ANDREW PULLEY

ALBANY, N.Y. — Odell Winfield, chairman of the Charles Andrews Defense Committee and cochair of the Capital District National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), faces more than 25 years in prison on trumped-up charges of felonious assault, possession of a weapon, and parole violation. The assault charges stem from a domestic dispute on October 13 between Odell and Pheobe Wilson. Wilson told the *Militant* that she will not press charges despite police pressure to do so.

Winfield was arrested in his home and jailed two days after this incident. During the arrest, the cops fabricated the weapons charge by accusing him of possessing a shiken, a small Oriental weapon, that is normally considered a novelty item today.

The Charles Andrews Defense Committee is campaigning to free Charles Andrews, an 18-year-old Black youth accused and convicted of slashing the throats of two white women. The committee says these charges are a frame-up.

Andrews was dubbed the "Pine Hills Slasher" by the local media when he was tried and convicted September 11 on two counts of assault by an all-white jury in total disregard of his civil and democratic rights. "I can't believe this has happened," explained a young Black member of the defense committee, "Charles was with me at the time these crimes were committed. They won't believe me. Now Charles is gone. I could be next."

During Andrews's trial, the district Attorney claimed that there were no Blacks competent enough to serve as witnesses in Andrews's defense. Six Black youths, however, testified that they were with Andrews

on the other side of town at the time the slashings occurred.

The judge allowed a juror to remain on the case after he had been notified that the juror had previously served on a case in which Andrews was a defendant. After the jury was deadlocked for four and one half days, the judge forced a guilty verdict.

It is against this backdrop of events that Charles Andrews sits in a prison cell, facing 7½ to 22 years of incarceration.

Under the leadership of the now imprisoned Winfield, the Charles Andrews Defense Committee has rallied the support of many community organizations, churches, and political forces. In three weeks the committee raised \$1,400.

On October 2 it organized a "Walk for Justice" through the Black community to the steps of the Albany courthouse. About 40 participants demanded Andrews's release.

In addition to members of the NBIPP, many Black youth have been active in the committee's work. Many of these youth are members of the Five Percent Nation, a militant nationalist organization.

The jailing of Winfield has not been the only example of police attacks against members of the Charles Andrews Defense Committee. For example, the cops arrested David Miller, a central leader of the defense committee, allegedly for disturbing the peace. He had to pay a \$100 fine in order to free himself.

By throwing Winfield into prison, the rulers seek to block his organization of support for the Charles Andrews defense and stop the dissemination of the truth about the prosecution's denial of democratic rights and the judge's racist decision.

The powers that be in Albany hope to

discredit Winfield, thereby undermining the whole Charles Andrews defense effort, which has now become a major issue in the Capital District Black community. Members of the NBIPP here in Albany and the Charles Andrews Defense Committee are preparing the campaign to win Winfield's freedom.

## Baltimore steelworkers discuss jobs

Continued from Page 5

good than making concessions. Both miss the real point because they aim at raising the profits of U.S. companies and hoping that will get us some jobs.

"The real problem is that under capitalism Bethlehem Steel and every other company will do whatever it takes to make the highest profits on their investment. That's why U.S. Steel bought Marathon Oil last year. It was more profitable than investing their money in steel production.

"Even when the companies do invest in modernizing their steel plants we're the losers. If they ever build that continuous caster at the Point it will eliminate more jobs. Bethlehem looks out for their interests and we have to start looking out for ours."

Many workers were interested in the practical proposals that Hayes put forward to do just that. Her campaign platform calls for a shorter workweek with no reduction in pay to spread the available work around.

Hayes told several workers that the USWA could begin to fight for demands like this and others that are in the interests of workers. "Unfortunately," Hayes said, "at the international convention last week and again here tonight, the only political action that was projected was voting for

For more information about how individuals and groups can support the work of the Charles Andrews Defense Committee contact:

Charles Andrews Defense Committee,  
P.O. Box 1503, c/o Odell Winfield and  
Azor Saabazz, Albany, N.Y. 12201.

Democrats. But Democrats believe in capitalism as much as the Republicans do. We need our own party, a labor party, that would tell the truth about why capitalism causes unemployment and would help lead the fight against it. As far as political action goes that's what we should be discussing."

Another worker asked whether things might get better if there was a war. His buddy, a Vietnam vet, responded, "Whatever we need, it's not a war. We shouldn't have been in Vietnam, we shouldn't have been in Korea, and we shouldn't be in Lebanon now."

Both workers expressed an interest in classes sponsored by the Hayes campaign. "I've always known that this system was messed up," said one, "but if you have classes that explain why, I'd be interested."

The discussion at the meeting and after left little doubt that steelworkers are facing an economic catastrophe that is getting worse, not better. Many do look to their union for help and for ideas about what can be done. There is a big, important discussion going on about this among all steelworkers, both those who are working and those who are laid off.



# Fred Brode: a man of much courage

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

Fred Brode died in his sleep on October 26. He was 75 years old.

A socialist and a worker all his adult life, Brode was for years a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

Born in Germany, Brode migrated to this country in 1929. Since 1939 he had lived in Houston, Texas.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Brode played a central role in reestablishing a Houston branch of the SWP after many years of absence.

When the rise of the civil rights movement and later the growing opposition to the war in Vietnam broke the political quiescence of the previous decade, Brode was quick to lend a hand.

As the well-known chairman of the Houston Committee to End the War, Brode became the target of right-wing vigilantes. His house, located in a semirural area on the outskirts of the city, was shot up several times. It was damaged by arson.

In 1970 a defense committee raised funds to put up a wall of sandbags in front of the house to shield it from gunfire.

For months a wave of right-wing bombings, shootings, and threats swept Houston. Many were silenced or intimidated.

A man of deep courage, Brode was an inspiration to others in his refusal to give an inch in the face of deadly attacks.

A turning point came with the bombing of the SWP headquarters in March 1971. Shortly before, the SWP had announced the first socialist campaign for mayor of Houston.

Brode was among the party members who led the way in mounting a united campaign to put government officials on the spot for giving free reign to Ku Klux Klan violence. Within months this campaign forced a series of indictments that curtailed the terrorists.

Combating right-wing scum was not new to Brode. Friends recall him telling of taking on Hitler's brown shirts before leaving Germany in 1929.

Landing in New York, Brode found his way to the Communist League of America. It had been set up by James P. Cannon and other exmembers and leaders of the Communist Party. They had been expelled in 1928 for their support of Leon Trotsky's defense of Bolshevism-Leninism in opposition to Stalin's ruinous policies in the world communist movement.

In 1935 Brode followed Hugo Oehler in opposing a decision by Cannon and others to link up with leftward-moving forces inside the Socialist Party by becoming members of that organization.

After a time outside the movement, Brode later gave allegiance to the new Socialist Workers Party, founded in 1938.

In 1939 he and his wife, Laura, whom he had met in the unemployed movement, hitchhiked to Houston. During the next decade he would hold a variety of jobs, working for a time on the docks and in the chemical industry.

During the war he was persecuted as an "enemy alien" because of his German citizenship, and for a time no job was open to him.

In 1949 with the onset of the McCarthy anticommunist hysteria, he again fell victim to political persecution and was denied work because of his political views and union activity.

## Arab-Americans demand apology for insult

The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) is demanding an apology from Secretary of Labor Raymond Donovan for his "racist stereotyping of Arabs" at the "Friends of Raymond Donovan" reception held at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C., October 13.

The fundraising event for Donovan featured three men dressed in "traditional" Arab garb handing out fake money to the 900 guests. Such legitimization of racism, the ADC asserts, is an insult to all peoples and is "unjustified and unpardonable."

The ADC also sent a letter to President Reagan reminding him of his duty to protect the rights of all Americans and urged him to demand an apology from his cabinet member.

In 1952 he went to work for the railroad, a job he kept until he retired in the early 1970s.

In 1974 he and other members of the Internationalist Tendency, an opposition group inside the SWP, left the party. Some later rejoined, but Brode never did.

As an independent activist he worked at times with the party on some issues, but he maintained differences on a range of questions.

Olga Rodriguez, now a leader of the SWP, recalls first meeting Brode when she was a member of a farm workers support group at the University of Houston in 1969. "I was impressed by his knowledge of the Chicano movement and other subjects. Later, when we set up a chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance, Fred attended our meetings. And a little later he helped set up the party branch."

A short, wiry man, Brode usually had a twinkle in his eye. Accented with his native German, his speech was salted with local Texas sayings he picked up during his years on the railroad. He had a quick wit and, at times, a sharp temper. Stubbornly independent, he never hesitated to speak his mind.

Fred Brode's friends are planning a memorial meeting in Houston to be held October 30 at 2 p.m. at the Unitarian Church, 5210 Fannin St.



Militant/Harry Ring

Sandbags were piled around Brode's house in 1970 to protect it from Ku Klux Klan attacks, which were an attempt to intimidate the growing antiwar movement and newly established SWP branch in Houston.

## Fund helps campaign reach new readers

BY HARRY RING

We're now just past the half way mark in the 21-week drive to raise our \$250,000 Socialist Publications Fund. As the graph indicates, we're a bit behind schedule, but we know we'll make our goal, in full and on time.

The fund was undertaken by members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance to help sustain this paper and its sister publications, *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Intercontinental Press*.

The contributions will help close the gap between our income and steadily rising publication costs.

In this issue we focus on the election

campaigns of the Socialist Workers Party nationwide. Throughout, the *Militant* has been the principal voice of these socialist campaigns.

In terms of winning new support for the socialist cause, the campaigns have been the most successful in many years. Unemployment, racism, sexism, the war threat — all these things have made a greater number of working people open to the socialist alternative.

The socialist ticket will be on the ballot in 26 states this year. But in some places we have been ruled off the ballot.

In Nebraska we nearly doubled the required 2,000 signatures on nominating petitions for Joe Swanson, SWP candidate for

governor, and Cheryl Porch for lieutenant governor. Not enough, state officials said.

In California nearly 114,000 signatures are required. More than 214,000 were turned in for Mel Mason, SWP leader and independent candidate for governor. Not enough, state officials said.

These flagrant denials of our ballot rights are opening people's eyes to the real nature of the "democracy" we're supposed to enjoy in this capitalist society.

In our last issue, we ran a letter from a reader in Lincoln, Nebraska, about this. It's brief and bears reprinting. He wrote:

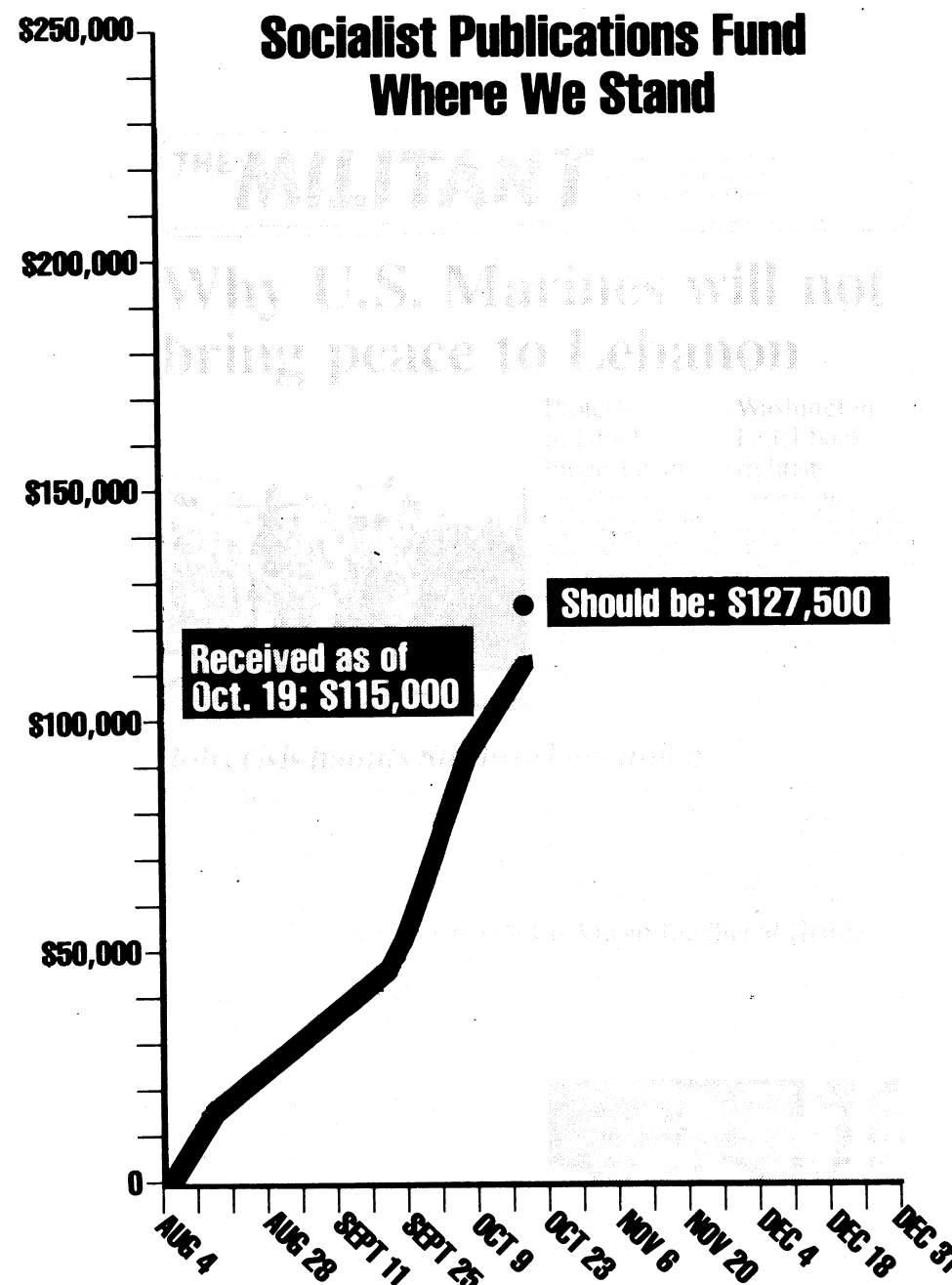
"I have just received a few free copies of the *Militant* after signing Joe Swanson's nominating petition for governor of Nebraska. I am troubled by the invalidation of Joe's petition (and of Mel Mason's in California). I hope that ugly stunt by the Republican-Democratic people backfires on them. It has swung me more solidly in favor of the socialist struggle."

It's worth noting how this new reader began receiving the *Militant*. During the petitioning period, campaign activists around the country were provided request cards for several sample copies of the paper to be sent to petition signers who indicated interest in receiving them.

With today's publishing and postal costs this was not an inexpensive venture for socialist campaigners. It probably would have been ruled out if we measured in terms of dollars and cents. But we don't. Within practical limits, socialists do what they think is politically worthwhile, and pitch in the money to get it done.

Today, despite the heavy layoffs, supporters of our press are giving more generously than ever. That's because they're convinced that the prospects for the socialist movement are brighter than they have been in a long while.

We hope you'll agree and register your agreement by sending in the coupon below.



Enclosed is my contribution of:

☐ \$250 ☐ \$100 ☐ \$50  
☐ \$25 ☐ other

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Union/Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Make checks payable to:

**Socialist Publications Fund, 14  
Charles Lane, New York, N.Y.  
10014.**

**Skeptical** — When elected four years ago, Gov. William Clements of Texas was openly anti-Chicano. Now, seeking reelection, he's try-



**Harry Ring**

ing to hustle the Chicano vote. Billboards declare in Spanish, "A man of his word. Clements."

Under one such billboard in south Texas a sign was posted, also in Spanish, "And my grandmother plays with the Dallas Cowboys."

**Don't get excited** — Commenting on the high unemployment, Reginald Jones, recently retired president of GE, declared, "Look, we don't take these things lightly. We're not the robber barons of the early 20th century. We're very concerned."

**Might even expect their money's worth** — Changing consumer habits are a source of worry

to peddlers of higher priced items. People, they've found, have become wary of paying more for something that they can get for less elsewhere. The head of the Arrow shirt company says, "It's going to be a difficult thing to get the consumer out of thinking that everything is on sale all the time."

**Truly concerned** — Under New York law, if a landlord neglects to pay utilities bills, service cannot be cut off in the winter if it can be established that a serious health hazard exists. Not only that. In any weather, the tenants

are allowed to avoid a cutoff by paying the landlord's bill.

**On the cultural front** — Newly redesigned Holiday Inn roadside signs will be smaller, simpler, and cheaper to make and maintain. "It's corporate America," a Holiday exec enthused. But there was a salute to the old sign. An executive of the ad agency that redesigned it sighed, "You can't build great works of art anymore."

**Shop early for xmas** — The Republicans are offering a grin-

ning, western shirted, 14 inch bust of RR. \$3,000.

**Matchmaker** — In the 1960s, Jerry Rubin thought you could shock the capitalists out of power. Currently, he's matching people (admission by invitation and business card) at a New York disco. But he's aiming higher. "I want to start holding dinner parties with just the right mix of people," he says. "Not just a balance between men and women but a matching of professional interests, meeting people that will further your career."

## —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.

### Jasper

**Why Not a Steelworker for Governor?** Speaker: Martin Boyers, Socialist Workers candidate for governor. Sat., Oct. 30, 6 p.m. Frisco Community Center, Crutchfield Blvd. (28th St. E). Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### ARIZONA Phoenix

**South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt.** Film: *Last Grave at Dimbaza*. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 613 E Indian School Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 274-7399.

### CALIFORNIA San Francisco

**The Democratic Party, No Answer to Reaganism.** Speakers: Roland Sheppard, member of painters union and Socialist Workers Party; Juan Martínez, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Translation in Spanish. Fri., Oct. 29, 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 Committee. For more information call (408) 394-1855.

### INDIANA Gary

**Jobs Not War: Socialist Workers Campaign Rally.** Speakers: Jesse Smith, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress 1st District; others. Sat., Oct. 30; reception, 6 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. Suisse Chalet Motor Lodge, 3030 E 8th St. (Hwy. 12-20). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (219) 884-9509.

### Indianapolis

**Socialist Campaign Rally.** Speakers: David Ellis, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, 10th District, member International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers; Vernon Bellecourt, leader of American Indian Movement recently

returned from Nicaragua, Reja-e Busailah, Palestinian activist and poet; others. 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

**Campaign Open House.** Tues., Nov. 2, 7 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1982 Campaign Committee. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

### MARYLAND Baltimore

**Stop the Wars Against Working People at Home and Abroad: Socialist Campaign Rally.** Speakers: Yvonne Hayes, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate; others. Sun., Oct. 31; reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. Unitarian Church Parish Hall, Charles and Hamilton Sts., 1 block north of Franklin. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. 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; Mac Warren, an organizer of Student Committee Against Racism during 1974-75 Boston busing struggle, national leader of Socialist Workers Party; others. 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

**Bernadette Devlin-McAliskey Speaks.** Mon., Nov. 1, 7:30 p.m. St. Andrews Hall, 431 E Congress. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Committee to Support Irish Political Prisoners. For more information call (313) 885-5618.

**Election Night Celebration.** Join the Socialist Workers candidates for election returns. Tues., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Ausp: Michigan Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MINNESOTA Minneapolis

**The '82 Elections: Issues and Alternatives Facing Working People.** Speakers: Socialist Workers candidates. Fri., Oct. 29, 8 p.m. Sabathani-Bryant Community Center, 310 E 38th St. Ausp: 1982 Minneapolis Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. 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

**The Struggle to Reopen Homer G. Phillips Hospital.** Speakers: Zenobia Thompson, Campaign for Human Dignity; Laura Moore, Southsiders for Human Dignity; Henry Slobowski, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Oct. 29, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar (near Skinker). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

### NEBRASKA Lincoln

**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

**Behind Israel's War In Lebanon: What is Washington's Real Role?** Speaker: Doug Jenness, editor of the *Militant*. Fri., Oct. 29, 7:30 p.m. 11 A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### 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 Manhattan

**Benefit Dance.** "La Familia" orchestra, Latin music, Nicaraguan food. Sat., Oct. 30, 19 W 21st St., 2nd floor. Donation: \$5. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 243-2678.

### Schenectady

**The 1950 Nationalist Uprising in Puerto Rico and Its Significance Today.** Speaker: Rafael Cancel Miranda, one of four nationalist prisoners jailed for 25 years in U.S. Thurs., Oct. 28, 7:30 p.m. SUNY-Albany, room to be announced. Ausp: Puerto Rican Independence Solidarity Alliance. For more information call (518) 434-4034.

### NORTH CAROLINA Winston-Salem

**Roots of the 1982 Depression.** Speaker: Meryl Lynn Farber. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 216 E 6th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

### OHIO Cincinnati

**Jobs Not War: Stop the War at Home and Abroad.** Socialist Campaign Rally. Speakers: Joe Lombardo, Socialist Workers candidate for 2nd Congressional District; others. Sat., Oct. 23; reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 4945 Pad-dock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Ohio Socialist

Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

### 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

**Black Power in Grenada: A Slideshow.** Speakers: Marvin Johnson and Sarah Ryan, recently returned from Grenada. Sun., Oct. 31, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### PENNSYLVANIA Pittsburgh

**Socialist Campaign Rally: "Jobs, Not War!"** Celebrate the grand opening of new headquarters. Speaker: Mark Zola, Socialist Workers candidate for governor; 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.

### 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.

### WEST VIRGINIA Charleston

**What is Socialism?** 5 part series. Why Capitalism Needs War. Mon., Nov. 1, 7 p.m. 1584 A Washington St. E. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

## 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.

## Weekend of Marxist Education

### MISSOURI Kansas City

**Socialist Campaign Rally.** Speakers: Kathie Fitzgerald, Socialist Workers candidate for 5th Congressional District; Willie Mae Reid, 1976 SWP candidate for vice-president; Joe Swanson, SWP candidate for governor of Nebraska. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 4500 Warwick. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign.

**Capitalism and the Oppression of Black Americans.** Speaker: Willie Mae Reid. Sun., Oct. 31, 1 p.m. **The Government Offensive Against Working People.** Speaker: Joe Swanson. Sun., Oct. 31, 3 p.m. 4715 A Troost. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

### NEW YORK Schenectady

**Money For Jobs Not War: Socialist Campaign Forum.** Speakers: Mary-Alice Waters, National Spokesperson, Socialist Workers Party; Mike Fitzsimmons, Young Socialist Alliance; socialist candidates; others. Sat., Oct. 30, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

**Revolutionary Grenada and the Struggle for Black Liberation in the U.S.** Speaker: Andrew Pulley, SWP National Committee. Sun., Oct. 31, 11 a.m. **How Cuba Is Leading the Fight Against Imperialist War.** Speaker: Mary-Alice Waters. Sun., Oct. 31, 1:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$1 per class. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance.



# Palestinians' life in Israel — a story of misery

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

**On Our Land.** Produced and directed by Antonia Caccia; released in December 1981. Available from the November 29 Coalition, P.O. Box 115, New York, N.Y. 10113, (212) 695-2686.

In 1948 the state of Israel was created out of what was Palestine. The Zionist settlers waged a war against the Arab people of Palestine. The Zionist forces destroyed some 360 Palestinian villages, forcing 800,000 Palestinians into exile. About 170,000 remained on their land, inside the borders of the newly founded Jewish State. Their numbers have grown to around half a million.

*On Our Land* is a one hour documentary about those Palestinians who have lived under Zionist rule since 1948.

Palestinians — workers, farmers, mayors, doctors, housewives — tell their individual stories of what it's

Expropriations are not a thing of the past, we learn. As recently as 1977, one family's land was taken over to build housing for new immigrants. "The same day Sadat came to speak peace in Jerusalem, they came to dig up my crops," a man says to the camera with a touch of bitter irony. "They made peace over there [with Egypt] and declared war on us here," he adds.

But while Israel builds modern Jewish towns that "bloom in the desert," as Zionist propaganda likes to claim, it is nearly impossible for a Palestinian family in Israel to legally build their own home. A permit is needed, and it is very difficult to get one.

Yet the severe housing shortage among the Arab population, forces many to disregard this and build their homes "illegally."

It is a common sight while driving in Israel near Arab villages to see bulldozed houses. What used to be — or would have been — a home, is now a heap of stones.

*On Our Land* shows us one family that suffered this fate. They tell of how the Israeli authorities destroyed their new house before they even had a chance to move in. The house was "illegal."

There is a sign this family hung over the ruins. It reads in English: "Is this Israeli democracy?"

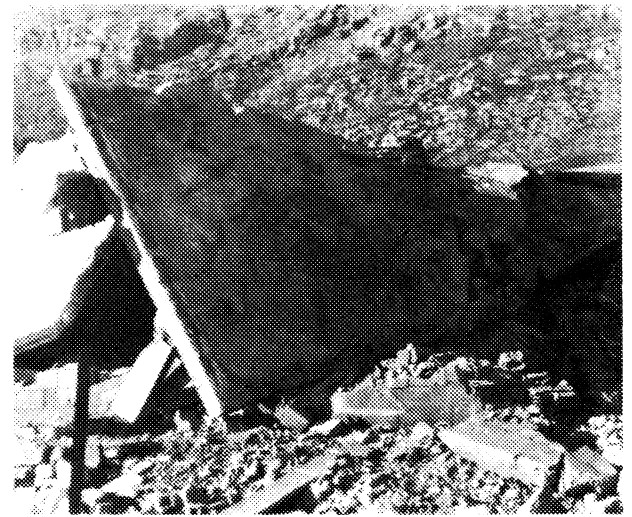
The city of Um el-Fahm is an eloquent example of the treatment Arabs get in "democratic" Israel. The town, with a population of 20,000, does not have enough schools, there is no sewage system — waste water runs through the streets posing a health hazard, especially for children. It seeps into basements. We see women hauling waste water from their houses. "All day long," they complain to the camera.

Um el-Fahm has no hospital, not enough doctors, not even an ambulance. For medicines, people must travel some 30 kilometers to Hadera, a Jewish town.

Kibbutz Megiddo, right next door, has all the facilities of a modern settlement, including spacious schools, nurseries, and its own ambulance. It's population is a fraction of Um el-Fahm's.

The mayor of Um el-Fahm explains that Jewish settlements and towns receive a disproportionate amount of aid from the state, while Arab towns receive very little.

The conditions imposed on Arab workers are harsh.



Militant/Yossi Ben-Akiva

**Ruins of house Hussein Awwad Kiwan built in village of Majd-el-Krum in Galilee. Israeli authorities bulldozed it Nov. 8, 1977, because it was built without permit. This is a familiar scene in Israel as shown in *On Our Land*.**

One worker interviewed works so far away from his home, travel expenses are so high, and his earnings so low, that he must sleep at his worksite, returning home only on the weekend. He's been doing that for 20 years, we are told.

The whole film is a collection of scenes like these. Small but powerful vignettes of Arab life in Israel.

In one of what I found to be the most moving scenes, a family now living in Um el-Fahm visits the site of their former village, Lajun, razed by the Zionists after the 1948-49 war. The parents show their children where their house and those of other relatives used to stand. Most of what is left is rubble covered by a forest planted by a Kibbutz. Few buildings from the village remain. One of them, a mosque, is now the Kibbutz's toolshed.

*On Our Land* effectively explodes the myth of a "democratic" Israel. For the Palestinians within its borders, certainly, such democracy is non-existent.

## FILM REVIEW

like to be an Arab in Israel. How their lands were confiscated — and still are. How they suffer discrimination in every aspect of life — work, housing, health care, education, political rights. How they remain determined that there will be a future when the land will again be theirs, when they will no longer be second-class citizens in their own land.

People from the Palestinian town of Um el-Fahm in Galilee, the largest Palestinian town in Israel, tell us how close to 30,000 acres were expropriated from the town since 1949.

A man remembers how he used to farm 130 acres of land. Today he only owns two acres. His olive trees, which take generations to grow, were uprooted in order to make room for Megiddo, a Zionist collective farm or Kibbutz.

Now he and other members of his family must travel every day through land that was once theirs to work in far away construction sites — building modern housing for Jewish immigrants from Europe, America, South Africa, or the Soviet Union.

## U.S. pressures PLO, Arab regimes on concessions

Continued from Page 3

Council, the organization's parliament in exile."

### Why bother with diplomacy?

If the PLO leadership is not retreating from its commitment to the Palestinian struggle, why does it bother to address diplomatic initiatives such as the Reagan plan? Why doesn't it reject them out of hand, refuse to meet with representatives of Arab governments, and refuse to accept any diplomatic statement that falls short of the demand for a democratic, secular Palestine?

Such a stance would be irresponsible and self-defeating. U.S. imperialism, with a lot more military power than is available to the PLO, does not turn its back on the diplomatic arena, and for good reason.

Because of its heroic battle in Lebanon, the PLO gained a hearing from millions of

people around the world and convinced many that the Palestinians have justice on their side. With the Reagan plan, Washington is pretending that it is addressing the Palestinian issue and seeking a just solution. It is using the diplomatic arena to try to reverse the gains won by the PLO in world public opinion.

Such initiatives by Washington cannot be ignored, or merely denounced. Millions believe that the Reagan plan may be a genuine peace proposal. Even within the Arab countries there is confusion about Washington's real intentions and about the possibility of a negotiated settlement that would resolve the conflict between Israel and its Arab neighbors.

Through its diplomacy, the PLO leadership seeks to advance the Palestinian cause among the Arab masses and the masses on a world scale. It also seeks to gain time to deal with the difficult situation that it now

faces, and to gain concessions from the Arab regimes. On the eve of Arafat's meeting with King Hussein, for example, Hussein announced an amnesty for hundreds of PLO fighters who were accused of committing "crimes against state security" during the 1970 civil war in Jordan.

### A historical precedent

There is nothing new about the diplomatic battle that is going on right now. During the negotiations that followed the October 1973 war, the mass media was filled with speculation about divisions within the PLO. The "moderate" Arafat was counterposed to the "militant," "rejectionist" wing.

At that time the Palestine National Council responded to the negotiations by adopting a position in favor of the establishment of a Palestinian state in any part of

Palestine that Israel was forced to withdraw from. This position was seen as a step toward the PLO's overall goal of a democratic, secular Palestine. It was never counterposed to this goal, except by those who charged that the PLO leadership was abandoning the struggle for Palestinian self-determination and moving toward a deal with Washington. History has refuted that charge, but it is now surfacing once again as a result of the latest events.

Of course, there are real differences within the PLO, which is a mass organization that reflects the different political views within the Palestinian population as a whole. But the fact is that the imperialists have never been successful in their attempts to force the PLO to capitulate. Washington's failure in this is the biggest single stumbling block to its diplomacy in the Middle East.

## —IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

**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.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

**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.

## Polish workers fight on — despite false friends

The Polish regime, joined by some voices in the capitalist press, has proclaimed the death of Poland's independent union movement. While the outlawing of Solidarity and Rural Solidarity is a serious blow to the Polish toilers, funeral dirges are out of place.

Polish workers have continued their struggle through strikes and demonstrations in cities and towns throughout the country, protesting the Polish bureaucracy's crackdown and demanding that Solidarity be given legal status and that its imprisoned members and leaders be freed.

These acts of defiance have met with brutal repression. But the Polish working class continues to boycott the new government-controlled unions that are supposed to be the alternative to Solidarity.

Less than 100 of the 40,000 workers at the Nowa Huta steel mill, the country's largest factory, have signed up for the new unions. Three percent of the workers at the Lenin shipyard in Gdansk said they would join the government unions. And plans are still on for the four-hour protest strike on November 10 called by Solidarity leaders to protest the banning of the union.

It's not only the martial law regime of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski that the Polish workers and farmers have to contend with. In fact, the latest crackdown has once again given the imperialists in the United States, and those who look to them, a new handle to attack the Polish workers state.

The Reagan administration has used these events to step up its anticommunist propaganda drive, behind which it is carrying out real wars of aggression against the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran peoples. It has also given Washington a pretext to suspend Poland's most-favored-nation trade status, under the guise of support to workers struggles.

This move hurts, not helps, workers in Poland and the United States. It will raise tariffs on Polish manufactured exports to this country, only adding to the suffering of the Polish people, while it jacks up prices here. This move, along with previous sanctions against Poland, has the support of capitalist politicians on both sides of the aisle, just like the attacks on the railroad engineers and air traffic controllers right here at home.

These servants of U.S. big business are no friends of the working people in Poland.

At a recent U.S. State Department conference, Secretary of State George Schultz pointed to Solidarity in Poland as the prime example of a "trend" in "Communist countries" that supports restoring those countries to the capitalist fold.

But this is the polar opposite of the way the majority of Polish workers and farmers see it.

In Poland, the major means of production — the factories, mines, mills, and shipyards — are nationalized. In place of the widespread anarchy of capitalism, which U.S. workers and farmers are suffering so keenly from today, a planned economy exists.

What Polish workers and farmers are struggling against is a political regime that excludes the working class from political power and that is based on a system

of institutionalized bureaucratic privileges, where no open dissent is tolerated.

What they are fighting for is *not* a return to capitalism — the slanders of the Polish bureaucrats to the contrary — but for genuine workers' control of the economy, the society, and the government.

The last thing Ronald Reagan wants is a revolutionary government in Poland that would chart a foreign and domestic policy quite different from that of the conservative bureaucrats who run Poland today. But Reagan figures he'll cross that bridge when he comes to it. For today, it's useful to pretend to stand with the Polish toilers, while stabbing them in the back.

Among Reagan's biggest helpers in his campaign against Poland are the knee-jerk cold warriors in the U.S. trade union officialdom.

AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland got on television to demand that Reagan go much further in attacking the Polish workers state. He termed the trade sanctions "a relatively weak response" and called for the Reagan administration to force Poland into bankruptcy by calling Poland's bank loans into default. Referring to the negative impact on the imperialist banking system that would occur if Poland were to go bankrupt, Kirkland said, "If it hurts us now, all the more reason to do it before it hurts us even more in the future."

For Kirkland, "us" includes U.S. bankers and big businessmen and the U.S. government. Left out are the masses of Polish and U.S. workers, who are the victims of trade sanctions, and everything else that goes along with Washington's war mongering.

In a statement released on October 14, Sam Church, president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) — which is currently the target of a big company-government offensive — echoed Kirkland. He called on Washington to "consider imposing a partial or total trade embargo to punish the Polish military government."

It hurts workers in Poland, and everywhere else, when the U.S. trade union officialdom continually lines up like tin soldiers behind the foreign policy of the employers. That bipartisan policy, which includes sending U.S. Marines to Lebanon and the beginnings of a new Vietnam in Central America, is against the interests of U.S. workers too.

Instead of calling for economic sanctions, the labor movement ought to be campaigning *against* them. The AFL-CIO ought to be insisting on the lifting of all restrictions on trade with the workers states, including an immediate end to the criminal economic blockades against Cuba and Vietnam.

The AFL-CIO could provide some real aid to the Polish workers and farmers by opposing the U.S. military buildup in Europe and elsewhere in the world, which threatens other working people and which is paid for out of the pockets of workers in this country.

Instead of demanding that Poland be cut off from aid, the AFL-CIO and the UMWA should fight for interest-free loans and other economic aid to Poland.

This is the kind of real solidarity that would benefit embattled workers on both sides of the Atlantic.

## 'Looking backward' at capitalism

Published in 1888, and depicting a model socialist society of the future, Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* had a profound impact on the thinking of the time, selling in the millions of copies. In the following excerpt, the author explains to a reader in the future society what capitalism was like.

By way of attempting to give the reader some general impression of the way people lived together in those days, and especially of the relations of the rich and poor to one another, perhaps I cannot do better than to compare society as it then was to a prodigious coach which the masses of humanity were harnessed to and dragged toilsomely along a very hilly and sandy road. The driver was hunger, and permitted no lagging, though the pace was necessarily very slow.

Despite the difficulties of drawing the coach at all along so hard a road, the top was covered with passengers

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

who never got down, even at the steepest ascents. These seats on top were very breezy and comfortable. Well up out of the dust, their occupants could enjoy the scenery at their leisure, or critically discuss the merits of the straining team. Naturally such places were in great demand and the competition for them was keen, every one seeking as the first end in life to secure a seat on the coach for himself and to leave it to his child after him.

By the rule of the coach a man could leave his seat to whom he wished, but on the other hand there were so many accidents by which it might at any time be wholly lost. For all that they were so easy, the seats were very insecure, and at every sudden jolt of the coach persons were slipping out of them and falling to the ground, where they were instantly compelled to take hold of the rope and help to drag the coach on which they had ridden so pleasantly. It was naturally regarded as a terrible misfortune to lose one's seat, and the apprehension that this might happen to them or their friends was a constant cloud upon the happiness of those who rode.

But did they think only of themselves? You ask. Was not their very luxury rendered intolerable to them by comparison with the lot of their brothers and sisters in the harness, and the knowledge that their own weight added to their toil? Had they no compassion for fellow beings from whom fortune only distinguished them? Oh, yes, commiseration was frequently expressed by those who



rode for those who had to pull the coach, especially when the vehicle came to a bad place in the road, as it was constantly doing, or to a particularly steep hill. At such times, the desperate straining of the team, their agonizing leaping and plunging under the pitiless lashing of hunger, the many who fainted at the rope and were trampled in the mire, made a very distressing spectacle, which often called forth highly creditable displays of feeling on the top of the coach.

At such such times the passengers would call down encouragingly to the toilers of the rope, exhorting them to patience, and holding out hopes of possible compensation in another world for the hardness of their lot, while others contributed to buy salves and liniments for the crippled and injured. It was agreed that it was a great pity that the coach should be so hard to pull, and there was a sense of general relief when the specially bad piece of road was gotten over. This relief was not, indeed, wholly on account of the team, for there was always some danger at these bad places of a general overturn in which all would lose their seats.

It must in truth be admitted that the main effect of the spectacle of the misery of the toilers at the rope was to enhance the passengers' sense of the value of their seats upon the coach, and to cause them to hold on to them more desperately than before. If the passengers could only have felt assured that neither they nor their friends would ever fall from the top, it is probable that, beyond contributing to the funds for liniments and bandages, they would have troubled themselves extremely little about those who dragged the coach.

## 'Kick in the teeth' for Reagan administration

"This is a triumph for the Nicaraguan people and a kick in the teeth for the Reagan administration."

That's how Commander Tomás Borge, speaking to a crowd of tens of thousands in Nicaragua, summed up the significance of the fact that a majority of the world's countries voted on October 19 to place Nicaragua on the United Nations Security Council.

The announcement was greeted with celebrations all over Nicaragua.

For good reason.

The U.S. government has been on a relentless drive since July 19, 1979 — the day that the U.S.-backed Nicaraguan dictator, Anastasio Somoza, was overthrown — to turn back the Nicaraguan revolution.

Washington has shown itself willing to stoop to any level, from arming and financing a murderous counter-revolutionary army that operates across the Nicaraguan-Honduran border, to economic strangulation, to try and bring Nicaragua to its knees.

This has included an international campaign to isolate Nicaragua diplomatically, based on lies and slanders.

Nicaragua won the seat in the United Nations despite a concerted campaign by the United States to seat the Dominican Republic in the Latin American slot. It was the victims of imperialist oppression, the semicolonial countries of the world, that gave the Nicaraguans the necessary votes.

Nicaragua's victory is also an illustration of the fact that it's U.S. imperialism that is becoming increasingly

isolated in the world. Three years ago, the U.S. was successful in blocking Cuba's bid to get a seat on the Security Council.

There have been other blows to Washington's anti-Nicaragua campaign recently.

On October 13, Bolivia's new civilian government reestablished diplomatic relations with Nicaragua, which had been broken by the then-ruling military junta in 1980.

Sergio Ramírez, a member of Nicaragua's ruling Junta of National Reconstruction, attended the inauguration of the new Bolivian president, Hernán Siles Zuazo, as did the vice-president of the Cuban Council of State, Carlos Rafael Rodríguez.

The Nicaraguan representative was later received in the Bolivian presidential palace as a chief of state.

Venezuelan President Luis Herrera Campíns, who until not long ago was considered one of Washington's closest allies in Latin America, attended the third anniversary celebration of the Nicaraguan revolution this summer.

And in September, Herrera Campíns joined Mexican President José López Portillo in appealing to the United States to halt the "increase of tensions" in Central America.

Bit by bit, Reagan's tightening noose of isolation around Nicaragua is starting to unwind.

Now is the time to press ahead and demand an end to the U.S. government's military, economic, and political aggression against Nicaragua.



# Grim face of unemployment on Minn. Iron Range

BY RICH STUART

VIRGINIA, Minn. — Here on the Mesabi Iron Range there is no debate about whether we are in a recession or depression. Out of 14,000 iron miners, 12,000, all members of the United Steelworkers, are out of work. Most of the mines are shut down. And on the Range, the mines are the only game in town.

Unemployment benefits are running out already for thousands of workers. Welfare and food stamps are hard-

## UNION TALK

er and harder to obtain. A lot of people are moving away, but most are trying to stick it out.

Local Democratic politicians are making a lot of election year noise about so-called "Reaganomics," hoping to deflect the anger of workers from the capitalist system to Reagan personally. While long on denunciations of Reagan, they are short on answers.

Our union leadership wants us to vote for "friend of labor" Mark Dayton, Democratic candidate for U.S. Senate. The multimillionaire Dayton will spend \$6 million on his campaign out of his own pocket, more than was allocated for all the unemployed on the Iron Range.

Another labor endorsed candidate is Iron Range Congressman James Oberstar. He was cheered by a local union paper because he "fought" to get 10 extra weeks of unemployment benefits included in Reagan's latest tax bill.

That reminds me of those who cheered the United Steelworkers President Lloyd McBride for getting us \$150 every three years, in return for giving up the right to strike.

The situation on the Iron Range has given rise to something that has become familiar in most areas with high unemployment rates. Here it's called the Food Shelf, a food charity program for the jobless. It is maintained by donations of food, collected mostly from other working people. The unselfish response of working people and the willingness to sacrifice for the benefit of fellow workers has been inspiring.

The problem is that our union officials are pointing to the Food Shelf as an example of how to fight layoffs and shutdowns. Actually it is an example of following Reagan's advice to rely on private charity. He tells us that it's up to us to feed the unemployed. It's not the government's problem, and certainly not the responsibility of the companies who laid us off in the first place.

An obscene offshoot of the Food Shelf is a public rela-

tions gimmick by Pillsbury, the giant Minneapolis-based food monopoly. Pillsbury has promised to donate 100,000 pounds of food to the Iron Range Food Shelf, but only on condition that it be matched by people on the Range. Otherwise, no food.

The only candidate on the Iron Range with any solution to the crisis confronting working people is Kathy Wheeler, a laid-off iron miner. Wheeler, who just finished a four week stint clearing brush for \$3.50 an hour, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Minnesota.

She blames the giant mining companies, and the capitalist system they are a part of, for our problems. Instead of a \$200 billion military budget, Wheeler proposes a public works program to provide jobs with wages at union scale.

The workweek should be shortened to 30 hours with no cut in pay, in order to increase the number of jobs.

In order to realize this program, Wheeler urges the unions to build a labor party, a party that would fight for a government of workers and farmers.

Now that would be fighting unionism.

Rich Stuart is a laid-off millwright from U.S. Steel's Minntac Mine. He is a member of U.S.W.A. Local 1938.

## LETTERS

### Jolly Green Giant

It's Monday and I just finished classes for the day. This morning during a free hour I got into quite a discussion. We were talking about how the Green Giant Co., which owns big farms and vegetable processing plants around Glencoe, Minnesota, offered free bus fare (one way) to hundreds of laid-off steelworkers on the Iron Range to work for them this fall. The press is making the company sound like a saint.

Green Giant has the steelworkers working six 12-hour days a week, depending on the weather, for \$3.35 an hour. They're put up in company trailers, 16 to a trailer, and rent is taken out of their checks, as well as money for food. So after putting up with inhuman conditions, they take home approximately \$135 per week. I couldn't help but draw a comparison to the "Grapes of Wrath."

Another interesting twist is that Pillsbury owns Green Giant. Pillsbury has offered to donate 100,000 pounds of food to unemployed workers on the range, on the condition that individuals donate the same amount first. They are using the steelworkers as slave labor to produce the food they're donating to the steelworkers and getting great press on both sides. What a company.

Pat Virnig  
Minnesota

active capacities of the existing capitalist system.

It is a fact that American capitalism has already rendered society with the productive capability to satisfy every human need. The problem for capitalism is that "effective need" does not match the ability to produce. This is to say that the workers can not afford that which they produce. There are therefore surplus goods that accumulate and thus production comes to a halt.

The USSR, China, Cuba, Nicaragua, etc. do not yet possess the capabilities of the U.S. and thus have not realized the principle "to each according to his need." But that situation could be changed the very instant America overturns the system of private property. Nowhere are "various stages of transition and technological development" necessary in a world socialist economy.

Fidel Castro was thus incorrect in stating the principle "to each according to his work" as a universal principle. A productive society such as ours need not wait to satisfy all human needs.

Nowhere to my knowledge does the principle "to each according to his work" occur in the writings of Marx or Engels. Since my original letter asked where this idea originated, it would be helpful if Hawkins could first answer this literary question.

Ronald Sims  
Worthington, Ohio

drive. It turns out that some of United Way's "charitable" funds have been earmarked by the Reagan administration for distribution to the union-busting National Right to Work Legal Defense and Education Fund.

A nation-wide boycott has been urged by IAM President William Winpisinger. The decision by these locals to boycott has touched off discussions here. There has been quite a bit of media coverage in this strong union part of the country.

Louise Glover  
Charleston, West Virginia

### Lebanon

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the massacre of Palestinian refugees shocked and outraged many workers here at GE's Riverworks plant in Lynn, Massachusetts. It came up in conversations again and again. So much so that antiwar activists in the plant decided to circulate a petition to President Reagan from International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201 members condemning U.S. and Israeli involvement in the massacre, calling on the U.S. government to end arms shipments to Israel, and calling for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon.

The petition had originally appeared as a full page ad by trade unionists in major daily newspapers.

The petition got a good response. Well over half of those approached to sign did so. To date over 250 signatures have been collected. Obviously the AFL-CIO resolution supporting the invasion of Lebanon doesn't represent the thinking of many American workers.

One guy I approached did support the invasion because he said the Palestine Liberation Organization had been using Lebanon as a base to attack Israel. Two workers listening to our conversation decided to explain things to him. "Where do you think Palestinians came from?" they asked. The first worker wasn't quite sure. "From Palestine, Israel! They were ripped off and kicked out just like the Indians in this country. How would you like it if somebody told you to get the hell out of Lynn and never come back?" He didn't sign but he sure had something to think about.

Many other people in the plant saw the invasion and massacre as just another example of their government being on the wrong side. One older worker explained how he was disappointed in a government for which he had fought two



wars. "Why is it that we're always on the wrong side. Whenever you hear of a massacre we're always involved. Lebanon, El Salvador, Vietnam. Something is wrong here."

The condemnation of workers was directed at the Israeli army, Begin, and Sharon, not the Jewish people.

One Black worker told me, "Begin and Sharon are animals. They're acting like the Nazis. They have no right to commit genocide." Many workers were impressed by the huge size of demonstrations in Israel.

If these are the patriotic, prowar defense workers that the rulers of this country are depending on to go to war and drive militants and antiwar activists from the factories, the ruling class is in big trouble.

Kip Hedges  
Boston, Massachusetts

nated against regarding jobs, prison transfers, disciplinary committees, grievance committees, etc. For many years I expected nothing but evil from most prison employees.

The long years of constant opposition from high level prison employees have taken their toll upon me. I have suffered more than three total nervous breakdowns in 1979 and 1980.

I have been totally dehumanized by prison employees. I have been mistreated, abused, and tortured, by prison employees and inmate gang members. I have constantly been the victim of racism and discrimination by high level prison employees, with in the Illinois Department of Corrections.

A prisoner  
Menard, Illinois

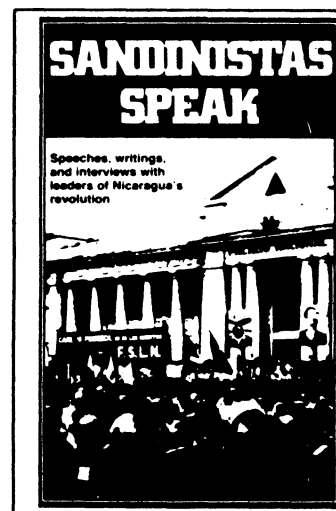
### Robots

I'm writing to ask you to address an issue raised by the media. It is not yet addressed seriously by either the Democratic or Republican parties. The issue is job-stealing robots and computers, particularly as applied in Japanese industries.

Robots in the wrong hands, i.e., the upper class, are a serious threat to the working class. They're cheaper than human labor over the long and even short term; they don't strike or retire on pension; and they require no fringe benefits. On the other hand, they don't consume or pay taxes for social services, which is another problem in itself.

Ken Jones  
Scottsdale, Arizona

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



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## Calif. nominee finds growing audience for socialist ideas

BY HARRY RING

Mel Mason is a busy man. A leader of the Socialist Workers Party, he's an independent candidate for governor of California. He's also fulfilling his responsibilities as an elected member of the city council in Seaside, a mainly Black town outside of Monterey.

He's actively campaigning for two independent Black candidates in the upcoming Seaside municipal elections.

And he's doing his job as co-representative of the National Black Independent Political Party in its Far Western region.

The California Democratic and Republican parties definitely don't like Mason's campaign for governor. His supporters gathered nearly a quarter of a million signatures on nominating petitions — 100,000 more than required — but the Democrats and Republicans ruled him off the ballot.

Mason pressed ahead with his campaign as a write-in candidate. From all accounts

*On October 19, the federal district court in Los Angeles upheld the decision of Secretary of State March Fong Eu to rule Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California off the November ballot.*

it's been an energetic, effective campaign.

In a telephone interview, Mason described some of what he's been doing.

His main efforts have been in areas where there are Socialist Workers Party branches and Young Socialist Alliance chapters — Seaside, San Francisco, Oakland, San Jose, Los Angeles and San Diego.

Recently-won campaign supporters also organized meetings for him in East Palo Alto, Davis, Sacramento, and Bakersfield.

Throughout the campaign, Mason said, he has been impressed by the high degree of political awareness among the working people he talked with.

### Money for jobs

"Jobs is certainly the major concern," Mason observed. "But we've talked to a good many people who see the connection between this country's domestic crisis and its moves toward war."

"We came across numerous people who said the money the U.S. government is spending to uphold dictatorships in Central America and to uphold the apartheid regime in South Africa is money that could be used to better the standard of living and overall economic conditions of people in this country."

"People like that," Mason added, "were in total agreement with us when we said that the workweek should be shortened and that the money being allocated for war should be used to create a massive public works program."

Mason was especially enthusiastic about the response to his campaign among youth.

He spoke at a number of high school classes where invitations were extended by teachers who felt their students should hear the socialist viewpoint.

These included high schools in Seaside, Berkeley, and Los Angeles.

In Los Angeles he was invited to speak twice to students at Crenshaw High, where there is a mainly Black student body, as well as at Jefferson High, which is mainly Latino, and Lincoln, which has a mixture of both.

"The main thing these young people were concerned about was the draft," Mason found. "They were very supportive of our program because of our opposition to the draft."

"That was true at all the high schools.

And also at the community colleges where I spoke — Los Angeles City College and Southwest City in L.A., Laney and Merritt in Oakland, and Monterey Peninsula College, where I work."

### Their campaign

"The first time I spoke at Crenshaw High," Mason added, "there were 19 Black youth who signed up to work for the Youth for Mel Mason Committee. Also two teachers. A lot of young people see this as their campaign. It's the only campaign that's speaking to the issues that concern them."

At the three Los Angeles high school meetings, Mason spoke to more than 400 students. He couldn't point to the same number in San Diego, but he seemed mighty pleased that in that city, five young people — "three of them young workers and two students, I think" — have joined the YSA since the campaign got under way.

Mason felt the campaign had been generally effective in reaching workers. At several plants where SWP and YSA members are employed, they organized gatherings at nearby bars for co-workers to meet and talk with the socialist candidate.

And they brought a good number of co-workers to the campaign rallies in the various cities.

In San Jose, his rally was chaired by Flora Morris, a worker at the big FMC armored military vehicle plant. A 1960s Southern civil rights activist, she joined the SWP after hearing about the campaign from co-workers.

Among those attending the rally, Mason said, was a co-worker of Morris's who decided that she too belonged in the SWP.

Another heartening feature of these rallies, Mason continued, was the number of guest speakers who supported his campaign. These included the presidents of the Black Student Unions at San Diego City College and Evergreen State College in San Jose.

In a number of cities, he added, Central American solidarity activists were on the platform. In Los Angeles, he commented, supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution seemed particularly impressed by the SWP's determined opposition to U.S. aggression against that revolution.

Despite his hectic statewide schedule, Mason has considered it important to also make time for the independent campaigns of Shirley Rainer and Henry Fryson in Seaside.

Rainer, who is running for mayor, is co-chair of the National Black Independent Political Party in Seaside.

Fryson, who is running for city council, has been active in the area's civil rights battles for nearly a decade.

"Henry was my campaign manager when I ran for the school board in 1977," Mason recalled, "and also in 1980 in the successful campaign for the city council."

### Strong on independence

The Rainer and Fryson campaigns, he observed, are strong in promoting the idea of independent political action in opposition to the Republicans and Democrats.

Mason feels his support has been helpful to the two candidates. "I called a news conference," he said, "and said the only two people I could endorse were Shirley and Henry. I received a number of phone calls from people who said they intended to support them. They seemed to feel that if I endorsed them it meant they would be the same kind of elected officials that I've been."

In his own successful bid for the city council in 1980, Mason recalled, he had



Militant/Larry Lukecart

Mel Mason, (second from right) independent candidate for governor of California joins supporters in protest at Fort Ord October 9. In violation of law, army brass had denied campaigners right to distribute campaign material in public areas of base.

been the target of red-baiting because of his association with the SWP. But so far there's been no attempt to red-bait Fryson and Rainer because of his support to them.

"When they think about red-baiting Shirley and Henry," he commented, "they have to think they tried it with me and they lost."

And now with an active branch of the SWP in Seaside, he continued, "people have the opportunity to judge the Socialist Workers Party by what it does, not by the media propaganda. And they see the socialists are constantly in the forefront of the struggles in Seaside."

Mason seemed especially gratified that Fryson's campaign manager, Baqi Bismillah, spoke at a San Francisco Mason for governor rally and announced he had decided to join the SWP. "He's now the leading *Militant* salesperson in Seaside," Mason proudly said.

In his campaign appearances, Mason has

told people about the National Black Independent Political Party, citing it as a positive example of how the entire working class should go in developing its own independent political movement.

"And everywhere," Mason said, "the response has been fantastic."

Early in the campaign, he said, he had been invited up to Seattle for a meeting. As a result a group of activists there are now working to build an NBIPP chapter.

In East Palo Alto, a mainly Black community, a number of people signed up to help organize an NBIPP chapter, as they also did in several other places where he spoke.

Mason feels the campaign has been "great."

"What it's been able to do," he said, "is to act as a barometer of where the working class is really heading. And what we've been able to see is that a lot of workers are becoming more revolutionary every day."

## Workers press demands as Chrysler stonewalls

BY JON OLMSTED

DETROIT — The Chrysler Corporation has announced that it would suffer a strike rather than grant the immediate hourly wage increase demanded by auto workers.

Following the 2-to-1 rejection by auto workers of the proposed contract, negotiations were resumed between Chrysler and the United Auto Workers (UAW) on October 18 in Detroit.

Fifteen minutes was all it took for Chrysler to respond to the workers' overwhelming rejection. Chrysler Vice-president Thomas Miner told Chrysler workers to take it or leave it.

"There simply is no more money available to meet the several additional demands the union is making," Miner said. "We advised the union then that its bargainers had our final offer on the table, and if necessary we would take a strike, although such action would severely cripple the company. Nothing has changed during the last 30 days, and we told them so today."

After Chrysler's arrogant refusal to negotiate, talks were indefinitely broken off. Chrysler workers are now working under an extension of the old agreement. This could be terminated on 24-hour notice from either side.

The UAW's Chrysler Bargaining Coun-

cil will meet October 21, to come up with a response.

Workers at Chrysler's Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle plant here reacted angrily to the company's refusal to bargain.

One worker said, "They asked us to help them out, and we did. Now they turn around and tell us to go to hell."

"Our backs are against the wall. We can't go back any further," another said.

Many Chrysler workers said they are fighting to get back money of their own that was taken from them over the past three years in concessions.

"We loaned them the money on both ends," a worker said; "through our taxes for the government's bailout, and through the concessions."

The pact that was rejected, the first such rank-and-file rejection of a proposed contract with one of the top three automakers, proposed more stringent work rules. Periodic cost-of-living wage increases were included, but made contingent on Chrysler's future profits.

The workers' rejection of this proposed settlement showed the anger that has built up over three years of collaboration to help bail out Chrysler for which they got nothing in return. This is the mood they are in as they now face Chrysler's stubborn refusal to grant a wage increase.