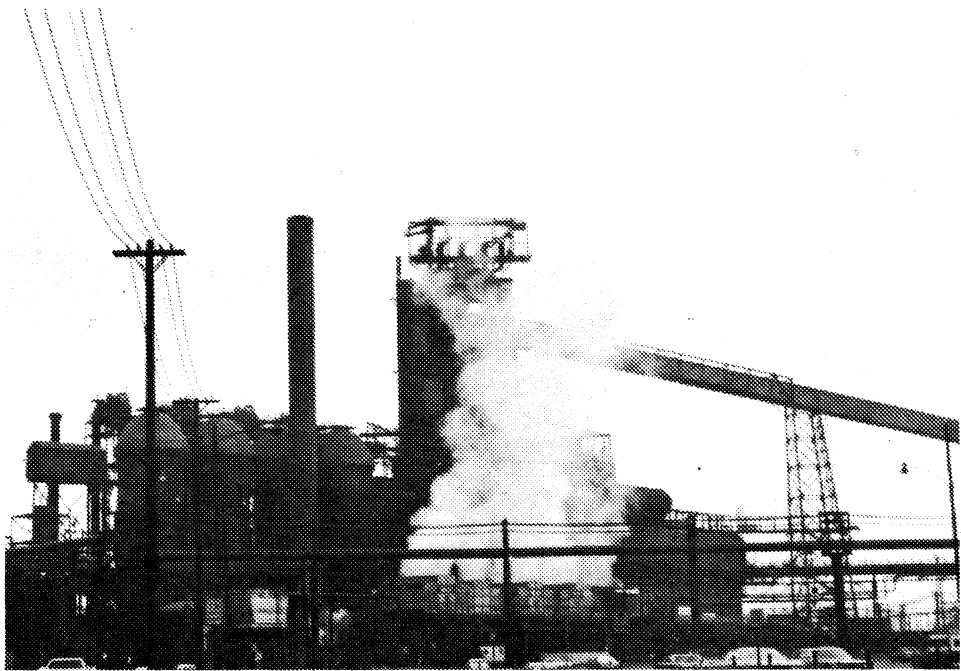


Steel union turns down massive concessions



Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant in Baltimore. Workers there felt that concessions contract wouldn't save jobs and would be big step backwards for union.

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

BALTIMORE — Meeting in Pittsburgh on November 19, local presidents of the United Steelworkers (USW) decisively rejected massive concessions demanded by the steel industry. By a vote of 231 to 141 the USW's Basic Industry Conference voted against a takeaway contract that was recommended to them for approval by a unanimous vote of the union's International Executive Board.

The proposed contract included much deeper cuts and many more givebacks than the \$6 billion package rejected unanimously by local and international union leaders last summer. At that time the industry demanded a wage freeze and a cap on the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA), among other things.

No price tag was placed publicly on the new proposal. But it surely would have been astronomical. For starters, it called for a 10 percent wage and benefit cut. A \$1.50-an-hour wage cut would have taken effect immediately with another \$.75 wage cut in the first year. At the end of three years, wages would still have been at least \$.50 below current levels. The \$.75 cut was to go directly into what was called the "Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) safe" program. A portion of this cut could have been restored if the financial health of the SUB funds improved. However, 25 cents would have been cut permanently.

COLA would have been axed from now until August. At that time, the Big Eight steel companies that bargain with the union would each have put 25 percent of their net profits into a pool. Further COLA payments would have come out of that pool on a twice-yearly basis, not the quarterly basis required in the current contract.

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Grenada smeared at Caribbean conference

BY ERNEST HARSCH

At a November 16 news conference shortly after the opening of the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) summit conference in Jamaica, Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop condemned the efforts of several Caribbean governments to achieve "the isolation of Grenada."

The campaign, he said, was inspired by external forces, clearly referring to the U.S. government.

The conference had been preceded by weeks of a vicious slander campaign in the regional press attacking alleged human rights violations in Grenada and Grenada's close relations with Cuba. On November 15, full-page ads in five Caribbean newspapers criticized "self-proclaimed Prime Minister Bishop" for the "alarming state of human rights."

As a propaganda ploy, Barbadian Prime Minister Tom Adams recently proposed that the CARICOM charter be rewritten to include a plank committing its members to "parliamentary democracy." This was backed by Prime Minister Edward Seaga of Jamaica, who, in an obvious reference to Grenada, charged that there had appeared within the 12-member CARICOM "something called people's democracy and this was the Cuban model which we reject."

Adams's charter proposal was raised at the CARICOM summit itself, which was the first time the English-speaking Caribbean heads of state had met in seven years. (The members of the CARICOM are: Antigua, Barbados, Belize, Dominica, Grenada, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, St.

Continued on Page 2

Pa. electrical workers hear Salvador unionist

BY BILL KALMAN

PITTSBURGH — "We're fighting the same fight, we have to help each other out."

That's how a young member of the United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 506 reacted to a talk given by Alejandro Molina Lara. Molina Lara, a central leader of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS), is on a tour of Western Pennsylvania, Ohio, and West Virginia. It is sponsored by the Pittsburgh Central America Mobilization Coalition (PCAMC).

On November 14 he addressed the business meeting of UE Local 506, which organizes the large General Electric plant in Erie, Pennsylvania. The talk was well publicized in the November 12 issue of the local's newspaper.

According to Bill McCaughy, a PCAMC activist and member of UE Local 610 in Pittsburgh, about 200 unionists attended the meeting. Molina Lara was introduced by Al Hart, a member of the local's executive board, as "a union brother from El Salvador who is here to explain the political situation there."

Molina Lara then gave a 15-minute talk explaining the struggle of the Salvadoran workers and farmers in the 1930s and 40s. He indicated that that struggle was being continued today by the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (FDR). He particularly stressed how U.S. corporations profit from the brutal repression of the governing military junta in El Salvador.

But what stunned most workers was the moving description of the fierce repression of the electrical industry union (STECEL), a member union of FENASTRAS. That union was involved in a general strike in March 1979 that succeeded in blacking out electrical power in the whole country. In retaliation the government launched a major attack against STECEL.

After being tried by the military, the entire national executive board of the union was imprisoned in August 1980, along with other leaders of FENASTRAS.

Molina Lara finished his talk by calling on the electrical workers here to support their brothers and sisters in El Salvador against our common enemy. When he sat

down the entire membership gave him a standing ovation.

When Molina Lara indicated that in his enthusiasm for starting the tour, he didn't have time to buy a winter coat, one worker stood up and shouted, "Hey, this guy came all the way from El Salvador, the least we could do is buy him a coat." At that point the workers spontaneously took up a collection and presented Molina Lara with \$152.

After the meeting a number of unionists stood around Molina Lara waiting for a chance to talk with him.

One young worker liked what Molina Lara had to say opposing the attempt to reinstitute the draft in this country. Another worker gave Molina Lara a brand new parka on the spot and told him to use the money that had been collected to continue to publicize the fight of the Salvadoran people.

The UE Local 506 meeting was one of a number of events during the first week of the tour. Molina Lara also taped a program for the Ron Daniels Show, an hour-long television show that is very popular among Blacks in the Youngstown area. Daniels is the national cochair of the National Black Independent Political Party.

In addition, Molina Lara was interviewed by the Youngstown *Vindicator*; WSEE, a TV station in Erie; and WYET, WDUQ, and WRTC — all Pittsburgh radio stations. The *Pitt News*, a student newspaper at the University of Pittsburgh, featured a story on Molina Lara on its front page.

Molina Lara also spoke to students at forums or classes at Edinboro State College, Kent State, Community College of Allegheny County, and the University of Pittsburgh. He addressed a community meeting in Hazelwood, an economically depressed community in Pittsburgh. Already \$850 has been collected on the tour.

Molina Lara's tour, which is scheduled to continue until December 20, will also include meetings to coal miners, steelworkers, and teachers.

Bill Kalman is a member of the Pittsburgh Central America Mobilization Coalition and United Mine Workers Local 2350.

\$250,000 'Militant' fund drive ahead of schedule, goal in sight

BY HARRY RING

Several weeks ago we proposed to the supporters of our \$250,000 Socialist Publications Fund that, as an immediate goal, we aim to be on schedule, and perhaps a bit ahead, by Thanksgiving.

We're happy to report — ahead of time — that the goal has been made. As of November 23, we had collected 75 percent of our goal, putting us 1 percent ahead of schedule.

This puts us in a strong position for a super successful completion of the fund by the December 31 deadline.

Our fund was kicked off last August by members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. The purpose is to help the *Militant*, and its sister publications, *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Intercontinental Press*, cope with substantial inflation-induced deficits.

Pledges and cash contributions to the fund now exceed our initial \$250,000 target. So, if everyone completes payment of their pledges on schedule, we will be able to exceed our goal.

Therefore, here's what we would now like to propose.

As customary, the *Militant* will skip two holiday issues. The last issue of the year comes off the press December 23. With some extra cooperation on your part, we would be able to report on December 23 that we have already received the \$250,000. Then we could see how much extra would come in by New Year's.

If we can do this, we will be in a much better situation, financially and politically, as we enter the new year.

The quarter of a million dollars represents the biggest publication fund in our history. But while it is helping to keep us more stable financially, it does not provide a surplus.

The rate of inflation has slowed down somewhat. But that doesn't mean that prices aren't continuing to climb. It just means they're rising a bit less rapidly. Nor is it claimed that unemployment will decrease by any meaningful amount in the coming year. This means that while our publishing expenses continue to rise, many of our supporters will suffer layoffs. So extra effort will still be needed to cope with the deficits that are a fact of life for radical publications.

Politically, there's no question that we want to be in the strongest possible position this coming year.

Working people are suffering cruel blows. But, in increasing numbers, they are registering their determination to fight back.

This was most recently signified by the defeat of Sam Church in the United Mine Workers election for president. And it was registered again when United Steelworkers local presidents voted to reject new concessions to the employers.

The *Militant* surely has a contribution to make to the discussion among workers on how to fight back effectively. A good example of this is the series of three articles beginning in this issue by steelworker Geoff Mirelowitz.

And there is increasing interest in what we have to say. This was indicated by the

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Grenada smeared at Caribbean conference

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Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, and Trinidad and Tobago.)

In his answer to this campaign, Bishop said that the revolution in Grenada "did not take place for the calling of elections, but for food, for bread, for justice, for housing — to insure that the people for the first time would have the right to participate."

He said it was a "sham" to think that giving people "five seconds every five years" to vote was democratic. "Westminster-style democracy is parliamentary hypocrisy," he said.

Bishop also challenged the CARICOM to conduct a country-by-country poll, to interview people about what they thought on political rights and social and economic rights, and to publish the results.

When the CARICOM conference ended three days later, the effort to write Grenada out of the organization had failed. The final documents did not include Adams's proposal on including a plank on "parliamentary democracy."

This campaign against Grenada was similar to the one inspired by Washington in the 1960s to isolate Cuba in the region.

When CARICOM was formed in 1973, Cuba had almost no diplomatic or economic ties with the English-speaking

Caribbean, thanks to the U.S. blockade. But by the middle of the decade an important crack in the blockade had been opened. The governments of Guyana, Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago defied Washington and established diplomatic relations with Cuba.

Economic ties between Cuba and some CARICOM members were also established. Cuba provided assistance to several countries. Doctors and teachers were sent to Guyana. Especially close relations were established with Jamaica under the government of Michael Manley's People's National Party (PNP). Between 1976 and 1980, Cuban doctors treated more than 1 million patients in Jamaica, and Cuban construction brigades built schools, sports centers, and dams.

Cuba has also provided scholarships to students from other islands. These have sometimes been provided directly to political organizations.

Cuba's influence and stature in the region have grown particularly since 1979, when revolutions triumphed in Grenada and Nicaragua. The extension of the socialist revolution to two more countries in the region accelerated class polarization, as the working classes and ruling classes alike responded to the emergence of what Cuban President Fidel Castro called the "three giants in the Caribbean."

The new government in Grenada quickly established diplomatic relations with Cuba and appealed for Cuban technical and economic assistance. Cuban workers have been playing a major role in building a new international airport in Grenada, which is crucial for the expansion of the island's tourist industry. Cuban doctors have helped bolster Grenada's medical services.

In response to the revolutions in Grenada and Nicaragua, the U.S. imperialists went on an offensive in the region, including blackmail attempts against Grenada, backing counterrevolutionary terrorist forces in Nicaragua, and threatening military intervention against Cuba.

In 1980 — following a prolonged U.S. campaign of destabilization — the PNP lost the elections in Jamaica and Seaga's proimperialist Jamaica Labour Party (JLP) came to power. One of its first acts was to break diplomatic ties with Cuba and end Cuba's various economic assistance programs in the country. Pro-U.S. regimes were also brought to power in Dominica and St. Lucia, and the relations between those countries and Cuba have cooled.

As the CARICOM conference has shown, Washington has now also stepped up its efforts to isolate Grenada. But while the proimperialist regimes in the Caribbean have been escalating their attacks on Grenada, so too has the example of the Grenada revolution been attracting more and more attention among working people throughout the region.

From Intercontinental Press



Grenadian unionists voting at 1980 congress of Commercial and Industrial Workers Union. Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop answered U.S.-inspired slanders at recent conference, saying Grenadian revolution was made for human needs, not for fake parliamentary democracy.

'IP' interview with two Cuban leaders

The November 29, 1982, issue of *Intercontinental Press* carries an interview with Cuban Vice-president Carlos Rafael Rodríguez and Deputy Foreign Minister Ricardo Alarcón.

The interviews are reprinted from the November issue of *Caribbean Contact*, a monthly newspaper published in Barbados.

In the interviews, the two leaders answer the following questions:

How serious is Havana about pursuing satisfactory relations in the Caribbean? Why the military buildup in Cuba? Why has the Castro government been reluctant in endorsing the growing call by CARICOM governments that the Caribbean be declared a "Zone of Peace"?

The two Cuban officials defended the aid that Cuba has provided to both Nicaragua and Grenada.

"We have excellent relations with the government and people of Grenada," Alarcón stated.

Intercontinental Press is a biweekly magazine devoted to news and analysis on world events from a Marxist viewpoint.

To be able to read the interview with Rodríguez and Alarcón and other features of this type, a subscription can be purchased: six months for \$12.50; one year for \$25. Order from Intercontinental Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Revlon sued for sex discrimination

BY BARBARA GREENWAY

PHOENIX — A sexual harassment and discrimination suit filed by a woman worker here against her employer, Revlon, Inc., has received the support of the National Organization for Women (NOW) Legal Defense and Education Fund (LDEF).

At an October 27 news conference, Emily Ferguson, president of the Phoenix Chapter of NOW, announced that her chapter had sponsored the LDEF application on behalf of Leta Ford, a Revlon employee since 1973.

Ford charges in a suit filed in U.S. District Court that she was subject to "continual sexual harassment and discrimination by her supervisor, and that Revlon knew of and permitted the wrongful action."

Sexual harassment is illegal and in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

According to Ferguson, "This case all too clearly demonstrates the David and Goliath situation of sex discrimination. . . . It pits Ms. Ford . . . against the weight and power of one of America's largest corporations. . . ."

"Individuals who believe in women's equality and right to be free from unwanted sexual advances on the job can not condone this type of behavior. We cannot sit by and let one lone woman — only one of many thousands — take the brunt of the attack. She deserves our emotional and financial support," Ferguson said.

Ford, a NOW member, sought NOW's legal help when she had exhausted all channels for redress: first, Revlon itself,

then the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, and finally the Arizona Civil Rights Commission.

Ferguson said that Ford's supervisor, Karl Braun, is no longer employed at Revlon, but she does not believe his leaving was the result of Ford's lawsuit.

One reason NOW chose this particular case to participate in is because "Revlon has built its reputation and fortune on products sold to women consumers. . . ." NOW officials contend that the case will provide a basis for determining if Revlon provides equal employment opportunities.

Ferguson said that the NOW LDEF hoped to raise \$10,000 for Ford's court costs.

Victory scored in women's rights fight

A victory for women's rights was scored on October 22 when a judge in Seattle signed an order awarding a woman, fired seven years ago by Seattle City Light, \$135,264 in back pay, expenses, and interest. He ordered that she be reinstated by November 10.

The court ruling in King County Superior Court came as a result of a suit brought by Clara Fraser who was "laid off" from her job as education coordinator at City Light in 1975, allegedly for budgetary reasons. She claimed that she was fired because of her advocacy of affirmative action training and workers' rights and her role in an 11-day walkout of City Light employees in 1974.

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Militant/Lou Howort
Members of National Black Independent Political Party at September 19 Solidarity Day march in Washington, D.C.

Perspectives to build Black party presented at rally

BY MALIK MIAH

PHILADELPHIA — The National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) Central Committee met here November 20-21. This was an important meeting for the party, its first since the second party congress was held in Raleigh, North Carolina, last summer.

Twenty-seven members of the central committee were at the meeting. They represented the core of active chapters in NBIPP. There were also several official observers from Local Organizing Committees (areas with less than 25 dues-paying members). A total of 80 people registered for the meeting.

The meeting took place in what several party leaders referred to as a "very difficult period" for the two-year-old party. The devastating effects of the capitalist crisis on the Black community and working people has had an impact on the NBIPP, as it has with other organizations. Although NBIPP stands on a very radical program in opposition to the two capitalist parties, it remains a small nucleus in the Black community. Few Blacks are aware of its existence.

The need of NBIPP to take its program into the Black community by participating in the struggles of Blacks and its general failure to do this so far has led to a crisis of leadership and perspective in the organization over the last several months.

This crisis is openly recognized and debated by the NBIPP's leaders.

The reasons for this crisis of perspective and how to resolve it was the main topic discussed at the central committee meeting.

Rally outlines themes

The political themes at the two-day meeting were presented at a Friday night community rally, "Survival and the 1980s," held at the University of Pennsylvania.

Three national party leaders spoke — NBIPP national cochair, Ron Daniels; national party representative, Rev. Ben Chavis; and Thad Mathis, one of the two presiding officers of the central committee.

Daniels gave a brief historical overview of NBIPP. He explained that it is very difficult to build an institution like NBIPP in today's times. "The movement [referring to all social movements — MM] is generally built historically during periods of [economic] expansion. This is not the case today because of the economic problems."

The civil rights movement, he said, grew up in a period of economic expansion. That's why the government could grant concessions. Today, he explained, this is not as likely.

Daniels added that despite these difficulties, the NBIPP had made many gains since its formation. Among these he pointed to the party's founding convention, its charter, and its participation in many public protests such as the September 19, 1981 Solidarity Day march for jobs. He also noted the fact that NBIPP was able to organize a tour to revolutionary Grenada last spring, and that he went to Cuba a year ago representing NBIPP.

The fact that NBIPP was losing members, including leaders, Daniels said, was a normal process of building an organization. "We can't become discouraged."

Daniels did stress that NBIPP needed to build a collective leadership which had not yet been totally accomplished. That was a challenge before the committee.

Rev. Ben Chavis, who followed Daniels, explained that, "Much of my re-

marks are dependent on our charter. The charter of our party is still the fundamental challenge for us."

"The last two years," he continued, "have been a time unparalleled in providing a new opportunity to rebuild the Black community," particularly for an organization with NBIPP's perspectives.

Chavis noted, however, that "there have been many setbacks for NBIPP." But, "we are still here."

In contrast to Daniels, who emphasized how the economic crisis made it difficult to build NBIPP to its potential, Chavis explained the capitalist crisis would benefit the party. "We should help the United States decline." Inflation is "good," he said, because it can move people into struggle.

"We shouldn't try to help the U.S. survive — a dying capitalist system. What I mean is getting rid of the present capitalist system." This is the only way, he said, to achieve Black survival and Black liberation.

"History teaches us that a capitalist approach is a contradiction. Black capitalism is wrong." Minimal reforms are inadequate, he explained, as the framework for our struggle.

"It is clear that the two bourgeois parties — the Democrats and Republicans — have

never shown any interest in us. Even those of us in them — such as [Thomas] Bradley."

Chavis concluded that "it is not enough to be brothers and sisters. We must be comrades in struggle against capitalism . . . and for worldwide socialist revolution."

Need open party

On building NBIPP as a viable party, Chavis said, "NBIPP is not yet a mass-based party. But that's our intention."

This is why, Chavis explained, that NBIPP must be open to all who want to build the party. "We aren't going to survive as a people unless we have more of our people fighting," and in NBIPP.

Closing remarks to the rally were made by Thad Mathis.

Mathis said we must make a sober assessment of where NBIPP is at today. "We are still struggling to figure out what it [NBIPP] should be."

Although the charter, Mathis explained, "is broad enough to include all tendencies in the Black liberation movement, we should approach these discussions this weekend with a lot of humility since none of us have every built a party."

He said the main challenge facing the leadership was "to come to a fairly realistic assessment of the party."

This means honestly evaluating the administration of the party, its financial prob-

lems, and the crisis of leadership, he added.

"We don't yet have a collective leadership, but a diffuse leadership," Mathis explained. "We need to come up with a common view of what our problems are."

Mathis further argued that it was wrong to view the party's charter alone as its programmatic document. He said the charter was a compromise including all points of views — some he agrees with and others he doesn't. The leadership, he said, must decide on the interpretation and implementation of the charter.

Finally, after implying agreement with Chavis that "we have to inspire to get people to challenge capitalism and imperialism," Mathis said, "we must do two or three other things first before we can reach that aim."

"We must develop a realistic perspective of ourselves and our strategies," he concluded.

The central committee did discuss these and other points, including why NBIPP is in crisis; why it is losing members; how to develop a program to gain jobs for unemployed Blacks; NBIPP's electoral perspectives; and the issue of "divided loyalties" in the party.

In next week's *Militant* we'll report on the discussions, debates, and decisions reached at the meeting.

D.C. anti-Klan rally set for Nov. 27

BY SUZANNE HAIG

A demonstration will be held in Washington, D.C., Saturday, November 27, to counter a Ku Klux Klan march scheduled for the same day.

The anti-Klan demonstration, which was called by the All Peoples Congress, will assemble at noon at McPherson Square, 15th and K Streets N.W., march through downtown Washington, and return to McPherson Square for a rally.

At 10 a.m. a rally in support of the Palestinian and Lebanese people will take place at the Northwest corner of the ellipse (17th Street and Constitution Avenue, behind the White House). Participants will then march to the anti-Klan rally.

The KKK action, which includes a noon march from the Capitol to Lafayette Park in front of the White House, is being billed by the KKK as a "support your police" rally, a format used by the Klan to recruit cops to their ranks. The Klan was issued a permit for their rally by the U.S. Department of the Interior Park Service and the Washington, D.C. police.

The Klan hastily canceled a November 6 march in D.C. after anti-Klan activists began to organize a counterdemonstration. Some 1,500 people from D.C. and elsewhere on the East Coast participated in the November 6 counteraction.

Instead of marching in D.C., the racists, protected by 300 cops, marched in Montgomery County, a nearby Maryland suburb. A countermarch in Silver Spring, near the Klan action, of 300 people was organized by the Montgomery County NAACP and others.

Anger over the November 27 Klan march is widespread in Washington, a city where a large majority is Black. It comes, moreover, at the same time that there have been stepped-up anti-Semitic incidents in the D.C. area as well as other cities around the country. On November 1, in Montgomery County, anti-Semitic symbols were

spray painted on the Shaare Tefila Temple in Silver Spring and on the wall of a rug store at White Oaks Shopping Center.

Explaining the reason for these racist actions, an open letter calling on people to participate in the anti-Klan action states that "depression-level unemployment, cutbacks, and the rise of racism under Reagan has given the Klan and other fascist-minded groups a green light."

The letter is signed by Mayor Eddie and Shirley Carthan and family; the Tchula 7; Josephine Butler, chairperson of the D.C. Statehood Party; Lynda Clendenning, vice-president of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Council 92; Congressman Ronald Dellums; and others.

The Klan has organized actions in other parts of the country this fall. They marched in Boston on October 16, while 1,000 anti-Klan activists counterdemonstrated.

In September, Klan members rallied in Stone Mountain, Georgia. Leaders of seven Klan factions agreed there to unite under one organization, vowing to make the Klan a national political force. Elected as national grand wizard was Don Black of Atlanta, who is currently appealing a conviction for plotting an invasion of the Caribbean island nation of Dominica.

A significant show of solidarity with the fight against the Klan and against racism in the United States was made by supporters of the Palestinian struggle. The November 29 Palestinian support action originally scheduled for New York City was moved by the organizers — the November 2 Coalition — to Washington.

In a statement explaining that the change was made to allow marchers to participate in the anti-Klan action, the coalition said that they oppose "racism in all its forms, whether by the Ku Klux Klan in the United States and Canada, or by the discriminatory policies carried out by the Israeli government against the Palestinian people in

the name of Zionism."

The statement labeled the KKK as "an organization founded on racism and terror against African-Americans, Catholics, Jews, the Latin American community, the labor movement, and women's groups."

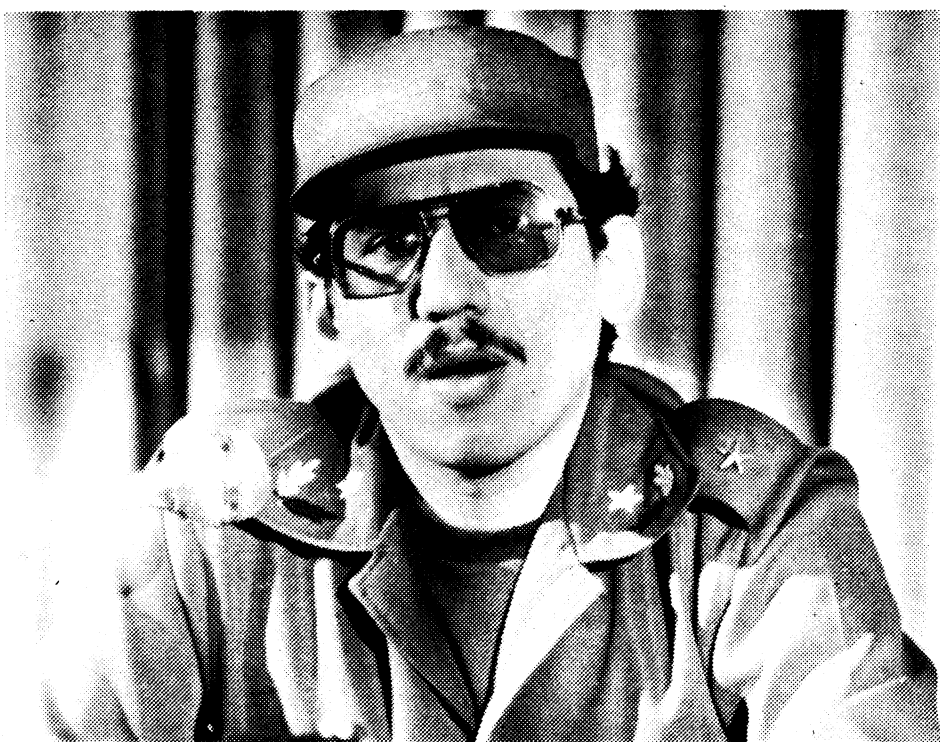
Other endorsers of the anti-Klan action on November 27 include: Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers in New York City; the American Federation of Government Employees, Local 476 in D.C.; Harlem Fight Back; the Takoma Park, Maryland, City Council; D.C. City Councilwoman Charlene Drew Jarvis; the Washington Area Labor Council for Latin American Advancement; and others.

Buses are being organized in New York, Boston, Chicago, Atlanta, Detroit, Baltimore, and elsewhere. According to rally organizers, some 15,000 leaflets and several thousand posters have been gotten out in the D.C. area and more leafleting teams are planned.

A contingent from Montgomery County is being organized with a separate leaflet endorsed by the local chapter of the NAACP, the National Organization for Women, and others.

The Palestinian support rally, which is demanding self-determination for the Palestinian people; immediate unconditional withdrawal of Israel from Lebanon; fund jobs and human needs, not U.S. arms to Israel; and U.S. Marines out of Lebanon; will feature representatives from the Palestine Liberation Organization, the Lebanese National Movement, and others.

Buses for the two actions will leave from New York at 4:30 a.m. on November 27 from several locations in Brooklyn, Manhattan, and New Jersey. Tickets are \$3. For more information on the Palestinian rally and New York buses, contact the November 29 Coalition (212) 695-2686. For information on the anti-Klan action contact all Peoples Congress at (202) 462-1488.



Commander of Revolution Humberto Ortega blames Washington for provoking regional confrontation.

Nicaraguan leader hits rising threat of U.S. intervention

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA — The U.S. government is trying to manipulate American public opinion in order to "make it easier to implement its war plans," charged Humberto Ortega, commander in chief of the Sandinista People's Army, at a news conference held here November 17.

The commander was referring to the fact that recently many of the international cables have picked up comments by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz insinuating that Nicaragua was the cause of war in Central America.

"They say, for example, that we're buying MIG and MIRAGE planes and other kinds. We can assure them right here that Nicaragua hasn't tried in the last months, nor in the last weeks, nor will it in the upcoming months, to make arms purchases, which doesn't mean that we don't reserve the right to do it when we consider it advisable and when the country decides to do so."

"Rather," explained Ortega, "we are an army based on the Nicaraguan people themselves, in national unity, which is organized around the decision to defend the fatherland."

Ortega pointed to Washington as the real aggressor in the region — the force behind the Halcon Vista military maneuvers. These are still scheduled to take place in Honduras within a few kilometers of Nicaraguan territory right after President Reagan's visit to Costa Rica in early December.

Signaling the importance with which Washington views Honduras's role in its destabilization plans against Nicaragua, Reagan has accepted an invitation from the president of Honduras to also visit that country during his December trip to Latin America. He is scheduled to be in Costa Rica and Honduras on December 4.

Seventy-two hours prior to Ortega's statement, counterrevolutionaries operating out of Honduras had killed seven peasants in the northern province of Nueva Segovia.

ants in the northern province of Nueva Segovia.

Four of the victims had just received land titles in Nicaragua's agrarian reform this past August.

The three others — all militiamen — were kidnapped by a band of about 70 counterrevolutionaries. Later their bodies were found mutilated.

Ahmed Campos Corea, the political secretary of the zone committee in Nueva Guinea and long-time Sandinista leader, was killed November 16. He had survived capture three times and torture by the Somoza regime during the Sandinista's struggle for power.

The counterrevolutionaries murdered 70 peasants and kidnapped 17 between November 15 and 18, just in the province of Nueva Segovia.

Despite some 50 letters of protest from the foreign ministry here, the Honduran government has yet to answer for any of the atrocities engineered from its territory.

In fact, publicly they try to pretend that they are not happening. Mysteriously *Newsweek's* "America's Secret War," which outlines Honduras's involvement never made it to its Honduran subscribers, some of whom are wondering why the delay. Meanwhile, here in Nicaragua, 25 American and Canadian Christians, who spent eight days in the country, left angry and ashamed of the U.S. government on November 16.

Ralph McFadden, a protestant minister from Illinois speaking for the group, said, "We leave disillusioned by our government. We carry with us images of children calling out to their fathers, mothers, brothers, and friends who have been killed by enemies of this revolution. We will never forget this."

"Nor will we forget the courage it takes in Nicaragua's children to advance the process of agrarian reform forward," he said, referring to the hundreds of peasants who have been kidnapped or killed by the *contras* [counterrevolutionaries] as they cultivated their land.

Jailed Palestine editor rips Israeli censorship

As part of their ongoing harassment of the Palestinian press, the Israeli authorities arrested, tried, and convicted Sam'an Khoury, the editor of the English-language weekly edition of *Al Fajr*, published in Jerusalem.

After being held for 17 days at Jerusalem's Moscobiyya detention center, Khoury was tried by a military court in Lydda on November 2 on the charge of possessing two copies of a newspaper published by one of the groups belonging to the Palestine Liberation Organization. Khoury was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, suspended for three years, and released. He was also fined 2,500 Israeli shekels.

Two months earlier, Israeli authorities ordered the Jerusalem offices of the Translation and Press Services to be closed down for six months. Khoury is a codirector of the office, and the closure is being appealed by his lawyer, Lea Tsemel.

The following is an interview with Khoury made shortly after his release. It was obtained for *Intercontinental Press* by Kati Shur, a member of the Revolutionary Communist League (Turn), one of the two organizations in Israel affiliated to the Fourth International.

Question. The harassment against you started before your arrest?

Answer. It started when they closed my Jerusalem office for six months on September 13. The first time they came to take some cassette tapes. The second time they took an old map of the West Bank. They said it was military. On October 3, the police called me in to an interrogation center. They interrogated me from eight in the morning until eight in the evening. On

October 17 I was again called in for interrogation and kept for 48 hours.

Then, on October 19, they presented the court with a "secret file" and submitted a statement on my possession of two copies of *Al Hurriya*, a paper of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine. The papers had arrived at my office unsolicited. This was sufficient to have me arrested for 10 more days.

On October 26 I appealed for release. But they decided to hold me until the trial. Then I was released after the trial on November 2.

Q. Why did they extend your interrogation for so long?

A. I believe they were trying to get me to admit to something I didn't have or didn't do. But of course they failed.

Q. How did they treat you during the interrogation?

A. You could say that they used exhaustion methods. They made me stand during every interrogation session. At first these lasted two or three hours. Then they were extended to more. I had to stand with a sack over my head and my hands cuffed behind my back. After I made my appeal on October 26, they made me stand for 24 hours that way, I suppose for punishment.

Q. What were they trying to achieve by your conviction?

A. I think they were trying to kill two birds with the same stone. As you know, I appealed to the high court about the closure of my office. Also, they are trying to hit *Al Fajr*, as they have been doing regularly lately. They have been sharpening the attack on *Al Fajr* by harassing its editors and journalists.

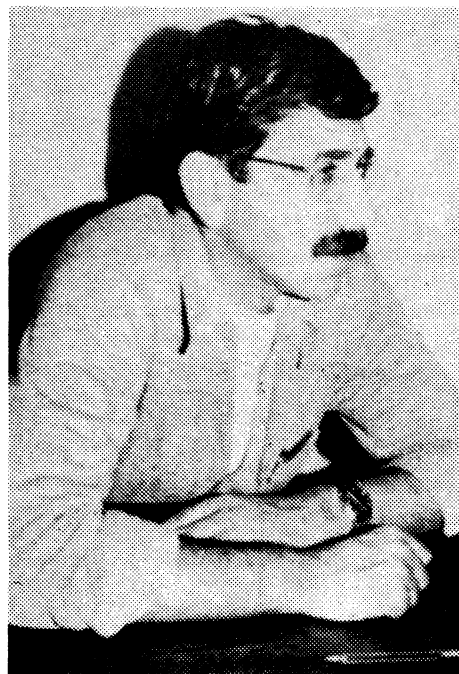
H.S. Siniora, the chief editor, has been banned from entering the West Bank or Gaza Strip for 6 to 11 months. The editor of the Arabic-language edition, Sayed Mamoun, was arrested in August. The night editor, Nabhan Khreisheh, who lives in a remote village, has been restricted to his village for six months. The Jerusalem correspondent, Talal Abu Afife, was held for 36 hours and then released. Ali Halili, the editor of the literary monthly, was called for interrogation three times lately.

Q. Do you have anything to say to people in the United States?

A. I would like to see the kind of support from the American people — and the administration — that has been given to deprived people in other cases. We hear a lot of complaints about what goes on in Poland or Afghanistan, but when it comes to the Palestinians or the Lebanese, we don't hear much.

I would also like to call on American journalists to consider the case of *Al Fajr* as their own case.

From *Intercontinental Press*



Sam'an Khoury is editor of the 'Al Fajr' English-language weekly.

'Al Fajr' edit: 'McCarthyism Comes East'

"McCarthy Comes East," declared the headline of an editorial in the October 29 issue of the Palestinian weekly *Al Fajr*.

The editorial examined the Israeli government's efforts to silence critics within the country, both Jewish and Palestinian. It compared the government's methods to those used by Senator Joseph McCarthy in the United States in the early 1950s.

Among the examples *Al Fajr* gave was the case of Sam'an Khoury, the editor of its English-language edition.

In addition, it noted that "opposition to the war in Lebanon has been the cause for the firing of Israeli workers. Metal worker Assaf Adiv, for example, accused of 'inciting' colleagues, was released from his position with a Histadrut-run Koors Industries factory after a clash between pro- and anti-war factions."

From Pathfinder

Israel: A Colonial-Settler State? By Maxime Rodinson. 128 pp., \$3.95.

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How Can The Jews Survive? A Socialist Answer to Zionism by George Novack. 24 pages, \$2.50.

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Adiv was one of four Israeli revolutionary socialists who were fired several months ago for voicing opposition to the war on their jobs. The other three are Roni Ben-Efrat, Irma Froimovich, and Hanna Zohar, who were fired from an electronics plant. All are members of the Revolutionary Communist League (Turn), one of the two organizations in Israel affiliated to the Fourth International.

Although Adiv was subsequently ordered reinstated by a Histadrut body, the factory managers have appealed the decision to higher bodies.

At one of several hearings on the appeal, the Histadrut Central Investigative Committee offered on October 24 to reinstate Adiv if he agreed to "stop talking politics." Adiv refused.

In a November 16 telephone interview, Adiv explained that this demand "is a clear attempt to silence me and what I stand for: opposition to Israel's genocidal war in Lebanon and defense of the interests of the workers, especially the Arab workers." He termed the committee's demand "McCarthyist."

"I believe it is not only the question of the right to speak to my coworkers on anything I would like to," Adiv said. "The real question here is the moral and human obligation not to let Begin's war crimes, racism, and chauvinism go unchallenged."

An article in the October 24 *Al Hamishmar*, a daily identified with the left wing of the Labor Party, called Adiv's case a "political witch-hunt" and asserted that the "factory administration should be put on trial, not Adiv."

"The result of the 'Assaf case' is no less important than the investigation of the Sabra and Shatila massacre," *Al Hamishmar* wrote, "because it will decide the future of freedom of expression."

Inquiry spotlights Israeli role in massacre

BY HARRY RING

More of the truth is now coming out about Israeli responsibility for the massacre of Palestinian refugees and Lebanese Muslims in Beirut last September.

There is also evidence that U.S. government officials had knowledge of the massacre at the time it was going on.

And it is now known that even after it admittedly knew the extermination was going on, the Israeli military command furnished additional ammunition to the Lebanese Christian Phalange, which was doing the bloody work, and even permitted them to rotate their troops.

They also provided the Phalange with one or more tractors, with Israeli markings removed, to bulldoze buildings in order to cover the corpses with rubble.

These facts and more are merging from hearings being conducted by an Israeli state commission of inquiry. Composed of the chief justice of Israel's supreme court, an associate justice, and a retired army general, the commission began holding public and secret sessions October 20. The Israeli and international media are covering the open sessions.

Among those who already testified are Israel's prime minister, Menachem Begin, and its war minister, Ariel Sharon.

In their attempt to disclaim responsibility for the slaughter, both Begin and Sharon lied freely. They were flatly contradicted by other witnesses, by documents, and by contradictions in their own testimony.

Israeli troops invaded Lebanon June 5 and entered West Beirut September 15. Their claimed justification for moving into West Beirut was to avert bloodshed in the wake of the assassination of Bashir Gemayel, head of the ultraright Phalange force.

The Phalange troops, which are armed and financed by Israel, followed them into West Beirut.

Earlier, the Israelis had tried to convince the Phalange to enter West Beirut first, but the right-wing thugs refused to confront the forces of the Palestine Liberation Organization, then in Beirut. The PLO departed September 1 to end the savage Israeli bombardment of the city.

On the afternoon of Thursday, September 16, the Israelis sent the Phalange into two large Palestinian refugee camps, Shatila and Sabra. The pretext for this was that some 2,000 PLO guerrillas had remained behind, inside the camps, and the Phalange was going in to flush them out. The Phalange was being used, they said, to avoid Israeli casualties.

Zero evidence

Not a solitary shred of evidence has been produced that the guerrillas were there.

It was a massacre of helpless men, women, and children. And this was done with Israeli forces shooting flares over the camps at night to facilitate the grisly operation.

Clearly, the purpose of the slaughter was to create terror among the more than half a million Palestinians in Lebanon so they would flee the country.

Throughout Thursday night, the Phalangists dragged people from their homes and gunned them down. On Friday morning,

the Israeli command told them to stop. But they gave them until Saturday to leave the camps! The carnage continued.

And, during the massacre, according to the testimony of Brig. Gen. Amos Yaron, when the Phalangists asked for more ammunition and permission to rotate 100 of their troops, he granted it.

According to Israeli estimates, between 700 and 800 Palestinian and Lebanese civilians died. According to the Lebanese government, the toll is higher.

Both Begin and Sharon shamelessly testified that they never dreamed of sending the Phalange into the camps would end in a bloodletting. Both lied on the stand about when they learned the slaughter had occurred.

Begin told the skeptical commission members that he hadn't even been informed of the decision to send the Phalange into the camps until after the fact.

He testified that he learned of the Phalange operation at an Israeli cabinet meeting on the night of September 16, after the Phalangists were already in the camps. And, he insisted, he had no idea this would mean a bloodbath.

"It did not even occur to me, honored judge," Begin piously declared, "to think that the Phalangists, if they were to enter the camps to fight the terrorists, would commit such atrocities or massacre."

The commission confronted Begin with minutes of a September 19 cabinet meeting where he explained the decision to invade Beirut. Then, he had told his fellow ministers that he had talked to his chief of staff and, "I told him we had to capture positions precisely in order to defend the Moslems from the vengeance of the Phalangists."

Questioned on this, Begin finally conceded, "Yes, I cannot deny what is written."

The commission queried Begin on his preposterous assertion that he only learned what had happened at the camps from a BBC broadcast some 12 hours after the killers withdrew.

Poor memory

Advised that the commission had a report from his chief of staff that he had personally informed Begin the day previous of what had happened, the prime minister responded, "I'm sorry, but I cannot confirm this, I cannot deny this. I will check what is in writing."

The testimony by minister of war Sharon confirmed his reputation as an inveterate liar.

He plunged right in: "I want to say in my name and in the name of the entire defense establishment that none of us foresaw the atrocities that occurred in the neighborhoods of Sabra and Shatila, nor could we have foreseen them. . . . We were surprised, shocked, and disgusted by the massacre. . . . Foreign elements are the ones that committed this act, which doesn't take place in the world of cultured people."

Sharon confirmed that "on the 16th or 17th of the month," that is, while the Phalange was in the camps, he had talked with U.S. envoy Draper and tried to persuade him that the regular Lebanese army should be sent in too.



Massacre of unarmed men, women, and children in Palestinian camps of Sabra and Shatila was premeditated by Israelis and Christian Phalangists. Testimony of Israeli officials in inquiry is revealing detail of this calculated attempt to terrorize Palestinians into fleeing Lebanon.

"But," Sharon said, "I don't think there was tremendous American enthusiasm that the Lebanese army enter at this stage."

He didn't say why.

Asked why the Phalange had not been told to leave immediately after the fact of the massacre was admittedly known, Sharon replied that they needed time to withdraw because they lacked sophisticated communications equipment.

In response to his assertion that he had never dreamed there might be atrocities, the commission cited the minutes of a September 16 Israeli cabinet meeting where the entry of the Phalange into the camps was formally reported.

At that meeting, David Levy, deputy prime minister, warned of the consequences of a possible massacre.

But, Sharon responded, Levy was not opposed to the Phalange going in. He was merely concerned "that we could be blamed afterwards."

Buck passer

Sharon also suggested, not too subtly, that if anyone was to be blamed, it was his generals, not him.

But the generals apparently were not ready to have the buck passed to them.

Rebutting Sharon's testimony that no one dreamed of a possible slaughter, Maj. Gen. Amir Drori, senior field commander in Lebanon, said, "Everyone, somewhere in his mind, conceived of such a possibility."

It was Drori who ordered a halt to the Phalange operation on Friday morning. But he claimed he had no concrete knowledge of a massacre, only "bad feelings."

The "bad feelings" seemed to be enough basis for him to telephone the Israeli chief of staff and advise him, "I think the Phalange overdid it."

Yet Drori gave the butchers more time.

Asked if he didn't feel any sense of urgency about getting them out of the camps, he responded, "No. They said they needed until Saturday morning and we gave them that."

He testified that the Phalangists requested a tractor to clear roads and bunkers and he gave them one after ordering Israeli markings removed from it.

Lebanese medical workers testified they saw a number of tractors in the camp and an Israeli lieutenant testified a Phalangist soldier told him they were "to destroy and cover up the bodies."

Drori also gave the lie to the assertion that the Phalange was sent into the camp because of the suspected presence of several thousand PLO guerrillas. That, he said, was "a most secondary priority."

Two doctors and a nurse who were at the Gaza hospital in the Sabra camp when the mass killings occurred, described the wounded pouring into the hospital and the horrifying stories they told of what was happening.

Nurse Ellen Siegel, a U.S. citizen, flatly

challenged Sharon's testimony that the Phalangists were given extra time in the camp because they lacked sophisticated communications equipment and therefore needed more time to get their troops out.

Siegel testified that the Phalangists she saw had "many walkie-talkies."

Israeli soldiers, she added, were posted on the roof of a building overlooking the camp and must have seen what was happening in the streets.

"I feel that it is impossible that Israelis could not see from the top of that building what was going on and hear what was going on," she said.

She added, "There was a system of communication and Israel was in control there."

Siegel concluded her testimony:

"It was horrible what was done in the Holocaust. I will never forget that. But I also will never forget what happened in Sabra and Shatila. Justice must be done."

A commission member assured her justice would be done. But it would be naive to take that as good coin.

The Israeli rulers do have an enormous problem, at home and abroad. For years the idea was promoted, with a good deal of success, that Zionism was a "civilizing" force in the Mideast.

And, for a long time, the government of Israel and its imperialist backers succeeded in convincing many that the resistance of the Palestinian people to their oppression was nothing but "terrorism" that had to be stamped out for the sake of peace and progress in the Middle East.

But the invasion of Lebanon and the savage bombing of Beirut, climaxed by the refugee camp massacres dealt a hammer blow to the pernicious myth of a "progressive" Israel.

Demonstrations of opposition to the aggression in Lebanon — while it was taking place — by the people of Israel were totally unprecedented. And the shock and revulsion at the news of the Sabra and Shatila massacre obviously ran deep among the Israeli people.

Now, with the extensive media coverage in Israel of the revelations of the commission of inquiry, the process of rethinking by the mass of the Israeli people can only be accelerated.

And, of course, there are the international ramifications of the entire Lebanese invasion. Millions of people around the world are now seeing the true face of the Zionist government.

Yes, justice will ultimately be done. But not simply by pushing aside Begin and Sharon, as the Israeli ruling class may now deem necessary.

Justice will be done when the Palestinian people reclaim their homeland. Establishment of a democratic, secular Palestine will bring an end to the unspeakable injustices they have suffered. And it will offer the Jewish people of Palestine the opportunity to live in peace with them as true neighbors.



Shock and revulsion among Israelis at massacre led to massive outpouring in antigovernment demonstrations.

Steel bosses blame crisis on workers

Push layoffs and concessions as the way to increase profits



Steelworkers demonstration in Pittsburgh earlier this year

Militant

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

(First of a series)

BALTIMORE — The big steel companies suffered a blow November 19 when local officials of the United Steelworkers of America (USW) overwhelmingly rejected a proposed contract calling for gigantic wage and benefit cuts.

The proposed pact had been agreed to unanimously by the executive board of the USW.

Following an agreement November 1 with USW president Lloyd McBride to not pay a nine cents an hour wage increase due to steelworkers, the employers were hopeful that the proposed 45-month agreement would be accepted.

But the local leaders, closer to the membership of the union, responded the same way they did last summer when they turned down a package of concessions that would have cost steelworkers \$6 million.

Why only a few months later, did the companies come back with the same demands? What is behind the employers' proposals? What are they demanding from steelworkers and why?

Fierce competition

The U.S. steel industry is in its deepest economic crisis since the depression of the 1930s. Despite the fact that they have closed, or are closing, 215 plants, the industry is only running at about 40 percent of its capacity. Profits have taken a nosedive.

While this crisis is especially acute, it is only one part of a more general downturn in the entire economy. This is not just true in the United States. Throughout the world the steel industry and the capitalist economy is in deep crisis.

The source of the problem is fierce competition. In every industry corporations are trying to grab and hold on to the biggest possible share of the market for their products. This competition leads to more and more frequent crises of overproduction. That is, in trying to grab as much of the market as possible, the corporations produce more than can be profitably sold. This, in turn, leads to cutbacks in production and massive layoffs.

We've seen this happen three times in less than 10 years: in 1974-75, in 1979-80, and now today. In each of these recessions, millions of workers have ended up on the unemployment lines.

Today's crisis is the worst of the three, and steelworkers are among the chief victims. In basic steel over 135,000 workers — half the workforce — are laid-off. Throughout the union, according to September's unemployment statistics, 24.6 percent of the membership is out of work. Thousands of others are working short weeks. The threat of more layoffs and mill shutdowns hangs over every steelworker.

In many mills 20 years seniority or more is not enough to hold onto a job. There is not a single young person employed by a

steel company today who can feel they have a secure future.

The burden of this crisis falls most heavily on Black, Latino, and women steelworkers. Due to years of discrimination by the steel corporations, these workers were among the last hired and now find themselves among the first fired.

Crisis of profits

The real cause of the economic crisis in the steel industry and its effects on steelworkers is a crisis of profits. The bottom line is that the steelmakers are not in business to make steel. They are in business to make money. No matter what they say, everything they do is based on that reality. No corporation survives under capitalism if it doesn't make a big enough profit.

The steel barons have been dissatisfied with their rate of profit for some time. They are now determined to improve it at the expense of steelworkers.

Their concession demands are a form of blackmail. They are attempting to take advantage of the genuine concern about unemployment among steelworkers by threatening that joblessness will get worse unless the union caves in to their demands. They try to sugarcoat this blackmail with the illusion that the companies and the workers are concerned with the same problems.

The companies say that the time has passed for antagonistic relations between capitalists and labor. In today's tough economic times, they say, everyone is in the same boat. Thus, labor has a responsibility to help keep the boat from sinking.

Opposing interests

This is false. Workers want jobs and job security. The companies want to boost their profits. The two problems are not the same. The two interests remain antagonistic.

What the companies want is a Chrysler-type contract in the steel industry. Their aim is to lower labor costs and in that way raise profits. To accomplish this they try to lower wages. They want an end to a COLA that helps workers, even if inadequately, to keep up with rising prices. They also want sweeping changes in work rules that will allow them to combine and eliminate jobs.

This last demand is also aimed at weakening the limited union control on the job that does exist. By further weakening the union, they set the stage for more takeaways either through further national negotiations or local agreements.

What do the steelmakers offer in exchange for these sacrifices on the part of steelworkers? In the first place they do not promise that a single laid-off steelworker will be called back to work. Nor do they promise to call a halt to further layoffs and plant closings. All they offer is the vague promise that they may reinvest some of their new profits in steel production by modernizing some of their aging plants.

A year or two ago they claimed that this was one of their number one goals. They complained that they could not compete effectively with their counterparts in Japan and Europe because U.S. steel plants were old and inefficient. They claimed that American steelworkers didn't work hard enough and were not productive enough.

Fact and fiction

But steelworkers know more about the steel industry than the employers like to admit. What steelworkers know helps to sort out fact from fiction in these industry arguments.

The problem of productivity has little or nothing to do with how hard steelworkers work. Of course without steelworkers there would be no steel. But steel is created by workers operating ovens, furnaces, rolling mills, and other machinery. What increases productivity is new technology in this machinery. The major advances in productivity in the steel industry have come from modernization, through the introduction of equipment such as basic oxygen furnaces, continuous casters, and so on. This is what the employers refer to as capital investment.

Whether or not the employers make such capital investment is not decided by steelworkers. The corporations base their decisions in this area — as in all others — on how much it will increase their profits.

If they find it more profitable to invest elsewhere, than reinvesting in steel, then that is what they do.

In a recent profile on U.S. Steel's chief labor negotiator, J. Bruce Johnston, the *New York Times* commented, "U.S. Steel . . . will be a steel company . . . only as long as steel manufacturing offers the possibility of what it regards as reasonable profits."

This explains why U.S. Steel spent \$6 billion last year to buy Marathon Oil. Although U.S. Steel has complained the loudest and the longest about aging plants and low productivity, they found it more profitable to buy an oil company than to invest in the steel modernization that would have helped them with these problems.

This was a completely rational decision by U.S. Steel from the point of view of their profit needs — which is the only point of view they care about.

Fake and a fraud

That is why the idea that steelworkers should sacrifice their wages and working conditions to allow the corporations to reinvest their savings in steel production is a fake and a fraud. There is no guarantee whatsoever that the employers will do this.

Furthermore, even if they do decide there is enough profit to be made from such reinvestment, steelworkers are not likely to benefit. Most major modernization steps have led to job losses for steelworkers. For example, the introduction of a basic oxygen furnace, a larger and more efficient blast furnace, and new coke oven batteries at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant over the past 10 years have led to fewer workers on the job in those departments.

As auto workers at Chrysler have learned, making big concessions in order to help the company get through its problems does

not create jobs nor does it improve job security for those who are working. The only purpose behind such contract concessions is to raise company profits and weaken the unions. This is true whether it's in steel, auto, trucking, rubber, or any other industry where the employers are demanding concessions.

Wage and work-rule concession are not the only proposals the steel barons have put forward. They have also demanded action from the government in the form of tax breaks, relaxation of environmental controls, and restrictions on imports.

Just as with concessions, all of these demands are good for company profits and bad for steelworkers and other working people.

The government acts in the interest of the profit needs of the employers because it is controlled by them. As a result it has cooperated in all these areas for some time. Meanwhile the problems of steelworkers have deepened.

The tax breaks the employers have received have only padded their profit margins. The relaxation of environmental controls has only made air and water pollution worse. Neither step has benefited workers by stopping layoffs or providing higher wages.

Import quotas?

What about imports? Import quotas are not proposed by the corporations in order to save jobs. That idea is a fraud designed to mislead workers about the real causes of the economic crisis. By campaigning for protectionist measures, the employers hope to shift the blame for the problems U.S. steelworkers are facing onto foreign workers and off of the real problem, which is the employers' economic system: capitalism.

Layoffs have not been caused by too many imports. They are the result of the worldwide crisis of overproduction. Because big business has produced more goods than working people can buy, it cuts back production and lays off people. This is a basic feature of the capitalist economic system, and limiting imports will not change it one bit.

Moreover such protectionism by the U.S. government will most likely lead to retaliation by other capitalist governments. This could lead to a trade war. The result will be even more layoffs of U.S. workers whose jobs are tied to exports.

The real purpose behind import quotas is to keep the price of U.S. steel high and help American steelmakers in their never ending competition for profits with steelmakers abroad. However, keeping prices high is not in the interest of steelworkers or other working people. This is especially true at a time when the stockpiles of goods — many of them made with steel — that workers can not afford to buy is one of the reasons unemployment remains high.

All of this points to the basic problem that steelworkers, and all workers, are confronted with. Under capitalism the employers — the class that owns the mines, mills, and plants and controls the government — make all their decisions on the basis of profit needs not human needs. The steel companies are no exception. Despite what

Continued on Page 7

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This article is the first in a series dealing with the big questions facing steelworkers and other industrial unions in this period of bosses' offensive. The *Militant* has extensive coverage of the labor movement, including the Canadian Chrysler strike and the United Mine Workers election. For \$3 you can receive the next 12 issues. Fill in the subscription blank on page 2.

Steel union rejects massive concessions

Continued from front page

The cost-of-living adjustment has been responsible for more than \$5 an hour in wage gains since 1970. Without COLA, steelworker wages would have been completely devastated by inflation. With it steelworkers who are still working can barely manage to keep up with price hikes.

All the steel companies report they are losing money today on their steel operations. Yet, reportedly, company contributions to the pool for cost-of-living adjustments would have been increased if there was not enough to pay the full amounts set out by the formula.

Profit-sharing scheme

It was also reported that the companies proposed what some newspapers called a "complex profit-sharing plan" in return for the union's concessions. This scheme would have questionable value since the companies claim they're not making any profits.

The proposal again included other damaging provisions calculated to lower industry labor costs at steelworkers' expense. The 13-week vacation currently available every five years to workers with more than 20 years service would have been eliminated. This would not only have hurt older workers who have earned the time off. These extended vacations help keep workers with less seniority on the job — workers who without this vacation plan would probably find themselves on the street with over 135,000 others who are now unemployed in the basic steel industry.

Another unpopular idea was cutting Sunday premium pay from time-and-a-half to time-and-a-quarter of hourly wages. At least one paid holiday would have also been eliminated.

A further problem was the length of the proposed agreement — 45 months. It would have been almost four years before steelworkers would have had a chance to recoup the losses.

Furthermore, the contract would have taken away the workers' right to strike on local issues.

One of the most serious givebacks would have weakened the union by removing an estimated 50,000 workers from the protection of the basic steel contract. Workers at companies primarily in fabricating, warehousing, and limestone mining would have been forced to bargain separately from basic steelworkers — a surefire sign that over time they would face an even more miserable set of wages and working conditions. The employers' proposed this last summer.

Many newspapers reported that the companies wanted to take the union's iron-ore miners out from under the protection of the basic agreement. This would have been an

unprecedented move. But these reports appear to have been false.

However, Joe Samargia, president of Local 1938 at U.S. Steel's Mintac mine on Minnesota's iron range told the *Duluth News-Tribune and Herald*, many iron-ore steelworkers felt that if limestone miners could be excluded, iron-ore miners might be next.

Roger Klander, president of Local 6115 at Inland Steel's Minorca iron ore mine, said "By defeating this we maintain our solidarity as a union and I think that's important."

The fact that top union leaders had cut a deal with the steel industry came as no surprise to rank-and-file workers. The big surprise was how bad it turned out to be. What was also somewhat surprising and encouraging was that it was so thoroughly rejected by local union leaders.

'Did the right thing'

Adrienne Kaplan, a mechanical apprentice in the number four Basic Oxygen Furnace (BOF) shop at Inland Steel in East Chicago, went in to work the 3 p.m. to 11 p.m. shift on November 19. After some discussion of the terms of the agreement with her co-workers, she called the Local 1010 union hall to find out the results of the presidents' vote. When she returned to share the news of the contract rejection, the response, she told the *Militant* was "relief and a sense of pride that local leaders had done the right thing."

"People were ill when they heard the first reports," Kaplan said. One worker asked "How could they expect us to accept a contract like that?"

Another responded, "Let's go to work at K-Mart. At least there it's warm in the winter and cool in the summer." Kaplan said this worker was "half kidding, but only half."

A new contract proposal had been expected for some time. Almost from the day the concessions were rejected last July, USW President Lloyd McBride has expressed his eagerness to resume negotiations with the steel industry. At the USW convention in September, the top leadership pushed through a resolution authorizing McBride to seek new talks.

Steelworkers were kept completely in the dark about these talks as they were going on. Everything was handled by top industry and union officials behind the backs of the membership and under a tight news blackout.

However, steelworkers did receive a clue at the end of October when McBride announced that he had unilaterally agreed to let the companies take the nine-cent-an-hour COLA increase that was due November 1 and put it in an escrow bank account. This was reported as a step toward a bigger deal that McBride said would be

Steel bosses blame crisis on workers

Continued from preceding page

they may say, the corporations have no concern for the problems of working people. The workers they employ are simply another tool for getting out as much production as they need.

Obstacle is profits

This relentless drive for profits is more and more an obstacle to society making progress. This is particularly clear in the case of the steel industry.

The steel industry will only produce as much steel as can be sold at a high enough profit to satisfy them. Society, on the other hand, needs more steel than the industry is willing to produce. Millions of tons of steel are needed to repair or replace highways, bridges, pipelines, housing, mass transit, and countless other things that are needed by the majority of working people in the United States.

The government could order much of this steel and initiate a serious program of public works in order to carry out these projects. Instead it is committed to a massive war budget to protect the political and profit interests of the employers around the world.

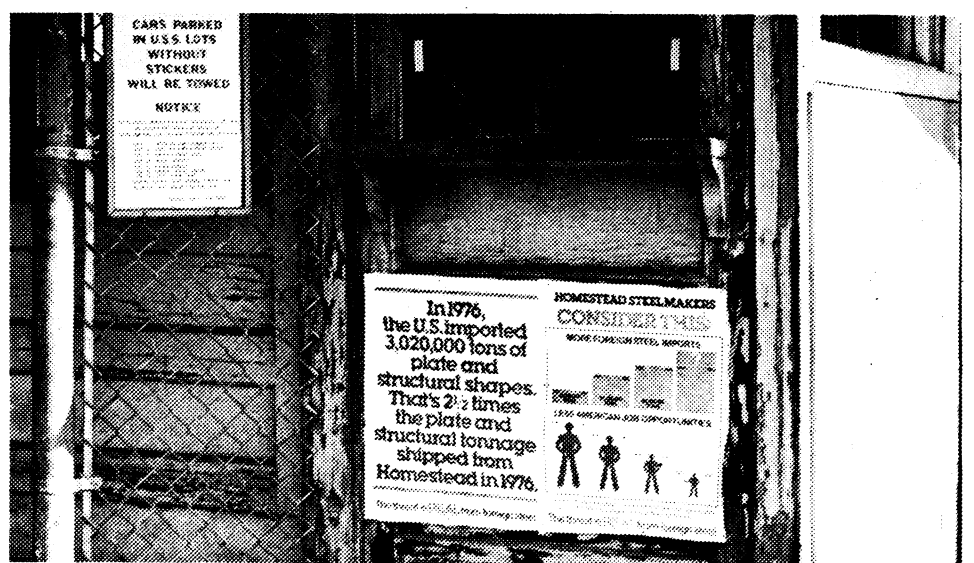
The stepped-up drive for profits by the employers in all industries is the basic feature of the world capitalist economic system today. The employers try to give the false impression that their profit needs are in the common interests of everyone in society. On this basis the steel corporations demand that steelworkers sacrifice and accept concessions for the good of all.

Steelworkers face a choice. One road is to accept this false idea and hope that somehow some improvements will trickle down from the corporations' higher profits. The other is to develop a strategy to fight back against the employers' profit drive and in defense of the standard of living of steelworkers and other working people.

In the next two articles we will take up the political discussion going on in the steelworkers union about what road to take.

(To be continued)

Geoff Mirelowitz is a laid-off steelworker from Bethlehem's Sparrows Point mill near Baltimore. He is a member of USW Local 2609.



Militant/Howard Petrick

Anti-imports sign outside U.S. Steel Homestead plant in Clairton, Pennsylvania. Limiting imports provides profits for bosses, not jobs for workers.

announced by December 1. No steelworker took this as a good sign.

Many of the local union presidents who were called to the Pittsburgh meeting went with the intention of agreeing to some concessions. "There are a lot of things we were prepared to give up," said Harvey Lantz, president of Local 3501. "But you don't give away the store."

A similar view was expressed by Eddie Bartee, president of 2609 at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point. He told the *Baltimore Sun*, "If I'm going to go down on my knees, I want to go down on my knees in dignity. I don't want to go down as a chump."

When 2609 Vice-president Donald Kellner heard the news of the contract rejection, he told the *Baltimore News American*, "I'm elated. We felt concessions would have been a giant step backwards. . . ."

"The consensus was that concessions don't create jobs, which is everyone's main concern. The proof of the pudding," Kellner continued, "is the auto industry, which exacted concessions from many of its workers but is still in trouble. Those concessions didn't mean jobs in that industry."

"If they had told us to give them concessions and they'd let Joe or Jim go back to work, it might have been different."

"But they never said anything about that and our members didn't feel we should give up what they fought so hard for when they were getting no guarantees," Kellner concluded.

Telegram to McBride

Upon hearing of the Pittsburgh meeting earlier in the week, 150 members of Local 2610, also representing workers at Sparrows Point, voted to send a telegram to McBride. It said in part, "Concessions never saved a single job. Companies must end overtime, stop combining jobs. Ask the union to support job-creating public works program."

This seems to reflect the views of many steelworkers. No one likes the idea of concessions. However, some workers might be willing to consider them if they would really help laid-off workers and protect job security.

But the recently rejected contract offered neither. The industry didn't even bother to pretend this agreement would save any jobs. The assistance it did offer to the unemployed was restricted to the "SUB safe" program. However, only workers with more than five years seniority would have received any of this. Furthermore, eligible workers would have had the amount of state unemployment benefits deducted from the "SUB safe" money. The reality would have been much less help for the jobless than the appearance the industry attempted to create.

Mike Bonn, president of Local 2226 at U.S. Steel's Irvin Works, told the press in Pittsburgh, "Nobody on layoff would be called back. It was all takeaways."

Referring to aspects of the proposed contract that would have led to further job combination and elimination Bonn said, "I'm not going to sell my unemployed members' jobs for some extra supplemental benefits."

After the vote McBride told the press, "I'm disappointed obviously. I can't tell you what's going to happen." He said it would be "futile" to meet with industry representatives again before May. Traditionally this is when a new basic steel agreement is signed.

McBride also said that he tried to per-

suade the steel barons not to demand so much. However, he reported, "The industry said these were the things they had to have."

Evidently the steel corporations thought they had softened up the union enough to get what they wanted. Since July steelworkers have taken severe blows. Tens of thousands more workers have been thrown out of work as layoffs and mill shutdowns mount. Very few workers with less than 20 years are receiving SUB. Thousands have run out of all benefits.

But the companies confuse the union with the top union officials. These officials have been softened up and they and the employers misjudged the mood in the union membership. They thought the ranks were ready to accept concessions. They were wrong. The majority of local union presidents, who feel the pressure from the membership more acutely, were not prepared to go back to their locals and try to defend a sell-out contract.

If the companies stick to their outrageous demands and the union hangs tough, we might face the challenge of a strike. It would be the first national steel strike since 1959. If it happens it will be a major confrontation between the employer class and the entire labor movement.

Modern mill bankrupt, new giveback contract robs workers blind

BY MALIK MIAH

On November 13 workers at the Detroit-based McLouth Steel Corp. overwhelmingly approved sweeping contract concessions. Members of Local 7990 of the United Steelworkers of America approved the new contract by a vote of 1,212-to-374.

The new contract includes cuts in the hourly wage scale, defers cost-of-living adjustments until 1985, drops three paid holidays, and eliminates dental and optical insurance.

In return, the workers got profit-sharing and stock-bonus plans.

The significance of this highway-robbery contract is that McLouth Steel is one of the most modern steel mills in the country. Modernization, however, didn't save the company from going bankrupt.

According to Wall Street analysts, McLouth's problems were a result of big investments in steel production instead of more profitable industries.

McLouth's main customer was General Motors. That's why McLouth modernized its plant. But the decline in auto sales has led to GM buying less steel.

The new agreement was the second giveback contract the steelworkers were persuaded to vote for by their union leadership. Back in January union members voted for concessions that saved the company \$14 million. That was not enough.

The new deal was made to sell the bankrupt mill to a Chicago industrialist, Cyrus Tang. Tang told the workers he wouldn't buy the mill without them first voting for more concessions.

Forced to the wall without any effective union leadership to resist such takebacks, the workers reluctantly gave in.

The fact that a modern steel mill, on a par with the best in Europe and Japan, was forced into bankruptcy simply proves that modernization under capitalism does not necessarily lead to saving jobs.

The bottom line for the bosses in steel, as in other industries, is profits.

123% of Goal!

Should be: 45,000

45,000

WEEK EIGHT: 55,170 sold to date

A paper for and by coal miners

Businessmen have their paper, the *Wall St. Journal*. Democratic and Republican parties count on the steadfast support of the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Milwaukee Journal*, the *Washington Post*, and other big-city dailies. *Forbes* magazine proudly presents itself as "The Capitalist Tool." The rich have an abundance of publications that serve their interests and spread their concerns.

But what if you're a coal miner, an auto worker, a steelworker, or simply unemployed? Is there a publication that speaks for people who work for a living? In the past eight weeks, thousands have come to see the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* as just such papers.

Sales of recent issues of the *Militant* in the nation's coalfields provide an example. The November 12 issue carried a back-page feature analyzing the stakes for all working people in the pending election for national officers in the United Mine Workers. Subsequent issues analyzed the defeat of incumbent President Sam Church by the "Why not the best" slate, headed by Richard Trumka.

Dave Ferguson, a socialist coal miner from Morgantown, West Virginia, estimates that of the 92

papers sold in the area last week, 35 percent went to miners. Interest in the *Militant* picked up as a result of a failed attempt by Church supporters to smear his opponent in the days before the election. Trumka was branded a "militant" and a "red" because the article in the November 12 *Militant* was headlined, "Trumka victory would strengthen workers' hand against bosses."

But miners were more interested in considering the issues in the elections than in listening to Church's red-baiting.

"Is this the paper Sam Church was talking about?" one miner asked. "I want to see what it has to say."

He, along with seven others at his mine, bought copies of the *Militant*.

With Trumka's sweeping election victory, interest in the *Militant* grew in West Virginia. Ninety-one copies were sold in Charleston in the four days after the election. In their discussions with miners through sales of the paper, Charleston socialists ran into a lot of miners who were strongly opposed to granting bargaining concessions to the coal companies.

Miners in Price, Utah, where opposition to Church's policies ran high, were frustrated to find that the local *Sun Advocate* carried next to nothing about what Trumka stood for. But the 58 who bought copies of the *Militant* got a fuller picture. One socialist coal miner in Price sold two subscriptions each to the *Militant* and *PM* as he picked up his clothes and his final check upon being laid off.

Workers at the Monterey No. 2 mine in Albers, Illinois, were also interested in the *Militant*'s coverage of their union elections. The local union leadership was strongly behind Trumka, and the local membership voted 367 to 80 for the "Why not the best" slate.

Socialist coal miner Bruce Kimball reports that because of the interest sparked by the union election, and the *Militant*'s timely coverage of the issues involved, miners at Monterey No. 2 have come to trust the honesty of the paper more. An average of five per week are now sold at the mine, and this may be picking up.

The scoreboard on this page shows the results for the final week of our eight-week drive to boost the sales of the *Militant* and *PM*. Next week's paper will contain an overview and analysis of the drive as a whole. One thing about our assessment is clear. While the sales drive has officially ended, the need to circulate the *Militant* and *PM* to working people is not over. Coal miners and others will want to continue to follow the new developments in the UMW. Auto workers, embroiled in an ongoing battle with the automakers, will want to continue to look to the *Militant* and *PM* for information and analysis on how to defend their standard of living.

BY BRUCE LESNICK

SALES SCOREBOARD

Area	(Militant issue #43, PM issue #21)		Total Goal/Sold	%
	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold		
Cleveland	105/207	10/14	115/221	192
New Orleans	100/154	0/2	100/156	156
San Diego	65/99	15/24	80/123	154
San Antonio	60/80	50/88	110/168	153
Tucson	35/45	25/36	60/81	135
Chicago	140/176	20/39	160/215	134
Charleston	70/91	0/0	70/91	130
Seaside	50/64	15/19	65/83	128
San Jose	110/135	30/40	140/175	125
Philadelphia	200/225	20/45	220/270	123
Denver	100/128	10/6	110/134	122
Gary	65/77	5/7	70/84	120
Dallas	45/44	30/43	75/87	116
Toledo	70/78	0/2	70/80	114
Price	55/59	5/7	60/66	110
Phoenix	150/161	55/62	205/223	109
Morgantown	85/92	0/0	85/92	108
Birmingham	110/118	0/0	110/118	107
San Francisco	100/111	40/38	140/149	106
Salt Lake City	90/97	5/4	95/101	106
Louisville	80/85	0/0	80/85	106
Albuquerque	55/57	10/12	65/69	106
Twin Cities	195/211	5/1	200/212	106
Tidewater	110/116	0/0	110/116	105
Boston	135/139	15/18	150/157	105
Baltimore	300/309	0/0	300/309	103
St. Louis	200/202	0/4	200/206	103
Harrisburg	50/55	5/1	55/56	102
Oakland	100/104	10/7	110/111	101
Piedmont	125/126	0/0	125/126	101
Los Angeles	125/96	40/70	165/166	101
Newark	145/144	45/47	190/191	101
Iron Range	50/50	0/0	50/50	100
Cincinnati	90/87	0/0	90/87	97
Lincoln	60/53	0/4	60/57	95
Milwaukee	185/176	15/11	200/187	94
Detroit	90/92	10/1	100/93	93
Portland	60/52	0/1	60/53	88
Atlanta	120/109	5/0	125/109	87
Manhattan	300/240	100/95	400/335	84
Seattle	105/88	5/3	110/91	83
Brooklyn	175/120	50/64	225/184	82
Wash., D.C.	200/167	50/22	250/189	76
Schenectady	100/75	2/2	102/77	75
Houston	90/60	25/26	115/86	75
*Indianapolis	40/26	0/3	40/29	73
Miami	85/61	15/4	100/65	65
Pittsburgh	225/138	0/0	225/138	61
*Kansas City	90/35	5/0	95/35	37
Totals	5,490/5,514	747/872	6,237/6,386	103

*petitioning to put socialist candidates on the ballot

How evictions are fought in Seaside, California

BY KATHY BALL

SEASIDE, Calif. — Black tenants of the San Pablo Apartment complex here are in a battle for their homes.

The apartment management has launched a campaign of racist harassment and has sent eviction notices to 15 families, the vast majority of whom are Black and single mothers.

In response, the residents invited Seaside City Council members, the NAACP fair-housing committee, and the news media to a meeting November 10 to discuss their grievances. Some 50 people showed up.

Seaside City Councilman Mel Mason, a leader of the National Black Independent Political Party and the Socialist Workers Party, chaired the meeting. He reported what he had learned in a meeting with management earlier that day.

In an attempt to justify the evictions, management had shown Mason the files of six tenants who had received eviction notices.

Karen, a single mother on Section Eight (federal assistance), is being evicted on the basis that her nine-year-old son was a "nuisance."

The tenants explained that children who play in the parking lot or ride their bicycles on the property are chased away by management.

"The manager told me my little girl and I were welcome to stay if I would send my son away," Karen told the meeting. "He told me I needed to find a man to help raise that boy."

Linda, another single mother, received a letter from management accusing her child of being seen with "bad kids." And she was told other children could not be in her apartment unless accompanied by a visiting adult.

Leon, another tenant facing eviction, had been charged with mounting a CB antenna on the roof without permission. He explained that permission had been granted

by the previous manager.

Gail's "crime" was putting a cigarette out by the pool and swimming with baby oil on.

Tenants described the conditions in the apartment complex. The playground area is infested with sand fleas and the equipment is unsafe. There are huge roaches everywhere that have been found in beds and baby cribs. Complaints to management of plugged toilets that overflow and backed-up drains are met with long delays in repair.

One tenant whose toilet was plugged for days was told that only a flood or a fire is

considered an emergency and anything else can wait.

"Meanwhile, they demand their rent immediately, don't they?" angrily remarked Ann, another tenant facing eviction for "inability to follow rules."

Further harassment has come from the Seaside police, who have been issuing tickets to tenants parked in their own parking spaces.

In addition to Mason, Seaside's newly elected mayor, Lance McClair, attended the meeting and promised to investigate the situation. Newly elected councilman The-

ron Polite also pledged his support to the investigation.

The tenants felt more confident as a result of the meeting. One man explained, "I have already moved out of my apartment. But I'm glad I came tonight because I thought I was the only one with these problems. You folks ought to stay and fight it out."

At a second meeting on November 16, the tenants showed they were determined to wage a united fight. They decided to press ahead with legal action to fight these discriminatory evictions.

Socialists campaign in coalfields of Alabama

BY SUSAN ELLIS

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — "Meet a steelworker who's on the ballot for governor." That's how supporters of Socialist Workers candidate Martin Boyers introduced hundreds of workers at the Hayes International aircraft plant here to the first SWP candidate ever to run for governor of Alabama.

Workers on the first and second shifts October 22 met and spoke with Boyers at the front gate. Boyers spoke briefly to many as they entered and left the plant. There was a cordial and interested response by workers at this military contract plant, most of whom were finding out for the first time about the socialist campaign. Largely as a result of this campaign, several subscriptions to the *Militant* were sold to Hayes workers during the final days of the campaign.

An October 23 Birmingham campaign rally and the socialist election-night celebration were attended by Hayes workers and several coal miners.

Socialists campaigned for several weeks in the coalfields of Jefferson and Walker counties, selling *Militant* subscriptions. The culmination of the coalfield campaign-

ing was October 30 at a Walker County meeting in the county seat of Jasper, Alabama.

Brenda Reed, a garment worker and respected young activist in the Jasper Black community, coordinated the event. She introduced Boyers and spoke about the political situation in Jasper.

Boyers spoke about the need for working people to stop relying on the big-business politicians of the Democratic and Republican parties to solve the problems of unemployment and discrimination. He explained that a labor party based on the trade unions could begin to fight for the interests of all working people and the oppressed.

Participants at the meeting talked about the racist record of Democrat George Wallace and the bankruptcy of support to the Republicans. Reed said she could forgive Wallace, "but I'm not going to forget" what he did. "We do have another candidate," she said, "that's what we're here for tonight — to tell people we do have a choice."

Reed said it is important to present an alternative working people can vote for, be-

cause "too many people have died for the right to vote."

One outstanding aspect of the Boyers campaign was its participation in the many actions in Alabama to extend the Voting Rights Act and to defend Maggie Bozeman and Julia Wilder — outspoken voter registration activists convicted on trumped-up vote-fraud charges. Boyers received an ovation at the national convention of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference last summer when he called for immediate freedom for the two women and challenged his opponents to take a stand on the case.

The socialist campaign received considerable media attention when Boyers, an employee of O'Neal Steel and member of United Steelworkers Local 3004, was threatened with being fired because a piece of his campaign literature appeared on a company bulletin board.

Boyers's union local and co-workers defended his right to run for office and successfully blocked O'Neal from firing him. The case became well known and campaign supporters frequently met people who recognized the campaign as the one where the company tried to fire the candidate running for office.



Communist Party's dilemma in New York elections

CP backed Unity Party candidate Jane Benedict (right) as cover for support to Cuomo (left)

BY OLGA RODRÍGUEZ

NEW YORK — The governor's race here posed a thorny problem for the Communist Party (CP). The party wanted to go all out in support of the Democratic candidate, Mario Cuomo. But it was already deeply committed to supporting Jane Benedict, candidate of the recently created Unity Party. To support both required quite a lot of wriggling, but the CP leadership tried hard.

Ever since the 1930s, the CP has given its support — sometimes open, sometimes shamefaced — to capitalist politicians.

Last April the CP convened a national "extraordinary conference" in Milwaukee to mobilize its members for even greater activity on behalf of what were described as anti-Reagan Democrats. It was argued that this was the way to defeat Reagan's reactionary domestic and foreign policy. This despite the fact that fundamentally the Democrats don't differ with him on either.

To some, the CP line in the New York election may have seemed to be a reversal of the perspective of the Milwaukee conference, since the party emerged as the main organized force behind the Unity Party campaign.

But any who thought this marked a turn by the CP toward authentic independent political action were hoodwinked.

The Unity Party was, in no basic way, independent of and in opposition to both major parties. In actuality, the Unity Party ran a stalking-horse campaign for Cuomo. The party directed its fire almost totally against the Republican gubernatorial nominee, Lew Lehrman, and insisted that its campaign was, in fact, an aid to the Cuomo forces.

The truth is, after Cuomo's upset victory over New York's Mayor Edward Koch in the Democratic primary contest for the gubernatorial nomination, the CP would have liked to see the Unity Party disappear. They had ventured into promoting the Unity Party on the supposition that Koch would be the Democratic nominee.

Couldn't sell Koch

As mayor, Koch's antilabor, racist policies had alienated virtually the entire union officialdom as well as Black and Latino officials. He is widely despised among working people. Even for the CP, whose political perspective is to get deeper into the Democratic Party "mainstream," there was no way to go for Koch.

But Cuomo was a different story. He had the support of much of the New York union officialdom and his rhetoric was much more in the liberal Democratic vein. Even though as lieutenant governor he participated in the cutback campaign of Governor Carey's administration, Cuomo tried to sound as though he was concerned about the problems of working people. He was the kind of Democrat the CP was looking for.

But the CP was already stuck with the Unity Party, which it had helped put on the ballot.

The Unity Party is the remnant of an electoral coalition of labor, Black, Latino, and left organizations and individuals that was created prior to the 1981 New York mayoral election. It was established to support the mayoral bid of Frank Barbaro, a Democratic member of the New York state legislature who decided to challenge Koch for the mayoral nomination in the Democratic primary election.

Because Koch had frozen them out of City Hall, a number of labor officials back-

ed Barbaro in the primaries. With that support, plus the general opposition to Koch's right-wing policies, Barbaro made a strong showing, polling an unexpected 36 percent of the primary vote.

On that basis, he decided to challenge Koch in the general election. He ran under the Unity Party ballot designation.

But even though Barbaro insisted, quite truthfully, that he remained a loyal Democrat, the union tops who supported him in the primaries walked away from his campaign, and his showing in the general election was much weaker. This year, in his successful bid for reelection to the state assembly, Barbaro again ran as a Democrat.

But the CP and others decided the Unity Party could prove a useful vehicle and kept it alive, although it was in a much reduced state.

Wanted ballot spot

In nominating Jane Benedict for governor, the Unity Party said its main goal was to win 50,000 votes for her, which would give the new party permanent ballot status.

Benedict is known to many as the head of the Metropolitan Council on Housing, New York's principal tenant organization.

For lieutenant governor, the party nominated Angela Gilliam, a Black professor and a leader of Women for Racial and Economic Equality. Roosevelt Rhodes, a former steelworker from Buffalo, was nominated for U.S. Senate, but was ruled off the ballot on a flimsy technicality.

In the campaign, the Unity Party offered little that you might not hear in these times from a liberal Democrat. It called for a freeze on nuclear weapons, favored progress on jobs and housing, and declared its support for Black and women's rights.

But it had little to say about Washington's secret war against Nicaragua and its intervention in El Salvador. Nor did it address itself to the Israeli-U.S. war then being waged against the Lebanese and Palestinian people. To do so, would have gone counter to the Cuomo campaign.

The Unity Party's attempt to win 50,000 votes — without taking too many from Cuomo — was complicated by the fact that another party was running for the same reasons with virtually the same program. This was the New Alliance Party, which also came forward as part of the Unity Coalition for Barbaro in the 1981 Democratic mayoral primary.

The New Alliance Party nominated a state ticket led by Nancy Ross for gover-

nor. In the campaign it assured that its purpose was to "keep Cuomo honest" and all it wanted was 50,000 votes and ballot status.

Official returns have not yet been reported for either party, but it is generally assumed both fell substantially short of the 50,000 goal.

Meanwhile, the CP, stuck with the Unity Party, was having problems with its own membership. The CP tops have apparently done such a good job of convincing their members of the policy of support to liberal Democrats that many seemed to object to even the token Unity Party campaign.

Ranks not flexible

During the campaign, the *Daily World*, voice of the Communist Party, had to run three different columns by party leaders explaining why the Unity campaign would not really hurt Cuomo. They reiterated that they wanted to help elect him.

Leading off in defense of the party line was Simon Gerson, chairperson of the Communist Party's Political Action Committee.

In an October 15 column in the *Daily World*, Gerson assured his readers that the Unity Party had made Republican Lehrman "its principal target."

He argued that the Unity Party campaign on behalf of Barbaro last year had helped lay the basis for Koch's primary defeat by Cuomo. "In a deep sense," wrote Gerson, "Cuomo was the 1982 beneficiary of the 1981 battle fought by the Unity Coalition."

By putting forward progressive ideas, Gerson further argued, the Unity Party was assertedly compelling Cuomo to "grapple with these questions" and "thus widen his own popular base."

Conceding this tortured political reasoning was a bit obscure, Gerson concluded: "Complex? Sure. But when were things ever easy for progressives?"

Not surprisingly, after his primary victory, Cuomo began taking his distance from the unions that were supporting him. He was not, he assured, in anyone's bag.

He began vying with Lehrman on the "crime" issue. He emphasized the support he enjoyed from the New York banking establishment.

He declared he supported and, as governor, would enforce the hated Taylor law which makes strikes by public workers illegal.

Meanwhile, the CP leaders were still ar-

guing with their members about their "complex" strategy of supporting Benedict and Cuomo.

In an October 27 column, *Daily World* staff writer Bruce Kimmel said that the Unity Party was putting pressure on Cuomo, "who has been moving steadily to the right since his primary victory."

Without the Unity Party "pressure," he warned, Cuomo could lose the race.

Kimmel offered an added reason why it was important to win ballot status for the Unity Party.

"Reform minded" candidates who lost in the major party primaries "would be able to run for office with relative ease in the general election on the Unity line."

Safety net

In other words, this "independent" party would simply be an instrument of convenience for Democrats who get aced out in primary elections. That, of course, is the way it was used by Barbaro who had no more interest than the CP in leading a genuine break from the Democrats.

In the October 29 *Daily World*, CP state chairman Jarvis Tyner took on the "good-hearted New York progressives" who felt they "must vote for Mario Cuomo at all cost."

To persuade these "good-hearted" party supporters they could afford to vote Unity, Tyner offered a pragmatic argument. The polls, he asserted, showed Cuomo gaining "an ever widening margin" over Lehrman.

And, he triumphantly added: "To say that the 50,000 Unity votes will help elect Lehrman is not to look at the facts. For the last 20 years . . . in New York State, the difference between the winner and loser in general elections has never been less than 200,000 votes."

(Actually, Cuomo squeaked in with a 163,000 vote margin.)

In a postelection statement, Unity candidate Jane Benedict pointed to this margin and said that it proved that the Unity Party's quest for 50,000 votes had not hurt Cuomo's chances.

But the real issue is not whether the Unity campaign helped or hurt the Cuomo vote. What is involved is the duplicity of the Communist Party in trying to palm off this election-time maneuver on radical-minded workers as an example of "independent political action."

The CP's line, as their own statements confirm, had nothing to do with genuine independent, working-class politics — that is a clean break with the twin parties of capitalism. For the CP, the Unity Party was intended, at best, as a gimmick for putting "pressure" on the Democratic party — to push it in what the CP regards as a more "progressive" direction.

For generations, reformists of every type, including the CP, have been practicing that kind of "pressure" politics. This strategy has not made the Democrats one bit more "progressive." But it has helped keep workers tied to the capitalist parties.

This is particularly criminal today when increasing numbers of working people are beginning to look beyond the two-party system, in which they have been trapped for so long.

When working people break from the two capitalist parties and establish a labor party, then we will have a third party worthy of the name. Such a party will be the very opposite of the Unity Party swindle. It will oppose all capitalist politicians and the bankrupt system they uphold.

That will be real progress.

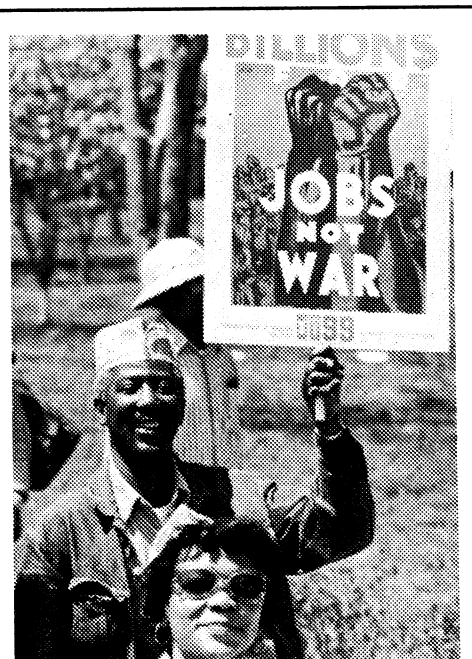
From Pathfinder

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Edited by Mac Warren, this Education for Socialists publication includes articles on the Freedom Now Party, Lowndes County Freedom Organization, Black Panther Party, National Black Assembly, and more. 8½ x 11 format, 72 pages, \$3.50.

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Bernadette Devlin McAliskey on the



Militant/Marc Lichtman
Bernadette Devlin McAliskey addressing
AFSCME District Council 37 in New York.

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey has been a leader of the Northern Ireland freedom struggle since 1968, when she was a student at Belfast's Queen's University. In 1969 she was elected to the British Parliament from Mid-Ulster and was, at 21, the youngest member of that body. She served in parliament until 1974.

Much of her recent activity has focused around the plight of nationalist prisoners in British jails in Northern Ireland. During last year's hunger strike, McAliskey was a member of the national executive committee of the National H-Block-Armagh Committee, a broad coalition formed to rally support for the prisoners.

In January 1981, Bernadette Devlin McAliskey and her husband Michael McAliskey were severely wounded by three pro-British assassins who shot them in their home.

The following speech by McAliskey was delivered in New York on October 22 to members of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees. At the meeting, she was presented with a copy of a resolution supporting the struggle of the people of Northern Ireland that was passed at the last AFSCME national convention.

I'd like to thank your union for the principled and courageous resolution in our defense. I thank you not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of the political prisoners and the people of Ireland.

Ireland, a small island with a total population of less than five million, is partitioned into two states. In the British-ruled

north, where I live, there are a million and a half people.

We in Ireland have been struggling for independence from Britain since before capitalism itself developed. But our present struggle dates back to the turn of the century, when a movement developed among small nations across Europe fighting for independence. Historically, it marked the beginning of the great anti-imperialist movements.

The British government promised the Irish many things to get us to fight in World War I, a war in which the kings and masters of Europe played games with the lives of the working class and the poor.

Many of us have forgotten that World War I, like most wars, was totally unnecessary and was not fought in the interests of the people who died in the trenches.

The people of Ireland were promised independence if they sent their young men to die in Flanders on behalf of an English king. Some of our people went. But a national movement arose that refused to fight for either king or kaiser. They said that if they were to fight and die, it would be for the freedom of their own country.

Sinn Fein, which means "ourselves alone," had been formed at the turn of the century to press for home rule for Ireland. By 1916 it had built up a military capability in order to fight for freedom.

Easter Rebellion

The Irish rebellion took place on Easter of 1916. Like every other combat between ourselves and the English, it was an ill-balanced affair. Facing the British army were several hundred dedicated young men and women. They came from Cumann na mBan, the Irish women's army; from the Irish Republican Brotherhood; and from James Connolly's Irish Citizen Army.

The Irish Citizen Army, incidentally, afforded equal status to its men and women. Constance Markievicz, a great leader of the Irish rebellion, was one of the chiefs of staff of the Irish Citizen Army.

The rebellion never really had a chance of success. The rebels seized the General Post Office in Dublin and declared the sovereign right of the Irish people to independence.

This rising was put down in a matter of days and its leaders — the greatest of whom was the Irish socialist James Connolly — were executed.

The execution of Connolly is a measure of Britain's attitude toward our people, then and even now. James Connolly had been severely wounded in the fighting and was on his deathbed.

The British moved forward the date of his execution fearing he might die before they got their chance to shoot him. When they brought Connolly out to be executed, he was so weak he could not even sit up. So he was strapped into a chair and shot.

James Connolly, the father of the Irish Socialist Republican Party, also had played

an important role in union struggles here in the United States.

Connolly was one of the few people at that time who understood that winning Ireland's freedom required combining the fight for its national independence and the fight for the rights of its developing working class. He raised the slogan that the cause of Ireland is the cause of labor and the cause of labor is the cause of Ireland.

Over the years, the separation of these two historic struggles has led to our inability to win our freedom.

Suppression bred struggle

Although the 1916 rising failed and was brutally suppressed, its suppression had a completely different effect than the British government expected. In this regard it was similar to the results of the brutal manner in which the British allowed Bobby Sands and his comrades to starve to death in prison.

The deaths of the few of 1916 inspired the many. And by 1918 the movement for home rule and independence became a mass national movement in Ireland.

In 1918 there was a general election throughout all 32 counties of Ireland. At that time everyone in Ireland elected representatives to sit in the British parliament because we were directly ruled from London.

Sinn Fein ran in those elections on a very simple platform. It promised that if the people of Ireland — peacefully, democratically, and through the ballot box — supported the organization's policies, the elected Sinn Fein representatives would form a rebel Irish parliament in Dublin rather than go to Britain. And using the mandate given them by the Irish people, they would negotiate the terms of the home rule that the British had promised but not granted.

In the 1918 elections Sinn Fein got 85.13 percent of all the votes cast in Ireland. More than 85 percent of the population peacefully, democratically, and by the ballot box, voted for Ireland's independence. This is important to keep in mind when we hear of the violence that came later.

British response

How did the British government respond to Sinn Fein's victory? Britain declared immediate war on the rebel parliament and the Irish people. Gunboats sailed up the River Liffey to the capital city of Dublin and blew up the building in which the parliament was meeting.

Every member of that parliament that Britain could get her hands on was arrested and sent to jail in England.

A war of independence began in 1918. On December 6, 1921, a treaty to end hostilities was signed in London by the prime minister of England and Michael Collins on behalf of the Irish Republican Army.

Under its provisions a "Free State" within the British Commonwealth was to be established in 26 of Ireland's counties. And although the loyalist population — those who wanted to remain under British rule — was less than 13 percent of the total and was concentrated in only three counties in northeastern Ireland, six counties in the north would remain an integral part of Britain's empire.

We hope that someday this treaty will become a major issue before the United Nations because it was signed under duress. Michael Collins and his army leaders were called to London for negotiations. Once there, they were threatened with the annihilation of the Irish people and coerced into signing the treaty.

The treaty's concessions to the British caused a civil war in Ireland, which lasted until 1923.

I live in that part of Ireland that Britain retained. The people I represent — and although this is not a religious struggle, historically we are the Catholic population — make up nearly 40 percent of the northern population.

Our forefathers — together with the overwhelming majority of the Irish people — voted themselves out of the British empire in 1918. At no time since then, from



Belfast to Derry civil rights march of 1968. Northern Ireland against discrimination and B

my great-grandparents down to my grandparents to my parents to myself and my children, have we ever conceded the legality of the existence of the state we are forced to live under through violence and threats of greater violence.

Same choice as Palestinians

We were given exactly the same choice as the people of Palestine: if you don't like it, move out and become homeless. But our people stayed where they were and became the second-class citizens of Northern Ireland.

We were denied equality before the law, equality in the election system, equality in employment, and equality in housing.

It was not until 1947 — when a Labor Party government in Britain introduced socialized medicine, socialized housing, and socialized education — that the Catholics of Northern Ireland had any chance of improving their situation.

It is interesting to note that the rebels who formed the leadership of the civil rights movement in the late 1960s in Northern Ireland were from the first and second generation of Catholics to whom education on the highest level was opened on a mass basis. This shows that there is nothing more dangerous than an oppressed people who acquire the first weapons of education and organization.

The rise of the civil rights Movement in Northern Ireland in 1968 was directly inspired by events in the United States. Our inspiration to take to the streets in peaceful mass marches to demand equality came directly from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the civil rights marches in America that we saw on television.

In 1968 I was 19 years old. I was not a



Irish Citizen Army outside headquarters James Connolly (right). ICA was founded as a defense force. It expressed Connolly's unify

Big turnout in Devlin U.S. tour

Irish revolutionary Bernadette Devlin McAliskey received a good response during her recent tour of the United States.

In Detroit, 500 people turned out in the largest Irish support meeting in many years. In St. Paul, Minnesota, McAliskey spoke to a packed room of more than 300 at Macalester College.

Supporters of the Irish freedom struggle heard McAliskey denounce British control of Northern Ireland, including the recent attempts to set up a phony legislature there.

Explaining the history of the Irish struggle against British imperialism, McAliskey solidarized with the fighting peoples of Palestine, Nicaragua, and El Salvador and with the struggles of Blacks and Native Americans in the United States.

She heaped scorn on those who attacked so-called Irish "terrorism" and ignore the real murders carried out by the combined British and loyalist armed forces with their 50,000 weapons.

McAliskey pointed to the Ulster Defense

Association (UDA) which has supported killing leaders of the H-Block-Armagh Committee set up to defend nationalist prisoners. The UDA was responsible for the assassination attempt that almost took her life in early 1981. The UDA remains a legal and public organization.

In Detroit, McAliskey met with labor leaders and the National Lawyers Guild. She also spoke at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor.

McAliskey's tour included meetings in New York; Boston; Burlington, Vermont; San Francisco; Montreal; Saskatchewan; and Vancouver, British Columbia.

Because of her election campaign in the Republic of Ireland, McAliskey had to cut her tour short, leaving on November 8. McAliskey, who is running as an independent, is campaigning for the Dublin, North Central seat in the Irish parliament on a platform calling for a united Ireland and for social justice.

struggle for Irish freedom



was inspired by 1965 Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, march and struggle for Black rights in United States. Derry march marked reopening of nationalist struggle in North-Irish rule.

revolutionary or a socialist then. I was not even a militant. I was a young Catholic student who simply wanted equality before the law and equality within the system.

What made me a revolutionary and an international socialist was practical experience. I saw what happens to people who ask for little. They get less! I saw that when people refuse to lie down and be walked over, they get kicked down. And when they have been kicked down but get up again, they are put in prison. When they find a way under the law to organize legally, the authorities change the law.

Fight for rights

When people claim they cannot support our struggle in Northern Ireland because it is violent, they must remember that it is that way because of those who own and control society, not because we have chosen to make it violent.

Thirteen years ago, in 1968, we took to the streets peacefully to demand that every person over the age of 18 have the right to vote in every election in the country.

We demanded that every family have an equal right under law to a roof over their heads.

We demanded an end to discrimination in employment on the basis of politics, race, and religion.

These were hardly the most revolutionary demands to raise in Western Europe in 1968!

In response to these simple democratic demands, the British jailed thousands of our people without trial. At 4 a.m. on August 9, 1971, the British army swept through Northern Ireland, breaking down our doors and taking away the male members of our families to be interned in British

concentration camps, where some were held for years without trial.

Like Selma march

In 1969 we staged a peaceful march from Belfast to Derry, a city that was Northern Ireland's prize exhibit of discrimination against Catholics. We modeled that march on the civil rights march in Alabama from Selma to Montgomery.

Along the way we were attacked by loyalist thugs who were the uniformed and paid law-enforcement officers of the state. Eighty-five marchers required hospitalization. And those kids, including me, got up, gathered our injured, and marched on.

But that was the last time we turned the other cheek. We reckoned that we only had two cheeks, and we had turned them both. Never again would our people walk and be beaten to the ground and simply say "that's OK, I'll keep on walking."

In August 1969 in the Bogside area of Derry we fought back against the police attacks for three days and three nights. We fought with stones and grandiosely petrol bombs, which we had also seen on television, against police guns and teargas.

In that same month a loyalist mob systematically burned down the Bombay Street area of Belfast in a pogrom against Catholic people. There too the forces of "law and order" led the attack. In that situation a very few people with a very few guns came out to defend the neighborhood and opened fire on the advancing loyalist force.

That was where the present phase of armed struggle began. It was not organized by diehard terrorists. In general you find the diehard terrorists in positions of government in America or Western Europe.

These were young people acting to protect their community. The present IRA was born out of that fear of pogroms. And out of fear that it could happen again the people continue to support the IRA.

As a socialist, I recognize that even fighting another 800 years the IRA will never be able to militarily defeat the might of the British army, no matter how dedicated the IRA is, no matter how determined, no matter how many guns trickle in from here and there. They cannot militarily win freedom for the Irish people.

I believe that because the history of my own and every other country proves that freedom cannot be won by the few and handed over to the many.

If you look at your own trade-union experiences, you see that the might, strength, and solidarity of the trade unions was won through the blood, sweat, and tears of the masses of working people. That's the only way anything is won.

People are only free when they take freedoms for themselves. They must be armed with the ability to educate, to agitate, and to organize themselves to understand that their oppression is not something that just hits them individually. They must understand that what oppresses me is also what oppresses him and what oppresses you.

Fight is worldwide

Oppression, discrimination, and injustice occur worldwide. And ultimately to fight them we must fight them on a worldwide basis. That is why the Irish problem is also your problem, why the South African problem is also your problem.

That is also why many of us come to look to you in America. We don't look to Ronald Reagan. We try to take our case to those who form the backbone of American society — the people who make America work, its working people.

And the people with the most strength are those American workers who are organized through the trade unions. There is no power on this earth greater than the democratic majority of the people organized through their own organizations.

We are fighting to change an irrational system that has barbaric priorities. Margaret Thatcher's government, which allowed our hunger strikers to die, is now locked in a battle against people very much like you — the health service and public employee unions in Britain.

For a year these workers have been fighting for a 12 percent wage increase, while the government refuses to give them more than 4 percent. Virtually everyone in the country supports 12 percent for the health-care workers. They are supported by the railway workers, the miners, the patients who have come out of the hospitals to march with the health-care workers.

But the British government said: "You're not getting the money. We don't have any money!"

And in the middle of that dispute, some-

body placed a wee tiny Argentine flag on a wee tiny island somewhere in the South Atlantic. All of a sudden money was no object! Every bathtub that could float was being refitted for war. Bands set to relearn to play "Rule Britannia."

There was plenty of money to back up the imperialist power of the few, but no money to pay decent wages to decent people doing a decent day's work!

Mrs. Thatcher claims she was fighting for freedom. But she spells freedom O-I-L and M-I-N-E-R-A-L-S. That's what she was fighting for. That and to prove she remains in firm control of what is left of the British empire.

There's no money for health-care workers. But the British government gave \$156 million of the taxpayer's money, working people's money, to John Delorean to build a car in West Belfast that flapped its wings, a car that almost no one can afford. This was not a loan but a nonreturnable grant.

And in defense of this kind of system, these barbaric priorities, the British have filled their prisons with our young men and women. Ten of the finest young men that our country or any country ever produced died slowly in defense of human dignity in last year's hunger strike.

Can you imagine 74 days on hunger strike? Can you imagine how many seconds there are in 74 days, and how many times you make the same commitment that you're not going to give up?

Right to jury trial

To defend "peace," "justice," and "law and order," the British authorities have taken away the right to trial by jury in Northern Ireland. They have shifted the onus of proof from the prosecution to the defense.

They have taken away the defendant's right to know the identity of and to cross-examine the accuser. Only last week they took away the right of defendants to be presented with the evidence against them!

You can now be arraigned and sent for trial without knowing anything more than that you are charged with murder, or conspiracy, or weapons possession. You then wait in prison for at least two years before they get around to trying you.

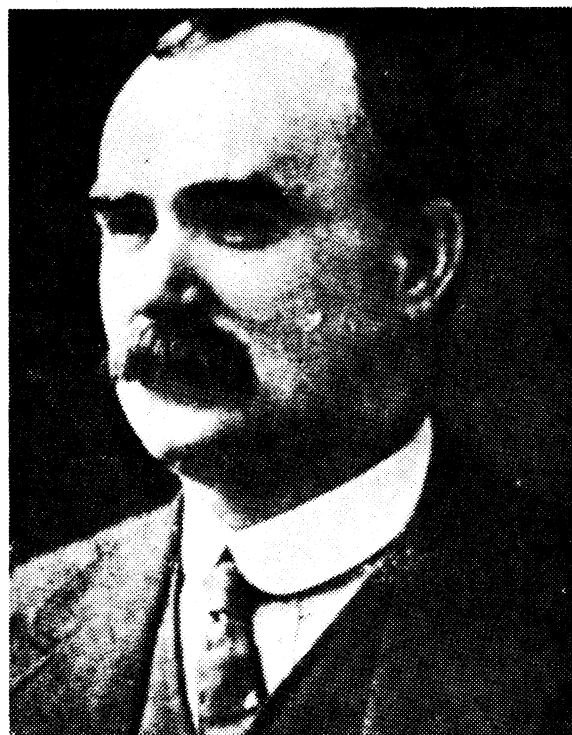
Britain has a problem. Britain's problem is that we will not meekly submit to continued British rule over our country.

We do not accept the argument that you should forget past injustices and start afresh from where we are now. We maintain that where we are now is the direct historical consequence of the injustices of yesterday. If there is to be peace in the world, those historical injustices must be redressed.

We too have a problem — how to end British rule in our country and how to start building in Ireland a society fit for human beings to live in.

We don't just want to stick one land mass onto another and get a new flag and a

Continued on Page 17



Irish Transport and General Workers Union, a mass industrial union organized by Connolly and Constance Markievicz in 1914 as a nationalist and trade union of struggle for Irish freedom with struggle of its working class.



Striking Chrysler worker in Windsor, Ontario.

Chrysler reopens contract talks

BY JOHN OLMSTED

DETROIT — Two weeks after 10,000 Canadian Chrysler workers struck Chrysler Corp., United Auto Workers (UAW) President Douglas Fraser and Canadian director Bob White announced that negotiations will resume for both Canadian and U.S. workers.

The resumption of contract negotiations is an about-face forced upon the Chrysler Corp. which had announced at the onset of the strike that there would be no negotiations with Canadian workers until negotiations resumed with U.S. Chrysler workers in January 1983. In mid-October U.S. Chrysler workers turned down, by a 2-to-1 ratio the same contract offer made to Canadian workers. That contract offered nothing in the way of immediate wage hikes to make up for three years of concessions forced on Chrysler workers on both sides of the border.

The strike is hurting Chrysler. Estimates

are that they are losing \$15 million per week now, and the figure would jump to \$60 million a week if U.S. operations are shut down due to a lack of Canadian-made parts.

Workers at the Jefferson Avenue Assembly plant in Detroit have been told that they have Canadian-supplied parts to last them until the end of November. The Dodge Truck plant in Detroit has been told that it can go until the second week of December until it is forced to shut down due to a lack of Canadian-made parts.

Workers on both sides of the border are asking why Chrysler would prefer to lose millions of dollars in lost production rather than spending that money to give them a raise. "They think we're nothing," said one Windsor striker.

The massive campaign to split U.S. workers from their Canadian co-workers has failed miserably. The campaign has attempted to portray Canadian workers as

greedy and heartless workers who are forcing U.S. Chrysler workers to lose their holiday pay and threatening their jobs by bankrupting the company.

Despite the concerted media campaign, the overwhelming majority of U.S. Chrysler workers have shown solidarity with their Canadian co-workers. The *Militant* spoke to workers about to be laid off at the Eldon Avenue Gear and Axle plant. One worker said, "I'll be laid off tomorrow and we are thinking of going over to Canada to help them picket." Carloads of unemployed auto workers from Flint, Michigan, marched on the picket lines with Windsor strikers. President Larry Leach of UAW Local 1264 at Detroit's Sterling Heights Stamping plant, also walked the Windsor picket line to show solidarity between U.S. and Canadian Chrysler workers.

The Canadian strike has resulted in 4,600 U.S. workers being laid off. Chrysler is denying supplementary unemployment benefits to those laid off due to the strike.

In response to rumors that Chrysler was planning to switch some Canadian production to U.S. plants, UAW President Fraser said that "American workers will not scab on their brothers in Canada."

Despite the resumption of negotiations, UAW Local 444 in Windsor is digging in for a long strike. Plans are now being laid and donations solicited for a massive Christmas party for 10,000 children of striking workers.

Labor history

Teamster Rebellion, \$4.95; *Teamster Power*, \$5.95; *Teamster Politics*, \$5.95; and *Teamster Bureaucracy*, \$5.95 is a series on the historic battle to make Minneapolis a union town. The author is Farrell Dobbs, a central figure in the Teamster organizing drive and leader of the Socialist Workers Party. The books are available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

St. Louis voters defeat attack on health care

BY TONY DUTROW

ST. LOUIS — On November 2, voters here rejected two ballot proposals put forward by Mayor Vincent Schoemehl under the guise of saving the city's health care system.

The two proposals called for shutting down City Hospital, the city's sole surviving public hospital, and reopening Homer G. Phillips Hospital, a public hospital closed in 1979, as a private facility.

In order to cut back the city's already deteriorating health-care system, the proposals cynically took advantage of the Black community's demand that Homer G. (as it is called here) be reopened.

The proposals, Proposition No. 1 and the Charter Amendment, called for passing a \$64-million bond issue to renovate Homer G. and for granting \$21 million to a private company to administer its staff and hire workers.

Had these proposals passed, St. Louis would have lost its last public hospital and hundreds of city employees would have lost their jobs.

The bond issue would have directly benefited the city's ruling rich, delivering a cool \$180 million to the banks in interest over the life of the \$64 million bond.

Proposition No. 1 and the Charter Amendment fell just short of the two-thirds vote required for passage. They received 53 percent and 59 percent respectively. The Black community voted overwhelmingly for the mayor's plan, reflecting the deep sentiment for reopening Homer G.

The shutdown of Homer G. in 1979 has had a devastating affect on the city's Black population. At the time of the closure, rallies, marches, and make-shift barricades were organized in protest. They city had to use 400 riot police and make 150 arrests to close the hospital doors and move out the patients.

That hospital was the only intensive care, full-service hospital, public or private, in the Black community. It was the only accessible hospital of its kind for 45 percent of city's population.

Currently, infant mortality in the Black community of North St. Louis is twice that of whites on the south side. Only one doctor is available for every 4,600 persons residing in the Black community. While there are 6,400 hospital beds available, mostly private, in predominantly white areas, only 480 hospital beds are to be found on the Black north side.

It has been estimated that at least three Blacks have died as a direct result of the closing of Homer G., including an eight-year-old girl.

It was in this context that Mayor Schoemehl — a Democrat — was swept into office in 1981. He won a big Black vote because he promised to reopen Homer G.

His plan to carry this out, however, was the two proposals on the November 2 ballot.

The ruling class mounted a serious effort to confuse working people about what the plan would do. The major big business press beat the drums for the mayor's plan, dubbing it "Homer G. Phillips Hospital proposal."

A "Citizens Committee for Quality Health Care," financed by major corporations based in St. Louis, like Anheuser-Busch, the giant beer monopoly, supported the mayor's plan. But it was the presidents of these same corporations — Busch, McDonnell Douglas, Monsanto, General Dynamics, and others — who, in 1979, publicly carried out the campaign to close Homer G.

The St. Louis Labor Council also supported the mayors plan.

On the other hand, those who opposed the plan on the grounds that it was a hoax were denied major media time. This included the Committee to Save City Hospital and 1,800 Civil Service Jobs, led by American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 410; the Committee to Save City Hospital; and the Campaign for Human Dignity. The latter is the coalition, based in the Black community, that led the 1980 fight to reopen Homer G.

Two Black city aldermen elected from

wards near the Homer G. Hospital called on voters to reject the plan.

Jody Curran, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate in Missouri in the November elections, also opposed the two propositions. Her campaign supporters went door to door distributing thousands of leaflets produced by the Campaign for Human Dignity. The socialist campaigners pointed out the demagogic nature of the mayor's anti-working-class scheme.

While the propositions failed, big-business and their politicians are proceeding to cut back public health care anyway.

After the proposal's defeat, Mayor Schoemehl said that neither Homer G. nor City Hospital are adequate to provide health care "at a cost we can afford."

Not only will Homer G. remain closed, but, because City Hospital will soon bankrupt the city, Schoemehl said, he is now considering a joint city and county hospital system to replace the present city services.

'Militant' fund drive ahead of schedule

Continued from front page
success of our just-concluded circulation campaign where we exceeded our goal.

Moreover, we're receiving reports from the SWP and YSA in cities around the country that new readers are visiting our bookstores and attending forums and classes. Several of those we first met during the sales drive have already joined our movement and more are expected to do so shortly.

This is what our fund campaign is all about. Our political efforts are bearing fruit and we can't permit lack of dollars to unnecessarily stand in the way.

We fully realize that digging down so deep in times like this isn't easy. Some of our supporters, hit by layoffs, were forced to reduce their pledges. But others stepped into the breach by increasing their contributions.

We can also report an encouraging initial response to the fund appeal we mailed to subscribers. The Post Office took its customary time in delivering them, but returns are now coming in. The first two day's mail yielded \$1,250.

So, we can be rightfully proud of what's been accomplished so far, and confident we will meet our goal in full and on time.

And, with just an extra push, we can do even better than that.

Enclosed is my contribution of:

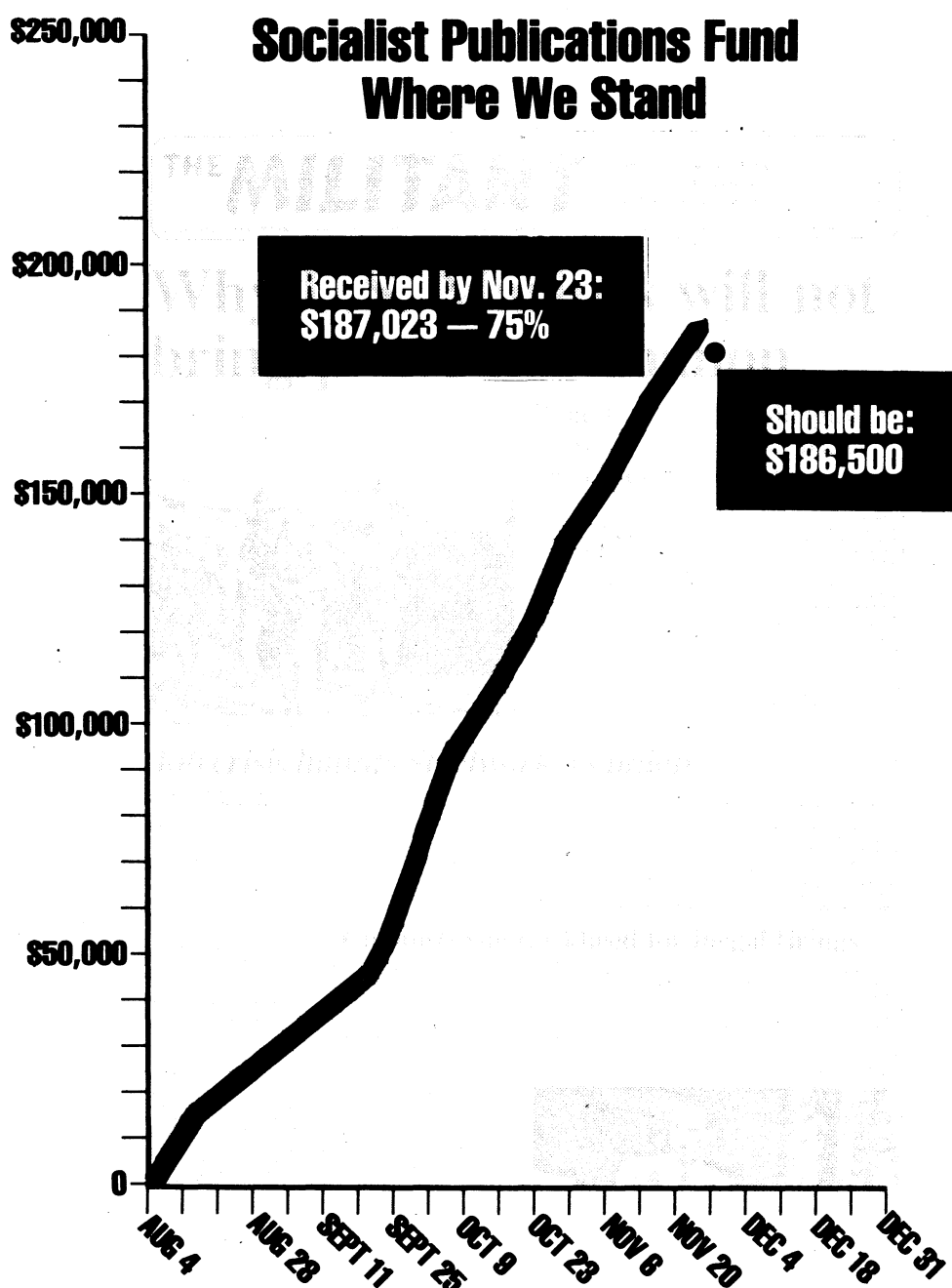
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Rally marks year one of Machinists' strike

BY ANNETTE GAGNE

PROVIDENCE, R.I. — Hundreds of members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) marched to the Rhode Island state house here on October 20 to mark the end of their first year on strike against Brown and Sharpe Manufacturing Co. They were protesting the company's attempt to bust their union and its refusal to engage in bargaining talks.

The union delivered 36,000 letters to Democratic Party Governor Joseph Garrahy, calling on him to intervene in the strike and force the company to negotiate. The governor was not available to meet with them.

As they marched, the strikers chanted, "Collective bargaining is here to stay — the IAM won't go away."

Company demands 'flexibility'

The 1,600 striking IAM members belong to three different union locals affiliated to District 64 of the union. They went out on strike in October 1981 against Brown and Sharpe, a worldwide manufacturer of machine tools and precision measuring instruments. They struck because the company demanded takebacks centering on work-rule changes that would have abolished workers' seniority rights.

Brown and Sharpe demanded that it be able to reassign workers to different jobs at will, as part of an overall package of demands designed to give them more "flexibility" to make profits, and to "keep up with foreign competition."

The previous union contract had required union approval for such transfers of workers. However, in practice the company had been able to move workers around the plant as long as there were no objections from the workers involved. There had only been a few cases of a job switch actually being refused by a worker in the past 10 years.

According to the *Machinist*, the IAM's national newspaper, the union negotiators had been prepared to give in to almost all the company demands. Yet management

went ahead and forced a strike around the seniority issue.

The strike has been a bloody one as pickets have stood up against a barrage of cop and company violence.

"We have been faced with police that are similar to Gestapo police. We have been shoved, clubbed, and gassed," explained Louis Vallande, president of Local 883, one of the locals on strike.

On March 22, Rhode Island state troopers used pepper gas against 75 women pickets. Chris Wolfe of Local 883, described the attack this way, "They said they were going to use the pepper gas. I didn't even know what pepper gas was, but I wasn't going to move. The state police made three passes. I held my breath as long as I could. Finally, I crawled on my hands and knees. I didn't feel good all day."

In response to this attack, IAM President William Winpisinger wired Governor Garrahy to express the IAM's "revulsion concerning picket line violence by both state and local police."

The next day, IAM members who peacefully sat down to block a plant gate were clubbed by state cops.

On the night of April 12, a picket was shot from a passing car and had to be taken to the hospital. The victim, Joseph Coffey, narrowly escaped death. He told the *Machinist*, "You wouldn't think this was the United States. I was there the day the women got gassed by the police. The night I was shot, all I was doing was warming my hands over a fire on the picket line. It is unbelievable what they are doing to us. But we, the strikers, can't retaliate. We just have to stand there. But we will for as long as it takes. As long as we stand together, we will win."

The man the cops picked up for the shooting had applied for a job as a strikebreaker at Brown and Sharpe.

A 62-year-old woman, Sarah Green, who had worked for the company for 30 years, died from a stroke after six hours on the picket line in January. Brown and



Militant/Mark Schneider

Rhode Island state troopers gas picketers at Brown and Sharpe. The increasing use of company and cop violence to break strikes is one sign of seriousness of employers' union busting aims.

Sharpe has refused to pay any insurance to her widowed husband.

On October 18, the strike's one-year anniversary, "replacement workers" hired by the company filed decertification petitions with the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). The strikebreakers have formed an organization called SCABS — Society Concerned About Brown and Sharpe.

The attorney for SCABS said that the petitions had been signed by "more than" the 30 percent of the workforce required by NLRB rules to hold a decertification vote. He admitted that SCABS had not gotten signatures from the majority of workers. SCABS is asking that the election be held in the next eight to ten weeks.

Under federal labor law, after a strike

has gone on for one year, only strikers who have not been replaced and who are still not working at other jobs, can vote in a decertification election. The nonstriking workers hired by the company are all eligible to vote.

IAM attorney Raul Lovett charged that the decertification effort was initiated by Brown and Sharpe. "This is all orchestrated by the company. The entire strike has been orchestrated by the company. They have had the attitude since day one that they are going to break the union."

Lovett said that the union will argue that all strikers should be able to vote, and that it will challenge the eligibility of the "replacement workers."

The IAM also has several unfair practices charges against Brown and Sharpe that will have to be settled before the NLRB can proceed with the decertification vote.

As one writer explained in the May-June issue of the *Rhode Island Voice*, "It would appear that Brown and Sharpe is gambling that it can either break the machinists — the largest industrial union in the state — or sufficiently weaken the union's power by severe cost-cutting takeaways."

Solidarity from Ireland

Whether that gamble will work remains to be seen. Part of the solidarity that the embattled workers have received was a message from a youth section of the Labor Party in Dublin, Ireland. These young workers and students sent a donation to the strike fund and a letter: "We fully support the workers at Brown and Sharpe on strike in defense of their jobs and trade union rights."

"We further condemn the vicious attacks on picketing workers as a further indication of the antiunion policy of the Reagan administration and of its attempt to make the working class pay for the crisis in which American capitalism now finds itself. We pledge our full solidarity with you and look forward to your victory."

Progressives win actors' union elections

BY MALIK MIAH

The progressive forces in the 55,000-member Screen Actors Guild (SAG), AFL-CIO, won an impressive victory in union leadership elections held in early November.

Ed Asner, president of the guild, and his allies beat back a conservative challenge by former guild President Charlton Heston and his supporters.

Asner was the star of the popular TV program, "Lou Grant," until it was canceled by CBS earlier this year.

The Asner slate, competing for one-third of the seats on the union's board of directors, swept the election. Not one of Heston's supporters was elected to the policy-making body.

Asner said the election was a clear-cut contest between "those of us who regard ourselves as progressives and the reactionary faction pushed by Heston."

Heston argued that the guild, under Asner's leadership, had become too political and should deal with issues that, in Heston's opinion, concern actors only. Specifically he opposed Asner's proposal that the union make political endorsements. Heston has denounced Asner's opposition to U.S. involvement in El Salvador. Asner has been especially active in organizing medical aid for the Salvadoran rebels.

Heston has also taken issue with Asner's proposal to merge the guild with other entertainment unions such as the Screen Extras Guild and the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists and his joining of other unions' picket lines. Asner,



Militant/Fred Murphy

Actors' and artists' unions share float at New York 1981 Labor Day parade

who often expresses the need for labor solidarity, was a major speaker at the 70,000-strong trade union-organized march in San Francisco on October 24.

Heston also opposed the guild's affiliation to the AFL-CIO.

He was particularly miffed last year when Asner convinced a guild committee not to present a special award to Ronald Reagan, a president of the guild in the 1950s.

The results showed that most SAG members reject Heston's reactionary stands. Asner, in fact, said that "Heston is really a stooge of Reagan, working to keep actors from opposing the president's terrible economic policies."

Asner says the labor movement must stand united to beat the "enemies of progress."

The defeat of Heston's slate is a victory for actors, and for the right of unions to get involved in broader social and political issues.

Court rules against artists' union

A serious attack on the labor movement was revealed in a small article in the November 13 issue of the *AFL-CIO News*. The American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFTRA) has been forced to file bankruptcy after a San Diego jury last spring awarded \$10.5 million in triple antitrust damages and costs to a non-union company, the Tuesday Productions. This company claimed that it had trouble marketing its advertising jingles because it had been placed on AFTRA's unfair list.

The AFTRA put the Tuesday Productions on its list because the company refused to charge union wages for customers who didn't want to pay AFTRA scale. Thus, advertising agencies under contract with AFTRA, the company claimed, refused to handle its commercials. This, they

charged, was a secondary boycott and a violation of antitrust laws.

Union-busting employers for decades have sought to limit the right of unions to apply secondary boycotts, and other actions, to protect their membership.

The AFTRA is appealing the antiunion court action. Because it cannot put up a bond, which is equal to the amount of the fine, it filed for bankruptcy. This allows the union to protect its assets and to continue to operate under court supervision.

The Tuesday Productions company has also filed a similar suit against the Screen Actors Guild.

If this union-busting decision is allowed to stand, it will be a further blow against trade union rights. The AFTRA deserves the support of the labor movement in its fight for survival.

Subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial*, biweekly, Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. \$2.50 for 6 issues, \$8 for 6 months, or \$16 for one year. Write to 408 West St., New York, New York 10014.



Ottawa demonstration was part of Morgentaler defense in early '70s

Canadian activists launch challenge to antiabortion laws

BY MARGARET JAYKO

A new stage is opening in the abortion rights struggle in Canada. A move to challenge that country's restrictive abortion laws by openly violating them was reported on in three articles in the November 8 issue of *Socialist Voice*, the biweekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) of Canada.

This new campaign was outlined by Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a long-time fighter for abortion rights, at a rally of 300 people in Vancouver on October 23. His proposal is to establish a "free standing abortion clinic" in Toronto which would give women access to abortions on request, thus violating the current law.

In Canada, abortion is a criminal offense unless performed in an accredited hospital, where a committee of doctors must ap-

prove each abortion as being necessary to safeguard the health of the woman.

The result of these restrictions is that the vast majority of hospitals in Canada do not perform abortions. The ones that do are swamped with requests, which cause dangerous delays. Toronto General Hospital, for example, receives an average of 75 calls per day from women seeking abortions. Of these requests, they can only book six.

The \$300 charged by doctors makes the cost prohibitive for most poor and working women. Thus, a large number of Canadian women are forced to come to the United States in order to obtain abortions.

In the province of Alberta, which borders the state of Montana, 50 percent of women seeking abortions come to the United States.

In Manitoba, which borders the states of North Dakota and Minnesota, between 30 and 50 percent of women are forced to leave Canada to obtain abortions.

A "free standing abortion clinic" already exists in Quebec, the province which is the home of the oppressed, French-speaking Québécois nationality.

It was in Quebec that Dr. Morgentaler was originally prosecuted in 1973 for performing abortions considered illegal under the existing laws. He was acquitted by three successive Quebec juries. But these verdicts were then overturned by appeal court judges, and he was jailed for 10 months. During this time he suffered much abuse at the hands of the authorities.

Eventually, overwhelming public support for his cause led the newly-elected Parti Québécois government in Quebec to

declare the abortion laws unenforceable in December 1976. It pledged that no doctors would be charged with performing abortions if they followed safe medical procedures. Since then, medically safe abortions have been available in Quebec at Dr. Morgentaler's Montreal clinic and at a number of government-funded community clinics — none of them governed by the required doctors committees.

Just as in the United States, restrictions on abortion in Canada stand in sharp contrast to the views of the majority of people. According to a June 1982 Gallup poll, 72 percent of Canadians, and 76 percent of Québécois, believe that abortion should be a private matter, a decision made by the woman with the help of a doctor.

Morgentaler told the Vancouver rally that the decision to challenge the law by first establishing a clinic in Toronto, which is scheduled to open this month, means "that we are not relying on the federal government or the provincial governments. We are relying on the will of the people as already expressed by three juries in my case, and the judicial precedent that was established thereby."

A statement on this challenge to the restrictions on abortions was issued by the RWL candidates for mayor of Toronto, Hamilton, Montreal, and Vancouver in the recent elections. The candidates were, respectively, Wendy Johnston, Dan Grant, Katy LeRougetel, and Ned Dmytryshyn.

They explained that this challenge "comes at a time when governments and employers are taking advantage of the economic crisis to deal women some hard blows. In particular, when the limited access women have to abortion is being further choked off by government health cutbacks and by the actions of the small but highly visible antiabortion groups."

The socialists declared that "the number one task before all prochoice supporters across the country must be to get the word out about this clinic and to build support for it. The weight of the women's movement, of the trade union movement, and of the New Democratic Party [Canada's trade-union-based labor party] must be brought to bear."

Lawsuit reveals why Lockheed fired workers

BY JOHN STUDER

When Lockheed-Georgia Corp. fired 15 members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 709 in December 1980 and January 1981, the company claimed it was a simple case — the workers had falsified their preemployment job applications.

Lockheed said that the fact the 15 were union activists, had just finished participating in discussions about and voting on a new contract, and were members or supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, had nothing to do with the firings.

But the firings came on the heels of a two-month spy operation Lockheed conducted into the union and political activities of workers in the plant.

In September 1982 these unionists filed suit against Lockheed, demanding their jobs back, back pay, an injunction against future spying, and money damages. They charged Lockheed with firing them in violation of their union contract and with conspiring to victimize them because of their political views.

The answer Lockheed filed in response to the lawsuit again denied any political or union basis for the firings. Lockheed "denies that it solicited any information about plaintiff's personal beliefs, union activities or private lives." Their spying was just a part of "the ordinary course of business."

But on October 29 each of the unionists received a set of "Requests for Admissions and Interrogatories" from Lockheed that indicate a significant change in the company's course. These documents include a list of statements the unionists must either affirm or deny, followed by a set of questions based on the statements. They contain extensive questioning about the unionists' political views and affiliations, and about the views and activities of the Socialist Workers Party.

Among the statements Lockheed wants each of the unionists to say yes or no to are:

- "Plaintiff is a member of the Socialist Workers Party."
- "The Socialist Workers Party advocates the overthrow of the United States government, as presently constituted."
- "The Socialist Workers Party advocates the overthrow of the capitalist economic system."
- "The Socialist Workers Party actively participates in and supports the Fourth International."

Lockheed asks each unionist about the meaning of the "Declaration of Principles" adopted by the SWP in 1938. This resolution was rescinded by the party two years

later.

If the unionists don't think these statements are accurate, they are supposed to "state such information or data as necessary so that each erroneous clause, name, date or word listed in the preceding subpart may be corrected."

The documents go on to ask "when and where" the unionists "first became a member of the Socialist Workers Party" and that they "identify any documents which evidence or relate to plaintiff's membership in the Socialist Workers Party."

This is quite a set of questions for Lockheed to ask, given the company's claim that political beliefs and activities had no bearing on their decision to single out these unionists for investigation and firing.

These questions are virtually identical to those pursued by the federal government in response to the nine-year-old lawsuit the SWP filed against the FBI and other government spy agencies and officials aimed at halting their unconstitutional surveillance and disruption efforts.

Like Lockheed, the government also claimed that the fact the SWP sent obser-

vers to meetings of the Fourth International — an organization of revolutionary Marxist parties from different parts of the world — made the SWP potentially dangerous. As Lockheed now appears to be doing, they also claimed that the SWP's political program was a justification for extensive spying and victimizations.

Government agencies have collaborated with Lockheed at other stages of its attack on the unionists. Lockheed admits that its spies consulted with FBI agents in New York; Philadelphia; Los Angeles; and Ft. Lauderdale, Florida. They admit they talked about the case to in-plant agents of the Defense Investigative Service, a spy outfit that operates in plants that have Pentagon contracts.

Lockheed's renewed interest in the political views and associations of the unionists underscores the importance of their lawsuit. If one major corporation can get away with spying on its employees and their union activities and meetings and fire the ones whose opinions it doesn't like, its example will be copied by others. This would be a serious blow to the labor movement.

Rail union leader fights to get job back

MINNEAPOLIS — Gayle Swann, vice-local chair of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, Local 292 and member of the Socialist Workers Party, was recently fired by the Burlington Northern Railroad (BN) on trumped-up charges of "failure to comply with instructions."

Swann, who has been a laborer and well-known, active member of her union for almost four years, came under management harassment in the last few months when she attempted to force the company to live up to the existing contract.

"In the Twin Cities," Swann told the *Militant*, "the BN has been assigning work of the laborers to other crafts in the diesel shops, despite the fact that over half of our membership is laid-off. This is being done to justify further cuts in our craft. The next step is to eliminate our craft all together. It is plain union-busting."

The BN, like other carriers, is out to slash rail jobs. Nationally the carriers have cut safety inspections and cabooses and are trying to erase craft lines.

The BN brought charges against Swann after weeks of harassment and intimidation. For example, the company told her she had to have special permission to go to

the bathroom, they interrupted her break times, and told her she could not move around the shop to inspect for safety and contract violations.

On September 23, during the 20-minute lunch break, a foreman was sent to the lunch room to inform Swann that she had been "elected" to go outside and clean windows on a locomotive. Since she was eating her lunch, she asked if she could finish before doing the assignment.

The foreman never clarified the time element of the assignment. Five minutes later, another foreman told her to do the assignment right away. She left immediately and did the work.

The following day Swann received notice of investigation on the charge of "failure to comply."

Fifteen witnesses, including the three local officers, appeared on behalf of Swann at the six-hour investigation on October 12. The general chairman was her representative. The co-workers who testified refuted the BN's false charge. Other co-workers, who were prepared to explain the company's harassment, were not allowed to testify.

Twenty days after the investigation, the

BN dismissed Swann from her job even though it failed to prove its frame-up charge. Swann was given this dismissal notice in the middle of her shift and escorted off the property by a special agent.

Swann points out that the real reason for her firing was carrying out her responsibilities as an elected representative of her union and opposing the BN's union-busting tactics.

"The fact that I am the only woman working on the floor of the diesel shop adds another dimension to this case. I have received a lot of support and respect from my co-workers for standing up to the company. People have been calling and asking what they can do."

"The Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers do not intend to settle for anything less than full reinstatement with all lost wages and benefits. We are taking this case to other rail unions. In fact, a letter giving the facts and asking for support has already been distributed to co-workers at the diesel shops. We're also taking this to other labor groups, such as the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the National Organization for Women."

Moscow and Peking resume talks

BY CINDY JAQUITH

The largest assembly of foreign dignitaries to set foot in the USSR attended the funeral of Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev. But the figure who attracted the greatest attention was Huang Hua, at that time China's foreign minister.

Huang's visit to Moscow, and his subsequent talk with Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko, were the highest-level contacts between the two governments since 1969. They represented the latest stage in the discussions between Soviet and Chinese officials over whether and how to normalize relations.

Sino-Soviet rift

The Soviet Union and China — the world's two largest workers states — severed relations in the early 1960s after the Kremlin cut off economic and military aid to China in a bid for better relations with Washington. The U.S. ruling class welcomed this schism, seeking to play off the Soviet and Chinese governments in line with its strategy of divide and rule. Maintaining and using this division has become a key goal of imperialist foreign policy.

Hostile relations between the Soviet and Chinese governments continued during Washington's war against Vietnam. This prevented a united front of the two most powerful workers states in defense of the revolution there. In fact, in 1969, in the midst of the Vietnam war, Soviet and Chinese troops engaged in a shooting conflict along the border between the two countries. Since then, both countries have maintained huge deployments of troops along their common border.

In 1979 the Chinese government invaded Vietnam in an unsuccessful effort to force the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea. This invasion was carried out in direct collusion with Washington.

At about the same time, Peking made a call for a united front — to include the United States, Japan, and West European imperialist powers — against "Soviet expansionism." Chinese officials presented the Soviet Union as the central threat to world peace.

Last March, Brezhnev announced that his government was ready to improve relations with Peking. Some increased contact began, including a visit to the Soviet Union by three Chinese economists, as well as some sports competition. In April the two countries agreed to increased trade.

Then, on September 26, Brezhnev gave a speech in which he again appealed to Peking for talks. "We would deem it very important to achieve a normalization, a gradual improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China on a basis that I would describe as that of common sense, mutual respect, and mutual advantage," he said.

Peking responded that the Soviet Union would have to first remove some "obstacles" to normalization: Its aid to Vietnam, support to the current government in Kampuchea, its occupation of Afghanistan, its troops on the Chinese border, and its con-

trol of Mongolia, which Peking considers part of China.

At the beginning of October, the first talks between the two governments occurred. Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Leonid Ilyichev went to Peking and met with Qian Qichen, a deputy foreign minister.

On October 17 the Chinese Communist Party resumed official relations with the Communist Party of France, which has strong ties to Moscow.

Message to Brezhnev

When Brezhnev died on November 10, the official response in Peking marked a shift from the attacks on the Soviet president it had made in the past. The official Chinese news agency Xinhua carried an interview with Foreign Minister Huang Hua. He described Brezhnev as "an outstanding statesman" and said his death "is a great loss to his country and his people."

Huang's message of condolence was prominently featured in the Soviet press, including his statement, "Peace and friendship between China and the Soviet Union fully correspond not only to the interests of both peoples and both countries, but also to the interests of peace in Asia and the whole world."

A Soviet official said after Huang's visit that it was possible that the USSR's troops could be pulled back from China's northern border as talks progress.

Huang returned to Peking saying he was "optimistic" on future Soviet-Chinese talks. The next day, it was announced he had retired from his ministerial post. It was unclear what relationship his retirement bore to the trip to Moscow.

The following day, top Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping condemned U.S. "acts of interference" in Asia and reaffirmed that, "We are still making contacts with the Soviet Union." Progress toward normalization he said would have to be based on "one principle, namely opposition to hegemonism and preservation of world peace." Other Chinese officials reiterated their conditions for any agreement, emphasizing the issue of Soviet aid to Vietnam.

Behind the talks

As of this time there is little information about the content of the Soviet-Chinese talks or whether any agreement will be reached between the two governments.

But some of the political factors underlying the dialogue are clear.

One factor is the evolution of Peking's relations with Washington. The U.S. rulers were dismayed by the victory of the Chinese revolution in 1949 and by the loss of this huge country from the capitalist world market and imperialist system. Reversing this setback was its major hoped-for goal in initiating the Korean War, and Washington refused diplomatic recognition and kept up constant military threats against the Chinese government for the subsequent quarter century.

This began to change in the late 1960s. Losing the war in Vietnam, Washington began to look around for ways to enlist Peking's support in containing that revolution and others elsewhere in the world. This more collaborative relationship was symbolized by Richard Nixon's trip to Peking in 1972 at the height of U.S. bombing of Vietnam. (Brezhnev also toasted Nixon in Moscow a few months later, as Washington was mining the harbors of North Vietnam. The U.S. government sought better relations with Moscow at this time for many of the same reasons it was pursuing a deal with Peking.)

In 1978 Washington extended formal recognition to China, along with promises of considerable technological and economic trade agreements.

During this period, Peking sharply escalated its support to proimperialist forces in the colonial world. It rushed to establish warm relations with the rightist military junta in Chile immediately after the 1973 coup there. It backed rightist guerrillas working with South African troops and the CIA to overthrow the government of Angola. It lavished praise on the shah of Iran in the midst of the first round of mass protests that led to his downfall. It hailed NATO as a force for peace against alleged



Former Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua (left), and deceased Soviet President Leonid Brezhnev (right).

Soviet designs on Western Europe. And it labeled revolutionary Cuba a dangerous outpost of Soviet expansionism in the Western Hemisphere.

Peking grew especially hostile to Vietnam as the socialist revolution progressed there after Washington was forced to withdraw in 1975. It began supporting the reactionary Pol Pot government of Kampuchea in its armed border attacks on Vietnam, which served the interests of U.S. imperialism. When Vietnam sent troops into Kampuchea to help Kampuchean freedom fighters overthrow Pol Pot, Peking responded by invading Vietnam. It was repulsed, although Vietnam paid a high price in human lives and destruction of its economy in the border region.

All these counterrevolutionary actions have led to extreme isolation of the Chinese regime among the oppressed peoples of the colonial and semicolonial countries. This marks a sharp change from the previous few decades, when the victorious Chinese revolution enjoyed enormous political authority and influence among fighters for national liberation around the world.

Meanwhile, the trade and infusion of capital and technology from the United States has not panned out as expected by the Chinese government. The world capitalist system is stagnant, and investments in workers states — even those with cooperative governments — is low on the list of priorities for most capitalist investors. U.S. officials have recently held up technological and weapons orders to China.

Perhaps most important, it is clear that despite U.S. rhetoric and token moves, Washington intends to maintain its support to the Taiwan government and to continue arming it. Washington's "two China" policy, while gone in name, remains in fact.

In an apparent effort to reduce its isolation and increase its influence in world politics, Peking has recently hosted a large number of heads of state. These include Col. Muammar Qaddafi of Libya and President Hosni Mubarak of Egypt. The Arab League, which is making the rounds of major capitals including Moscow, is also expected to send top representatives from several Arab countries and the Palestine Liberation Organization to Peking soon.

Other recent visitors to Peking have included British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and top Japanese and West German officials.

Shift on international plane

The Chinese government has also made some shifts on foreign policy. Last spring it supported Argentina against the Washington-backed British aggression over the Malvinas Islands — a position in line with the great majority of national liberation movements and governments in the colonial world.

Peking has recently recognized the government of Angola. According to the November 15 *West Africa*, it "has denied it was still supporting opposition UNITA guerrillas" who are backed by Washington and South Africa. It has retreated on its position that Cuba must remove its troops

from Angola before agreement can be reached on independence for Namibia.

Although statements by top Chinese officials continue to denounce "Soviet hegemonism," their denunciations of Washington's role in the world are becoming sharper and more frequent.

But so far there has been no backing off by Peking on the issue of Vietnam. As if to emphasize this, the Chinese demonstrably hosted the prime minister of Thailand about the same time Huang Hua was in Moscow. Chinese Prime Minister Zhao Ziyang told the Thai official China opposes the "Soviet Union's policy of hegemonism and expansionism as well as . . . Vietnam's policy of regional hegemonism." He said if Vietnam invaded Thailand, China would give "complete support to the Thai people in their just stand of opposing aggression."

A day later, Peking welcomed another visitor, Son Sann, a representative of the Kampuchean rightist coalition backing Pol Pot.

Soviet stance

Some of what motivates the Soviet officials to improve relations at this time was outlined in a speech by Brezhnev October 27. He said:

" . . . the international situation continues to grow more complicated. The ruling circles of the United States of America have launched a political, ideological, and economic offensive on socialism and have raised the intensity of their military preparations to an unprecedented level."

Brezhnev pointed to the U.S.-backed Israeli aggression in Lebanon and "the situation in a number of regions of Africa, Asia, and Central America," all of which he said characterized "adventurism" on the part of the U.S. government.

"In this situation it is very important, of course, how our relations with other countries will shape up," he said. "Of no small importance are relations with China. We sincerely want a normalization of relations with that country and are doing everything in our power toward this end. In Peking they also say now that normalization is desirable. No radical changes in the foreign policy of the People's Republic of China are to be seen so far. But the new things which appear must not be ignored by us."

Brezhnev said "Two lines now clash in world politics: the line of the U.S.A. and those who follow it — a line for deepening tension and aggravating the situation to a maximum. They are dreaming of insulating politically and weakening economically the USSR and its friends. . . ."

"Our line is a line for detente and strengthening international security."

The Soviet government is also eager to lessen the heavy economic burden of maintaining such a large military presence along the Chinese border — a factor of interest to Peking as well.

Class-collaborationist framework

While the concrete situations faced by the Soviet and Chinese regimes differ, the framework outlined in Brezhnev's speech accurately expresses how both approach world politics.

Continued on Page 16

Segregated school challenged in Texas

School officials in Big Spring, Texas, are keeping one elementary school all Black and Chicano by busing some 150 rural students past that school to one where a majority of the pupils are white Anglos.

The U.S. Department of Justice has charged the school district with violating the Equal Educational Opportunity Act of 1974. The law forbids the assignment of students to a school other than the one closest to his or her home if the assignment results in a greater degree of segregation.

The group of rural students being bused past all-minority Bauer Elementary School to Washington Elementary School is about two-thirds white Anglo and one-third Chicano. Washington school has about 400 students of whom about two-thirds are Anglo and one-third are Black or Hispanic.

The Justice Department suit asks the U.S. District Court in Abilene, Texas, to order the dismantling of the dual school system and the adoption of a school desegregation plan.

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

Better than the Marx Bros. — Apart from such winged presidential witticisms as "It takes two to



Harry Ring

tango," we thought this administration was especially devoid of a sense of humor. Until we read the letter to the Catholic bishops explaining that U.S. nuclear policy

was based on the most compelling moral considerations.

Here kid, stop wheezing — The FDA proposes to put sodium bisulfite on its Generally-Recognized-As-Safe list even though hundreds of thousands of people are allergic to it, with reactions ranging from severe wheezing and shortness of breath to coma. It's used as a preservative in various processed foods, dried fruits, wines, and restaurant salads. It's also used as a preservative in such drugs as Bronkosol, Isuprel tablets, and Micronefrin. They're for asthma.

With justice for all — The U.S. prison population has nearly doubled since 1970 and will double again by 1988. Meanwhile, doctors report, prison health care services are being curbed. And, according to a recent circuit court opinion, "The Constitution does not command that inmates be given the kind of medical attention that judges would like for themselves."

One way or another — About 183 pounds of uranium and plutonium are missing from five governmental nuclear complexes. A spokesman doubted it was stolen and felt it was maybe stuck in

piping and equipment and would show up later.

On the spiritual front — Papal Visits Ltd., set up by the Vatican to license the manufacture and sale of souvenir items for the Pope's visit to Britain last spring reports the operation did nicely. Nothing boorish like figures, just a statement that the income offset the \$6 million expense of the trip and the church is "quite happy."

Touchy — Criminal charges have been filed against a Tel Aviv theater for performing a banned

satirical play, "The Patriot." It's the story of an Israeli soldier ordered to fight in an invasion of Albania, where he dies. The soldier says that should he be killed, he should be called not a patriot but an idiot.

He should see this paper — "The leading journalists are strong supporters of environmental protection, affirmative action, women's rights, homosexual rights and sexual freedom in general . . ." — Peter Grace, shipping magnate and chairman of a presidential "private sector" commission.

—CALENDAR—

Field Work Trip Nicaragua

Casa Nicaragua is pleased to announce its field work trip to Nicaragua from January 15-29. For more information call Casa Nicaragua (in evening) (212) 243-2678.

COLORADO

Denver

The Land Rights Struggle in the San Luis Valley. Film: *La Tierra*. Speaker: Rocky Madrid, Land Rights Council. Fri., Dec. 3, 7:30 p.m. 126 W 12th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Socialist Publications Fund Rally. Speakers: Doug Jenness, editor, *Militant*; Dennis Gooden, National Lawyers Guild; others. Translation into Spanish provided. Sat., Dec. 11, 7:30 p.m. Dixon Inn, 12th St. and Baltimore. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

Labor's Allies on the Land: A Marxist Analysis of the Farm Question. Two classes. Speaker: Doug Jenness. Translation into Spanish provided. Sun., Dec. 12, 11 a.m. and 1 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

Jersey City

Our Struggle for Liberation: Past, Present, and Future. 49th Unity Banquet for Black Freedom Society. Speaker: Rev. Ben Chavis, national representative, National Black Independent Political Party; Kabil Tayari, New Jersey chairperson, NBIPP; cultural entertainment. Fri., Dec. 3; dinner, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m.; social, 11 p.m. Student Union Building, Jersey City State College, 2039 Kennedy Blvd. Donation: \$3; program and social only, \$1. Ausp: African/Afro-American Studies Department, Jersey City State College. For more information call (201) 547-3153 or 433-6026.

NEW YORK

New York City

Images of Grenada. The National Performing Company of Grenada will present a program of dancers, singers, poets, calypsonians, and bicy-

cle artist that was inspired by their country's history and folklore. It will be shown at the following times:

Sun., Nov. 28, 5 p.m. Wingate High School, 600 Kingston Ave. (between Rutland and Winthrop).

Mon., Nov. 29, 7 p.m. Casa De Las Americas, 104 W 14th St., (near Avenue of the Americas).

Thurs., Dec. 1, 7 p.m. Columbia University, Horace Mann Theater, Teachers College, 120 St. (near Broadway).

UTAH

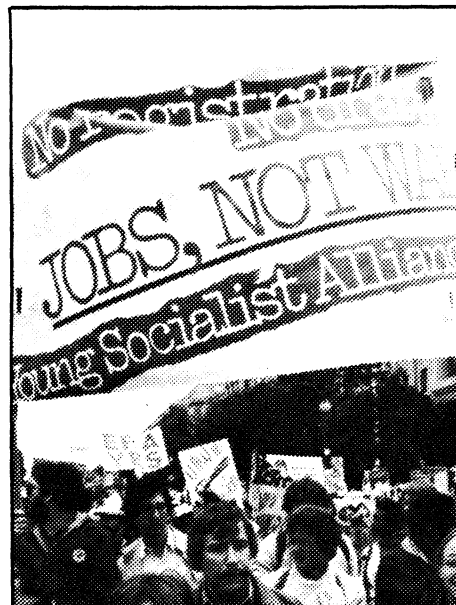
Salt Lake City

Reagan's War Against Women's Rights. Speakers: Janet Goldsmith, director of information and education for Planned Parenthood Association of Utah; Cathy Walker, coordinator of Salt Lake City National Organization for Women; Pat Haley, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Dec. 3, 7:30 p.m. 677 S 7th East. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

New from African National Congress

Recent Developments in South Africa. (1981-1982). As Observed and Reported by the Official Press in South Africa and Elsewhere.

This pamphlet is available for \$2 from the African National Congress of South Africa, Observer Mission to the United Nations; 801 Second Ave., Room 405, New York, N.Y. 10017. (212) 490-3487.



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☐ I am interested in building for this activity.
Enclosed is a donation of \$_____ to help.

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Moscow, Peking resume discussions

Continued from Page 15

Although Soviet and Chinese officials govern in countries where the working class has overturned capitalism, they do not act from the standpoint of the interests of the working class. They represent a ruling bureaucratic caste that sits on top of the workers and denies them political power.

Since the material privileges of both castes derive from their parasitic relationship to nationalized property relations, they are forced to defend the workers states against imperialism and its goal of reestablishing capitalist property in these countries. But the bureaucracies do not do so by class-struggle methods. Rather they both seek what Brezhnev called "detente and international security" — maintenance of the status quo around the world in the hopes that imperialism will leave them alone.

This is what makes it possible for Washington to turn the divisions between these two workers states to its own advantage. Both Moscow and Peking have been willing to collaborate with imperialism against the other, to the detriment of the workers in both countries and around the world.

The Sino-Soviet split was born from Moscow's efforts to win favor from Washington at Peking's expense. The people of Indochina have suffered horribly from Peking's drive to cement relations with the U.S. government since the late 1970s. These are just two examples.

Detente between Washington and Mos-

cow and Washington and Peking has not led to greater peace in the world, nor even to the permanent economic gains hoped for by Soviet and Chinese leaders.

Imperialism continues to pursue aggressive aims abroad and to engage in a massive military build-up; these expansionist and militaristic policies are built into the capitalist drive for profits, which requires exploitation and oppression of workers and peasants around the world.

At the same time, the oppressed and exploited in the colonial and semicolonial countries are continually driven to rise up against the miserable conditions imposed on them by the world capitalist system. Just in the past several years, a socialist revolution has triumphed in Vietnam, workers and farmers governments have come to power in Nicaragua and Grenada, and the proimperialist shah of Iran has been toppled.

This conflict between the world working class and the world capitalist class is the fundamental motor force of world politics. It constantly disrupts class-collaborationist efforts to preserve the international status quo, just as U.S. and Canadian auto workers recently disrupted efforts at "labor-management collaboration" by Chrysler and the United Auto Workers bureaucracy.

Whatever the outcome of the current Soviet-Chinese talks, it is this conflict — the international class struggle — that will be decisive for working people in the years ahead.

Canadian labor confronts wage freeze, takebacks

Wage Controls and Concessions — the challenge before labor, by Robert Simms. Pathfinder Press (1317 St. Catherine E., Montreal, Quebec H2L 2H4), 36 pages, \$1.75.

BY JACQUIE HENDERSON

When Canadian Chrysler workers went on strike November 5, followed by public employees in Quebec, who held a one-day strike November 10, they sparked a wider interest in the Canadian labor movement among many U.S. workers.

This new pamphlet from Canada takes up many of the questions that U.S. and Canadian workers are both be-

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ginning to think out. It is a collection of articles from *Socialist Voice*, the biweekly, English-language paper reflecting the views of the Revolutionary Workers League.

The pamphlet offers useful background to the current Chrysler strike and the labor struggles in Quebec. In July official unemployment in Canada stood at 11.8 percent; in Quebec it was over 15 percent. The layoffs have increased since then and are coupled with an inflation rate twice as high as in the United States.

Last August the Canadian government imposed wage controls on public-sector workers, setting 5 and 6 percent ceilings on wage increases in the next two years. And in October Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau went on television three times in one week to tell all workers to "volun-

tarily" reduce their wage demands and expect to make more concessions to their bosses.

Robert Simms explains in the pamphlet how the wage-control legislation opens "a war on all unions." He takes up why wage controls won't control inflation, and aren't really intended to.

The pamphlet also explains how attacks on the rights of French-speaking Québécois — who suffer national oppression — were used to lay the basis for wider attacks on all of labor. Simms explains why the Canadian rulers wanted to go after Québécois workers:

"In the 1970s, unions in Quebec played a vanguard role in trade union battles across the country. The general strike in May 1972 by Quebec's industrial workers in defense of public-sector unions and their leaders marked the high point of labor struggles in many years. Quebec unions took the lead in fighting back against the 1975 wage controls."

The government got a new constitution adopted that took away rights of the Québécois, in preparation for bigger assaults. As Simms explains, the government "wanted to face the next period of tough antilabor action with a Quebec working class that had been dealt a defeat, rather than one that was confident after scoring several victories. It aimed to increase the divisions between English-Canadian and Quebec workers."

Unlike in the United States, where the unions are tied to the Democrats and Republicans, the Canadian labor movement has its own party, the New Democratic Party (NDP). The NDP offers workers a political weapon in the fight against the parties of the employers, the Tories and the Liberals.

But while the NDP was the only party to vote against the wage controls last August in parliament, it has not waged an effective fight against the attack on Canadian labor. The NDP leadership accepts the framework of reforming capitalism, and thus "more and more often tells the ranks to reconcile themselves to the little the system can provide," Simms writes.

This policy is suicidal, he explains. "Labor must chart a new course. Given the commitment of labor's current leaders to the private enterprise system, this will require a big shakeup in the NDP and the unions," Simms predicts.

"Workers in both English Canada and Quebec need to build an alliance to throw out Liberal and Tory governments. We need a workers and farmers government built on such an alliance."

The kind of immediate measures labor should champion to combat the economic crisis are outlined in the final article in the pamphlet, coauthored by Simms and David Johnson, a steelworker. They point out that by taxing the giant corporations and eliminating the \$7 billion war budget, a massive public works program could be launched, providing jobs at union scale. Rather than cutting back social services, funds could be increased for health care, child care, education, and other needs. By reducing the workweek to 32 hours, with no loss in pay, more jobs could be created.

"A serious campaign by the unions and NDP against the layoffs can inspire all sorts of workers and the unemployed to stand fast against the antilabor policies of the bosses and their governments," the pamphlet concludes.

McAliskey on the struggle for Irish freedom

Continued from Page 11

new anthem. James Connolly taught us that if that's all we did, nothing would change for the ordinary man and woman in the street.

We want to build a different kind of society, one in which every child has an equal chance to be all that he or she can or may want to be.

We want to build a society where people do not go hungry because it is more profitable to close down factories than to produce what people need.

We want to build a society where people have a decent roof over their heads. Ridiculous as it may seem, while we have the worst housing conditions in all of Western Europe, we also have the highest percentage of unemployed construction workers.

We want to build a reasonable society, but to do that we have to change the system. In Northern Ireland they tell us that the building workers cannot build the houses we need because it is not profitable for the contractors, the big construction companies, to build housing.

I say, fair enough! If the contractors don't want to build the houses people need because it's not profitable enough, we can get them jobs as construction workers.

We'll nationalize the building industry and build the houses ourselves. Isn't that reasonable?

When we say we need money for education and for hospitals, but the bankers won't give it to us because they make more money financing the war in the Falklands, or investing in South Africa, or building nuclear weapons to blow everyone to blazes, we say that's a totally irresponsible way to act. It's irresponsible and socially dangerous.

I happen to think that if you use your money, made off my work, to build nuclear weapons, that is socially irresponsible and your money should be taken away from you.

The kind of society I want to build is eminently reasonable and sensible. That's precisely why the British and American governments are terrified of our struggle. They fear our example.

It's bad enough when people in Africa begin to talk like that. But at least Africa is far away from America. And in the Third World, America can still wield power because it has more money than anyone else and can, in Henry Kissinger's words, use hunger as a political commodity.

But we are right in the middle of Western Europe and our example could spread

into areas where the people are strong and unionized.

Moreover, when I or someone else comes to this country to speak to you, and you begin to examine what's happening in Ireland and are moved to do something about it, then you also start seeing your own society slightly differently.

When you see injustice in Ireland and try to redress it, you begin to look just a bit differently on Nicaragua and Cuba and all the places in Latin America that you are told are trying to sneak up here and paint you all red in the middle of the night while you're not looking.

You begin to wonder if that's not all nonsense. You begin to question all the rubbish that is spewed out on television, in the press, and in election literature. You begin to see that it has no validity.

And you might actually begin changing the policies of America.

We in Ireland will fight on with or without international support. We will fight on with whatever means are at our disposal to empty our jails and rid our streets of the British soldiers, to save our children from their bullets.

We will fight on until we win. It may not be in my personal lifetime because I don't know how long I will be permitted to live,

but in the lifetime of my generation there will be a united Ireland.

But that alone is not good enough. I want a united socialist workers republic of Ireland because no one will look to the interests of the working people of Ireland but the workers themselves. Unless working people run society themselves, we will all have fought and died for little more than a change of flag and a change of anthem.

There is a better day coming in Ireland, and in America as well. Whether we move together as a common movement, or whether we move first and you move later, a new movement will arise in the United States too. This country is a melting pot of ethnic groups that arrived here fleeing poverty and oppression. Many have links to their struggling people at home.

Someday in this country a broad American movement will come together that is not just Irish-Americans for freedom in Ireland, or Black Americans for freedom in Africa, or Chicanos or Puerto Ricans in defense of their homelands.

There's going to be an American movement for peace, freedom, and justice at home and throughout the world. And do you know what will happen then? There'll be no Ronald Reagans winning elections.

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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.

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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.

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New cuts call for new response

Now that the elections are over, it's cutbacks time again. That's the word both from New York's Mayor Edward Koch and the White House.

The newest round of proposed cutbacks in the city and the nation is another escalation of the relentless austerity offensive of this country's ruling rich.

On November 16, President Ronald Reagan told the U.S. League of Savings Associations that the huge military budget was not responsible for the soaring federal budget deficit.

What is responsible?

You guessed it. Social services.

According to Reagan, "A propaganda campaign would have you believe these deficits are caused by our so-called massive tax cut and defense buildup." Reagan termed this idea "a real dippy doodle." He explained, "There is simply no escaping the truth: current and projected deficits result from sharp increases in nondefense spending."

Three days later Reagan announced that he plans on seeking \$25 billion to \$30 billion in cuts in "domestic spending." That equals 10 percent of current federal outlays for Social Security, Medicare, unemployment insurance, food stamps, aid to families with dependent children, and supplemental security income.

These cutbacks were announced at the same time that congressional subcommittees approved almost every item on the Pentagon's proposed shopping list, which totals over \$200 billion for 1983 alone, and \$1.6 trillion for the next five years.

If we don't tighten our belts in order to build B-1 bombers and MX missiles, the Russians will get us, we're told.

In New York City, the pitch is a bit different.

There, Democratic Mayor Koch is putting a priority on soothing the increasingly restive bond market. The banks, which are the biggest bondholders, are again threatening, as in 1975, to prevent the city government from borrowing money if it doesn't squeeze more out of city employees.

The focus of the bankers' and government's attacks is the recently-negotiated contracts with 180,000 non-uniformed city workers, which offered the possibility of catching up with inflation for the first time in years.

The city's rulers have openly threatened that if the unions don't agree to rip up their contracts in order to negotiate changes in wages and work rules there will be more layoffs. Since 1975, one-third of the city's workforce has been laid off with a corresponding worsening of public services.

The city workers have been falsely blamed for Koch's \$640 million in proposed cuts in municipal agencies for 1983. Koch is also proposing a "menu" of tax increases, all of which would fall hardest on those least able to afford them.

These cutbacks and union-busting attacks are being carried out by both the Democratic and Republican parties — by Republican Reagan, Democratic Koch, and bipartisan legislatures and city councils. That's because both parties take as their starting point defense of the profits and interests of those who own the vast wealth of this country — and much of the rest of the world.

The cutbacks, tax increases, and layoffs by the

capitalist government are of a piece with the demands by Chrysler, the Big Eight steel companies, and other employers who are forcing workers to "help save the company" by ramming through concession contracts.

The current economic crisis and the stiffening competition from capitalists abroad mean that the employers must use their economic power and their governmental power to increase profit margins and to weaken the unions.

Speed-up, job combining, less on-the-job health and safety, increased job discipline, fewer paid holidays, smaller cost-of-living increases, and even outright wage cuts — these all boost profits at workers' expense.

And all these attacks hit the oppressed nationalities and women the hardest — thus deepening the divisions that hinder a united fightback by all working people.

The prime target of all these moves is weakening and eventually breaking the unions, which are the main obstacles to the bosses' profit-hungry drive.

Contributing to the success of this government-employer offensive is the class collaborationist outlook of the union officialdom.

In a meeting at Koch's house on November 8, the *New York Times* reported that New York labor officials, "far from ruling out a reopening of their contracts, simply said that they wanted to wait a couple of months to see whether the city's fiscal situation got better or worse."

"Nothing dramatic should be done until we see what the December, January, and, maybe February [budget] projections are," said Victor Gotbaum, the head of District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. "Then we'll all get together, probably around February, when the figures are a little bit clearer."

While it might seem that Gotbaum is merely following in the footsteps of Lloyd McBride of the Steelworkers, and Douglas Fraser of the Auto Workers, it's really the other way around.

During the first big wave of cutbacks in New York in 1975, Gotbaum and other municipal union leaders agreed to sweeping concessions in order to "save the city."

The subsequent fate of New York working people and Chrysler workers is the best proof that the so-called strategy of "concession-bargaining" doesn't work. Concessions lead to worse conditions, more layoffs, less social services, weaker unions, and more concessions.

The only way that working people will be able to defend what we have, and begin to get back some of what we're owed, is by making our starting point the needs of working people, the Black and Latino communities, and women. We have to reject the view that workers and bosses have common interests. The interests of workers are at loggerheads with the interests of the capitalists. That's why it will take a fight on the shop floor, the picket lines, in the communities of the oppressed, and in the political arena to stop the bosses and their government.

More and more working people are learning this in the school of hard knocks today. The steelworkers and the Chrysler workers have taken the first step — rejecting the bosses' demands for concessions. This inspires all the victims of the giveback offensive. And it points the way forward — the union movement, in alliance with all the oppressed, charting a course of struggle independently of the bosses and their two parties.

Learning experience for Israeli Jews

Under intense public pressure, and much against its will, the Begin government in Israel was forced to convene a commission of inquiry to probe its responsibility for the mass murder in the Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut. (See story, page 5.)

As a result of the aggression in Lebanon, the Israeli people are going through a profound political learning experience. The cost of their lesson, in human life — the lives of innocent Palestinians and Lebanese — has been high. But lessons are being learned.

Since the founding of the state of Israel, and before, its Jewish citizens have been the victim of a giant hoax. They were told that the unrelenting campaign to subjugate the Palestinian people and drive them from their homeland was necessary and just, that truth and morality was on their side and they were a force for progress surrounded by a sea of reactionary Arabs.

Because they accepted this racist lie, a majority of Israeli Jews accepted as necessary the periodic wars against neighboring Arab nations as well as the unrelenting drive against the Palestinians.

But the June 5 invasion of Lebanon may prove an historic turning point in this regard. For the first time, tremendous numbers of Israeli Jews actively opposed the aggression, while it was going on.

Demonstrations against the war, which included members of the armed forces, climaxed with a massive turnout of 400,000 in the wake of the Beirut carnage in September. Proportionate to population, that would be like an action of some 22 million in this country.

The massive protest was fed by the realization that this was a dirty war that had nothing to do with Israel's "se-

curity."

And, additionally, the Israeli working people are feeling the cost of government policy. They are caught in the vise of an "austerity" takeback drive, coupled with a murderous rate of inflation. A substantial added cost for taxpayers is the government subsidizing of development in the occupied Arab West Bank. And, of course, even with U.S. subsidies, such aggressions as the one in Lebanon are expensive.

To climax all this, there is the grim lesson of the Israeli government's use of the reactionary Lebanese Phalange to butcher the helpless residents of the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

The revelations emerging from the hearings of the Israeli commission of inquiry have been largely buried by the media in this country. But in Israel this is not possible and the people there are getting a flow of information on the extent of the crime committed by the Begin government.

Realization by the Israeli Jews of the true nature of government policy is a key initial step toward understanding what must be done to end these criminal policies. Inevitably, it will lead to the realization that the oppression of the Palestinian people must be ended, and that their just struggle for the creation of a democratic, secular Palestine should have the support of Israeli working people and all partisans of social progress.

The slaughter in Beirut was the inevitable outcome of the drive to stamp out Palestinian resistance to their oppression. Such hideous crimes will be ended only when the Palestinian cause wins. That will finally bring peace and justice for them — and for the Israeli Jews as well.

The Farm Holiday movement: an inspiring example

BY DOUG JENNESS

Anger is mounting on farms throughout the country. Farmers are more and more engaging in direct actions to stop farm foreclosures, which are occurring at a greater rate than any time since the 1930s. Many are looking back and discussing the tactics used by farmers who fought to defend themselves from ruin during the Great Depression.

It's in this context that the Farm Holiday Association (FHA) is often raised. And rightly so, because it was the most radical mass movement of farmers in this country in the past 50 years.

The FHA got its start in Boone County, Iowa, in February 1932 when 1,000 or so farmers established the first

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unit of the organization. Speakers and organizers then fanned out across Iowa and neighboring states. As a result more than 2,000 men and women gathered in Des Moines, Iowa, on May 3 to found the National Farm Holiday Association. The name originated as a response to "bank holidays" — called often during that period by bankers whenever their assets were threatened. Farmers figured if bankers could take a "holiday" to defend themselves, they could too.

In that spirit the FHA, at its founding meeting, pledged to organize farmers throughout the nation to withhold their commodities until cost-of-production prices were reached.

A general farm strike was launched in August 1932. In Sioux City, Iowa, the battle reached its highest point. There, a dairy strike was called. Dairy farmers threw up mass picket lines and blocked trucks and trains carrying milk into the city. The blockade forced a settlement, which paid dairy farmers 80 percent more than previously received.

Similar strikes, affecting a wide range of commodities, occurred in scores of other cities in the region, including Des Moines, St. Paul, and Minneapolis. Pitched battles were waged as the cops and national guardsmen attempted to help scabs, inspired by big food processors, to break the strikes. Tens of thousands of farmers joined the new movement, but most of the strikes were defeated.

Later in the fall, the FHA took up the struggle to stop foreclosures. The rallying call was the Madison County plan — a platform adopted by the Nebraska Holiday Association. It called for, among other things, a moratorium on mortgages, interest, and rent for poor farmers; exemption of tax payments on heavily mortgaged land of poor farmers; no evictions; and increased commodity prices to come not from city workers, but from "middlemen and money interests."

Throughout the Midwest farmers developed an innovative technique called the penny auction — one of the tactics farmers are trying out again today.

Local farmers would join together at auctions to prevent bids of more than a few cents for foreclosed property. Sometimes they would assemble such a large crowd that physically the local sheriff couldn't get through to make sure the sale was made. If the farmers succeeded, the use of the land and equipment would then revert to the foreclosed farmer. After several penny auctions in a county, insurance companies and banks stopped their foreclosures.

In Minnesota this form of struggle was successful enough to pressure Farmer-Labor Party Governor Floyd B. Olson to proclaim, in February 1933, a two-month moratorium on farm foreclosures. The following month a march of 20,000 farmers on the state capitol in St. Paul forced the state legislature to extend the moratorium for two years. In June 1934, Congress established a national foreclosure moratorium.

These concessions, wrested from the governing bodies by militant, direct action, gave many farmers some immediate relief. However, the plight of hundreds of thousands of farmers continued and the FHA kept up its struggle. In many local areas it lent support to labor's fight to establish industrial unions.

But at the end of 1937, the FHA merged into the National Farmers Union (NFU). The NFU became a staunch ally of the Franklin Roosevelt administration. It remains today a liberal, pro-Democratic Party farm organization.

The independent, direct-action-oriented movement of working farmers became diverted into supporting one of the two parties that represents the interests of those who profit from the labor of workers and farmers.

But the fighting spirit and tactical ingenuity of the men and women who constituted the Farm Holiday movement is an example that still lives. This example provides inspiration, and lessons, to the thousands of farmer fighters who are coming forward today. These fighters stand on the shoulders of those who came before them and will carry the struggle even further.

How do unionists approach dues check-off loss?

BY RICK CONGRESS

When New York City Transit workers got their paychecks for the workweek ending October 9, we found that \$3 per week dues had not been taken out of our checks.

Dues checkoff, whereby dues for 35,000 Transit Workers Union members are taken from our paychecks and given to the union in one lump sum, had been sus-

UNION TALK

pending for an 18-month period, as a penalty imposed by the Public Employees Relations Board against the TWU for striking in 1980.

Under New York's antilabor Taylor Law all strikes by public employees are illegal. The union had fought the penalty in court, but lost.

In addition to the dues checkoff suspension, every union member who struck in 1980 paid individual fines of two days pay for each day out on the 11-day strike. The union was also fined \$1.25 million.

The dues checkoff penalty follows other blows over the last two years. New York City Mayor Koch and Governor Hugh Carey openly tried to break the 1980 strike, launching an anti-TWU campaign. This was trumpeted

by the press, which blamed workers, not management, for the crisis of the deteriorating transit system.

Earlier this year, the so-called impartial arbitrators of the City Office of Collective Bargaining forced a takeback contract on transit workers. The state legislature imposed the binding arbitration law, which overrides any contract vote by union members.

Since the new contract, which has given the company a free hand to "increase productivity," there has been a rise in time-study schemes and disciplinary actions, resulting in more suspensions and firings.

In the face of company attacks, the ranks of the union see no leadership initiative. So it's no surprise that many workers reacted to the suspension of dues checkoff by saying, "Good, the union isn't worth a damn anyway," or "Why should I pay dues? What do I get for it?"

These sentiments, caused by union misleadership, are exactly what the city administration is banking on to carry out their union-busting effort.

The union's ability to function financially depends on the membership's dues money. With the checkoff gone for the next year and a half, dues will have to be collected individually from each union member.

TWU local 100 members are right to complain about the lack of leadership, and to wonder what we are getting for our dues money. But to not pay union dues as a pro-

test against a poor leadership would be a deadly mistake.

The government and the Transit Authority want to see the union weakened or destroyed. Withholding our dues money because of anger with a do-nothing union leadership would play right into the hands of the bosses.

What we TWU members have now is a union that has suffered defeats, a union that has been pushed into a corner and has given concessions. But it still has great potential power as a line of defense against company attacks.

We need to figure out how to use that power to transform this union into one that mobilizes the strength of the ranks to fight back against company attacks. The ability to rely on our independent strength and resources means not relying on our employer to collect our dues for us.

Nor can we count on Democratic and liberal Republican politicians and we should stop wasting our union dues on them. The union, for example, supported Lieutenant Governor Mario Cuomo for governor of New York in the recent elections. Cuomo is a supporter of the Taylor Law fines that we have suffered. He is no alternative for us. In addition to a strong, democratic union, we need our own party, a labor party that would fight for our interests on all fronts.

Rick Congress is a member of the New York Transit Workers Union.

LETTERS

From our readers behind bars

The *Militant* receives many letters from our readers who are in prison. Unfortunately space permits us to print only a portion of these letters and some of them are abridged.

We receive letters from prisoners on a wide range of subjects, from letters of appreciation for receiving the *Militant*, which is made possible by our Prisoners Fund, to letters from prisoners engaged in struggles to defend their basic democratic rights.

We encourage our readers to send contributions to the *Militant* Prisoners Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014, which makes it possible for us to provide the *Militant* without charge to all prisoners who request it.

like to plead and stress the importance of making people aware of this mockery of (in)justice.

I ask you to give us any and all support you can in this area; addresses of people, groups, etc. and to utilize a tool that is extremely important — your voice through printed materials.

We continue to combat our oppressors and the system for which they stand, and for all they can take from us, we still have one thing they will never attain — purpose that makes us free no matter what the circumstances and how adverse the conditions.

*Steve J. Layton
United States Penitentiary
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania*

Impressed

I recently came across an old copy of your paper. It was very impressive. After reading it I decided to write and request a subscription. I have no money to pay, but I have very high regards for the type of truth that your paper dedicates to bringing to the oppressed masses in corrupt America.

I am serving 18 years in Pontiac prison. I am presently being isolated in the segregation section because of my efforts to protest the degrading and repressive standards that the Illinois Department of Corrections inflicts upon the prisoners of this prison, as other prisons are also doing all over the country.

It is because of the injustice of American prisons that I am opening my eyes to the frightening reality of America. I hope that by reading your paper I will get some ideas on how I can organize prisoners to develop a plan of action so that upon release all prisoners will go out and make some effective efforts to solve some of the social problems that lead to their blind plunge into the madness of prisons.

It is my observation that most prisoners have had problems with drugs and therefore realize better than most how destructive an influence drugs are and how counterproductive they are in the struggle for freedom. So I hope to organize prisoners so that they can leave prison with the goal of removing drugs from the communities. I am infuriated over how the children of oppressed people are affected by the abundance of drugs in their living environment.

*A prisoner
Pontiac, Illinois*

Political conspiracy

Your support is needed. On August 7, 1981, five prisoners, through the act of conspiracy, were framed for an alleged assault they did not commit. This form of political repression against the four Lakota prisoners and one white prisoner only proves the lengths state and prison officials will go to enjoy their racist activities. This political conspiracy which framed the five prisoners was on the part of the Attorney General's Office, Warden, high-ranking prison officials, and a DCI agent.

The fact is two prisoners, Kevin Pack and Cliff Johnson, simulated the alleged assault in hopes of gaining an early release from South Dakota State Penitentiary. The Attorney General's Office, prison officials, and a DCI agent investigated an alleged assault and found it to be a simulated assault. However, state and prison officials saw this as an opportunity to frame up active members of the organized opposition known as Akicita Lakota Warrior Society.

Since the opportunity was present, prison officials, with promises of parole and later threats, had the two prisoners who simulated the assault say that it was the five prisoners — Keith McCloskey, Garrett Wounded Heart, Gary Offet, Buck Clark, and Leland Rich — who had assaulted inmate Kevin Pack. Johnson was asked by prison officials to sign false statements against the five prisoners.

The five prisoners have several affidavits, tape recordings, and letters that clearly expose this political conspiracy by state and prison officials.

We the prisoners know that the only reason we were framed is because of our activeness to change genocidal prison policies that seek to strip the Red prisoners of their culture and identity, which is supposed to be a basic human right. The prison regime never ceases its attack on the Akicita Lakota Warrior Society, and we consider this political conspiracy and frame-up another racist attack in order to discredit the struggles of the Akicita Lakota Warrior Society. Three prisoners still remain in the prison's maximum security unit.

We call for your needed support to ensure that those prison and state officials guilty of gross misconduct are brought to justice. Your support can be through letters and petitions to both Governor



Janklow and the Board of Charities and Corrections, demanding that both parties conduct an investigation of the Attorney General's office and prison officials. Your support letters and petitions can be sent to Hazel Bonner, Prisoner's Support Group, P.O. Box 2967, Rapid City, S.D. 57709.

*Leland Rich
Sioux Falls, South Dakota*

Source of truth

I am incarcerated at the penitentiary at Attica, New York. I am without funds at present and would appreciate the possibility of receiving your socialist paper the *Militant*.

Your paper is my only source of the truth. As you well know, the TV and radio only represent a one-sided view (U.S.). I have been confined for two years, and I have lived in the Caribbean as well as England, Mexico, and have traveled to a few other countries. As you can see, I have traveled a lot before my oppressors arrested me in New York City.

I belonged to the Trinidad Workers Party for six years and would like to join you in your struggle against our common oppressors.

As you know revolution begins with the process of awakening, awareness to the mass destruction being perpetrated by these capitalist robots.

*A prisoner
Attica, New York*

Gratitude

We here at Lompoc prison in California would like to send our gratitude. Your contribution of your publication has provided and been very instrumental toward much solidarity here, behind these walls.

We send our love to the left around the globe who face and have achieved unrelenting struggle for their human rights and liberation.

Thank you *Militant* and many returns.

*A prisoner
Lompoc, California*

Chicano activist 'Kiko' Martinez acquitted in bombing frame-up



Francisco "Kiko" Martinez

BY MAUREEN MCDUGALL

DENVER — An important victory for Chicano rights took place here on November 20 when the jury in the trial of Francisco "Kiko" Martinez took only a few hours to find him not guilty. He was charged with mailing letter bombs to opponents of Chicano rights in Denver in 1973.

The trial, which began in early October, lasted until November 19 when both the prosecution and the defense presented their final arguments. This trial was the latest episode in a decade-long attempt to convict the Chicano activist and lawyer of the frame-up charges.

The charges against Martinez were brought in 1973 at the height of a government-orchestrated media campaign to smear the fast-growing Chicano movement as violent.

At that time, Martinez, one of the few Chicanos who won a law degree despite a discriminatory educational system, defended victims of police brutality and the rights of farm workers.

In March 1973 cops besieged the Es-

cuela Tlatelolco, a Denver alternative school organized by the Crusade for Justice. As a result one young Chicano was killed and severe damage was done to the school. Policewoman Carol Hogue was the officer who used the pretext of a jay-walking violation to organize the raid against the school.

In the fall of 1973, the district attorney called a news conference and accused Martinez of mailing three bombs, none of which had exploded. Those who were allegedly the target of the bombs were policewoman Hogue, a motorcycle shop, and a member of the Denver school board.

The only evidence linking Martinez to the bombs was a fingerprint resembling Martinez's found on a piece of poster board used in one of the bomb's packaging. A government witness testified that the print could have been there for years before the bomb was made.

As soon as the charges were made against Martinez, the local media launched a slander campaign against him. They portrayed him as a wild-eyed "zealot," tried

and convicted him in the press, and put a bounty on his head. Denver cops issued a "shoot on sight" order.

In the spring of 1974, six young Chicanos, including Martinez's brother, were killed in two separate explosions that blew up their automobiles. To date these murders remain unsolved. Martinez, convinced he had no chance for a fair trial and fearing for his life, fled to Mexico.

In 1980 he was taken into custody by border cops as he attempted to reenter the United States. He has been fighting a legal battle for his freedom ever since.

Martinez's federal trial in 1981 on one of the bombing charges ended in a mistrial when it became clear that no conviction could be obtained.

Several months later, government documents obtained by the defense revealed that during this trial a secret meeting was held in presiding Judge Fred Winner's room. The meeting included the prosecuting attorneys, federal marshals, court personnel, and two witnesses.

Not confident of the prosecution's case, they wanted to avoid a verdict of not guilty. So they coordinated their efforts to get a mistrial declared in order to continue attempts to convict Martinez.

The judge maneuvered to get the mistrial called after the defense presented its case. This was done in order to help the prosecution learn what the defense strategy would be in a future trial. Winner attempted to employ the FBI to wire-tap court proceedings in order to charge Martinez with jury intimidation.

This revelation of a conspiracy to deny Martinez his right to a fair trial resulted in the dismissal of the charges against him on a state level.

In addition, since Winner is the Chief Judge in the 10th Circuit, every judge in Colorado was disqualified from hearing the case on the federal level. Frank Theis, a retired judge from Wichita, Kansas, was brought in to preside over the trial that just ended.

However, this did not stop the government from continuing to use dirty tricks.

Government attorneys used delaying tactics to inconvenience out-of-town witnesses to add to the cost of the trial. They also tried to use defense testimony about Martinez's legal work as a lawyer for a fishing expedition against Chicano activists.

Supporters of Martinez attending the trial as observers were presumed to be dangerous and had their bags searched. A metal detector was used that, although out of sight of the jury, emitted a beep clearly audible throughout the courtroom. The 13-year-old son of one of the observers was pulled aside and frisked because his braces made the machine beep.

From the beginning Martinez's defense attorneys, Walter Gerash and Ken Padilla, presented the case as a political attack against Martinez for his role as an activist in the Chicano movement.

Judge Theis refused to allow the Church report (a congressional report prepared under the direction of Senator Frank Church documenting attempted government disruption of the Chicano movement) to be introduced as evidence. But Martinez, along with other witnesses, took the stand to testify to the atmosphere of violence against the Chicano movement in the early 1970s and to the media campaign of smear, innuendo, and intimidation that made a fair trial impossible.

In addition to the legal defense, the Kiko Martinez Defense Committee succeeded in its efforts through a variety of activities to explain the stakes involved in the case. They brought many supporters to court sessions as a show of solidarity. Up to 150 people attended the proceedings each day to support Martinez.

As Rita Melgares, Martinez's sister, told the Denver Militant Forum on November 12: "If we let this happen to Kiko, it will enable them to quash other progressive movements. We are not just fighting for Kiko — we are fighting for ourselves."

Although Martinez may still face another trial for a third bombing charge, the current acquittal is a victory for all fighters for social change.

Harrisburg residents say: 'Don't restart nuke!'

BY DOUG COOPER

HARRISBURG — "We had faith in those entrusted with protecting our health and safety . . . but now we know we must carry forth that task ourselves," Jim Hurst of People Against Nuclear Energy of Middletown, Pennsylvania, told a public hearing here November 9. He was the first of 52 speakers at the hearing convened by the five-member Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

When Hurst called on the NRC not to allow the "undamaged" Unit 1 reactor at Three Mile Island to be restarted, hundreds of yellow and black signs saying, "We voted no on May 18. Keep TMI shut," shot into the air and nearly 1,000 people roared in approval.

A majority of voters in three counties in the area voted in a May 18, 1982, referendum to keep TMI shut.

The NRC will rule December 10 if the orders shutting down the reactor will be lifted. The reactor was immediately shut down after the accident that damaged its twin, Unit II, on March 28, 1979.

The accident at Unit II, the worst at a nuclear plant in U.S. history, caused 144,000 people to be evacuated in the weeks that followed.

The NRC is not legally bound to consider the testimony at the hearing. Of the 52 speakers, only nine favored restart.

Kathy McCaughin reported that the vote in the May 18 referendum was 2-to-1 against restart. In Dauphin County, where TMI is located, 71 percent voted no.

McCaughin explained, to wild applause, "We didn't say no restart until cleanup of Unit II, or until rates come down, or until there are health and safety guarantees; we said *no restart!*" She added, "I resent five men in Washington holding the fate of my life in your hands."

Speaker after speaker referred to the results of the restart referendum. Greg Harbaugh, pastor at Lakeside Lutheran Church in Harrisburg, said, "This is a test not of electrical power, but a test of the power of people to control our own destinies. And the people have spoken."

Andrew Burger, 3rd Ward councilman from Middletown, within a stone's throw of the crippled plant, said, "That vote should be enough." He also proposed converting TMI to coal.

To a standing ovation, Jane Perkins, city councilwoman from Harrisburg, told the NRC, "If the vote on May 18 wasn't good enough, we can do it over and over again."

A very different response greeted the nine prorestart speakers. Joseph Hoffman, president of Friends and Family of TMI, was jeered when he described "the outstanding record of operation of Unit I before the accident at Unit II."

David Walls, executive vice-president of the Lebanon Valley Chamber of Commerce, said, "Your decision can be a signal to the business community that we can build the future." He was interrupted by booing and cries of "Big business!"

Helen Rohrbaugh, president of the York Board of Education, emphasized restart's "extreme importance to the free enterprise system of central Pennsylvania." She, too, was booed and interrupted with cries of "Money!"

James Spang, president of the American Society of Utility Investors, was booed off the stage when he attempted to go over his three-minute time limit.

Less than 25 percent of the 1,250 people present were prorestart. This was dramatically confirmed late in the hearing when Randy King, a local antinuclear activist, called on those favoring restart to rise. At the time, no more than 500 people were left in the room. At most 75 people stood up. When King called on those opposed to restart to do the same, 400 people rose cheering.

Most eloquent were those who spoke of the anger, frustration, and loss of confidence in the government, the NRC, and General Public Utilities, the owner of TMI, in the three-and-one-half years since the accident.

Suzanne Patton, a leader of Three Mile

Island Alert, said, "I was two months pregnant when the accident happened. I had to wait until December to find out if my child was healthy." She continued, "We have no money to buy silver-tongued lawyers. . . . The NRC is an advocate for the nuclear industry not a regulator. You have always considered restart only as a matter of *when*, not *if*."

Joanne McConnell, who works at Middletown Day Care, said, "You worry about the big people and the people with money, but you don't worry about the children."

Joyce Corradi, of Concerned Mothers of Middletown, explained, "We live daily with the consequences of high level waste storage on the island and siren malfunctions."

Helen Hocker, of Newberry Township, pointed to the personal responsibility of the NRC commissioners. "There can be no plea of just following orders from some president of a utility or bank," she told them.

Betty Tompkins, a 65-year-old grandmother, said, "The jury is still out on my two-year-old grandchild's life expectancy." Another woman described the car accident she had while evacuating on April 5, 1979. Her two-year-old child was killed instantly.