

GOP, Democrats aim ax at Social Security system



Philadelphia cutbacks protest

"A decent and reasonable compromise," said the *Washington Post*. The plan has "great virtue," said the *New York Times*.

"It's something around which to rally," said Rep. Claude Pepper, a self-styled champion of the elderly.

All this praise, and more like it, has been showered on the plan to modify the Social

people will pay more and get less. Payroll taxes will go up and benefits will be trimmed.

Plus, when Congress gets through with the plan, you can be sure more rip-offs will be added.

We're told that the Social Security system will run at a deficit of about \$25 billion a year for the next seven years and that's why we have to pay more and get less.

Why?

The present war budget is over \$200 billion a year — \$1.5 trillion over the next five years.

Wouldn't it be simple to just transfer some of that money to a useful purpose? The claimed Social Security budget gap could be covered by eliminating construction of a few nuclear submarines, and the world would be the better for it.

The attack on Social Security is not isolated. We have seen the brutal drive by the employers to reverse hard-won union gains on wages and working conditions. This has been accompanied by an unrelenting drive

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EDITORIAL

Security system drawn up by President Reagan's bipartisan commission.

In fact, the plan represents a harsh new attack on a hard-won, sorely needed right of working people — the right to a decent retirement.

The Democrats and Republicans claim the commission proposal is needed to "save" the Social Security system. But this is a smokescreen. The real purpose is to push through a plan under which working

Nonaligned ministers' meeting blasts U.S. intervention in Central America

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN AND JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — At least 100,000 people turned out to greet the Special Ministerial Session of the Non-aligned Movement, held here January 10-15, to discuss and condemn the great threat posed by U.S. imperialist intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Held in Managua at the request of the Nicaraguan government, the session was only the fifth such special meeting of foreign ministers held in the 22-year history of the organization, and the first to deal solely with imperialist intervention in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The decision first to hold the meeting at all, second, to hold it in Managua, and

third, to approve *unanimously* an explicit denunciation of U.S. intervention throughout the region added up to a significant diplomatic defeat for U.S. imperialism, highlighting its growing political isolation.

Despite all of Washington's efforts, the meeting voted to "denounce the acts of aggression against Nicaragua." The foreign ministers singled out "the financing of covert actions, the use of U.S. territory and that of Nicaragua's neighbors for the training of counterrevolutionary forces, [and] the violations by U.S. ships and planes" of Nicaraguan territory. (See page 4 for excerpts of the ministers' statement.)

The Nonaligned Movement represents 97 of the 157 members of the United Nations, and in particular the great majority of

the so-called developing countries.

Members range from the revolutionary workers government of Cuba to the proimperialist regime in power in Zaïre, and even include two who are at war with each other — Iran and Iraq. What they have in common is that all are semicolonies or former colonies of imperialism. All are still kept in poverty and superexploitation by imperialist plunder or — in the case of Cuba, Vietnam, North Korea, and Yugoslavia — still victimized by imperialist domination of the world market. And all are threatened by imperialist military power.

Also included in the movement are many of the world's liberation movements, ranging from the Palestine Liberation Organization and South West Africa People's Organisation of Namibia (full members), to the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front — Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (observers), to the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, and the American Indian Movement (invited to this gathering as special guests of the Nicaraguan government.)

Commander Daniel Ortega, coordinator of Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruction, set the tone for the conference in an opening speech that went straight to the heart of the problems faced by nations under the thumb of imperialist oppression.

"We are living through some of the most critical moments ever faced by humanity," Ortega said, pointing in particular to the U.S. arms build-up, its aggression in Central America, and its responsibility for the worsening world economic crisis.

The burden of foreign debt imposed on the semicolonial world, now standing at more than \$500 billion, is a "time bomb," he said, "whose explosion could set off a crisis of proportions never before seen in the international banking system, one whose consequences the creditor countries could not escape."

For the nonaligned countries, he said, there is only one solution: we must "renegotiate our foreign debt as a bloc" and establish that "under no conditions can repay-

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Louisville Black activist is framed up on kidnap charge

BY GALE SHANGOLD

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — Al Horsley is a 41-year-old Black worker who has been active in the union and civil rights movements in Louisville for more than a decade.

On January 8, he was delivering leaflets publicizing a rally commemorating Martin Luther King's birthday to organizations in the West End, a Black community where he lives. All of a sudden, he was arrested and thrown in jail by city police on frame-up charges of kidnapping and robbery.

Horsley is being held on \$10,000 cash bond. Because Kentucky has no bail bondsman system, he is forced to remain in jail unless the full amount is posted, either \$10,000 in cash or \$20,000 worth of property. Horsley, who is an epileptic, was arrested without his medicine, and has suffered at least two seizures since he was jailed.

Horsley's arrest has astonished and outraged his family, his neighbors, and all those who know him through his political activities. Hundreds of people have already signed petitions protesting the arrest and

demanding that the charges be dropped. Horsley faces decades in prison if convicted.

The police allege that Horsley stopped Carlynn Pierce on the morning of December 30, forced her back into her car with a screwdriver, drove her to a park at the edge of town, and robbed her of \$4 and some jewelry.

When she described the man as six-foot-tall, heavy-set, and Black, Police Officer Fenster brought out only five mug shots from their files. One of them was a picture of Al Horsley, taken on the occasion of a harassment arrest he'd been subjected to previously. Pierce told Horsley's attorney that when she said she thought the picture of Horsley looked like the assailant, Fenster told her that the cops had been trying to put Horsley behind bars for years.

At the time the kidnapping incident was supposed to be taking place, Horsley was at home with his mother and one of his sisters. Because he suffers from epilepsy, he has not driven a car for years.

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Salvadoran dictators to get more U.S. aid

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

As we go to press President Reagan is about to go before Congress once again to certify that the human rights situation in El Salvador is improving. He will ask for more than \$200 million in economic and military aid for the dictatorship there.

U.S. working people have no interest in sending a single cent, helicopter, or adviser to prop up the killers Washington is desperately trying to keep in power in El Salvador.

In his sermon on January 9, Arturo Rivera y Damas, Interim Archbishop of El Salvador, denounced Reagan's intention to certify the regime, pointing to continued "illegal imprisonments, the discovery of mutilated corpses, and of people 'disappeared.'" He attributed this to "paramilitary groups and members of the [junta's] regular forces."

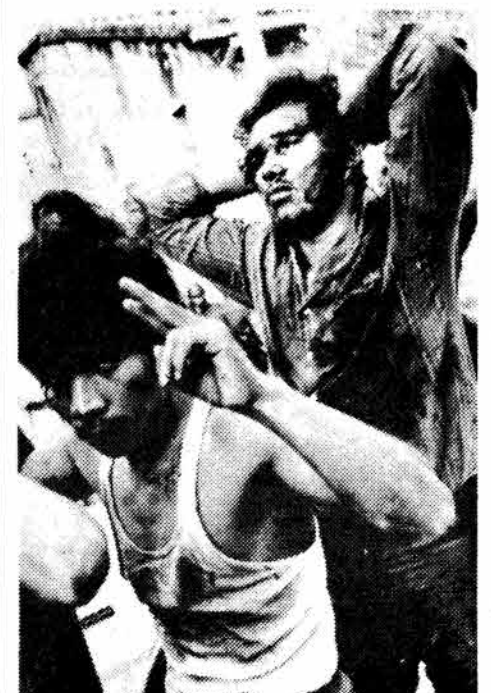
The Salvadoran Human Rights Commission, meanwhile, reported that 5,840 people had been killed and 788 "disappeared" in the last year. It said 520 were slain in the month of December 1982 alone.

Congress adopted the certification procedure in response to growing opposition inside this country to Washington's intervention in the Salvadoran civil war. It requires the president to certify every six months that the Salvadoran regime has made improvements in human rights before Congress can pass any aid bill. Despite the overwhelming evidence to the contrary, the White House has certified the regime each time, and a big majority of the Democrats and Republicans in Congress have dutifully voted the millions in arms and advisers. There is no reason to expect that it will be different this time.

The certification procedure is an utter fake, a bipartisan cover-up for continuing to support an unpopular regime that grows more and more isolated each day. The recent political and military advances by the liberation forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in the countryside and deepening labor activity against the junta in the cities have demonstrated that the great majority of Salvadorans support the rebel forces.

This has placed the U.S. rulers and their two parties, the Democrats and Republicans, in a dilemma. They must send more

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Victims of Salvadoran junta

Louisville Black framed up on kidnap charge

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At the January 15 King rally that Horsley had been building, Bob Cunningham, chairperson of the rally and a member of the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, began the program by informing the participants of the arrest of Horsley. Cunningham explained that the purpose behind the police frame-up was to intimidate and silence all those who speak out for civil and human rights.

As a special speaker, first on the program, he introduced John Studer, the national executive director of the Political Rights Defense Fund, who had flown into Louisville three days earlier to help get Horsley out of jail and win support for his defense.

Who Is Al Horsley?

Studer explained Horsley's long record as a union militant and Black rights fighter.

Horsley worked at International Harvester for 13 years and was a member of United Auto Workers Local 1336. He was an active participant in the Black Workers Coalition, a caucus of Black UAW members who fought racist discrimination by the company.

Horsley bought his own home in 1969 and sought to improve the house and rent some of the rooms as apartments. The cops began to harass him for minor building code violations, at one point throwing him in jail and holding him for three days. The cops also harassed Horsley by arresting him for drunk driving even though he does not drink and the "breathalyzer" test he took registered zero alcohol in his system.

Horsley, in fact, has never been convicted of any crime.

In 1976, Harvester fired Horsley for his outspoken views and union activities.

He had taken a leave of absence from his

job to take college courses in real estate, in order to learn his rights and to be able to stop the cop harassment. The company claimed that he returned one day late when he came off his leave — a charge that was false — and fired him. Horsley has filed two discrimination suits against his firing with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Horsley then found himself the victim of a "catch-22." He could no longer keep up his mortgage payments on his house because he did not have a job. At the same time, the Federal Housing and Urban Development Agency (HUD) ruled that he was not eligible for federal mortgage relief because he owned property!

He was forced out of his house.

Since then he has been conducting an on-going battle against HUD and other housing agencies to win back his house. He has become actively involved in efforts to prevent unjust bank foreclosures on other

houses in the Louisville area — foreclosures that hit the West End and other low-income neighborhoods particularly hard.

Horsley became more and more a thorn in the side of the cops and the city establishment. He became increasingly active in public campaigns for Black rights, housing rights, and for the interests of all working people. He is a member of the Kentucky Chapter of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR) and was an active participant in the Louisville anti-Klan coalition.

In 1982, he campaigned for the election of Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, and joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

At the time of his arrest, Horsley was in charge of leafletting to publicize the January 15 commemorative rally.

Thus Horsley, like thousands of activists in cities all over the country, was put on local authorities' "enemies list." By attempting to victimize him they hope that they can intimidate others and weaken the Black and labor movements as a whole.

Anne Braden, national vice-president of NAARPR and a leader of the Southern Organizing Committee, and other speakers at the King rally asked those present to view the attack on Horsley as an attack on themselves.

Within days after Horsley's arrest, Louisville activists had established a defense committee to raise funds and get out publicity about the case. Eleanor Garber, a well-known area civil liberties attorney, has been retained in order to argue for bail reduction and to try to get the charges dropped.

A fact sheet has been prepared along with a petition demanding the frame-up be ended. Horsley's supporters began circulating these materials at the January 15 rally, and gathered 75 signatures.

Many community leaders have already come forward to lend their names to the defense effort, including Roy Streeter, executive board member, International Union of Electrical Workers Local 761 and a member of the A. Philip Randolph Institute; Adlene Abstein, Kentucky Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Rev. Ron Robertson, Shawnee Presbyterian Church; and Sister Sarah Concannon, Louisville Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

The committee is asking that telegrams demanding that the charges be dropped be sent to: County Attorney, Criminal Division, 239 South 5th St., Louisville, Ky. 40202.

Copies of the telegram and contributions to help meet the legal expenses and bail, can be sent to: Al Horsley Defense Committee, P.O. Box 748, Louisville, Ky. 40201.

Salvadoran dictators to get more U.S. aid

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aid, or the embattled regime cannot stay in power. But U.S. working people are more and more opposed to Washington's war in that country.

An editorial in the January 12 *New York Times*, one of the more influential voices for big business, took up this problem. It noted that the junta's massive human rights violations have now "led the AFL-CIO to oppose certification, a significant defection." The AFL-CIO officialdom, through the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), has sought to give a pro-labor cover to U.S. policy in El Salvador. Now it appears even the AFL-CIO officials feel the sentiment in the working class is such that they cannot credibly back the Reagan administration on this question.

An AIFLD spokesman told the *Militant* in a phone interview that AIFLD Executive Director William Doherty plans to testify against certification when Congress opens hearings.

The *Times* itself raised questions about certification, arguing "congress should reject that finding" of human rights progress in El Salvador. "It is the only rebuke that may register on right-wing officers who now scorn the authority of President Alvaro Magaña and Defense Minister José Guillermo García.

"Undeniably, the resulting cutoff in aid . . . might weaken their campaign against leftist guerrillas, but that war won't be won if field commanders feel free to defy and vilify superiors."

No less than 16 U.S. delegations are scheduled to visit El Salvador in the next

weeks as the aid question is debated on Capitol Hill. Sen. Christopher Dodd, a Democrat from Connecticut, is among those who went to San Salvador.

According to the January 19 *Washington Post*, Dodd "told Salvadoran and foreign reporters that nobody in Congress wants to see a Marxist takeover here, but that human rights problems have been so dreadful 'nobody wants to be a party to that.'

"After spending millions of dollars, Dodd said Saturday, 'there is a growing

sentiment in the United States that we are not any better off here.'"

That sentiment offers an opportunity for all opponents of U.S. intervention in El Salvador. While the Democrats and Republicans debate how best to keep aiding the Salvadoran regime, working people in this country should voice our demand loud and clear:

Halt all aid to the junta!

U.S. advisers out of El Salvador and out of all Central America!

Women's antiwar coalition formed

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

NEW YORK — Representatives of women's rights organizations and supporters of the embattled people of Central America and the Caribbean came together here on January 13 to form the Women's Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

The coalition is the result of an appeal made by the Association of Nicaraguan Women — Luisa Amanda Espinoza (AMNLAE) in Nicaragua. AMNLAE is calling for women throughout the Americas to organize against U.S. military, economic, and diplomatic intervention against Nicaragua, El Salvador, Guatemala, Cuba, and Grenada.

Among the groups represented at the founding meeting were Casa Nicaragua, Círculo de Cultura Cubana, National Council of Churches' women's desk, Committee in Solidarity with the People of

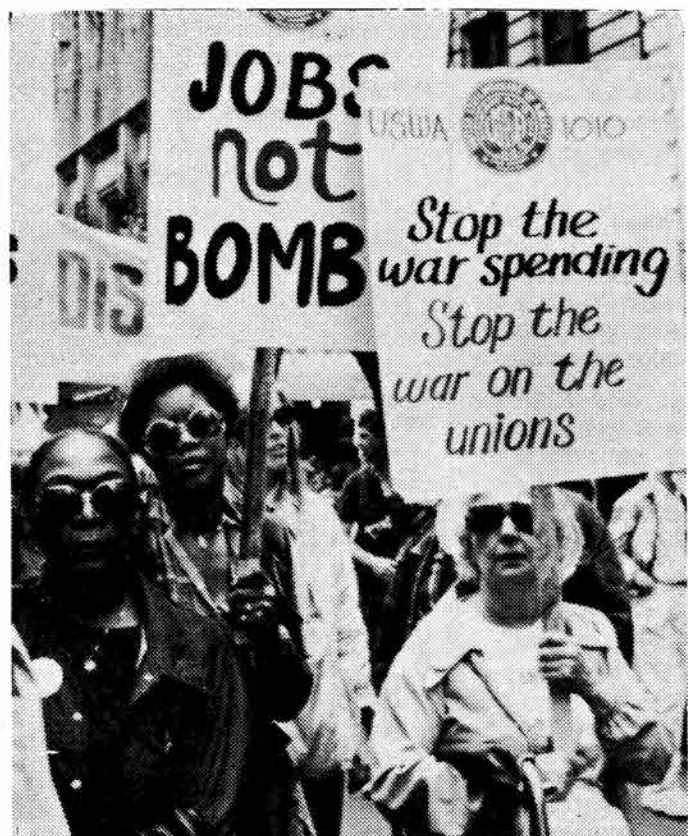
El Salvador, Interreligious Task Force on El Salvador and Central America, National Black United Front, Socialist Workers Party, Women for Racial and Economic Equality, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, All People's Congress, and Young Socialist Alliance.

The breadth of the forces involved make this coalition an important step forward in the fight against Washington's war in Central America and the Caribbean.

The 45 women who attended the meeting heard from Leonor Argüello de Huper, the Nicaraguan consul general in New York City. Argüello de Huper had just returned from Nicaragua and reported on the current situation in that country.

For more information on the Women's Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, write to Marjorie Tuite, Interchurch Center, Riverside Church, 475 Riverside Dr., New York, N.Y.

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Militant/Larry Lukehart
Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees strike in 1982. Attempt to frame strike activist Ken Collins is attack on whole union.

California hotel union militant threatened with arson charge

BY JANICE LYNN

SEASIDE, Calif. — A serious attack on a young, Black trade union militant is taking place here. This is the opening shot in an employer offensive against the 4,000-member Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union Local 483.

Ken Collins, a 22-year-old banquet set-up person at the large Hyatt Del Monte hotel in Monterey, was a picket captain during the two-and-a-half-week strike of Local 483 last August. He was also a supporter of socialist city councilman Mel Mason in his campaign for governor of California in the last election. Collins recently attended the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance and sub-

sequently decided to join the Seaside chapter of the YSA.

Upon his return from the YSA convention, Collins learned that the police had been by his house to question him about a fire that had taken place nearly two months ago in a vacant building at the Hyatt.

During questioning by the police January 10, Collins was asked harassing questions about his role in the strike and his attitude towards the hotel. He was also threatened with loss of his job if he refused to take a lie detector test, despite the fact that no charges were being filed against him.

The very same week, Collins was suspended from his job on charges of being two minutes late for work and for swearing

back at his crew chief.

Collins also faces totally fabricated charges of "destroying company property" — breaking wine glasses and supposedly refusing to go back to work.

None of these charges have been put in writing, a direct violation of the union contract.

At a January 14 meeting with hotel management, Collins was informed he was being suspended until a company investigation into the charges could be completed.

"It seems clear they were out to fire me right then and there," Collins told the *Militant*, "but were temporarily prevented from doing so because of the union's presence at the meeting."

"If they can get away with firing me," Collins said, "it will be a signal that they can get rid of other union militants. This is an attack against all union militants who went on strike and against the union as a whole."

The employers were dealt a big setback in their attempts to bust the union during the August strike. They were unprepared for the militancy of the union membership in standing firm for their demands. The union won some important gains in wage increases and holiday and sick pay.

But the hotel owners have not given up. There are continual attempts to weaken the union. Union activists have had their hours cut, with many forced to find other jobs. They are harassed in many other ways. One desk clerk at the Hyatt was suspended for three days for stating that one of her coworkers was a scab during the strike.

With plans under way to construct at least seven or eight more large hotels on the Monterey Peninsula, the hotel owners would like them to be nonunion. But for this they have to weaken Local 483. They are beginning by going after Collins, one of the most militant strike leaders — possibly going as far as seeing if they can get him framed up on an arson charge.

But Collins intends to fight this union-busting attack all the way and to enlist the support of all unionists to push back this antiunion offensive.

West Coast NOW leader indicted for murder; women, unionists charge political frame-up

BY NANCY BROWN

LOS ANGELES — Ginny Foat, president of the California National Organization for Women (NOW), was indicted in New Orleans on January 18 on charges of robbery and murder. Foat's former husband, John Sidote, appeared before a grand jury and testified against her. In return, he was granted immunity from prosecution.

Foat issued a statement here saying, "I believe with all my heart that a political climate of violence and degradation of women is in a test stage, with me as its first victim."

Foat was arrested here on January 11 after Los Angeles police allegedly received a tip from an "unknown source" that she was wanted by Louisiana police on a murder warrant issued 17 years ago.

Foat is a well-known leader of NOW in California. She was elected state coordinator in July 1981 and recently ran — and was narrowly defeated — for vice-president of national NOW.

Friends of Foat say she has been battling these charges for years and called her abrupt arrest "political harassment" by forces opposed to the Equal Rights Amendment.

"Many of us who have worked with her over the years have known of the harassment and accusations made against her that preceded her arrest on January 11, 1983," said Peggy Cutts, California NOW representative, in a statement released January 11. "We are shocked and surprised that these charges are being brought up again and we are outraged at the repetition of these charges that were dealt with in 1977."

At her arraignment on January 12, Foat said she would fight extradition to Louisiana. Currently she is being held at Sybil Brand Institute without bail. Judge Michael Tynan ordered her held without bail because murder in Louisiana carries a penalty of life imprisonment or death.

The warrant for her arrest charged that in 1965 she and her ex-husband killed an Argentine businessman with a tire iron in New Orleans. Then, police allege, they fled to Carson City, Nevada, where they murdered a second man.

Sidote was convicted of the Nevada kil-

ling in 1977. That same year, Foat was arrested in Los Angeles and extradited to Nevada, where she fought and got the charges dropped on the grounds that there was no evidence.

Suddenly, on January 4, 1983, according to the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), an "outside source" contacted Louisiana authorities to see if the murder warrant for Foat was still good. Then this "source" called the LAPD and informed them where Foat was.

This attack is an attempt to discredit not only Foat, but NOW, and all those fighting for women's rights. It comes at a time when women's rights are under increasing attack by the Democratic and Republican parties.

The media are using the arrest of Foat to launch a propaganda campaign against the women's rights movement. Los Angeles-area newspapers have run front-page headlines on the case every day since Foat's arrest.

The Long Beach *Press-Telegram* ran a two-inch banner headline stating "NOW CHIEF HELD IN MURDER."

Foat has also been active in civil rights and union struggles. She helped organize participation in the huge 1963 civil rights demonstration in Washington, D.C. In 1977 she organized an abortion rights demonstration in Sacramento and was California coordinator for the 1978 ERA march in Washington.

Foat coordinated NOW's participation in the September 19, 1981, Los Angeles Solidarity Day rally and was the J.P. Stevens Boycott director in Los Angeles. Foat was a delegate to the 1980 Democratic Party convention, and was scheduled to be a delegate to the state Democratic convention on January 14. She is also a member of L.A. Mayor Thomas Bradley's Women's Committee.

NOW members and supporters have vowed to fight Foat's extradition and to raise money for her defense. The Ginny Foat Defense Committee has already raised \$20,000 and plans to raise \$100,000 to help defend Foat.

The Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union is one of the organizations that has sent a letter of support to the fund.



Ginny Foat

New York reception celebrates 'year of education' in Grenada

BY STEVE CLARK

NEW YORK — Supporters of the Grenada revolution gathered here January 16 to celebrate the launching of that country's "Year of Political and Academic Education."

The meeting was opened by Peter Boyke, secretary for international affairs of the New York-based Grenada Revolutionary League, which sponsored the meeting. He asked the audience to rise for one minute in tribute to Martin Luther King, "a fighter for freedom who fell at the hands of reaction." (King's birthday is January 15.)

The GRL, Boyke said, supports the struggle for social and economic justice by the Grenadian people that culminated in the victorious March 13, 1979, revolution under the leadership of the New Jewel Movement. He saluted all those at the meeting and throughout the United States who have opposed attempts by U.S. imperialism and reactionary governments in the Caribbean to impose "economic strangulation and diplomatic isolation" on revolutionary Grenada. He linked these counterrevolutionary policies by Washington to its support for the war now under way against Nicaragua, its support for apartheid in South Africa, and its continuing hostility to the presence of Cuban troops in Angola.

The highlight of the evening was a videotape of the New Year's address by Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

Bishop reviewed the economic and social achievements and shortcomings of 1982 and pointed to the challenges facing the workers and farmers of Grenada.

Explaining the government's decision to designate 1983 the "Year of Political and Academic Education," Bishop said:

"Our people must develop in the new

year a mental grasp on the true nature of the international capitalist crisis which is holding back the progress of our Revolution and the development of all poor countries in the world. . . .

"With their political consciousness raised and broadened our people will better understand the necessity to join and strengthen those mass organizations and trade unions that already exist.

"Political education will help to identify from the ranks of our working people the future leaders of the Revolution, and it will help to prepare the working class to assume its historic role of transforming Grenada from backwardness and dependency to genuine economic independence."

Bishop stressed the central role of the mass organizations in this island-wide educational effort, especially the trade unions, "since real democracy always assumes the informed, conscious and educated participation of the people. Without education, there can be no real workers participation, no substantial increase in production and productivity, no individual and collective growth, no true dignity, no genuine independence."

The meeting, held at the New Muse Black cultural center and museum in Brooklyn, was also addressed by Kamau McBarnette, a member of the Central Committee of the New Jewel Movement and Secretary of Information in the government. At the end of the meeting, the chair introduced representatives of some of the organizations attending the celebration, including the National Black United Front, National Black Independent Political Party, Caribbean People's Alliance, Council of Patriotic Grenadians, Socialist Workers Party, Communist Party, and South West Africa People's Organisation.

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Nonaligned ministers meet

Continued from front page

ment exceed a certain percentage of a country's exports."

Ortega blasted U.S. imperialism's use of Honduras as a military base and of Costa Rica as a political base for mounting counterrevolutionary attacks against Nicaragua. To date, he said, more than 500 armed attacks have been mounted from Honduras, resulting in more than 400 Nicaraguan casualties.

While the meeting was in session, two technicians for Nicaragua's agrarian reform agency were killed near the Honduran border and several others were wounded as part of the U.S.-inspired attempt to sabotage the harvest of coffee, Nicaragua's main cash crop. Also came the announcement that Costa Rican Civil Guards had located 500 counterrevolutionaries in four camps inside Costa Rica. Of these, 13 were detained.

Following Ortega's address came shorter speeches from leaders representing each of the continents of the Nonaligned Movement, and from SWAPO.

Argentina

Notable as a demonstration of how much the conflict over the Malvinas Islands reinforced the anti-imperialist axis of the Nonaligned Movement was the warm greeting given to the speech of Argentina's foreign minister, Juan Ramón Aguirre Lanari. Aguirre Lanari received a standing ovation when he thanked the Nonaligned Movement for what he called its "historic understanding" of Argentine sovereignty over the islands and said his country owed the movement "a debt of honor we can never forget."

The Argentine representative pointed out that even as the Nonaligned Movement was holding its meeting in Managua, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher was visiting the Malvinas Islands in "a new act of colonialism, arrogance, provocation, and insulting deprecation of the recently approved United Nations resolution" in favor of renewing negotiations over the islands' status.

Turning to other issues, Aguirre Lanari declared that "the Palestinian people must exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence," and sharply attacked South Africa's racist policy of apartheid.

In regard to Central America, the Argentine foreign minister cited as the root of the crisis "anachronistic political and socioeconomic situations," "persistent violations of the principle of nonintervention and noninterference in the internal affairs of states," and "deformed characterizations made in the context of the worldwide struggle for power."

He thus sharply differentiated the stand of the Argentine government from that of the Cuban and Nicaraguan governments, which point to U.S. imperialism's intervention in Central America as the source of the conflict there. Argentina has had advisors in Honduras training the counterrevolutionary forces attacking Nicaraguan territory.

Cuba strikes a blow

Officials in Washington were not happy about the fact that such a meeting was taking place in Managua. Their heavy-handed attempts to influence the outcome of the conference blew up in their faces.

A special State Department representative, Susan Johnson, was sent to put the heat on participants in the meeting. Economic retaliation was threatened for votes in opposition to U.S. policy, and a confidential document was circulated outlining the kind of final statement that Washington expected its subordinates to fight for.

The U.S. position paper claimed that Washington had been "neutral" in the war over the Malvinas, that it was not trying to "overthrow" the Nicaraguan government, that the human rights situation in El Salvador was "improving," that the Reagan administration was not engaged in destabilization maneuvers against Grenada, and that there is "no U.S. 'blockade' of Cuba."

Vietnam, Ethiopia, Suriname

These self-serving lies, hard enough to argue for under any circumstances, received a mortal blow when the Cuban dele-

gation obtained a copy of the U.S. document and arranged for its public circulation to the entire conference.

One of the most moving moments came on January 13 when the Vietnamese representative read a message from Pham Van Dong, president of the government that came to power after a 30-year war against French and U.S. imperialism.

"Vietnam considers as its own each victory won by the peoples of Latin America in the struggles against imperialism and colonialism," the message read.

"We, who have been the victim of imperialism's most brutal war of aggression yet, understand profoundly the sacrifice of the people of Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba," added Vo Dong Giang, Vietnamese Vice-minister of Foreign Affairs.

Feleke Gedle Giorgis, foreign minister of Ethiopia, told the general session that if it weren't so tragic, "it's almost enough to make you laugh when the imperialists say they won't permit another Cuba."

Maybe the U.S. rulers can't "reconcile themselves to the fact that they can no longer stop the course of history," he said, but the fact is that the Nonaligned Movement can no longer tolerate interference in its affairs.

The government of Suriname called at the general session for the strongest possible denunciation of U.S. imperialism's murderous role in Central America.

Surinamese Foreign Minister Harvey Naarendorp pointed out that the real reason for Latin America's backwardness was the "grip of imperialism" on the continent. "The big multinational corporations," he said, "sustain military regimes to prop up the capitalist system at the expense of the peoples of Latin America."

The Iranian delegation stressed its soli-

darity with Nicaragua and the anti-imperialist struggles throughout the region.

At a special news conference January 11, Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akhbar Velayati announced that Tehran would soon be opening an embassy in Nicaragua. He also announced that his government was seeking to set up an international fund to aid the countries of the Nonaligned Movement based on the dollars available to the 11 nonaligned members who are also part of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

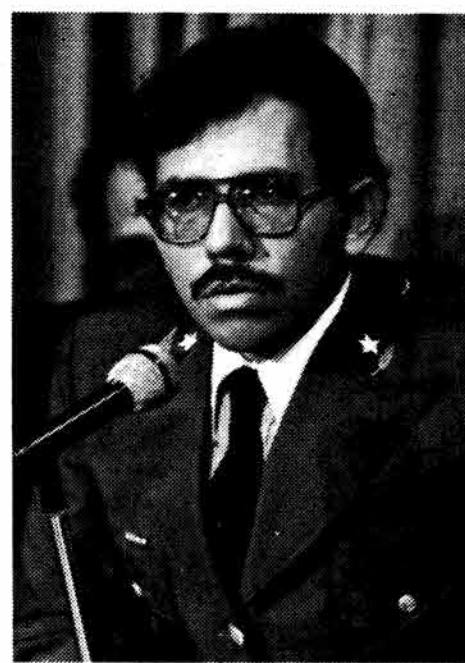
In his address to the general session January 13, Velayati denounced U.S. intervention in Latin America. "We have always supported Nicaragua against the conspiracy of the Great Satan," he said, "[just as we have] condemned U.S. interference in El Salvador" and "support the legitimate right of Argentina to the Malvinas in the face of flagrant aggression from Great Britain."

Display of internationalism

Nicaragua mobilized substantial resources to host this meeting, the largest gathering of government representatives ever held in Central America.

For weeks, workers in Managua were busy getting the city ready for the event. Curbs were painted, trees pruned, telephone and telex lines installed, and welcoming banners from nearly every organization in the city were hung.

But just as important, Nicaraguans had been preparing for the meeting politically. A week prior to the arrival of the first delegations, meetings were held at work centers, block associations, and in virtually all the mass organizations to explain the importance of the Nonaligned Movement as



Militant/Fred Murphy
Nicaraguan leader Daniel Ortega

an ally in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, and racism.

Murals and bulletin boards went up around the city explaining the Nonaligned Movement's history, objectives, and members. The Managua dailies *Barricada* and *Nuevo Diario* ran dozens of short and informative articles about the member countries and liberation movements.

Nearly a fifth of the city's population turned out for the giant cultural event — including popular music, dance, traditional costumes — that greeted the delegates from around the world.

A preview of how the Nonaligned Meeting would be treated in the U.S. press came when an American wire service photographer told the *Militant*, "I called the office in New York to apologize for being late with photos. They told me not to worry. They were going to bury the story anyway."

Managua Communique condemns U.S.

MANAGUA, NICARAGUA — In a major victory against U.S. efforts to sabotage the gathering, the Nonaligned conference's final document, known as the Managua Communique, received unanimous approval.

Originally drafted by the Nicaraguan delegation and subjected to five days of debate and discussion, the document emerged with its main points unscathed. It amounted to a sweeping condemnation of U.S. imperialist intervention throughout Latin America and the Caribbean.

Three key paragraphs were subjected to the longest debate but were finally approved. They condemned different aspects of U.S. aggression against Nicaragua.

Paragraph 33 states: "The ministers denounce the acts of aggression against Nicaragua, the financing of covert actions, the use of U.S. territory and that of Nicaragua's neighbors for the training of counterrevolutionary forces, the violations by U.S. ships and planes of Nicaragua's territorial waters and air space, which have resulted in terrorist actions and acts of sabotage aimed at overthrowing the revolutionary government and which have taken a toll of more than 400 Nicaraguans dead, wounded, and kidnapped since 1980."

Paragraph 34 "specifically condemns the systematic attacks carried out against Nicaragua from the other side of its northern border [i.e., Honduras, the only country that borders Nicaragua to the north] by armed bands made up of former members of the Somozaist National Guard."

And paragraph 35 condemns the economic war against Nicaragua aimed at "impeding the normal development of agricultural activities, promoting industrial decapitalization, encouraging sabotage of means of communication and production, encouraging the flight of technicians and skilled labor, and exercising pressure . . . to prevent the country from receiving the loans and assistance necessary for its development."

The document also expressed the Nonaligned Movement's support for other countries in the region battling imperialism.

• El Salvador. The conference demanded an immediate and unconditional halt to "imperialist intervention and repression in El Salvador," called particular attention to the "increasing role of the Hon-

duran army," and supported the call for negotiations among all "representative political forces." In the latter category it specifically named the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

• Argentina. In regard to the war over the Malvinas Islands, the nonaligned nations hailed the "firm support Latin American and other nonaligned countries have given Argentina in its efforts to resolve this controversy and prevent the consolidation of the existing colonial situation in these islands."

• Cuba. The ministers condemned the "increase in threats of military aggression against Cuba" and demanded "once again that the United States immediately and unconditionally halt its economic blockade."

• Grenada. The conference denounced the "military, political, and economic pressure the imperialists are exercising against Grenada" as well as the "economic boycott, hostile propaganda, naval maneuvers carried out near its territory, and violation of its airspace — all of which are aimed at destabilizing its government."

• Suriname. The movement expressed

Salvador rebels report advances

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The revolutionary forces in El Salvador are making major advances in the war there.

This is what leaders of the political and diplomatic commission of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) told the international press corps gathered at the Nonaligned Movement meeting here January 13.

"The revolutionary process in El Salvador has entered its final stage," said Mario Aguinada Carranda of the FMLN.

"Economically," he said, "the regime has no short-term possibility of bringing about a revival."

"Politically, the alternatives posed by the United States have failed one after another."

"Militarily, the Salvadoran Army and its U.S. advisers are failing more and more in their efforts to defeat our revolutionary forces."

its support for Suriname's "efforts to consolidate its independence and sovereignty," and in a clear reference to the coup attempt and cut-off of U.S. aid in December it condemned "recent efforts to destabilize the government."

The statement also singled out the growing Israeli role in Latin America saying:

"The ministers call attention to the utilization of Israel by the United States in its actions of intervention in Latin America. In this context, the ministers denounce the visits by Israeli functionaries to various Latin American countries which have, among other things, led to agreement on military pacts and to an increase in U.S.-Israeli intervention into the affairs of the region, exacerbating tension and the possibility of an explosion."

"The ministers are agreed that the Zionist regime, a main ally of Somoza and of fascist and racist regimes, architect of a policy aimed at elimination of the Palestinian people, reached the height of its imperialism and racism during its occupation of part of Lebanon, its acts of aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples, and its massacre of the Palestinians."

"In short," said FDR President Guillermo Ungo, "the U.S. is approaching a turning point. They must decide whether to step up their intervention or accept negotiations inside El Salvador."

"Right now, they're increasing the war but they're also assessing their failures in El Salvador. It's been costly internationally and there's no guarantee of success," Ungo continued.

In the last six months, he told reporters, more soldiers from the Salvadoran Army have surrendered than did so in the entire preceding year.

"In October and the weeks that followed, many soldiers surrendered, but after combat. In January more surrendered without fighting."

Political factors are beginning to play a greater role, he said. "Right now there is greater international support for negotiations than ever before, even though the government still rejects the idea."

Salvadoran appeals for labor solidarity

The following is an interview with Alejandro Molina Lara, a leader of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) and secretary-general of the Fishing Industry Union (SIP). It was conducted by Mari Hawkes.

In December Molina Lara completed a five-week tour of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio. He spoke in front of many union meetings — to miners, steelworkers, electrical workers, and others — about the U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean.

Thousands of dollars were contributed by unions and other groups to aid FENASTRAS in defending political prisoners in El Salvador.

Translation of the interview is by the Militant.

Question: What is the current situation inside El Salvador?

Answer: The junta has not inflicted any serious defeats or losses on our fighters because of the great flexibility we have utilized in our land warfare. We have utilized various strategies, such as guerrilla warfare, the war of movement, and the war of destruction.

Concerning the liberated zones, people there live what we consider a normal way of life full of enthusiasm and a fraternal comradeship. The zones are run by popularly elected governments, which, in a collective manner, administer production and make the rules. Schools have been set up to combat illiteracy.

In these zones we have the beginnings of a new society — free of petty individualism, where a person's worth is not measured by how much he can take from the rest, but rather by how much he or she contributes to the welfare of the whole.

These zones are an example and a model to show the world that the peasant and the worker can effect and accept change.

Q: What were the points you made in speaking before unionists here?

A: My main purpose was to get across to the workers the legal repression that exists in El Salvador and the repression that the authorities themselves unleash when the working class rises up to defend its own economic and social interests. I also talked about the antilabor laws that were decreed by the ruling junta, all favoring the boss and limiting the workers' movement in such a way that hardly any trade union organizing could be accomplished.

In addition I would try to explain how the American capitalists exploit Salvadoran workers — so much so that Salvadoran workers have salaries 10 times less than American workers for comparable work.

The workers understood me best when I

spoke about the hundreds of unionists who are in jails of the Salvadoran military, such as the members of the Electrical Workers Union (STECOL). They have been in jail for two years already. A number of important resolutions were passed concerning the electrical workers, such as one that was sent to President Reagan by a regional council of the AFL-CIO in Pennsylvania. Just a few weeks ago the United Electrical Workers Local 506 also passed a similar resolution on behalf of the STECOL.

Q: What other examples of solidarity have you received as a result of your tour?

A: When I visited a seminar held by the United Steelworkers of America at Linden Hall, near Pittsburgh, I was able to speak and was well received. In addition to getting a union jacket, I was interviewed for their paper and met with union representatives.

When I spoke to a number of local union meetings of the United Mine Workers of America, I was asked by miners if I had buttons, posters or T-shirts. Because of financial reasons and other factors we had no material available. However, many of these workers asked me to send them material when it was available.

Q: What do you think the people of the United States can do to aid the struggle of

the Salvadoran people?

A: There are many things the American people can do to express solidarity with my people. For example, the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) made a proposal to the Salvadoran government and your government to begin a dialogue without preconditions. This was rejected. The American people should demand that the peace proposal of the FDR-FMLN be accepted.

As a result of the war in Central America, there are more than 800,000 refugees in the United States. These people must be helped on an economic and material level.

Reagan's planned certification of human rights and economic progress by the Salvadoran dictatorship must also be exposed and opposed. Telegrams and letters must be sent to Congress, the Senate, even to Reagan, demanding that military and economic aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship be stopped.

It's also important that the American people organize public activities such as demonstrations and news conferences, that is, solidarity activities. In this way, they will let it clearly be known that the American people totally reject the interventionist war policies of Reagan and instead support the right of self-determination of the Salvadoran people.



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand
Molina Lara appealed to trade unionists to support right of self-determination for Salvadoran people.

Iraq seeks alliance with imperialism against Iranian revolution

BY DAVID FRANKEL

After 28 months of bitter warfare against the Iranian revolution, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's regime faces a deep crisis. This is seen by its now open appeal to the imperialist powers — France and the United States in particular — for help.

To give a brief review of the latest developments:

- On November 16, Hussein held a news conference in Baghdad for 15 U.S. reporters. He complained that Iraq's treaty of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union "has not worked" during the war with Iran, and indicated that he was interested in improving ties with Washington.

- At the end of December, Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister Tariq Aziz urged that diplomatic ties between Egypt and Iraq be restored "now," and offered to meet with the Egyptian foreign minister. Aziz's remarks appeared in the Cairo daily *Al-Ahram*.

The Egyptian regime has been isolated in the Arab world since its recognition of

Israel and its signing of the Camp David treaty, which paved the way for the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. One of Washington's prime foreign policy goals has been to end that isolation.

- Another move by Hussein came on January 2, when he released the transcript of a discussion that he had held on August 25 with Stephen Solarz, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives' Foreign Affairs Committee. According to the Iraqi government's text, Hussein said that in addition to a Palestinian state, "it is also necessary to have a state of security for the Israelis."

Hussein added: "No single Arab official includes in his policy now the so-called destruction of Israel."

While complaining about Washington's policy in the Mideast, Hussein told Solarz that "we find it in our interest to have an American presence if another foreign big power exists in the region."

- Even as Hussein's conversation with Solarz was being released in Baghdad, Aziz was in Paris for five days of meetings with top French officials, including President François Mitterrand. Over the past two years, 40 percent of French arms exports — aircraft, missiles, artillery, and other equipment worth \$4.1 billion — have gone to Iraq. French military officials indicated that the government was considering tripling its oil purchases from Iraq to help it pay for more arms.

- On January 7, Aziz met with Egyptian Foreign Minister Boutros Ghali in the first high-level meeting between the two governments since the signing of the Camp David accords in 1979. Aziz said he favored the "unconditional reintegration" of Egypt within the Arab League in an interview with *Le Monde* which appeared the following day.

'France is our main partner'

In his *Le Monde* interview, Aziz was quite open in his appeal to the imperialists. "France," Aziz declared, "is our main partner in the political, economic, commercial, and military fields. We have identical conceptions concerning the means to assure the independence and stability of the countries of the Middle East. French firms contribute to the growth of all sectors of our economy."

Pointing to a \$460 million low-interest loan granted to Baghdad by Washington in December, Aziz said, "Our cooperation with the United States is growing in all domains."

Taken together, these political statements represent a substantial shift in the in-

ternational relations of the Iraqi regime. Until 1958 Iraq was ruled by a monarchy that had been installed by the British. Under King Faisal II, Iraq's oil industry was primarily British-owned, and Iraq was the only independent Arab country to participate in a formal military alliance with the imperialist powers. As part of the Baghdad Pact agreement, the British Royal Air Force maintained a base at Habbaniyah.

Following the overthrow of the monarchy, Iraq withdrew from the Baghdad Pact, expelled the British military, and in 1972 nationalized the Iraq Petroleum Company. Although there have been a number of military coups since 1958, all of the successive regimes have been strongly identified with Arab nationalism and have stressed the Iraqi people's desire for independence from imperialist domination.

All of these Iraqi governments have also been particularly outspoken in their opposition to Israel. Baghdad has been a member of the Steadfastness and Rejection Front since its formation — a front that has included (at various times) Libya, South Yemen, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), and Syria. Intransigent opposition to the Israeli state and its policies was relatively easy for the Iraqi rulers, who share no common border with Israel. Nonetheless the Iraqi stance often helped to put pressure on those Arab regimes more amenable to imperialist demands.

Now, Hussein has reversed Baghdad's long-held position on recognition of Israel. Instead of calling for the liberation of the Mideast from imperialist domination, he says it is "in our interest to have an American presence."

Impact of Iranian revolution

Behind the shift by Hussein is the Iranian revolution. The explosion of mass protest in Iran in 1978 that began the process of toppling the shah was a deadly threat to the capitalist dictatorship in Iraq. Hussein made his attitude to the revolution clear by expelling the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, who had been living in exile in Iraq.

But Hussein, along with the U.S. ruling class, could not prevent the Iranian masses from bringing down the shah's regime. Nor did the revolution stop with the fall of the shah. The Iranian workers and peasants continued their mass mobilizations, began organizing their own committees, and made gains in the fight against imperialist domination and in their living conditions that inspired the peoples of the region.

This was the background to Hussein's invasion of Iran in September 1980, just

Continued on Page 17

Chicago cops attack unemployed

BY JON HILLSON

CHICAGO — Fires crackled in ashcans to keep hundreds of unemployed workers warm as they lined up before dawn on January 6 for a chance at 3,800 temporary street cleaning and snow removal jobs.

The scene was Washington Park on Chicago's Southside, and the hundreds grew to thousands before the day ended. It was repeated in nine other city parks. All in all, 28,628 people applied for the jobs, which will last for 10 weeks.

The long lines, longer wait, cold weather, and frustration of the job seekers created a tense atmosphere. Then the cops arrived.

"The people were all crowded at the front door," laid-off Chicago teacher Jim Rockett said of the Washington Park site. "When the police arrived, they didn't say a word, they just started swinging their billy clubs and hitting people on the heads. They hit two men very hard and they were bleeding."

Police wagons carted off an undisclosed number of job seekers.

The jobs were announced earlier in the week by Chicago Mayor Jane Byrne. Funded by a \$10 million federal grant, Byrne's one-shot deal was widely viewed as a vote-catching hustle. Byrne is running against state's attorney Richard Daley and Congressman Harold Washington in the

Democratic primary February 22.

Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate Ed Warren, a garment worker, denounced the police attack on the jobs line. He slammed the Byrne jobs project as "an insult to the quarter of a million Chicagoans who are out of work."

The 3,800 jobs are, he said, "less than a drop in the bucket. More than 98 percent of the city's unemployed won't be touched by it."

As for Daley and Washington, the socialist candidate said, "Neither of these Democrats have a program for jobs or economic relief for those out of work. They line up with the system that's responsible for unemployment, the capitalist system."

Candidate Warren points out there's plenty of money to create jobs.

The two capitalist parties, he explains, "waste hundreds of billions of dollars on the Pentagon as they organize a new Vietnam in Central America. But those tax dollars could fund a real jobs program of needed public works that puts every Chicagoan — and every American — back to work."

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Why abortion was legalized in 1973

BY MARGARET JAYKO

Before Jan. 22, 1973, abortion was illegal in most of the United States. On that date, one decade ago, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in a 7 to 2 decision that abortion is a woman's right through the first 24 weeks of pregnancy.

Their ruling was based on the constitution's guarantee of the right to privacy.

The court majority argued, "This right of privacy . . . is broad enough to encompass a woman's decision whether or not to terminate her pregnancy."

The ruling declared illegal all laws that compromise this right — for example, laws that said women can have abortions only if their health is in danger or required women to get the approval of a hospital board before getting an abortion. In other words, the court concurred with the concept advanced by the newly-emerged women's liberation movement that the question of abortion is a question of women's right to choose.

The court also rejected the argument that the fetus has a "right to life," saying that "the word 'person,' as used in the Fourteenth Amendment, does not include the unborn."

It further declared, "We need not resolve the difficult question of when life begins. When those trained in the respective disciplines of medicine, philosophy, and theology are unable to arrive at any consensus, the judiciary, at this point in the development of man's knowledge, is not in a position to speculate as to the answer. . . . There has always been strong support for the view that life does not begin until live birth."

This victory was the result of struggles sparked by the profound social, economic, and political shifts taking place in this country and around the world.

The women's liberation movement and the fight by women for abortion rights grew out of these struggles, was inspired by them, and in turn, helped push them forward.

Women into the work force

The 25 years after World War II saw an economic boom that produced a giant expansion of technology and industrialization. This meant a need for a bigger, more educated work force. A larger work force meant a change in the composition of the U.S. working class. Women and Blacks, who could be forced to work for less and thus boost the profits of the bosses, were drawn into the labor force in large numbers.

From 1950 to 1970, women as a percentage of the work force increased from 30 percent to 38 percent. The percentage of adult women who were in the labor force went from 34 percent to 43 percent. For Black women, the figure is even higher. This was accompanied by a big increase in the education level of women.

This pouring of women into the work force was the fundamental cause for the dramatic changes that have taken place in the status and role of women in U.S. society. It had an enormous impact on women's views of themselves and society's view of women.

The development of relatively more effective birth control and the fact that modern medical practices made abortion far safer than childbirth also produced big changes. For the first time, the material basis existed for women to be able to achieve some measure of control over their reproductive lives, with all the implications that held for control over their lives as a whole. This was an especially important development for the new generation of working women.

What was and what could be

But there was an increasing disparity between the *actual* position of women, and the *potential* that new technology and expanded wealth opened up. At every turn women were blocked by archaic laws and every sort of economic, political, social, religious, and cultural obstruction to exercising their options in jobs, education, and participation in public life.

For example, even though the means were available to allow women to control their reproductive functions, they were blocked from exercising that control by the

illegal status of abortion. Women who had abortions were branded as criminals and condemned to risk their lives at the hands of backstreet abortionists.

Abortion was a hidden thing, rarely discussed, and almost never in public. Even the word "abortion" was taboo.

And abortion was a dangerous thing. There were hundreds of deaths and maimings at the hands of illegal abortionists every year, with Black women being a disproportionately high percentage of the victims.

The antiabortion laws meant the end of school and jobs for many women who were forced to carry unwanted pregnancies to term.

Safe abortions, were available for the rich, who could afford them. But for those who couldn't, the alternatives were frightening.

That's why, from the beginning, the fight for abortion rights was an important question facing the entire working class, not just women. Working-class women had the most to gain from the fight to legalize abortion. It's this fact that explains the broad support that rapidly developed for abortion rights.

Women challenge abortion restrictions

Thus, as women began to challenge their oppression in the 1960s, the antiabortion laws, which existed in 46 states, emerged as one of the most hated symbols of the degradation of women. Outraged at the hundreds of deaths and maimings from illegal abortions each year, women decided to confront centuries of backward prejudice and tear away the shroud of guilt surrounding the abortion issue.

As long as they were vulnerable to unwanted pregnancies, women could not break down the economic and social barriers they faced on the job, in education, and in the home. They remained chained to society's tradition that women are creatures defined and limited by their biology, destined first and foremost to produce and care for children.

The abortion issue was propelled to the fore as one of the central battles in the women's rights struggle because winning abortion rights was a precondition to winning full liberation for women.

Abortion as a woman's right

There had been vocal advocates of legal abortion before the demand was taken up by women's rights fighters.

Previously, most proponents of legal abortion did not base their arguments on the *right* of women to choose abortion.

One point of view saw abortion as a pure and simple medical question and argued that it should be legalized because illegal abortions were dangerous to the woman's health. Some liberals and people in the medical profession argued the question this way.

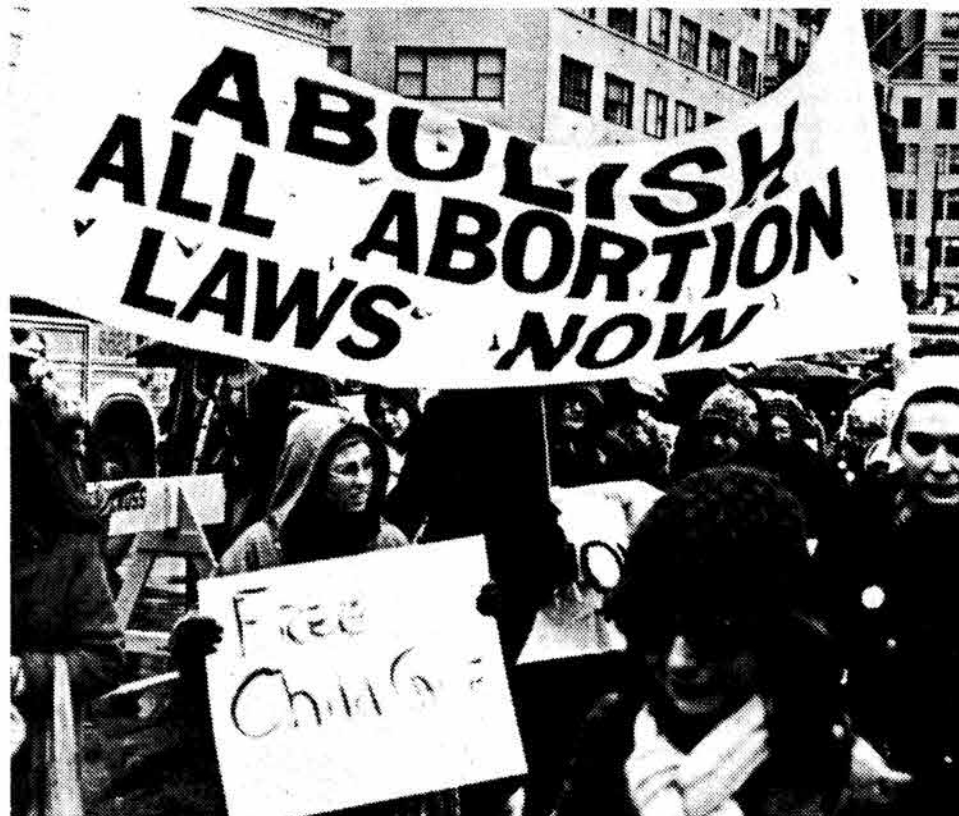
Others confused legal abortion with reactionary population-control ideas. They fell prey to the government's propaganda that poverty in our society is not due to unequal distribution of wealth, but to "too many people."

By associating abortion with schemes to reduce the birth rate, these advocates of legal abortion bolstered the racist practice of forced sterilization. This made it more difficult to involve Blacks, Chicanas, and Puerto Ricans, the women most victimized by the unavailability of abortion, in the fight for reproductive rights.

The advance the women's liberation movement made was that it started from the *fight against the oppression of women*. It posed the real issue — abortion as a woman's right — as something to which women have a just claim. Control of women's bodies by the government, doctors, the church hierarchy, husbands, or parents is an intolerable violation of that right.

It was on this basis that a majority of people were eventually won to support legal abortion. Polls taken in 1968 showed that only 15 percent of the American people thought women had the right to abortion. In 1969, it increased to 40 percent! By 1971, polls were showing 50 percent of the people were convinced on this issue.

Passage of a liberalized New York abortion law in March 1970 was a turning point in the struggle. It both provided an impetus



Militant/Karl Bermann

600 in New York protest antiabortion laws in December 1970

to the abortion rights fight and prompted the reactionary antiabortion forces, spearheaded by the powerful Catholic Church hierarchy, to launch a campaign to reverse this trend toward legalization. Numerous capitalist politicians, including Richard Nixon, publicly supported this reactionary offensive. Both sides organized rallies and demonstrations.

The excellent safety record in New York under the new law and the demonstrated demand for legal abortion helped legitimize the procedure and also made it more difficult for the ruling class to take back this limited gain that women had won.

This pushed forward the fight for legal abortion nationally, with abortion rights supporters organizing to press the fight all across the country.

Women's rights forces, however, were never united on the need to organize a national campaign focused on the fight to repeal all antiabortion laws. The more militant women's rights fighters formed the Women's National Abortion Action Coalition in July 1971. WONAAC's purpose was to bring together as many women as possible around the demands "Repeal all antiabortion laws" and "No forced sterilization."

Other women's rights groups, most notably the National Organization for Women (NOW), refused to be part of this national abortion rights campaign because it was "too controversial" and conflicted with their work with liberals in the Democratic Party.

The Democratic and Republican parties were hostile to the fight for abortion rights. Liberal 1972 Democratic Party presidential candidate George McGovern repudiated the abortion rights demand. In fact, he issued antiabortion statements, as did Nixon.

Though it never became a massive organization, WONAAC made an important contribution to advancing the fight for abortion rights.

The organized struggle for abortion rights and the general impact of the ideas of women's liberation on society played a role in winning legal abortion, which was reflected in the women's rights content of the Supreme Court decision.

Radicalization of U.S. society

The women's liberation movement, however, was just one component of the big social forces in motion during the general radicalization of American society in the 1960s and early 1970s. It was the totality of the struggles by all those sectors challenging the status quo that compelled the ruling class to legalize abortion.

The civil rights movement helped fuel this radicalization. The example of Black power and Black pride also directly inspired women to rebel against the myth of their supposed biological inferiority.

The highest expression of the radicalization was the movement against Washington's bloody war in Vietnam. At its peak

the antiwar movement involved millions of people in direct action against U.S. intervention.

By 1973, these new ideas and militant moods were beginning to permeate the working class. This was reflected in the beginnings of labor involvement in the fight against the Vietnam War and, to a much lesser extent, in the women's rights struggle.

The ruling class had to try to recoup its losses, defuse the situation, and reverse the rising class struggle.

On the issue of abortion, there was an increasingly polarized debate taking place around the country. Under this pressure, the Supreme Court tried to resolve the controversy by ruling in favor of legal abortion.

It wasn't persuasive legal arguments or the individual opinions of the justices that put the law of the land on the side of women. It was the clash of contending class forces that forced the Supreme Court's hand on this question.

A right not secure

Because of the stakes involved in the fight over abortion rights, the court decision was never secure from attack. The ruling, a big victory for women, simply shifted the relationship of forces further in favor of women and the working class. But it didn't end the fight. Since the decision came down, the ruling class and right-wing opponents of abortion have been on a drive to reverse that decision.

The dramatic change for the better in women's lives caused by access to abortion has meant that support for this right runs very deep. This has forced the ruling class to chip away at abortion rights and narrow women's access to abortion, as opposed to outlawing abortion outright.

But overturning abortion rights is clearly the goal of opponents of women's rights, with President Ronald Reagan leading the pack.

Thus the struggle for abortion rights — like 10 years ago — remains at the center of the fight for the liberation of women.

Reagan's War on Women's Rights

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By Margaret Jayko
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Militant/Serena Nigberg
Boston students in 1975: Pressure from federal, state, and local officials now imperils desegregation gains.

Boston desegregation threatened as judge turns control over to state school board

BY DON GUREWITZ

BOSTON — As of January 3, Federal Judge W. Arthur Garrity Jr. began to turn over to the Massachusetts Board of Education the responsibility for monitoring school desegregation in this city.

Though Garrity is to receive reports every six months for the next two years, the state board has been given day-to-day responsibilities. The judge is to step in only if a long process of negotiations fails to resolve disputes or problems.

This is a retreat in the historic fight to desegregate Boston schools, and comes as the result of pressure against desegregation by the federal government, local officials, and antibusing forces here.

Along with recent attacks on school desegregation in Chicago and elsewhere and attacks on affirmative action, Garrity's retreat can only encourage opponents of equality for Blacks and other racial minorities, and for women.

Judge Garrity has overseen desegregation of Boston schools since he ruled in 1974 that the Boston School Committee had consciously created a dual school system in which Blacks were segregated into a separate system with inferior funding, faculties, and staff.

Given the racial segregation by neighborhoods in Boston, the only effective immediate remedy for this violation of the equal opportunity guarantees of the 14th Amendment to the Constitution was busing of students. This way there would be no more all-white schools for the city to favor or all-Black schools to discriminate against.

Garrity ordered the busing of 26,000 of the city's then 95,000 students and assumed powers to direct desegregation; he has issued 400 orders and held 370 hearings. At one point, he put South Boston High School, a stronghold of segregationists, into receivership.

Fight for busing

These steps were made necessary by resistance to desegregation by white racists led by local officials. It was a bitter fight.

A part of the militant 1960s and 1970s battle for civil rights, the struggle for school desegregation in Boston met violent opposition. During 1974 and 1975 there were months of racist mob violence, stonings, beatings, firebombings, and lynchings.

These were met by demonstrations, teach-ins, speak-outs, pickets, and other actions by the Black community and its allies. Boston became a national symbol in the battle to desegregate the schools, particularly in the North.

Significant gains were made. Superior school facilities once reserved for whites were opened to Blacks. The number of Black teachers and other staff increased dramatically based on an affirmative action hiring plan Judge Garrity also ordered.

Black scores on standardized tests rose. More Blacks went to colleges.

Other racial minorities benefited. Bilingual programs were introduced, and Hispanic teachers were hired.

But desegregation of schools was never fully accomplished or consolidated in Boston. Racist city officials, most of them Democrats, challenged every phase of desegregation plans in court, continually squandering city funds.

At the height of anti-Black violence, they even allowed the main antibusing group, ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights), to meet in City Council chambers.

All-white academies were set up to attract white students from desegregated schools and then duly certified by the state Board of Education.

This same board, which was one of the defendants in the suit filed by Black parents that led to Garrity's desegregation order, now has day-to-day control over desegregation in Boston. Supposedly the board has changed.

There has been tremendous pressure on Garrity to withdraw. City authorities, including Democratic Mayor Kevin White and the all-Democratic City Council and School Committee, insisted from the start that Garrity had overstepped his authority and that the schools should be under "proper" direction.

Federal attack on Black rights

To this must be added the national pressure from Washington. The federal government, which has made concessions on Black rights only under massive pressure, has always sought to reverse those gains as soon as possible. It acts in the interests of the ruling rich that it represents, a ruling rich who find racism profitable and politically useful.

Thus, Washington's public stance toward Black rights has changed, under both Democratic and Republican administrations, to the point that the Justice Department is now intervening against school desegregation and affirmative action programs.

In November the Justice Department entered a Supreme Court case — without even being asked — to limit desegregation in Nashville. Earlier, the department invited authorities in Boston, St. Louis, Cleveland, Memphis, Detroit, and Denver to seek its help in finding "alternatives" to busing.

In December, the government asked a U.S. District Court to replace an existing busing plan in East Baton Rouge Parish (county) in Louisiana with a so-called voluntary plan.

School desegregation is under attack at the state level, too. In November 1981, a California court ended three years of busing in Los Angeles.

A national campaign against busing to achieve desegregation is clearly on, and it has been joined by some liberals who once claimed to support busing. A case in point is the editors of the *Boston Globe*, who have bombarded its readers with articles, editorials, guest columns, and polls, all designed to prove that (a) busing doesn't work and (b) no one, white or Black, favors it anymore.

'Free choice' plan

The antidiscrimination forces have utilized a so-called free choice plan put forth last February by Larry Johnson, one of the attorneys for Black plaintiffs in the 1974 case. Joining Johnson was a group of Black parents he had organized, the Black Parents Committee.

Under this "free choice," the courts would abandon mandatory assignments, quotas, and busing. Instead, a percentage of classroom seats would be reserved on a racial basis. If, however, not filled in time, the seats would be available to whoever wanted them.

This "free choice" plan was immediately denounced by Thomas Atkins, national counsel for the NAACP. Atkins was president of the Boston NAACP at the height of the anti-Black violence.

Atkins re-entered the case and pointed out, "The very thing that prompted the filing of the [1974] lawsuit . . . was Boston's racial manipulation of the 'open enrollment' system — which is the closest it ever came to 'freedom of choice.' It gave the appearance of choice, but in fact racial segregation was being designed and maintained under that system."

In 1971, in one of the first cases involving busing for desegregation, a federal judge found that in a North Carolina school district that "freedom of students of both races to transfer freely to schools of their own choices had resulted in resegregation of some schools which were temporarily desegregated."

Elizabeth Owens, a Dorchester (Boston) mother with a daughter in school, replied to the *Boston Globe*, which asked what she thought the outcome of "free choice" would be:

" . . . we'll be going back to where our schools were 10 or 15 years ago. Where everybody protected their own turf. We'll be going back to a separate but unequal system."

"Free choice" allows a cover under which racists, official and unofficial, can pressure Black students into "choosing" not to attend certain schools while allowing whites to "choose" not to attend others. The "voluntary" all-white schools then get favored treatment.

Larry Johnson's "free choice" proposal was latched onto by antibusing leaders, who hailed it.

The Justice Department cited it as "evidence" that Blacks no longer support busing. And the *Globe* published a rigged poll showing that 80 percent of Black parents would prefer "free choice" to busing.

Judge Garrity turned down Johnson's proposals, citing lack of evidence that "free choice" will work. But he left open a later consideration of the proposal if "facts" can be presented. He is also open to considering the findings by a Boston School Committee task force charged with developing an alternative to busing that would attract "middle class" — read "white" — students back to the system.

Atkins, responding to both "free choice" threats, indicated that the NAACP is considering a proposal that would extend busing into the suburbs. This proposal points

in the right direction, although the NAACP has not since elaborated on it.

The struggle for racial equality in Boston is also threatened by the November 1 decision of the Supreme Court to hear a challenge to affirmative action in layoffs brought by the Boston police and fire fighters unions. Here also the Justice Department has jumped in to join the challenge.

At issue in this suit is the use of dual seniority lists in layoff policy, similar to that ordered by Judge Garrity when the Boston school system faced massive layoffs in 1981.

As part of the original desegregation decision, Garrity ordered hiring of Black teachers, staff, and administrators to bring the percentage of Black personnel in the system up to that of Blacks in the population — now 30 percent.

But when layoffs loomed in 1981, Blacks would have been eliminated from the school system once again, if no compensation were made for the racist exclusion of Blacks prior to the order to hire them.

Thus, Garrity ordered that Blacks be protected with the establishment of a dual seniority list.

Boston Teachers Union

The Boston Teachers Union (BTU) fought this decision in the courts as it had fought Garrity's original affirmative action orders. The Supreme Court both times ruled against the BTU.

But the BTU, after the Justice Department joined the challenge to dual seniority lists by the cops and fire fighters unions, announced it would ask the Supreme Court to reconsider in the case of teachers, too.

The BTU's continued campaign against affirmative action, like that of its parent union, the American Federation of Teachers, makes impossible a united resistance to cutbacks in education — more than 20 percent of the Boston teaching staff has been laid off in the last two years, with more expected.

The alienation of the BTU from its natural ally, the Black community, continues to leave the field clear for the bigots and budget-cutters to gut the Boston school system.

Socialist hits Chicago school plan

BY MELVIN CHAPPELL

CHICAGO — The fight for busing to achieve desegregation of public schools took a heavy blow here when U.S. District Judge Milton Shadur approved a plan submitted by the racist Chicago Board of Education. His January 6 decision came after two years of litigation and more than 21 years of fighting against the segregated school system.

Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, Ed Warren, blasted the court ruling as "a racist maneuver to gut all efforts to bring about desegregation with the use of busing. Chicago has a long history of being the most segregated city in the country. This segregation cannot be challenged without the use of busing."

He called for a metropolitan-wide desegregation program that includes the white suburbs.

The Board of Education plan calls for a voluntary desegregation program that will use magnet schools. Shadur says this will lead to a 35 percent minority enrollment in

the schools by October, 1983. The plan also lumps together Black and Latino students as one minority group.

The Chicago school system is 16.3 percent white, 60.7 percent Black, and 20.4 percent Latino.

The Board of Education plan does nothing to break the back of segregated education. It will continue to allow 350 of the 597 schools to remain all minority. These are the schools that will be overcrowded, understaffed, and underfunded. With no busing included, the all-white suburban schools will remain segregated. The plan also puts the full burden on Blacks and Latinos to do any and all traveling. It will also weaken bilingual education for those who speak Spanish as a first language.

The NAACP and the National Urban League have also denounced the plan. Aldus Mitchell, local NAACP counsel in the school case said, "He [Shadur] apparently believes that Black folks don't have any rights that white folks are bound to respect."

The 'Bulgaria plot': imperialism's big lie

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The Italian government is spearheading an imperialist campaign to convince the world that the Bulgarian government — and standing behind it Moscow — masterminded the shooting of Pope John Paul II in Rome on May 13, 1981.

This campaign has escalated in the last several months, despite the absence of a shred of evidence to verify the story. The complete lack of proof is admitted by virtually every person and paper that has endorsed this web of lies and innuendo.

Thus, *Newsweek's* January 3 cover story, "The Plot To Kill The Pope," begins, "Though the case remains unproven and much of the evidence is circumstantial, there is reason to believe that the Bulgarian secret police" were the organizers of the murder attempt. Then follows seven pages of pure speculation.

In the United States, public adherents to the "Bulgarian connection" story include former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger; the *New York Times*; Zbigniew Brzezinski, White House national security adviser under President Carter; the *Wall Street Journal*; and Richard Pipes, the Reagan administration's departing senior specialist on Soviet affairs.

Pipes admitted to the *Washington Post* that "the Bulgarian connection has not been solidly made — and it is only inferential." However, that didn't stop him from telling the television cameras in an interview on the same day "to me the evidence is very strong."

What evidence? Stories in the press and "a gut feeling of how these people operate."

International big lie

The frame-up of Bulgaria is a classic case of the big lie technique. If you repeat something loud enough and long enough — no matter how outlandish — some people will be convinced that where's there's so much smoke there must be some fire.

What is really at the bottom of this entire episode is the ongoing imperialist slander campaign against the workers states and the national liberation movements of oppressed peoples. The goal is to brand those countries that have overthrown capitalism, and those people who are struggling to rid their countries of imperialist domination, as international outlaws, terrorists, and criminals.

Thus the Israeli and West German intelligence agencies, after saying they were skeptical about the specific charges against Bulgaria, explained that they regard Bulgaria "as well as other countries of the Soviet bloc, as important links in a terrorist network," according to the Dec. 18, 1982 *New York Times*.

Polish émigré writer Michael Konrad contended January 8 that Bulgaria has "become the training ground for international terrorism."

This campaign is also designed to cover up the fact that the *real* international criminals are the imperialists themselves.

For the imperialists, it is only a short step from the lying claim that the USSR and Bulgaria are the source of international terrorism, to justification of the most barbarous crimes in the name of combating terrorism.

The recent Israeli slaughter of Palestin-



Right-wing terrorist Agca. Italian government claims he confessed that Bulgarians paid him to shoot pope.

ian and Lebanese civilians in Beirut, the many atrocities of the racist South African regime, and the current U.S. war against the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean are all carried out under the banner of combating "Soviet imperialism." The freedom fighters in those countries are denigrated as terrorists and Soviet proxies.

Part of the attempt to brand Bulgaria as a criminal country is the sudden spate of articles about Bulgaria's supposed role as a center for arms smuggling and drug dealing. The U.S. government has made similar slanderous charges against Cuba, the latest being the Reagan administration's indictment in November of four high-ranking Cuban officials on charges of smuggling narcotics into the United States.

Time magazine listed among the Bulgarian government's "dubious activities" its considerable aid to the Nicaraguan revolution. This aid has come particularly in the field of agriculture expertise. It's this kind of "crime" the imperialists are actually worried about.

Discredit antimissiles movement

The charges of Bulgarian guilt originated in a fantastic story by right-wing author Claire Sterling in *Reader's Digest*.

The "evidence" to back up Sterling's story was provided by the would-be assassin: Mehmet Ali Agca, a right-wing Turkish terrorist.

Agca, who originally claimed to be working for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), later said he worked with agents of the Bulgarian secret police to shoot the pope. They, in turn, are simply puppets of the Soviet Union's secret police — the KGB — according to Sterling and her imperialist backers. At the time of the shooting, the story continues, the KGB was headed by Yuri Andropov, now the central leader of the Soviet government. Therefore, Andropov "must be" guilty.

Smearing Andropov and the Soviet Union in this way is a useful thing for the Italian government at a time when it — like many governments in Western Europe — is confronted by a mass movement opposed to the basing of NATO missiles in Europe.

The smear campaign puts pressure on opponents of the imperialists' arms build-up to back off, or at least to demand *bilateral* disarmament. After all, if the Soviet Union is the source of violence in the world, then they are the ones who should be disarmed.

Polish workers led by pope?

What is the motivation that is put forward for Moscow's alleged attempt, via Bulgaria, to kill the pope?

According to Sterling: "Pope John Paul II . . . is undeniably the spiritual father of Poland's Solidarity trade-union movement, which could never have been born without his blessing."

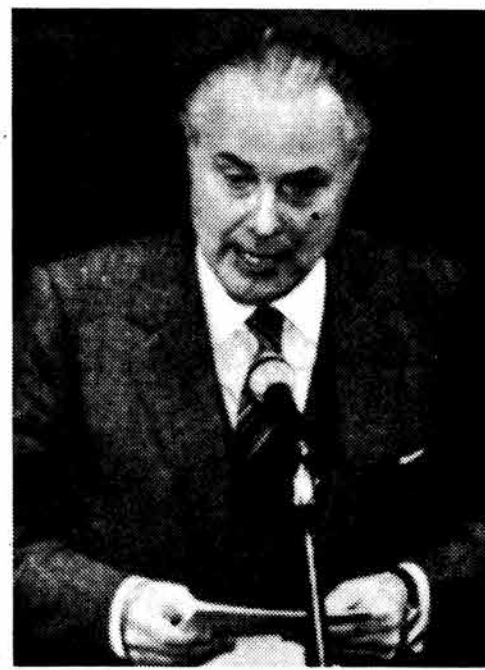
Socialist Party leader and Italian Defense Minister Lelio Lagorio told the Italian parliament on December 20 that the shooting of the pope was an "act of war" by the Soviet Union. He claimed it was a "precautionary and alternative solution to the invasion of Poland" by the Soviet Union.

This is yet another chapter in the imperialist attempts to distort the origins and aims of the struggle by the Polish people to democratize that workers' state. The imperialists try to portray the mass movement of the Polish working people as a struggle led by the Catholic hierarchy against "godless communism," a struggle whose goal is to drag Poland back into the capitalist fold.

But it is the workers and farmers of Poland, not the pope, who initiated and are leading the struggle to replace bureaucratic control of the country with workers democracy.

The Italian press has also featured "unconfirmed reports" that the Bulgarians had planned an attack on Polish Solidarity union leader Lech Walesa during his visit to Rome in January 1981.

The big-business media in Italy now claims that Luigi Scricciolo, a leader of the Italian Workers Federation (UIL) who was arrested last February on "terrorism" charges, worked with Bulgaria to plot Walesa's murder. This gives the Italian government a convenient "antiterrorism" handle with which to crack down on that country's militant trade-union movement.



Italian government spearheads imperialist slanders linking Bulgaria and Soviet Union with attempted assassination of pope. Italian Defense Minister Lagorio (left) presents concoction to parliament. Lurid story is then repeated in big-business press. Here *Newsweek* trumpets story without shred of evidence.

In order to further smear the workers states as international terrorists, Lagorio told the parliament that the Bulgarian government worked with the Red Brigades — an Italian terrorist organization — to kidnap U.S. Army Brig. Gen. James Dozier in 1981.

Red Brigades

Although the Red Brigades hold an anti-communist hostility to the Soviet Union and the East European workers states, that did not stop the imperialist propaganda machine from expanding on Lagorio's lie.

Italian newspapers have claimed that Red Brigades leader Mario Moretti frequently traveled to Bulgaria. This was repudiated by a Red Brigades member currently on trial, who declared: "We deny the existence of any exchanges or political relations of any nature with the countries of the Eastern Bloc, with the countries of the social-imperialist area of the Soviet Union."

While three of the four parties in the Italian government — the Christian Democrats, Social Democrats, and Liberals — have been somewhat hesitant in accusing the Bulgarians outright of shooting the pope, the Socialist Party has thrown all caution to the wind.

Part of what's motivating them was pointed to by Henry Kamm in the December 24, 1982, *New York Times*. As Kamm noted "the Socialists . . . are making a strong effort to portray themselves as more vigilant over Italy's security than the Christian Democrats. At the same time, accusations against a country of the Soviet bloc are viewed here [Rome] as directed also against the powerful Communist Party. . . ."

Turkish government profits too

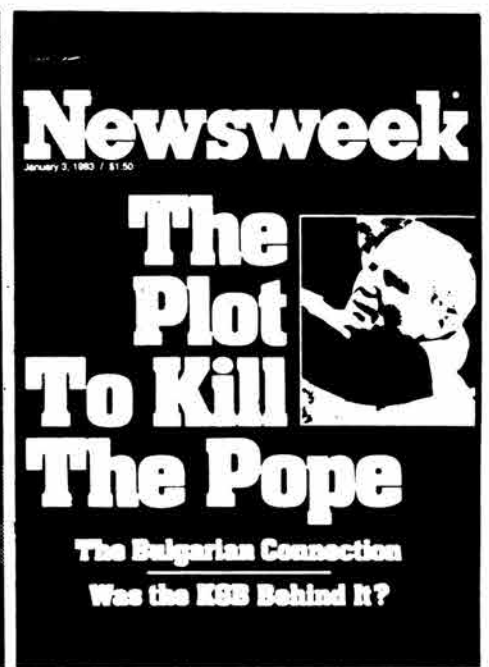
The bloody Turkish military dictatorship is also using this campaign against Bulgaria to its advantage, at home and abroad.

Agca, the man who shot the pope, is a well-known member of the Turkish National Action Party, a fascist outfit. In order to go to Rome to shoot the Pope, Agca had to escape from the Turkish prison where he was doing life for murdering the editor of a left-wing Turkish newspaper.

Now, the Turkish government is "reinvestigating" Agca's background and this murder, trying to portray him as a leftist. Thus, the *Christian Science Monitor* talks about "Agca's early PLO training, which might have begun as early as 1976 and would have been the first step on the path which led him to St. Peter's Square in Rome."

Transforming Agca from a fascist into a liberation fighter helps make the entire story of an international left-wing terrorist conspiracy a bit more plausible. It also aids the Turkish government in its moves to crack down on democratic rights. The bloody martial law imposed by the regime is justified by the charge that Bulgaria and the Soviet Union are training thousands of Turkish terrorists.

The U.S. press, which is where the story on the "Bulgarian connection" originated,



has been among the most zealous accusers of Bulgaria. The U.S. government is officially silent on the charges, however, presumably fearing that a too-eager endorsement would discredit the Italian government's campaign. Having Reagan join those pointing the finger would immediately exonerate Bulgaria in the minds of many in the world who are suspicious of everything U.S. imperialism does.

In addition, over time, this whole frame-up will be seen for the fraud that it is. Thus, many of the imperialist powers are keeping a little distance to avoid getting egg on their faces.

The Bulgarian government has put out a 72-page document rebutting the charges against it. None of the big-business papers have seen fit to print any of it.

The Bulgarian authorities also held a news conference in the capital city of Sofia, where they presented the two Bulgarians and one Turk who are wanted in Italy in connection with the pope's shooting. Boyan Traikov, a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party's Central Committee, invited the Italian magistrate who is heading the investigation to come to Sofia and question the three suspects.

The Italian government has refused to take up this offer. Instead, Italian Prime Minister Amintore Fanfani has declared a freeze on all diplomatic relations between Italy and Bulgaria.

3 federal workers victimized on charge of being gay

Three employees of the U.S. Defense Mapping Agency in Washington, D.C., who had top secret security clearances were recently forced to transfer jobs on the grounds that they are gay.

The two men and one woman were assigned to new jobs that require a "less sensitive" security clearance. They were transferred shortly after being called in by agency security officials and questioned about their homosexuality. All three told the *Washington Post* that they felt their sexual orientation has no bearing on their ability to do their job.

The two men, Alan Savada and Francis Magazino, were asked by officials to divulge the names of other workers at the agency who are also homosexuals. They refused.

Court suits have established that the government is not allowed to victimize employees based on the fact or allegation that they are homosexuals.

However, illegal investigations of employees on the grounds that they are gay go on all the time, as this case shows.

Another recent example is the case of Sally Goodman, an electrician who works for the giant military contractor, Martin Marietta, in Denver, Colorado. Goodman is currently under investigation by the Defense Investigative Service, the spy agency of the Department of Defense, for three charges, one of which is that she is gay.



Yassir Arafat

'Palestinian people stand with American people'

The following greetings were sent to the recent national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance by H.I. Hussaini, deputy observer to the United Nations for the Palestine Liberation Organization.

On behalf of the Palestine Liberation Organization and Chairman Arafat, I wish your convention all the success. The Palestinian people stand with the American people, especially their working class, oppressed minorities, and all those progressive, democratic forces that opposed American military aid to Israel and opposed Israel's war of genocide in Lebanon.

In the name of thousands of wounded Palestinian children and thousands of Palestinian prisoners and detainees, and in the name of thousands of Palestinians suffering under Israeli military occupation, we salute you, and extend a hand of friendship and solidarity to you.

Together, united, we as people can put an end to wars of genocide, to policies of racism and colonialism in South Africa and Israel, to oppression and denial of human rights in Latin America. Together, united, the people can put an end to the American military war machine that is bringing death and destruction to millions of peoples in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East.

We join you in rededicating ourselves to common struggle for peace, for justice, and for equality for all the oppressed and persecuted on this earth. The Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, will continue its struggle, despite all the pain, agony, and suffering, until it achieves a just peace based on equality between Jews, Christians, and Muslims in a democratic, secular state in Palestine.

Long live the solidarity of the American and Palestinian people.

U.S. harasses N. Korea mission

BY WILL REISSNER

Despite passage of a United Nations resolution calling for an end to U.S. legal harassment of North Korea's Permanent Observer Mission to the UN, such harassment continues unabated. In fact, a representative of the U.S. State Department said on December 9 that Washington is reviewing the possibility of shutting down North Korea's UN mission.

A December 9-10 meeting of the United Nations Committee on Relations with the Host Country adopted a resolution sponsored by Libya, Benin, Nicaragua, Syria, Zimbabwe, Madagascar, and Cuba calling on the U.S. government to grant full diplomatic "privileges and immunities" to all United Nations missions, including observer missions.

North Korea and South Korea are both represented by observer missions since neither is a member of the United Nations.

Washington claims that the North Koreans have only "functional" diplomatic immunity that covers them only while on the job.

U.S. harassment of North Korean diplomats began days after an American soldier, Joseph White, defected to North Korea on August 28.

Since that event, an arrest warrant has been issued for North Korean diplomat O Nam Chol on trumped up charges of sexual harassment; police have been permanently stationed outside the North Korean UN mission; and five North Korean diplomats waiting to begin their assignments at the UN have had their U.S. visas held up since October.

One of the diplomats whose visa is being delayed has a letter from Private White to his parents. "Private White thought his letter would only arrive safely in America if it were carried by a diplomat," explained North Korea's UN ambassador Han Si Hae.

The sexual harassment charge against O Nam Chol, third secretary at the UN mission, is based on an incident that allegedly

took place on September 5 in a suburban Westchester County park.

Westchester police seized O Nam Chol and six other North Korean diplomats, who were on a Sunday picnic, after a woman in the park claimed to have been sexually assaulted by an Asian male.

When the woman and three other witnesses were shown the North Korean diplomats, all agreed that the attacker was not among them. The diplomats were then released, with an apology. But as they were leaving the park, they were again harassed by police.

On September 10, the North Korean mission lodged a protest with the U.S. mission to the United Nations. The North Koreans noted that diplomatic immunity was designed precisely to protect diplomats from politically inspired criminal charges.

Days after the protest was lodged, however, the State Department provided Westchester police with visa photos of all the North Korean diplomats attached to the United Nations.

Westchester police claim that the woman who suffered the assault identified O Nam Chol from his photo, ten days after the incident, even though she had been unable to identify him in person only minutes after the attack took place.

A grand jury issued a warrant for O Nam Chol's arrest on September 22.

Since the indictment was issued, police have been permanently stationed outside the mission to arrest the diplomat if he emerges.

Ambassador Han has complained to the United Nations that the whole incident was "invented by the host country in order to embarrass the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and to impede its diplomatic envoys to the United Nations in discharging their duties."

One North Korean diplomat told the *Militant* that in addition to the permanent police presence outside the mission, the diplomats are regularly followed as they travel around New York City.

PLO leader pledges to continue fighting

The following are excerpts from a speech given by Yasser Arafat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), on Jan. 1, 1983. The excerpts and subheads were provided by the PLO's Palestine Information Center in Ottawa, Canada.

* * *

On the war in Lebanon

Our heroic fighters attained crowns of glory in their 80-day-long defense of Beirut with their bodies, their blood, and their souls. They defeated the attackers as a hell of fire was pouring on them continuously, day and night, from the land, air, and sea. The most modern American projectiles and rockets, the most advanced, including those internationally prohibited, were placed in the hands of these criminal killers — in the hands of criminal murderers of women and children — Sharon, and his master, the terrorist Begin, by the American Pentagon.

Lebanon and Beirut were to be used as testing grounds for these modern American weapons of destruction. Indeed, immense destruction, mass murder, and vast devastation was brought about by these weapons. This hell of fire and this genocide only served to strengthen the faith and will of our steadfast heroes. With their determination they attained new peaks and created miracles in our modern times.

On American responsibility for the war

This aggression was planned by the American administration, which provided it with the elements of strength and the weapons of the crime. The American administration attempted to cover this aggression with all the might available at its disposal. The American administration's delegate to the Security Council cast a veto to prevent condemnation of the aggressor. Agreements were torn up before the ink dried on them and hence precipitated the massacre of Sabra and Shatila. Further annual aid was increased by the American Congress to help assist this Israeli military gang.

This criminal campaign against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples was a paid sinister campaign by the American administration utilizing the criminal mercenaries in the Israeli army. The aim of this massive campaign was to subjugate the region to American hegemony and to subdue its will. Israel participated in this campaign with the hope of transforming its role from that of a watchdog to that of a junior partner in this massive slave trading that our region and peoples are being subjected to.

On Arab complicity

It is unfortunate to witness that as these grave events accelerated, pressing a broader confrontation on the freedom-loving people of the area, that some chose the road of capitulation . . . instead of choosing to mobilize the wells of strength emanating from our peoples. They chose to overlook the great events taking place in the battlefield and sought to please the masters in the hope of heeding their vengeance.

History shall never forgive them. Our masses will never forget. These masses will pave the way of the bright future with their liberated will and unconquerable determination. Events have proven the purity and innovation of the revolutionary choice. This experience has provided the broad masses of our Arab nation with a truthful hope and a light to clarify the issues of the struggle now under way.

To the Lebanese people

I take this opportunity to extend a word from the heart to the heroic Lebanese people. We created this great glory and this saga for our Arab nation to gather in confronting the Israeli-American imperial octopus. We shared our bread and our gunpowder. This event is nothing but a typhoon that will strike the whole area. This enemy of ours does not only want to swallow Palestine, its greediness does not stop

there, but extends to Lebanon and to other Arab lands. Those who collaborated with the enemy shall never find forgiveness among our people.

We say to our beloved brethren in Lebanon in a spirit of thankfulness: We remain committed to our common covenant. We remain committed to our long march of struggle. These revolutionary arms are at your disposal until you liquidate this disgusting occupation.

On Palestinian rights

The tremors of the volcano instigated by Beirut will sweep the region and will only stop at the gates of Jerusalem.

There shall be no solution, no peace and no stability in this region by jumping over the rights of the Arab nation and its central cause, the cause of the people of Palestine. [They have] the right of return, the right of self-determination, and the right to establish an independent Palestinian state with Jerusalem as its capital, under the leadership of the PLO, whose leadership was established on the Arab and in the international scene by the waging of our patriotic war.

On Arab and national unity

Our revolutionaries have taken their historical decision to assume the role of rebuilding Arab national solidarity. We will continue our efforts to unify and build our Arab front to prevent the Arab nation from falling prey to the new Sykes-Picot conspiracy.* Some have already fallen for this agreement and some are secretly and gradually falling for it.

Loyalty to Palestine is a central Arab cause. It is the norm of loyalty to the Arab masses. We protect this cause in the shade of our democratic oasis. We shall defend this democracy by our unity. Our freedom fighters, however, will never accept any fiddling around with the question of loyalty to Palestine.

Palestinian national unity, inside the occupied territories and outside, is a unity for all revolutionaries and for all militants. It is the armor that protects us from the vicious attacks of the enemy or even from the attacks of those who are close to us.

International appeal

[The Palestinian people] have the right to call upon international conscience, to call upon freedom lovers the world over, to call upon our friends and our allies, and to call upon the Jews inside Israel and outside Israel, in the United States and Europe, both Western and socialist Europe, to support peace and justice.

We ask them: Can a just peace be achieved in the land of Palestine and in our region through a chain of massacres starting with Deir Yassin and winding up in the massacre of Sabra and Shatila? Was it not the same fascistic Israeli military gang that perpetrated all these massacres? Can peace be achieved on the corpses of our women and children? Can a solution be imposed at the expense of our people?

Our people are asking the peoples of the world — without exception — for the right to self-determination.

We salute all national liberation movements in the world. We extend our greetings to the peoples and the governments of friendly nations that have continued to stand by us. We extend our greetings to the friendly countries of the Nonaligned Movement, to the Islamic nations, to the African states, to the socialist states, and to all other friendly nations.

The year of victory

This year is the year of victory over the ramifications of aggression after we have fought and have become victorious over aggression. Let us start our new year with an unshakable faith and self-confidence to create brighter tomorrows.

Revolution until victory.

*In 1916 the British and French imperialists secretly agreed to carve up the Middle East. The Sykes-Picot Treaty gave what is now Lebanon and Syria to France, while reserving Palestine, Jordan, and Iraq for the British.

Socialist workers assess scope of employers' attacks on unions

BY MALIK MIAH

CHICAGO — On January 1, socialist workers came together here to assess the impact of the government-employer attacks on working people and the growing response inside the labor movement.

The discussions took place at the national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance. They were attended by supporters of the YSA and Socialist Workers Party who are working in auto, aerospace, steel, oil refining, chemical, rail, electrical, coal mining, and garment and textile industries.

The meetings were based on union affiliation in order to discuss both the state of the industries and of the unions responsible for defending workers' interests. There were eight meetings, made up of workers organized by the United Auto Workers (UAW); International Association of Machinists (IAM); International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE); United Mine Workers of America (UMWA); United Steelworkers of America (USWA); Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers (OCAW); United Transportation Union (UTU); and the two main garment and textile unions, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

Also participating in the meetings were members of other rail unions, of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and United Electrical Workers, and of the United Textile Workers and United Garment Workers.

The workers came from most major cities in the country, from Los Angeles, to Miami, Chicago, Boston, and San Antonio. They worked in large plants, in shipyards, mines, and small shops. They were a cross-section of the U.S. working class: young and older; Black, Latino, and white; male and female.

And like millions of other industrial workers, a number had recently been laid off from jobs in auto, steel, coal mining, or garment. There were many garment workers at the meetings who had once been steelworkers; many oil workers who once worked in auto. They compared their experiences in these different industries and unions and examined the changing mood of militancy in the working class and the prospects of building a class-struggle leadership in the unions today.

Miners: vanguard union

John Hawkins, a member of UMWA Local 2258 in Pennsylvania, took up the meaning of the election defeat of UMW President Sam Church in his report to the miners' meeting. The most important thing about the recent union elections, where Rich Trumka was elected the new president, was that miners spoke out against the class-collaborationist approach of Church and used the democracy they won through the Miners for Democracy movement in the early 1970s, Hawkins said.

"Rank-and-file rejection of Sam Church is a big victory for the entire labor movement," Hawkins declared.

"We learned from our participation in this election campaign," he continued. "With over 20 percent of the active miners unemployed, and the bosses increasing their attacks, miners ousted Church as a further step to control our union."

He noted that even the coal industry magazine, *Coal Age*, commented on Church's failure to effectively use dirty tricks like red-baiting to win votes. As *Coal Age* put it, Church's "propensity to indulge in red-baiting . . . held little sway with today's UMWA, with more than half its members under 35."

Al Duncan, a UMWA member at a machine equipment shop in Pittsburgh, added, "miners dumped Church based on their experiences with him. He tried to sell them a rotten contract and the membership didn't forget."

Bill Hovland, a member of UMWA Local 2095 in West Virginia, was the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in the November elections. He reported that socialists were getting a good hearing in the mines. "Our tendency is stronger," he said.

Clare Fraenzl, also from West Virginia, observed that women miners are some of the most receptive to socialist ideas.

Auto workers and Chrysler victory

Although auto workers have not won the same democratic gains in their union as the miners have, a changing consciousness exists in the UAW too, reflected in the decision of U.S. and Canadian union members to reject the initial takeaway contract proposed to them by Chrysler and UAW President Douglas Fraser.

Elizabeth Ziers, a laid-off auto worker from Detroit, told the meeting of socialist auto workers that "the recent strike by Canadian Chrysler workers, backed by the majority of U.S. auto workers, was a blow to the UAW top leadership's strategy of concession bargaining. Chrysler workers had had enough, and they told the bosses and union officials so."

Ziers added that Chrysler workers are now seen as a positive example of fighting back against the employers' attacks.

Diane Shur, an auto worker from Kansas City, told the meeting there is a big discussion on her job about how the company is trying to use "Quality of Work Life" (QWL) programs to divide the workers. The aim of the programs is to convince workers they have common interests with their foremen.

She said, "The purpose of QWL is to serve the interests of the company; to counterpose QWL to the union." She noted that her local leadership gives qualified support to QWL, but at a recent union meeting a number of workers sharply attacked the program as an attempt to destroy the union.

A Canadian UAW member from Toronto said rank-and-file militancy is on the rise there too. The Chrysler strike had a big

impact, breaking the government's wage guidelines and inspiring workers in both English-speaking Canada and French-speaking Quebec. Her union, she said, has put out "No concessions" T-shirts.

The UAW also organizes workers in other industries, such as farm implements and military hardware. One such plant is the Martin Marietta Corp. in Denver. Sally Goodman, an electrician at the plant and a member of UAW Local 766, told the meeting that the government is harassing her. A union activist and women's rights fighter, Goodman is under investigation by the Defense Investigative Service of the Defense Department, based on charges that she is associated with socialists and is gay. Goodman's local has filed two grievances on her behalf.

Steelworkers resist attacks

In the Steelworkers meeting, Jesse Smith, a member of Local 1010 at Inland Steel in East Chicago, Indiana, pointed to the importance of the fact that rank-and-file USWA members have twice rejected giveback contracts proposed by the companies and the top union leadership.

A laid-off union member from Minnesota's Iron Range observed that "union solidarity is growing, especially since the Chrysler victory."

A coke oven worker at U.S. Steel's Gary Works, Mitchell Rosenberg, said sales of the *Militant* and discussions about what to do to fight the bosses are the best he's seen.

A USWA member from Milwaukee reported that Steelworkers are an active part of a local unemployed group pressing the state of Wisconsin to give more relief to unemployed workers.

Eli Green, a shipyard worker in Newport News, Virginia, said Tenneco is encouraging an antiunion outfit to challenge USWA Local 8888 for representation. Local 8888 was formed after a long battle in the late 1970s.

Garment and textile

Socialist workers active in the garment and textile industry reported growing militancy, too.

This is the newest industry socialists are active in. Many members are recent hire-ins. Thus much of the discussion concerned an exchange of experiences about the job and the unions.

Garments are manufactured in almost every city. A significant percentage of the workers are in nonunionized shops. Less than 5 percent of the workers in Los Angeles, for example, are organized.

The meeting decided that the potentially most powerful section of the garment workforce is workers organized into unions — particularly the two largest, ILGWU and ACTWU.

The most common experience discussed was how the bosses in the outerwear section of the industry are trying to renege on the last national contract agreement signed last spring. As several workers from ILGWU Local 23-25 in New York reported, the pattern is as follows: the bosses plead poverty in order to get the union and the workers to agree to a wage freeze, or postponement of scheduled raises.

Diane Wang of ILGWU Local 40 said the employers are trying to end the 35-hour workweek and get greater freedom to subcontract — forcing workers to do "homework" under self-imposed, substandard conditions in order to make enough money to survive.

Olga Rodríguez, also a member of the ILGWU in New York, emphasized the importance of orienting to the unions. She said that in most cases where workers go to the union over nonpayment of wages, the boss is forced to back down.

Laura Garza, a member of ACTWU Local 190 in Newark, reported on a fight in her shop over the wage issue. The workers forced the union officials and the boss to provide information on the new contract, which had been kept a secret. They also



Canadian Chrysler workers' walkout has (right) are trying to force bosses to live u

asked why the union was raising dues. Shop floor meetings, on company time, took place.

The socialist garment and textile workers' meeting discussed many questions: the character of the garment and textile unions and their history; which unions to orient to; should socialists seek jobs in nonunion shops and if so, should they try to participate in organizing drives? It was agreed such questions need further discussion, particularly after further experience is gained.

Oil workers

The meeting of OCAW members heard a report by Sue Skinner, a refinery worker in Toledo. "Company attacks," she said, "are taking the form of elimination of crafts, restrictions on job bidding, attempts to lengthen the working day, and further moves to victimize Black and women workers as a way to divide the work force as a whole."

OCAW President Robert Goss has done nothing to counter these attacks, she said. "He is more concerned about consolidating his control over the union and raising dues than protecting the membership."

Since his re-election last year, Goss has carried out a purge against supporters of Anthony Mazzocchi, the former Health and Safety director who ran against Goss. Skinner reported that most of the staff of the health and safety and the civil rights divisions of the union have been reassigned or fired.

A number of OCAW members commented that it is important to work with all sections of the union leadership on issues of importance to build the union, not just the opposition forces around Mazzocchi. So far, neither Mazzocchi nor any other leaders have presented a clear perspective on how to defend the union from increased company attacks.

Caroline Lund, a Bay Area refinery worker, said the bosses are increasing attempts to victimize women workers. Several women from Los Angeles reported similar harassment.

One of the major discussions at the meeting concerned a new ploy by the company to undermine workers' solidarity and weaken the union by increasing the workday to 12 hours, with four days on and three days off.

One Los Angeles OCAW member said this was a big topic of discussion on his job. He said many workers favor this proposal as a way to get more leisure time. But, he said, the eight-hour day is an important conquest of the labor movement, even if it isn't the norm in the oil industry. Any retreat on the concept of fighting for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay can only embolden the employers to demand more union givebacks.

A union member from New Orleans said that at the Shell refinery where he worked the membership has fought attempts to impose the 12-hour day. Most workers believe the longer hours will lead to reducing the work force and higher accident rates.

Rail workers

Mark Burrows, an engineer on the Chicago Northwestern railroad, told the



Deepening militancy in miners union resulted in replacement of President Sam Church with Richard Trumka (left).



Militant



Militant/Barry Chann

encouraged fightback mood and discussion among workers everywhere on how to resist employers' onslaught. Garment workers to terms of new contract.

meeting of rail workers that rail labor is suffering some of the heaviest blows in its history. Last fall, he explained, the government directly intervened to bust the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' nationwide strike. A few weeks ago, Conrail in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania moved to gut commuter service and fire thousands of workers.

Not counting the Conrail firings and other layoffs, 16.7 percent of rail workers in the operating crafts are currently laid off. These layoffs have hit large numbers in the UTU, including socialists. The meeting agreed that an orientation to workers under the UTU contract should be maintained.

Mike Finley, a laid-off rail clerk in Philadelphia, said Conrail's latest moves could mean the firing of all clerks.

Rob Bartlett of Chicago, a UTU member, said Chicago Northwestern is on a drive to get wage concessions in order to "meet the competition" of the Milwaukee Road, which has already extracted concessions from its employees.

UTU member Joe Swanson, from Lincoln, Nebraska, said his coworkers are talking more about politics and taking socialist ideas more seriously.

Machinists

Many workers covered by IAM contracts work in the big war industry and aerospace plants like Boeing, Lockheed, McDonnell Douglas, Martin Marietta, GE, and FMC. These companies make much of their profits by building weapons and military and commercial airplanes.

Socialists active in the IAM came from Seattle, Los Angeles, San Jose, Atlanta, Dallas, Baltimore, St. Louis, Tucson, Milwaukee, and other cities.

Mickey van Summern, an IAM member at the FMC plant in San Jose, focused her report on the growing receptivity of machinists to socialist ideas. She said a number of coworkers petitioned to help get Mel Mason, the independent socialist candidate for governor, on the ballot in California.

She also noted the positive response by IAM members to defense efforts for unionists who have been harassed, spied on, or fired by the companies and Defense Department officials.

A group of IAM members at Lockheed-Georgia, fired for their union and political activities, recently filed suit to win reinstatement. Another plaintiff, Tom Fiske, who still works at the plant, noted in the discussion the importance of bringing this case to the labor movement across the country.

Machinists reported that takeback contracts are now common in the airline industry, and the IAM leadership, headed by President William Winpisinger, has done little to organize a fightback. One worker from St. Louis reported his local had negotiated a dual-pay scale where new employees get qualitatively less pay than other employees.

Another IAM member reported that at the GE plant in Milwaukee, discussion on

fighting concessions has increased in the wake of the Chrysler victory.

Electrical workers

Don Gurewitz, a member of IUE Local 201 at the GE plant in Lynn, Massachusetts, gave the main report in the meeting of electrical workers. The discussion centered on the attacks by the employers and the importance of socialists being active in the IUE.

The issues of runaway shops; automation; imports; and contracting out, or "farmouts," were also discussed. The IUE leadership, like the UAW officialdom, is asking Congress to pass a domestic content bill that would supposedly require some manufactured products to contain a certain percentage of parts produced in this country. They argue this would create jobs because imported parts are the source of unemployment.

A member of Local 301 in Schenectady, New York, said imports are the biggest dis-

cussion in his shop, with many workers believing that anti-import laws can save jobs.

Several workers reported that automation and the use of robots is another big topic.

Chris Gauvreau, a member of IUE Local 201, said the robots are mainly replacing assembly workers, who are mostly Blacks and women.

She added that affirmative action for women has been a big issue at GE. Recently the company was forced to upgrade the pay scale of traditionally female-held jobs after the IUE local filed and won a class-action suit. "That fight," Gauvreau said, "has raised the consciousness of all workers."

Mark Chalkley, a member of IUE Local 1127 in San Antonio, told of the fight of the predominantly Chicano local against the Stainless Ice-Tainer Co. (SITCO) in November. He said the workers won support from other unions and in the Chicano community.

Philadelphia rail bosses: 'kick labor in gut'

BY MIKE FINLEY

PHILADELPHIA — "It's about time we gave labor a kick in the gut."

With these words, the chairman of the board of directors of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority (SEPTA), David Girard-DiCarlo, arrogantly declared open warfare on Philadelphia-area rail workers. He was speaking in anticipation of the transfer of rail commuter operations from Conrail to SEPTA, which took effect on Jan. 1, 1983. SEPTA is a regional transit system that operates the buses, trolleys, and subways of the city of Philadelphia and its four surrounding suburban counties.

Since New Year's Day, SEPTA has laid off hundreds of former Conrail commuter service workers and abolished their jobs. Trainmen's wages have been slashed from an average of \$10-\$11 per hour to \$7-\$9. Every single clerk has been fired and their union, the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC), has been put off the property. Outside contractors, such as the Blue Ribbon Vending Co., have brought in replacement "clerks," who are paid at the rate of \$4.75 an hour and receive no benefits.

Pay for layover time between runs has been eliminated and SEPTA is planning to introduce part-time workers. Crew sizes have been reduced to the bare minimum of one engineer and one conductor, while train sizes have increased by 33 percent, up to eight cars at times.

Safety on the job has fallen by the wayside. During a pilot SEPTA takeover of the Newtown branch commuter line last summer, one engineer was killed in a fiery collision with an oil truck. This happened after SEPTA management removed what it called "unnecessary" equipment from his train, thereby preventing it from automatically tripping in advance the rail crossing barriers that would have alerted and held back the oil truck driver.

Starting with a complete shutdown of all commuter lines on December 31 — in effect locking out its employees for one day — SEPTA has since restored service to only 7 of the 12 rail lines that normally

carry over 50,000 commuters daily. In addition, the number of runs on the seven functioning lines has been reduced by 80 percent. Of the usual 550 trains scheduled to run each day, only 108 now go out.

The commuter system here normally employs about 1,700 workers. Only 111 of them worked on January 1 and 2. SEPTA says it will gradually call workers back as the number of runs increases and operations return to "normal." But according to a BRAC official, normal for SEPTA will mean the permanent abolition of approximately 800 jobs.

SEPTA's overall strategy was outlined by general manager David Gunn, who coolly stated: "SEPTA will require about three years of reducing total wages and changing work rules before commuter rail division costs per employee are in line with those of SEPTA's city transit workers."

City transit workers start at \$3.35 an hour — the minimum wage. Top yearly rate for these subway train and bus operators and mechanics falls some \$5-\$6,000 short of what rail workers had been making under Conrail, with wide differences in benefits and conditions.

One major newsradio station summed up the situation in a broadcast January 5: "SEPTA's goal is to dramatically and qualitatively alter the traditional relationship between rail management and the rail unions." In other words, SEPTA is out to bust the unions.

The local media have been doing their part by publishing lies about the rail workers' real wages and working conditions, printing editorials demanding more layoffs and wage cuts, and by reporting SEPTA's propaganda as unquestionable fact.

Headlines have read: "Commuting a Dream"; "Easy Going"; "Few Problems Despite Cuts"; and other pabulum. In reality, all the region's mass transit has been seriously disrupted as commuters face the daily uncertainty of cancelled runs, late arrivals, overtaxed bus and subway service, and swollen center-city traffic.

The SEPTA takeover was originally conceived as part of the 1981 Conrail con-

cession contract, which froze the wages of 71,000 rail workers for three years, virtually eliminated the right to strike, and opened the door to almost 30,000 permanent layoffs as Conrail either abandoned or sold off entire sections of itself to other rail carriers.

A mere two weeks before the January 1 SEPTA takeover, rail union officials loudly proclaimed their willingness to keep working without a contract under the odious SEPTA conditions. "We've gone along with everything SEPTA wanted up to now," bragged one official of the United Transportation Union (UTU), the most important of the 15 affected rail crafts.

But the pressure is mounting to take steps to fight SEPTA and defend the unions.

"I don't know how much longer I can hold my trainmen back from striking under the slave wages they're getting now," said Charlie Jones, general chairman of the UTU. "We have to get some meaningful negotiations going. If not, we're in serious trouble."

Of the 441 UTU members who worked on the commuter trains under Conrail, only 30 worked during the first two days under SEPTA.

The pressures are mounting daily on the rail union officials. Anticipating the SEPTA onslaught, angry clerks marched through downtown Philadelphia in December to BRAC's offices, where the rail union chiefs were meeting and discussing compliance with SEPTA's antilabor conditions. Calls from hundreds of trainmen, clerks, carmen, and others are pouring into rail union offices.

So far SEPTA has refused to negotiate any new contract at all because it feels confident that a strike by rail labor can be defeated. But the response and militancy of rank-and-file workers and of a growing layer of low-ranking union officials may upset SEPTA's carefully prepared scenario.

Mike Finley is a former SEPTA bus driver and a furloughed Conrail clerk in Philadelphia.

Tom Kerry: proletarian fighter

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

Tom Kerry, a long-time leader of the Socialist Workers Party who spent nearly 50 years of his life working to build the Socialist Workers Party and its predecessors in the United States, died of a heart attack in Los Angeles on January 8. He was 81 years old.

Kerry was born in Boston on Aug. 24, 1901, to working-class parents of English and Irish descent. Living with his mother, he grew up in what he described as an Irish ghetto in Chicago, where he first learned about socialist ideas from friends and schoolmates, many of whose parents were socialists.

One of his earliest political recollections was of going with friends to the Chicago railroad station to greet the great working-class leader Eugene V. Debs and escort him to a meeting hall. It was 1916, and Debs was campaigning for president on the Socialist Party ticket. His campaign, a rousing antiwar crusade aimed at mobilizing the working class against U.S. entry into the inter-imperialist slaughter in Europe, appealed to Kerry. He joined the SP youth organization, the Young People's Socialist League, about the same time for reasons he described as more social than political.

A year later he dropped out. By then the U.S. government had entered the war. Many of the formerly antiwar socialists had changed their position. Kerry was disillusioned and confused by the capitulation of so many Socialist Party members. He couldn't understand why socialists in many countries around the world were supporting their own capitalist governments.

Throughout the entire decade of the 1920s, Tom was not interested in or involved in politics. The one exception was his deep attraction to and the inspiration he drew from the great October 1917 revolution in Russia. He followed its development closely over the years.

Tom dropped out of high school before his senior year and in 1918 went to work, but it was several years before he was able to secure any steady employment. In 1923 he got a job with the Chicago Byproduct Coke Company, soon becoming a successful salesman, with a company car and expense account at his disposal and a big salary for those days — \$75 per week plus bonuses. It was a comfortable life, and Tom commented more than once that for him, ironically enough, the early years of the depression were the most prosperous of his life.

Impact of depression

But as with millions of others, the economic and social collapse of capitalism following the 1929 stock market crash had a cataclysmic impact on him.

He started to become interested in politics, gravitating towards the Communist Party. Always an avid reader, he cast about for materials that would explain what was happening in the world.

During the early 1930s in Chicago, Tom first came in contact with revolutionists who were being expelled from the Communist Party (CP) and various affiliated organizations for defending the Leninist policies advocated by Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky.

Trotsky was leading the fight in the Soviet Union and in the world communist movement for a return to the proletarian internationalist policies of the Bolsheviks. Several of Tom's friends were members of a group called Friends of the Soviet Union. Others were involved in the defense of class-struggle victim Tom Mooney. Through them he met Albert Goldman and learned of Goldman's expulsion from the CP in 1933 on charges of Trotskyism.

He came into contact with members of the Communist League of America, the organization formed in 1928 by James P. Cannon and other leaders of the CP who had been expelled for defending Leninism.

Tom was aware of the role Trotsky had played in the leadership of the Russian revolution. He couldn't accept the accusation that Trotsky had turned into a counterrevolutionary agent of imperialism. At the Chicago Public Library, Tom secured a copy of Trotsky's recently published autobiography, *My Life*.

"It opened my eyes to the truth about what happened in the Soviet Union," was

the way Tom summed up the impact of that book on his own political evolution.

Off to California

In 1930, through mutual acquaintances, Tom met Karolyn McLeland, recently arrived from Louisville, Kentucky, and making her way as a young working woman on her own in Chicago. They became life-long companions and comrades. Tom introduced Karolyn to socialist ideas and, as the class struggle unfolded throughout the 1930s, together they became more and more strongly convinced of the correctness of revolutionary Marxism.

Late in 1934 Tom and Karolyn set off together for California. Soon after arriving in San Francisco they attended a meeting at which Communist Party leader Bill Dunne spoke about the recently concluded San Francisco general strike which was led by the CP and had successfully organized the waterfront and turned San Francisco into a union town.

Outside the meeting, a group of young members of the Communist League of America (CLA) were selling the *Militant* and Karolyn bought a copy. Within a matter of days she joined the San Francisco branch of the CLA.

It took Tom a few weeks more. The decision to join a revolutionary Marxist party was an even bigger change in his life and priorities than it was for Karolyn. But once decided, it became a life-time commitment to advancing the interests of the working-class toward the goal of socialism and building a working-class party capable of leading that struggle. Around the end of December 1934, Tom joined the CLA too.

In the meantime the CLA had merged with A.J. Muste's American Workers Party to become the Workers Party.

Together with other members of the Workers Party, Tom and Karolyn participated in the labor battles that swept California in the years following the victory of the 1934 San Francisco general strike.

Karolyn worked primarily as a waitress and took part in various organizing drives.

Tom took whatever jobs he could get and was active in the unemployed movement. He became a leader of the Workers Alliance, the unemployed organization initiated by the Socialist Party, and helped to negotiate its fusion with the CP-led Unemployed Leagues in 1936. For a short while following the merger, he was the California state vice-president of the Workers Alliance.

Support for farm workers

Tom was also involved in organizing support for striking farm workers who in 1935 and 1936 were waging bitter struggles to organize agriculture throughout California. As usual the cops were brutal in their attempts to bust the strikes. The Workers Party together with the left-wing forces in the Socialist Party, especially the youth in the Young Peoples Socialist League, played a particularly important role in a strike organized by the Mexican-based CUCOM, the United Confederation of Mexican Workers and Campesinos. They joined the picket lines, helped organize the relief kitchens and child-care centers, collected money to sustain the strike, found doctors and lawyers to help, and

worked for the defense committees set up to aid the victims of the strike.

Experiences like these — working with the left-moving forces in the SP — led in June 1936 to the entry of the Workers Party members into the Socialist Party.

A year and a half later the Socialist Workers Party was founded. It was based on a substantially reinforced left-wing expelled from the SP for refusal to remain silent on the "disputed" issues of world politics, such as the Spanish Civil War, the French Popular Front, the Moscow Trials, and the struggle for independent labor political action.

When the Socialist Workers Party was founded, Tom was elected as a regular member of the party's leading committee, the national committee, and was reelected at every subsequent convention of the party until 1969 when he became an advisory member.

Maritime industry

Tom's main experiences in the organized labor movement were in the maritime industry.

Between 1936 and the end of the 1940s, when the cold war witch-hunt succeeded in driving revolutionary workers off the ships and out of the maritime unions, Tom sailed from ports on both the east and west coasts; worked as a union organizer and international representative for the Seafarer's International Union; edited several union papers and opposition caucus newsletters; and took responsibility for organizing the maritime fraction of the Socialist Workers Party, composed of all members of the party who worked as seamen and belonged to one of the maritime unions.

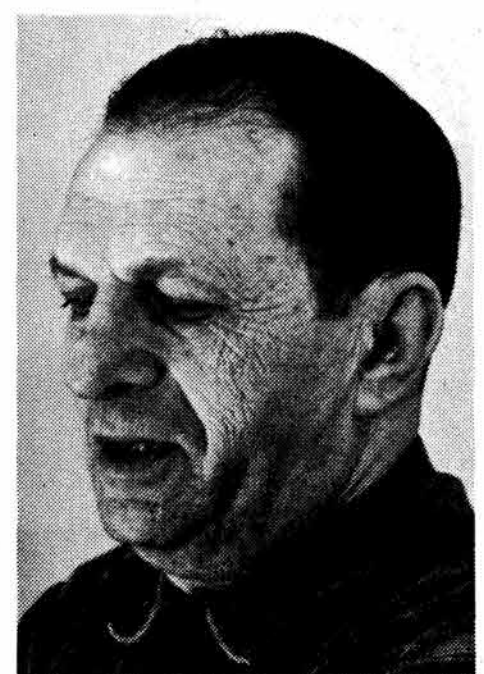
The battle to organize maritime on an industrial union basis began with the San Francisco general strike. In the 1934 strike, the seamen won union recognition and established a union hiring hall, but it took a second hard-fought strike in 1936-37 to win a contract.

Under the pressure of the mass labor upsurge, the craft-organized unions of the American Federation of Labor proved unable to lead the struggle. Seven maritime unions came together in 1935 to form the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, a promising step toward organizing maritime workers on an industrial basis.

The leadership of the Maritime Federation of the Pacific was soon dominated by syndicalist forces led by Harry Lundeberg, head of the Sailors Union of the Pacific (SUP). The syndicalists advocated rank-and-file job action and independence of the unions from all political parties. Up until the outbreak of World War II, the syndicalists opposed the line the Communist Party attempted to impose on the unions, a line of labor peace and class compromise in the interests of maintaining the Democratic party political coalition behind Roosevelt.

Although his opposition to the CP's pro-Roosevelt political line was often combined with more than a small element of anticommunism, Lundeberg's stance at least opened the door to a greater rank-and-file democracy and the possibility for the workers to bring their power to bear in the struggle against the bosses.

The Workers Party, which in 1936 was beginning to get some of its members into the maritime unions on the West Coast,



Militant

Tom Kerry

blocked with the Lundeberg leadership to advance the fight for industrial unions based on rank-and-file democracy and carrying out a class-struggle line — refusing to subordinate the interests of the workers to the needs of the bosses and their political parties.

Fight for union democracy

The Pacific Marine Firemen, Oilers, Watertenders and Wipers (another of the unions belonging to the Maritime Federation of the Pacific) opened its books for hiring in the summer of 1937, and Tom started shipping out. He rapidly became a leader in the battle for union democracy in the Marine Firemen. When the pro-Roosevelt, CP-led forces came close to taking over the union, he helped organize a rank-and-file opposition caucus, which soon had the open support of more than 1,500 members and won the leadership of the union in the next elections. Tom edited the caucus newsletter, the *West Coast Firemen*.

In 1938 in a bid to counter the growing strength of the CIO, especially the National Maritime Union, which had just been organized on the east coast, the Sailors Union of the Pacific was offered a charter from the AFL to organize all seagoing personnel, fishermen, and fish cannery workers. The Seafarer's International Union (SIU), as the new union was called, began a drive to win affiliation votes from the nearly moribund locals of the various AFL fishing-industry craft unions on the west coast. Tom became an international representative for the new union, traveling up and down the west coast to convince locals of the fish cannery workers to affiliate.

In 1939 he was sent by the union to New York as part of an effort to establish the SIU on the east coast. Tom helped to launch and edit the first issues of the union's national paper, the *Seafarers Log*, and then returned to San Francisco.

Bloc with Lundeberg forces

The bloc with the Lundeberg forces to advance the construction of democratic, class-struggle oriented unions was an important example of how the revolutionary workers' movement takes advantage of openings to work with diverse forces to advance toward a class-struggle left wing in the labor movement. But the SIU was far from being a revolutionary union like Teamsters Local 574 in Minneapolis, in which revolutionary Marxists were the dominant political force.

In the 1930s the maritime industry was still organized on strictly segregated lines. Some jobs were for Blacks and some for whites. The SUP was a white job trust, and efforts by revolutionary-minded workers to use the power of their unions to tear down racist divisions met with total resistance, not support, from the Lundeberg leadership.

Tom had many stories about the struggles he and others had with the Lundeberg leadership to try and change Jim Crow policies. For example, when he went to New York in 1939 to organize for the SIU, the majority of the union membership was Black. But the Black members were or-



Martin Luther King, Jr., and local residents at one of car pool pick-up stations in Montgomery, Alabama, during 1955-1956 bus boycott. Kerry visited Montgomery as boycott was just beginning.



Militant
Tom Kerry (back row left) and Karolyn Kerry (back row right) with students who attended Socialist Workers Party leadership school in 1961-62. Students, left to right, (back row) Sid Brown, Suzanne Weiss, Mary Henderson, (front row) Peter Buch, Lynn Henderson, Ernie Tate, Al Hunter, and John Chelstrom. Tom was also a student at the first session of the leadership school when it was established on a permanent basis in 1951.

ganized separately in the stewards department, with a hiring hall separate from the white sailors.

Revolutionists in the union opposed this Jim Crow set-up and tried to change it. But the reactionary toleration of Jim Crow policies by the Lundeberg leadership was a towering obstacle to building a fighting union movement.

Also, as Tom himself pointed out, given the political pressures under which they were operating in this situation, he and other Trotskyists had to be constantly on guard against adapting, even in terminology, to the anticommunist prejudices of militant, syndicalist-led workers for whom there was little difference between Stalinism and communism. Tom explained that they sometimes made errors in this direction, but the party leadership would call it sharply to the faction's attention whenever this occurred.

World War II

With the outbreak of World War II, and the pro-U.S.-imperialism position adopted by the Lundeberg leadership, it was no longer possible for revolutionary Marxist opponents of the war to hold union positions in the SIU. Many members of the SWP continued to sail throughout the war, working within the unions to oppose the labor officialdom's prowar stand and pledge of labor peace in the interests of the war effort. Tom became the San Francisco organizer of the Socialist Workers Party.

For labor leaders who, unlike Lundeberg and the Communist Party, refused to subordinate the interests of the working class to the imperialist war, the bosses and their government had something different in store.

Eighteen leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Teamsters Local 574 in Minneapolis were framed, convicted of violation of the notorious anticommunist Smith Act, and sentenced to prison on December 8, 1941, the day after Pearl Harbor.

When the appeals were exhausted and the 18 began serving their prison terms in 1944, Tom and Karolyn left San Francisco, on what they thought was going to be a temporary assignment, and came to New York to be part of the national leadership team at the party center.

Tom became a member of the Political Committee. He immediately pitched in on the *Militant* staff, where he wrote on a large variety of topics, but followed developments in the labor movement especially. While never formally editor of the *Militant*, he stepped in to do the job whenever necessary, and was editor during 1944. And he took any other assignment that came along in the often shifting division of labor, including that of New York local organizer.

As the war came to an end and the giant postwar labor upsurge began, Tom went back to sea, this time as a member of the East Coast-based National Maritime Union.

He remembered being on a ship in the port of Brest when the workers of France closed the country down tight by a general

strike that nearly toppled the capitalist rulers of that country. The ship's captain panicked and announced that they were sailing for Rotterdam immediately because a revolution was taking place "out there."

Tom's last trips were coastal runs between New York, Baltimore, and Havana, where, despite his experience at sea and the number of ports he had visited, he was shocked at the extent of the prostitution and pornography trade organized by U.S. business interests in Havana, and the vast private beaches reserved for the rich Americans.

When the Cuban revolution came along a decade later, Tom was one of its most ardent supporters. He helped to lead the fight inside the SWP against the tiny minority that was incapable of recognizing a revolution and a revolutionary leadership when it appeared right under their noses.

The hard years

The post-World War II strike wave and labor upsurge rapidly receded, giving way to the cold war, the McCarthy witch-hunt, and an extended period of relative economic prosperity and labor quiescence. It was the beginning of the most difficult period in the history of the revolutionary workers' movement in this country. Tom's role in helping to lead the Socialist Workers Party through those years was his most outstanding contribution as a working-class leader.

As head of the national maritime fraction, he helped to lead the fight that members of the SWP and others waged within the National Maritime Union as the bureaucracy, with the help of the U.S. government, witch hunted communists out of the union. By 1949 the battle had been lost and the Coast Guard simply revoked the sailing papers of anyone fingered as a leftist.

The early 1950s were the hardest years. The U.S. ruling class was waging its war in Korea. The witch-hunt was raging. Party membership had declined dramatically. There was no money to sustain any kind of full-time professional apparatus for the party. The national office had to be reduced to one single person, Farrell Dobbs, the party's national secretary.

In 1952 Tom went to work in a New York laundry establishment as a boiler maintenance man.

As the pressures of the cold war continued to mount, the party suffered a major split in 1953. The split also divided the Fourth International, the world political organization to which the SWP would be affiliated if it were not for reactionary legislation that prohibits it.

The isolation of the party was severe.

Following the split, Tom and Karolyn left New York to help reinforce the party in Los Angeles, where Tom took the assignment of organizing the leadership of the branch.

By 1955, though, there were already harbingers of the mass Black civil rights movement that was about to come on the scene as a powerful proletarian force and transform American politics in the 1960s. There were indications that the political cli-

mate on the campuses was beginning to shift, opening up new possibilities for the recruitment of small numbers of new forces from among the youth.

To be able to take advantage of those new openings, at the end of 1955 the party asked Tom and Karolyn to come back to the party center in New York and take on full-time assignments, living on the meager resources the party was able to allocate to offset the expenses of such comrades.

Although Tom was already in his mid-50s, he did not hesitate a day. He and Karolyn immediately responded that, if the party needed it, they would gladly return.

Montgomery bus boycott

Even as they made their way back to New York driving their beat-up station wagon, the new era of the Black struggle burst upon the political scene with all its force. On December 2, 1955, Rosa Parks was arrested on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, for refusing to give up her seat to a white man, and the historic Montgomery Bus Boycott was on — the first mass battle in the struggle that demolished Jim Crow.

Tom and Karolyn changed their route so they could stop in Montgomery on their way, bringing an eye-witness account of the struggles taking place there to meetings in New York. In response to the need for cars to make it possible for the boycott to continue, Tom and Karolyn donated their station wagon, which they asked Farrell Dobbs, the SWP presidential candidate in 1956, to drive to Montgomery and deliver on behalf of the SWP.

Rearming the party

By the early 1960s the political climate and prospects for building a proletarian revolutionary party had been radically transformed. The development of the mass civil rights movement and rise of Black nationalism; the victory of the Cuban revolution; the Khrushchev revelations and the Hungarian revolution; the rise of the student radicalization, which was further fueled by the beginning of opposition to the Vietnam War — all these had provided the political conditions for the party to be able to launch a new revolutionary Marxist youth organization, the Young Socialist Alliance.

Out of the youth movement especially, the Socialist Workers Party was recruiting new forces and the party was being regenerated.

But the continuity of the Marxist movement in the United States was not yet assured. To do that took another political fight in the party, one that had to be and was led by the older cadres to assure that the new forces coming into the party would be trained in the norms and traditions of a Leninist party.

The years of reaction and isolation from the mass movement had taken their toll. Simply to survive the extended period of enforced semisectarian existence, many of the proletarian organizational norms were of necessity loosened. Now that conditions permitted and demanded a return to a more politically homogeneous party and more disciplined, centralized functioning, it was clear that a substantial minority were opposed. They had come to prefer the loose norms forced on us by the aberrations of the 1950s and wanted to transform the party further into a discussion circle, not to return to the norms of a politically homogeneous Leninist party.

Tom became national organization secretary when he returned to New York, a responsibility he held from 1956 to 1963. In that capacity he worked closely with National Secretary Farrell Dobbs and played an indispensable role in leading the fight against every single one of the attempts to block the party from reestablishing and applying more consistently the organizational principles on which it was founded. He helped to prepare, and implement, the 1965 resolution adopted by the party codifying its organizational norms.

From 1963 to 1970 Tom was the editor of the party's magazine, the *International Socialist Review*. And until he left the party center in 1977 to retire from central leadership responsibility, he continued to play a

role in many aspects of the party's work. But there was one particular challenge during that period on which his leadership was crucial.

Transition in leadership

He played a central role in helping to make a transition in leadership to the new generation that arose out of the struggles of the 1960s and 1970s.

The challenge was a unique one in the history of the workers' movement, as few revolutionary parties have endured long enough with program and elementary revolutionary fiber intact to be confronted with such a task. But on this question too, Tom acted as a conscious working-class leader and helped organize the transition in order to maximize the equilibrium and continuity of the leadership, as well as its renewal.

To make room on the national committee for younger leaders, Tom argued for the establishment of a constitutional category of advisory members of the National Committee at the 1963 convention of the party. In 1969 he himself became an advisory member and then five years later, after it had served its purpose, he helped lead the discussion in the National Committee on the need to eliminate the advisory membership category entirely.

Tom felt strongly there was no need for any special leadership status — nor were there any special rights — for former party leaders who were no longer able to play an active, day-to-day role in the party. To the end of his days he intently followed the political activity and internal life of the SWP and YSA.

Without Tom's lead in the process of transition in party leadership, it would have been far less smooth.

Five decades of activity in the revolutionary workers' movement is a monumental achievement. Few people have that kind of staying power, which can only be born of the deepest confidence in the revolutionary capacities of the working class, and the conviction that no other life can be as rewarding.

In a speech he gave in tribute to James P. Cannon in 1974, Tom stressed that Cannon understood to the depth of his being that "without the party we are nothing; with the party we are all."

That was Tom Kerry's life conviction as well, and the most important legacy he leaves.

Tom Kerry Publishing Fund established

A Tom Kerry Publishing Fund was launched at three meetings that were held to commemorate Kerry's life and political contributions.

The purpose of this fund is to provide seed money for Pathfinder Press to begin an important publishing project: publication of the documents, speeches, and proceedings of the Communist International during its revolutionary years from 1919 through 1923.

George Novack, a long-time leader of the Socialist Workers Party, is the fund's treasurer.

Political collaborators of Kerry at different points in his 50 years of activity in the workers' movement spoke at the meetings. SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes addressed all three gatherings.

In addition, Della Rossa and Art Sharon spoke to the 120 people who attended the Los Angeles meeting. Sharon also spoke at the San Francisco meeting, along with Nat Weinstein. More than 150 people were in attendance.

The New York gathering heard Frank Lovell and Ethel Lobman, as well as Joan Campana who spoke for the leadership of the SWP's sister party in Canada, the Revolutionary Workers League.

Collections to launch the Tom Kerry Publishing Fund at the three meetings came to \$4,000.

Militant readers who wish to contribute to the fund can send donations to:

Tom Kerry Publishing Fund
c/o George Novack, Treasurer
14 Charles Lane
New York, New York 10014

Union activist blacklisted in Georgia



Garrett Brown

Militant/Nancy Cole

BY SUSIE WINSTEN

ATLANTA — The Dec. 21, 1982, firing of Garrett Brown, a warehouse worker at the Arrow Co.'s Austell Distribution Center, is further evidence of an apparent blacklist here against militant unionists and socialist workers, especially targeting those who have filed suit against Lockheed-Georgia.

Brown was one of 15 aircraft workers fired by Lockheed between December 1980 and January 1981. All were members of International Association of Machinists Lodge 709, opponents of a new Vietnam in Central America, and supporters of Socialist Workers Party candidates for public office.

The company said they fired them for falsification of application. Almost everyone alters their job history in order to get work. This was merely a transparent pretext by Lockheed to begin rooting out of the plant any workers who were antiwar, socialist minded, or union activists.

The fired workers filed a \$3.4 million lawsuit against Lockheed this past September. In it they ask for reinstatement to their jobs and for an injunction against a massive spy operation that has partially come to light through files released under court order. This operation includes electronic surveillance; the use of informers in the union; and spying on Lockheed work-

ers at home, at union meetings, and at civil rights rallies.

Since the suit was filed, several of the plaintiffs have been fired again.

Michael Pennock, Jeff Rogers, and Garrett Brown all had worked at the Oxford Chemicals Co., organized by Teamsters Local 528, for over a year. Brown had been fired in May for alleged safety violations. His union went to bat for him and he won his job back in November. That same week he was fired *again*, along with Pennock and Rogers. Oxford said they fired them because they omitted their employment, and subsequent illegal firing, from Lockheed on their applications — something Oxford just *happened* to discover after the lawsuit was filed.

In the meantime, Garrett Brown had finally found other work while his first firing from Oxford was in arbitration. In September, he began working at the Arrow Co., which is organized by Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 365.

The garment-textile industry, especially in the "right-to-work" South, has a long history of blacklisting union activists, particularly those involved in organizing drives. Elaborate procedures are set up in the name of "security" to intimidate and harass the work force. Arrow is no exception.

Workers at the warehouse must submit at random to body searches whenever they leave the premises. There have been incidents when management has spied, cameras in hand, on people in the parking lot and at a nearby market.

Arrow also requires polygraph testing. Less than two years ago they used the results of these tests to carry out a wholesale firing of dozens of workers at the warehouse for alleged violations of company rules.

Garrett Brown took two such tests — one before he was hired and one several weeks later when the company said it had "lost" the results of the first test for him and several others. At no time was there any indication that there was anything "suspicious" about his responses, including his job history.

Then suddenly December 21 he was called into the plant manager's office and told he was suspended pending termination for omitting two jobs on his application — Lockheed and Oxford.

The lawyers for the plaintiffs in the Lockheed suit are deposing Arrow plant manager R.J. Tuggle to find out exactly what kind of collusion exists among Atlanta companies to prevent militant unionists and socialist-minded workers from holding any job at all.

ACTWU Local 365 has filed a grievance on Brown's behalf charging that he was illegally fired because of his union activity

and political beliefs. In the short time Brown worked at Arrow, he had become an active union member and known as a supporter of Socialist Workers congressional candidate Maceo Dixon.

The union local already had had some discussion about the wave of illegal firings in Atlanta. At the December union meeting, the membership unanimously voted to send a telegram to Oxford Chemicals protesting the firing of Michael Pennock and Jeff Rogers.

Brown's co-workers are standing with him against this latest firing. Virtually everyone on his shift saw through the sham that he was fired for lying on his application. As Frank Wilson, a 26-year-old white co-worker pointed out, "If the day has come when a man can no longer hold a job because of his political beliefs, have we really come that far from the days when a man couldn't hold a job because of the color of his skin or the church he attended."

A 36-year-old Black warehouse worker, Robert Johns, thought broad solidarity was needed to win Brown's job back. He was formerly a shop steward at Arrow's Andalusia, Alabama, plant. The tradition there, he said, was when the union could

not get agreement with the company over a firing or other type of grievance, the workers would simply not go to work until a little justice was done.

Already many prominent individuals are sending protest messages to the Arrow Co., asking for Brown's reinstatement.

They include: Bobby Adams, United Food and Commercial Workers District Union 442; Herman Johnson, General Motors Employees Against Racist Discrimination; Gary Washington, Printing Specialties and Paper Products Union Local 527; Roger Mills, Legislative Chair, American Federation of Government Employees; Torin Togut, attorney; Leslie Withers, Clergy and Laity Concerned; Heather Gray, Citizens Party; Jorge Lara-Braud; Leamon Hood, Area Director, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, and John Lewis, Atlanta City Councilman.

Additional protest messages can be sent to Robert Tuggle, Arrow Co., 7301 Lee Industrial Boulevard, Austell, Georgia 30001.

Susie Winsten works at the Arrow Co.'s Austell Distribution Center and is a member of ACTWU Local 365.

Georgia forced to drop suit against socialist campaign

BY MICHAEL GILLESPIE

ATLANTA — A Georgia lawsuit against four socialist candidates and campaign officers has been withdrawn in the wake of a U.S. Supreme Court ruling upholding the socialists' right to withhold the names of election campaign contributors.

The Georgia State Campaign and Financial Disclosure Commission filed suit in October 1981 to force the Socialist Workers 1981 Campaign Committee and SWP Atlanta mayoral candidate André Kahlmorgan to turn over the names of her campaign contributors.

On Dec. 22, 1982, Georgia Attorney General Michael Bowers dropped the suit following the December 8 Supreme Court decision. It was the first application of the precedent-setting high court ruling.

"The withdrawal of the Georgia suit, and the Supreme Court decision that required that action, are tremendous victories for the democratic rights of all working people to participate in independent working-class political action," Kahlmorgan declared.

In its ruling against a nearly identical suit by the state of Ohio, the Supreme Court noted there was "substantial evidence of past and present hostility" to indi-

cate campaign disclosures would expose SWP supporters to harassment and victimization by private employers and government police agencies.

"The First Amendment prohibits a state from compelling disclosures by a minor political party that will subject those persons identified to the reasonable probability of threats, harassment, or reprisals," wrote Justice Thurgood Marshall in the unanimous opinion.

Marshall also described the SWP as a nonviolent organization seeking "to achieve social change through the political process."

While the Supreme Court decision was based on massive evidence of government and employer harassment in Ohio and nationally, reprisals against socialist campaign supporters in Georgia are also well documented.

Kahlmorgan was one of 15 Machinist members fired by the Lockheed-Georgia aircraft company in December 1980 and January 1981 for their union activities and support for socialist candidates.

During the mayoral campaign itself, Kahlmorgan was fired from two jobs when her candidacy became known to her employers.

Another Georgia disclosure defendant, Garrett Brown, who was treasurer of the 1981 socialist campaign committee and chairman of the 1982 committee, has also been repeatedly victimized. (See story on this page.)

Brown was also fired by Lockheed in December 1980, fired twice by the Oxford Chemicals Co. in May and November 1982, and fired again by the Arrow Shirt Co. in December 1982.

The state's disclosure lawsuit represented a serious new attack on democratic rights in Georgia designed to undercut growing support for the SWP's independent working-class campaigns in the midst of the deepening economic crisis.

SWP campaign committees filed financial disclosure reports without the names of contributors in 1977, 1978, and 1980, but the state took no action on any of those reports.

Although the state was forced to comply with the Supreme Court decision upholding democratic rights, Attorney General Bowers complained the ruling was "unfortunate" and gives the SWP preferential treatment.

The SWP campaign committee was defended by Sally Dorn, an attorney from the American Civil Liberties Union, and won significant support from civil rights leaders and civil libertarians.

The withdrawal of the state suit was covered by the Atlanta *Constitution and Journal*, several radio stations, and at least one television station.

'Draft registration is preparation for war'

Gillam Kerley, from Madison, Wisconsin, was indicted September 8 for his refusal to register for the draft. He is currently awaiting trial and meanwhile has been traveling to different parts of the country to support other draft resisters and to speak out against conscription.

Kerley is currently part of the Madison Draft Resistance Coalition, which has been organizing political support and legal funds for Kerley and Michael McMillan, another area draft resister.

The following interview with Kerley was conducted by Michael Frayer.

Question: In your view, what are the implications of reinstatement of draft registration?

Answer: The draft registration program is part of the preparations for war, part of a rising tide of militarism in the country. It's very important to look at it in this context.

At the same time as the registration program came back, Carter also reinstated draft boards and began preparing for a draft. There's been a big upsurge in the belligerence of the United States' attitude towards other countries, especially Third World countries, along with the constant threat of U.S. combat troops being sent to fight in the Middle East, Central America,

or Africa. So it is something that has to be seen as a preparation for war.

Militarization is having a very destructive impact on our society as a whole and on working people in particular.

Students are now having their aid cut off and are being forced to go into ROTC; unemployment is forcing poor people and minorities into the army, people who otherwise wouldn't be there. Our value as human beings is being determined not by what we can contribute to the good of humanity, but by how much use we are to the war machine.

Q: Where do you see the fight against nuclear weapons fitting in?

A: The nuclear freeze efforts, to their detriment, remained very narrow and didn't really get a realistic perspective on what the origins of nuclear war are likely to be. It's important for the peace movement to realize that nuclear weapons are not something totally separate from conventional weapons. Daniel Ellsberg, in the book *Protest and Survive*, documented the instances in which every president since Truman, with the possible exception of Ford, has threatened to use nuclear weapons. This was usually against a Third World country and usually during a conventional war or a breakdown of diplo-

macy, in order to gain a surrender or other concessions from the other country.

It's important that the anti-nuclear weapons movement begin to realize that in order to effectively oppose nuclear war it has to oppose any step toward any war.

Q: Why do you think the government is moving to reinstate registration now?

A: It's important to realize that the United States is involved in a war in Central America right now. The war is being fought at this time through arms sales and military advisers. But if the people of Central America continue to resist, the government will need to send combat troops in for a prolonged war. This is the kind of thing the government needs a draft for, not for the defense of our shores.

Q: What do you hope to accomplish by speaking out against the draft?

A: What I want to do is raise these issues in a public forum. I want to get across to people that it's not going to be the multinational corporations that are profiting by exploiting the people of El Salvador that are going to end the war drive. It's not going to be the politicians or the government. It's going to be us, the people, by organizing and doing what we can to resist and protest.

UN report — no evidence for U.S. accusation of chemical war

BY WILL REISSNER

With enough repetition, even the wildest accusation can begin to sound authoritative. Washington hopes that is what will happen to its charges that Soviet and Vietnamese forces are using banned chemical and bacteriological weapons in Afghanistan, Laos, and Kampuchea.

The charge was first raised by then-Secretary of State Alexander Haig in a September 13, 1981, speech in West Berlin. Days later it was discovered that Haig's total evidence was a single "leaf and stem sample" turned over to Washington by Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge forces battling the government of Kampuchea.

When Pol Pot ruled Kampuchea between 1975 and 1979, his regime was responsible for the deaths of up to 3 million people there. Despite that genocidal record, the Reagan administration welcomed Pol Pot's collaboration in its campaign against communism.

Over the past year, the U.S. government has repeated its chemical and biological warfare charges at regular intervals, presenting new assertions each time its previous inventions have been challenged by scientific analysis.

On November 26, 1982, a four-person team assembled by the United Nations secretary-general to examine Washington's charges issued a 109-page report on its findings. The team had been set up at Washington's insistence.

"U.N. Inquiry Finds Suggestive Evidence of Soviet Toxic War" exclaimed a headline in the December 5 *New York Times*. The December 7 *Washington Post* was even more emphatic: "U.N. Unit Finds Evidence of Toxic Arms."

But despite these headlines, the team's report admitted it had found no such evidence.

Conclusions of UN team

Washington cannot claim that the panel was biased against it. The investigative team was made up entirely of representatives of proimperialist governments — including a major general in the Egyptian armed forces and a colonel from the Philippine ministry of national defense — and it relied heavily on evidence provided by the Reagan administration.

In its conclusions, the team rejected the charge that banned chemical or biological weapons had been used in Afghanistan, although it claimed that there was evidence of "harassing agents" such as tear gas.

Regarding charges that toxic chemicals had been used against the Hmong people in Laos, the group had to stretch its evidence to the utmost to come up with the following mealy-mouthed conclusion:

"While the group could not state that these allegations had been proven, nevertheless it could not disregard the circumstantial evidence suggestive of the possible use of some sort of toxic chemical substance in some instances."

It was this convoluted statement that provided the basis for the headlines in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*.

The flimsiness of the supposed evidence becomes clear when reading the team's full report.

Not one piece of the physical evidence collected by the team stood up to laboratory analysis! In fact, the team's description of the laboratory results indicate that any previous claims based on laboratory analysis must be viewed with great skepticism.

For example, samples collected in refugee camps in Thailand in 1981 were examined by three different laboratories. Each was given the sample, a contaminated control, and a noncontaminated control. Two laboratories found no toxins whatsoever, including in the contaminated control. The third found toxins in all the mate-

rial, including the "corresponding control samples supposed to be free from mycotoxins."

In samples taken from Thailand in 1982, the group reported that no toxins "were found either in the blood samples or in the sample consisting of pieces of leaves with yellow spots." The yellow spots were allegedly the residue of poisonous "yellow rain."

Testimony of 'victims'

In the absence of any physical evidence, the group had to rely exclusively on the claims of alleged victims of such attacks. But the investigators themselves acknowledged that these sources were unreliable.

The report adds that while interviewing Afghan refugees in Pakistan, "the Group was inconvenienced in its efforts at carrying out adequate cross-examination of the alleged victims and eyewitnesses due to intervention and promptings by leaders of political refugee organizations who were present at the interviews."

Each and every alleged victim claiming to still be suffering from the effects of the chemical attacks was found upon examination to be suffering from clearly identifiable diseases!

The group found, for example, that it was "extremely unlikely" that a chemical agent caused the cancer on the hand of one alleged victim.

The group also examined nine people who claimed to have eye problems caused by exposure to a chemical warfare agent. In each case the supposed victims were found to be suffering from allergies.

One patient who was vomiting blood was diagnosed as suffering from a gastric stress ulcer.

Two Hmong refugees from Laos "had a rash that they attributed to exposure to a chemical attack two weeks earlier inside Laos." But an examination by the head of the Thai Institute of Dermatology revealed

'Guardian' changes stand on Kampuchea

BY WILL REISSNER

A front page editorial in the January 5 issue of the *Guardian*, a radical weekly published in New York, announces that "the *Guardian* staff has changed its position on Kampuchea" and on the role of Vietnamese troops there.

When Vietnamese troops entered Kampuchea four years ago to oust the murderous Pol Pot regime, the *Guardian* opposed that intervention, a position that led to a split in its editorial staff.


But based on "new information and developments, as well as a reexamination of some of our initial arguments and assumptions," the *Guardian*'s editors now say that a return to power by the so-called Democratic Kampuchea (DK) coalition of Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, former Prince Norodom Sihanouk, and rightist Son Sann "would represent a major gain for U.S. imperialism in Southeast Asia," and that "Vietnamese occupation is preferable to control by the DK coalition and its allies."

The editorial stresses that "the Democratic Kampuchea coalition, which includes rightists and discredited ultra-'leftists' allied with imperialism, is a potential vehicle for returning Kampuchea to imperialist domination."

The change in the *Guardian*'s view of the struggle in Kampuchea is a welcome development that strengthens the forces fighting U.S. imperialism's political and military pressures against Vietnam and Kampuchea. With its new position, the *Guardian* can play a positive role in the campaign against the U.S. blockade of those countries.

The editorial acknowledges that the

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CHEMICAL AND BACTERIOLOGICAL (BIOLOGICAL) WEAPONS
Report of the Secretary-General

1. In its resolution 36/96 C of 9 December 1981, the General Assembly requested the Secretary-General to continue his investigation pursuant to Assembly resolution 35/144 C and to report to the Assembly at its thirty-seventh session. In that resolution, the Assembly decided, *inter alia*, to carry out an impartial investigation to ascertain the facts pertaining to reports regarding the alleged use of chemical weapons and to assess the extent of the damage caused by the use of such weapons. The Assembly requested the Secretary-General to carry out such investigation with the assistance of qualified medical and technical experts.
2. In pursuance of resolution 36/96 C, the Secretary-General requested the Group of Experts to Investigate Reports on the Alleged Use of Chemical Weapons to continue its work. In a letter dated 26 November 1982, the Chairman of the Group of Experts transmitted to the Secretary-General the report, which is hereby submitted to the General Assembly.

UN report on U.S. allegations of chemical and biological war in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, and Laos. Big-business press turned conclusions upside down, parroting position of U.S. government.

that "clinically both cases were of fungus infection and that the lesions were at least three months old."

Two other people were also found to be suffering from fungal infections, while another supposed victim actually had malaria.

The investigators acknowledged that some claims strained credulity. The report notes, for example, that although some Afghan guerrillas claimed they were attacked by a "lethal chemical agent that would not only kill but also induce rapid deterioration of the dead bodies," "the Group is not aware of the existence of any chemical compound that would have the effects described in the statements."

Moreover, "the Group also found it impossible to believe that some camels and dogs had developed rabies as a result of chemical attack."

'Clear discrepancies'

In comparing medical records with the statements of alleged victims, the group discovered that "medical records available on the alleged victims interviewed were devoid of any specific information concerning injuries by chemical agents."

Furthermore, "in many cases, there were

clear discrepancies between the earlier statements as summarized in the medical records and the testimonials obtained by the Group."

Representatives of the hospital run by the International Committee of the Red Cross in Peshawar, Pakistan, testified that "they had not come across any cases which could be attributed to a chemical attack." A representative of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in Peshawar told the group that during his two years in Pakistan he "had not come across any chemical casualties."

Among refugee-camp physicians in Thailand, according to the report, "some stated that they had never come across cases that could be attributed to an exposure to chemical warfare agents. Others mentioned that they had come in contact with many patients that claimed to have been exposed to chemical attack . . . but were unable to reach a definite conclusion."

Of the 16 people interviewed about alleged chemical attacks in Laos, eight volunteered the information that after taking opium their condition improved. Perhaps Reagan should try a pipeful.

From Intercontinental Press

Guardian "was among the defenders of Democratic Kampuchea against charges raised in the bourgeois media prior to 1979." But it says that now "subsequent investigation by independent, respected sources has convinced us of our need to change our overall view of the period."

The editors catalog "the regime's most harmful policies."

The forced evacuation of Kampuchea's cities "caused thousands of deaths and untold hardship to the former urban residents, who were frequently persecuted in the countryside."

In addition, "forced collectivization of agriculture" coupled with "the use of coercion and terror to enforce communal living and long hours of work under hardship conditions has given 'socialism' a bad name in Kampuchea for years to come."

The "mass executions of political opposition" within the Kampuchean Communist Party "made it impossible for the regime to correct its mistakes, either internally or in relation to the conflict with Vietnam," the editorial states.

For these reasons, the *Guardian* notes, "all available accounts indicate that the Vietnamese troops (along with a token force of pro-Vietnamese Kampucheans) were welcomed by most of the Kampuchean people, despite their longstanding concern about Vietnamese domination."

"In the balance," the editors conclude, "Kampuchea was better off after the invasion, which laid the basis for a return to relative normalcy and the start of reconstruction of society."

Vietnamese "troops are needed to prevent the Khmer Rouge from returning to

power" and Vietnamese administrators, teachers, and technicians are playing a vital role in "helping fill the gap created by the Pol Pot policy of eliminating educated people as a class," the editorial explains.

Yet the *Guardian* worries that someday the Vietnamese presence could prove harmful to Kampuchea:

"In the long run, Kampuchea requires full independence including the right to determine the nature and extent of its ties to Vietnam. The Kampuchean people may eventually have to struggle against their stronger neighbor's tendency to dominate their affairs." Then again, eventually they may not have to.

Vietnamese leaders have stated time and again that they will withdraw their forces from Kampuchea as soon as the government of Heng Samrin asks them to, and as soon as the military threat from Pol Pot's foreign-backed guerrillas based in Thailand is eliminated.

Despite the *Guardian*'s admonition about potential future problems, the editorial's conclusions about the present are straightforward:

"We support the call for an end to all external support for the Democratic Kampuchea coalition. This would make possible the phased withdrawal of Vietnamese troops and the establishment of a truly independent Kampuchean government."

It is around the concrete question of ending Washington's support to Pol Pot's forces and destabilization of the Indochinese revolution that as broad a campaign as possible must be waged in the United States.

Sore keister — Reagan has had it up to his keister with reporters who quoted his statement that he had "had it up to my keister" with unauthorized White House leaks.



Harry Ring

"I didn't expect that to be quoted," the prez complained.

Step lively — "The Boston Re-

tirement Board has terminated pension payments to 156 former city employees who have failed to prove to the board's satisfaction that they are alive." — The Boston *Globe*.

Ultimate capitalist pig — High efficiency farms tag male pigs with a \$500 electronic earring with which the pigs learn to gain access to their particular private feed bin. This helps farmers determine which are the most valuable pigs — that is, those who get fattest fastest on the least amount of grain. Since this is an inherited trait, such pigs are used for mating.

And sucking blood — "Many rich people actually live very wholesome lives, jogging, playing tennis, walking their thoroughbred horses, maintaining careful diets." — Columnist R. Emmett Tyrell, Jr.

The silver lining — A Canadian outfit specializing in job loss insurance for company execs may expand into the U.S. "We believe more and more executives will be fired," a company rep observed optimistically. And, he notes, regular jobless compensation pays too little for most managers.

Money changers acquire temple — To affirm its cultural sen-

sitivity, New York's Chemical Bank has redesigned its Chinatown branch. The interior is done in red, gold, and black and the outside has been refinished like a pagoda. Even the outside cash machines have a pagoda roof. "The design is perfect," observed a local resident. "It's the same as a Buddhist temple."

Making bread's their game — A New York "gourmet" shop offers designer bread with red and green stripes. \$4 a lb.

Maybe he meant tithes — Rev. Howard Myer, a Southern Baptist minister, vanished after persuading 13 Schenectady pa-

rishioners to invest \$104,000 in railroad ties. For every \$5,000 they invested, they were supposed to get \$8,000 back in a few months. But the money, it seems, was neither invested nor returned.

And legs — "Militant leaders would rather cut arms, not salaries" — News headline.

Thought for the week — "If you are concerned about the funding viability of the Social Security system, the government suggests that you can help out by making a tax-deductible contribution." — J.K. Lasser's monthly tax bulletin.

—CALENDAR—

CALIFORNIA

Seaside

Introduction to Socialism Class Series. Reagan's War on Women's Rights. Sat., Jan. 22, 11 a.m.; The Communist Manifesto, Sat., Jan. 29, 11 a.m.; and America's Road to Socialism, Sat., Feb. 5, 11 a.m. 1043A Broadway. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (408) 899-4732 or 373-8347.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

From Montgomery to Memphis A film on Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. accompanied by a brief talk on "What's needed in 1983." Speaker: Valerie Eckart, Socialist Workers Party 1982 candidate for Congress in 9th District. Sun., Jan. 23, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore T stop) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

Reception for Grenadian Ambassador to UN, Caldwell Taylor. Speakers: Caldwell Taylor; State Representative Mel King; Jean Claude Martineau, Haitian poet; special performance by Little Flags Theatre. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. Church of All Nations, 333 Tremont St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: U.S.-Grenada Solidarity Committee. For more information call (617) 354-6687 or 232-4222.

Women in Nicaragua. Slide presentation by Jane Roland, 1982 Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, recently returned from Nicaragua. Sun., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore T Stop). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Peoples in Struggle: Second Conference on Latin America and the Caribbean. Speakers: Edtard Tarrales, Nicaraguan ambassador to Organization of American States; Victor Rubió, Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador; Michael Ratner, president, National Lawyers Guild. Films and workshops. Fri., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m.; Sat., Jan. 29, 8:30 a.m. to 9 p.m. Webster College, 470 E Lockwood, Webster Groves. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Latin America Solidarity Committee. For more information call (314) 968-7064.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Rail Labor at the Crossroads: Massive Assault Hits Conrail Workers. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks south of Canal). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Schenectady

El Salvador Will Win: A Tribute to Terry Santana. Speakers: Kathy Button, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Jan. 29, 8 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

OHIO

Cleveland

Miami to Cleveland: Stop Police Brutality — Justice for Michael Woods. Speakers: Lucius Woods, father of slain Michael Woods; Greg Johnson, Young Socialist Alliance; representa-

tive, National Black Independent Political Party. Fri., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

Cincinnati

Crisis Facing American Farmers: Fight Against Foreclosures. Speakers: Valery Libby, *Militant* reporter at 1983 American Agriculture Movement convention; others. Sun., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

SEPTA vs. the Rail Unions: Rail Workers Speak Out. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Jan. 22, 7:30 p.m. 5811 N Broad St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

UTAH

Price

U.S. War in El Salvador: Why Terry Santana Was Murdered. Panel of speakers. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 29, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave., Rm. 19. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

Capitalism in Crisis: What Causes Unemployment? Speaker: Eli Green, member, United Steelworkers of America Local 8888, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Jan. 22, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

The Struggle Against Apartheid in South Africa. Speakers: Chris Davis, member, International Ladies Garment Workers Union Local 563, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

March and Rally Against U.S. Military Aid to El Salvador. Speakers: Warren Braun, representative, Archdiocese of Milwaukee; Joe Gruber, vice-president, Wisconsin AFL-CIO; Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugees. Fri., Jan. 28, 7 p.m. March begins at St. John's Cathedral, 802 N Jackson and goes to Federal Building; rally at YWCA, 610 N Jackson. Ausp: Central America Solidarity Coalition. For more information call (414) 224-9352.

Why Can't Everybody Have a Job? Socialist educational weekend on capitalist myths vs. working-class solutions. 1) Capitalism's Economic Crisis and the Working-Class Solution. Speaker: Andy Rose, former editor, *Militant*. Sat., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m.; dinner at 6 p.m. 2) Two Classes on the Corporate War on Workers: Here and Abroad. Sun., Feb. 6, 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. 4704 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$4, \$1.50 per session. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Rally Demanding: No Cuts in Unemployment Benefits. Sat., Feb. 5, 1:30 p.m. Smith Steelworkers Hall, 3651 N 27th St. Ausp: Committee for Survival of the Unemployed. For more information call (414) 445-5816.

Defend Women's Right to Abortion

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Why the Right to Abortion Should Be Defended. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9640.

San Francisco

Abortion Rights Under Attack. A panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

FLORIDA

Miami

Defend the Right to Safe and Legal Abortion. A public forum and discussion. Translation to Spanish and Creole. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Abortion Rights Under Attack: How to Defend Them. Speakers: representative, Planned Parenthood; representative, Feminist Womens Health Center; Susie Winsten, Young Socialist Alliance and member, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The Right to Abortion and the Struggle for Women's Rights. Speaker: Holly Harkness, member United Garment Workers and Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Jan. 22, 7:30 p.m. 555 W Adams. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 559-9046.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Defend and Extend Reproductive Rights: 10 Years of Safe, Legal Abortion. Speakers: Helen Meyers, former West Coast Coordinator, Women's National Abortion Action Coalition; others. Sun., Jan. 30, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

A Decade of Choice: Defend and Extend Abortion Rights. A rally at the state capitol. Sat., Jan. 22; assemble, 6:15 p.m.; march, 6:30 p.m. Ausp: National Organization for Women. For more information call (612) 644-7496.

Abortion Rights Under Attack: How to Fight Back. Speakers: Pat Bellanger, activist in American Indian Movement and Women of All Red Nations; Lisa Ahlberg,

Young Socialist Alliance, member of Teamsters Local 289; Carla Whittington, president, Twin Cities NOW. Sun., Jan. 23, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Virginia

Women's Rights Under Attack: Abortion and Affirmative Action. Kathy Wheeler, member, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee. Fri., Jan. 28, 7 p.m. 112 Chestnut St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Defend and Extend Abortion Rights! Speakers: Marjorie Egarian, member of Communication Workers of America and Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA), Coalition of Labor Union Women; Jeanne Fortin, member of Essex County CARASA; Sally Greenberg Buhite, representative of New Jersey National Organization for Women Reproductive Freedom Task Force; Wendy Lyons, member International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Fri., Jan. 28, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Schenectady

Speak-out on Abortion Rights. Speakers: Pat Mayberry, former Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress, member Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks; others. Sat., Jan. 22, 8 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

OHIO

Cleveland

Abortion Rights Under Attack: Panel Discussion. Speakers: Pat Mitchell, editor, Cleveland State Univ. *Vindicator*; Linda Slodki, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Jan. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 791-9901.

TEXAS

San Antonio

Why Working People Must Defend Abortion Rights. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Jan. 28, 8 p.m. 337 W Josephine St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Benefit for Abortion Rights. Singer-song writer, Kristin Lems. Fri., Jan. 21, 7 p.m. Century Hall, 2340 N Farwell Ave. Donation: \$5.50. Ausp: Women's Medical Fund. For more information call (414) 278-0260.

'Back to Kampuchea': devastated country rebuilds

Back to Kampuchea, 1982, 16 mm, color, 86 minutes, directed by Martin Duckworth. Produced by Jean-Roch Marcotte for Les Productions du Regard Inc. Available for rental from First Run Features, 144 Bleecker St., New York, N.Y. 10012, (212) 673-6881.

BY WILL REISSNER

Back to Kampuchea, made by Canadian film-makers, is the story of the return visit of Chan Bun Han to his homeland after 11 years' absence.

In those 11 years, Kampuchea had suffered an almost unimaginable series of tragedies. It had been subjected to

FILM REVIEW

bombing of unprecedented scope by the Nixon administration. U.S. troops had invaded the country. The Lon Nol dictatorship had been installed, with U.S. backing.

When Lon Nol was driven out of the country in 1975 by Pol Pot's victorious Khmer Rouge forces, the Khmer Rouge immediately emptied the cities, forcing the population into the countryside.

The Khmer Rouge remained in control of Kampuchea until early 1979, when they were driven out of the country by Kampuchean rebels and the Vietnamese army.

During the Khmer Rouge's four-year reign, millions of Kampucheans were murdered by the regime or died of starvation and disease in the rural camps to which they had been sent.

Chan Bun Han, who now lives in New York, lost contact with his parents and 15 brothers and sisters when the

Khmer Rouge emptied the cities in 1975. His father had been a civil servant under Prince Sihanouk, and retained his post when Sihanouk was overthrown by Lon Nol.

In the film's opening scenes, Han, driving a taxi in New York, expresses his desire to return to Kampuchea to learn the fate of his family members. Two months later, in early 1981, we see his return to Pnompenh — Kampuchea's capital — where he had been born and raised.

The film recreates the devastation and death in Kampuchea during the years of U.S. bombing and the Khmer Rouge reign through use of fascinating film clips. But the focus is on Kampuchea today.

As the camera follows Chan Bun Han on his search for his family, we get a vivid impression of a beautiful country that, though devastated, is now rebuilding its society and culture.

We go with Han to a high school in Pnompenh where he had taken some tests. During the Khmer Rouge years it was used as a prison and torture center. Over 20,000 people were killed there and it is now a museum to that butchery, complete with wall after wall covered by mugshots of the victims.

The audience follows him through a primary school, a Buddhist pagoda, an orphanage, a factory, an urban market. We visit a rural fishing community, a wedding, and a local meeting discussing upcoming elections.

We are there as he speaks to people in the streets and the countryside about the past and the present.

Through Han's conversations the previous devastation and death in Kampuchea, in which virtually every family lost one or more members, is brought home to us. But we

also see the important steps being taken to revive Kampuchean society on all levels.

We meet one of Han's favorite primary school teachers, seen leading a group of orphans in cleaning up a Pnompenh street.

We witness Han's reunion with one surviving uncle, who now works as a technician in a revived factory in the capital.

We see Chan Bun Han discuss the Pol Pot years with an aunt and her family.

Back to Kampuchea is a quietly sad film on a personal level. During his travels through Kampuchea, Chan Bun Han never did find any trace of his parents or 15 brothers and sisters.

But it is also an optimistic film. For while Chan Bun Han did not find any survivors in his immediate family, he found that his country and people had survived, and are now on the road to recovery with the help of Vietnam and other countries and international relief organizations.

Although the U.S. government continues to back Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, who operate against Kampuchea from bases in neighboring Thailand, and although the United Nations continues to bestow Kampuchea's UN seat on the representative of Pol Pot's so-called Democratic Kampuchea, it is clear from the film that virtually no one in Kampuchea wants Pol Pot's murderers back. Nor do they see Vietnamese troops, who are a shield against Pol Pot's return, as occupation troops.

Financial aid in making this film was provided by l'Institut Québécois de Cinéma and other international organizations. A French-language version, *On l'appelait Cambodge*, is also available for rental.

Iraq seeks alliance with imperialism against Iran

Continued from Page 5

five months after the abortive commando raid ordered by President Carter. Iran at that time was still facing a general imperialist economic boycott and threats of military attack from Washington. In opening another front against the revolution, which he did to defend the interests of his own regime, Hussein was also clearly acting in harmony with imperialist objectives.

According to the text of Hussein's conversation with Solaz, restoration of diplomatic ties with Washington, which had been broken off by the Iraqis during the 1967 Mideast War, had been under discussion within the Iraqi leadership at the time of the 1980 invasion. "The idea was frozen because we did not want our people to think that we have restored relations because we needed the U.S.," Hussein said.

Restoration of relations with Washington at that point would have been too open an admission of the reactionary character of Hussein's war against the Iranian revolution. What has forced Hussein's regime to change its tune now is that its back is against the wall.

Although Iraqi forces have been able to hold their positions along the Iraq-Iran border in spite of a series of severe defeats during the first half of 1982, the overall impact of the war is taking its toll. According

to the Red Cross some 50,000 Iraqi troops have been taken prisoner. Between 100,000 and 160,000 have been killed and wounded. As *New York Times* correspondent Drew Middleton put it after a visit to Iraq in November, "neither the Iraqi Army nor Air Force appears to have much stomach for offensive operations."

The question is, how long will they be willing to fight at all?

On the economic front, the war has also been a disaster for the Iraqi people. A wide assortment of development projects have been scrapped or scaled down. Oil exports are less than one-quarter of the prewar amount, and it will take about five years to fully repair the damage that has been done to the country's only export industry. Inflation within Iraq is now running at about 40 percent, and the war continues to cost roughly \$1 billion a month.

One sidelight of Hussein's increasingly desperate scramble for a way out of his predicament is the further confirmation of his alliance with the People's Mujahedeen Organization in Iran. The petty-bourgeois radicals in the Mujahedeen launched a terror campaign against the Iranian government in mid-1981, a course that set them against the masses of Iranian workers and peasants and led them into a de facto alliance with the counterrevolution.

Just how explicit this alliance has become was shown on January 9, when Aziz spent four hours meeting with Mujahedeen leader Massoud Rajavi.

During his interview with *Le Monde* Aziz had lauded the "excellent relations" between the Iraqi dictatorship and the Mujahedeen. Asked if the Mujahedeen receive aid from Iraq, Aziz said, "I prefer not to specify on this subject of whether or not we furnish them material aid, since it could embarrass them."

Following the January 9 meeting, Aziz and Rajavi tried to put the cat back in the bag by issuing a joint statement saying that Iraqi support to the Mujahedeen was limited to a "common political understanding." Aziz said he "would be happy" to see Rajavi in power in Iran. He then piously added, "We do not wish to meddle in Iranian domestic affairs."

At this point the Mujahedeen have been greatly weakened within Iran, but they continue to have influence in student circles and among intellectuals in the imperialist countries that Baghdad is now appealing to. Thus, Saddam Hussein is trying to identify with the Mujahedeen's "democratic opposition" to the Khomeini government in Iran in hopes of broadening support for his own regime.

Meanwhile, Hussein's appeals are being

watched closely in Washington. President Reagan tried last February to remove Iraq from the list of countries that Washington has accused of supporting international terrorism. Reagan's move would have lifted sanctions against Iraq imposed by Washington in retaliation for its opposition to Israel. But the attempt was blocked in Congress by representatives who demanded greater concessions from the Iraqi regime.

In September the U.S. Commerce Department allowed the export of six jets to Iraq, including four that had been adapted for military purposes. And in December it was revealed that the Hughes Helicopter Corp. was selling at least 60 helicopters to Iraq. Delivery of these helicopters, which will be fitted with antitank missiles, has already begun.

As U.S. officials told the *Washington Post* January 2, "there has also been a general improvement of dialogue in recent months between the United States and Iraq."

Insofar as the U.S. and French rulers succeed in strengthening the Saddam Hussein dictatorship, the biggest losers will be the Iraqi workers and peasants. By aiding Hussein's aggression against Iran, the imperialists are committing a further crime against the working people of both Iran and Iraq.

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16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

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

Reagan's farm proposal: a scam

President Reagan announced January 11 in Dallas that "help is on the way" for hard-pressed farmers. If this were true it would indeed be good news, because working farmers are suffering one of the worst crises they have faced in years. Real farm income is the lowest since the Great Depression and the number of farm foreclosures is growing rapidly.

From one end of the country to the other family farmers are waging protests: cotton is being burned in Texas, dairy farmers are carrying out tractorcades in New York, and "penny auctions" and demonstrations are being organized to stop mortgage foreclosures in state after state.

In the face of this mounting anger, what help does Reagan offer? Immediate relief by declaring a moratorium on farm foreclosures? A new Federal Home Administration Policy that would guarantee loans with easy terms to the most needy farmers?

No. These badly needed emergency steps are not on his agenda. Instead his administration, with the support of most Democrats, is putting into place measures that, even if they work, will not improve the situation for farmers until 1984 or 1985.

The heart of these proposals is to convince farmers to drastically reduce production this year in order to drive up market prices. Attempts last year to persuade farmers to cut back the number of acres cultivated in return for price support loans were unsuccessful in curtailing production. Record crops were registered for wheat, soybeans, and corn.

So this year Reagan's advisors propose that surplus corn, wheat, sorghum, rice, and cotton, now owned and stored by the government, be turned over to farmers if they agree to sharply cut the number of acres in production. Farmers can use these "payments-in-kind," as Secretary of Agriculture John Block calls them, to feed livestock or sell on the market when they think the price is right. The idea is that by cutting production and reducing the commodities now held in storage enough, the market prices will be forced up. This, government officials concede, cannot be expected to occur until next year or the year after.

Meanwhile, the administration hopes to save money on storage costs. And it will not have to pay out as much for price supports, because there will supposedly be less

of the covered commodities produced and brought to the market this year.

The whole thing is a scam. It does nothing to provide immediate relief. It, in fact, assumes that the worst-off farmers will continue to be driven out of farming.

Even though, according to Department of Agriculture officials, the government will continue paying storage costs for a few months, the burden of this expense will fall on the farmers if the grain is not sold quickly.

Farmers complying with these proposals may end up with lower production costs. But they will still have many fixed costs, including taxes, machinery, mortgage payments, etc.

On top of all this, there's no guarantee that the farmers will be able to get a decent price when they try to market these payments-in-kind. For one thing, these commodities will not be covered by government price supports. Farmers will have to accept the prevailing market prices. If they continue to be low, a not unlikely prospect given the depth of the world economic recession, they will not be able to make much, if anything.

The administration is increasing credits to other countries in order to encourage U.S. farm exports. But since this is being done at the same time that West European merchants are increasing sales of farm products on the world market, the affect of adding more commodities to the market could tend to lower, rather than raise, prices.

All in all, there is something absurdly irrational about a policy centered on cutting back food production in a world where there's widespread hunger and malnourishment.

But this is the only answer the giant merchandizing monopolies and their Democratic and Republican supporters in Washington have. That's because they defend a marketing system based on profit.

This dilemma shows the need to fight for proposals that can lead to replacing this capitalist marketing system, and the government that defends it, with one that puts the needs of the majority of people — workers and farmers — ahead of profits. We need a governmental policy that sees abundance of food production, not as a problem, but as an opportunity, and that will guarantee family farmers full cost of production plus a living income.

Early documents from Communist International

BY DOUG JENNESS

In 1874 Frederick Engels, writing to the American communist Friedrich Adolph Sorge on the occasion of the dissolution of the Working Men's International Association (First International), predicted that "the next International . . . will be directly communist and will candidly proclaim our principles."

For a series of reasons the Second International, founded in 1889, did not take the name communist and on the whole fell short of carrying out this goal. But the collapse of the Second International during World War I, along with the Bolshevik-led October 1917 Russian revolution, laid the basis for Engels's prediction to be realized. The founding congress of the Communist International (CI) was held in Moscow in March 1919.

This historic gathering issued a manifesto affirming its historical continuity with the principles of the *Communist Manifesto* written by Karl Marx and Engels at the end of 1847. We "feel and consider ourselves to be the heirs and the consummators of the cause whose program was af-

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firmed 72 years ago," the CI document declared. "Our task is to generalize the revolutionary experience of the working class, to purge the movement of the corroding admixture of opportunism and social patriotism, to unify the efforts of all genuine revolutionary parties of the world proletariat and thereby facilitate and hasten the victory of the Communist revolution throughout the world."

In line with this objective, the CI, during its first five years — while Lenin was still alive — hammered out positions on a wide range of political questions. These lessons remain an indispensable part of the arsenal of revolutionary communism.

Unfortunately, not all the reports, resolutions, and transcripts of discussions from the CI's congresses and executive committee meetings are available in English. What is available is scattered in various sources, some out of print.

In this context, the publication by Ink Links a couple of years ago of *Theses, Resolutions and Manifestos of the First Four Congresses of the Third International* was a welcome development. This collection puts together in one volume, for the first time in English, the resolutions and manifestos adopted by the first four congresses (1919, 1920, 1921, 1922).

The documents reflect the work of the CI, which included discussions on trade union activity, participation in capitalist elections and legislative bodies, women's liberation, oppressed nations, imperialist war, the agrarian question, and fascism.

Unlike its predecessors, which were overwhelmingly European organizations, the CI was a genuine world organization. The Russian revolution inspired the toiling masses throughout the most backward and oppressed countries in the world. This, along with the Bolsheviks' support to the right of oppressed nations for self-determination, led revolutionary fighters in the colonial and semicolonial countries to form communist parties and to become part of the new international.

The CI developed an integrated view of the world revolution based on the interrelationship between the democratic struggles (anti-imperialist and peasant) in the colonial and semicolonial countries, the working-class revolution in the imperialist countries, and the defense and deepening of the socialist revolution in Russia.

It also attempted to teach the new communist parties a transitional strategy for the working class winning political power on a world scale. This included combining immediate and anticapitalist demands, utilizing the tactic of a workers united front, and a transitional conception of the workers and farmers government.

Unfortunately, the Ink Links collection does not include notes, prefaces, or an index, which would make it more useful. Also, a certain amount of editorial sloppiness has been introduced. For example, the collection includes the preliminary draft of the "Theses on the National and Colonial Questions" discussed at the Second Congress rather than the theses that were adopted. While there is no difference in the general line of the two documents, there were some noteworthy changes. The preliminary draft, for example, refers to *bourgeois-democratic* liberation movements. After much discussion, the final version was amended to read *revolutionary* liberation movements.

These important documents also deserve a better introduction than the anti-Leninist one by Bertil Hessel.

The 481-page paperback edition can be obtained for \$14.95 (plus \$2.00 postage) by writing to Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

Ax aimed at Social Security

Continued from front page

against the rights of women, Black people, and Latinos.

The opening gun in the attack on Social Security was fired by Reagan in 1981. That proposal to slash Social Security provoked such a storm of protest that he backed off — for the time being. His next move was to enlist the support of the Democrats, and the 15-member bipartisan commission was created. The commission plan is going into Congress with the support of key Democratic leaders (including those who were so outraged by Reagan's cut-back proposals — during the elections.)

The plan means that the payroll tax employed workers have to pay will go from 6.7 to 7 percent in 1984. Further increases were already enacted for 1985 and 1986. Another will be added, under the plan, in 1988. By 1990 working people will be paying a solid 7.65 percent.

Setting a dangerous new precedent, the commission plan will also establish the principle that Social Security income is taxable, which is simply another way of reducing the benefits.

At first, this doesn't seem to affect too many people. A single person earning \$20,000 a year, and a couple making \$25,000 in addition to their Social Security, will pay taxes on one-half their Social Security.

Is there any reason to assume it will end there? Doesn't every tax on working people start seemingly small, and then go up and up?

Also, with the new plan, government workers will come under Social Security, which means a later retirement age and lower pension for several million workers.

Plus, a majority of the commission members now say they'll introduce the idea of pushing the Social Security retirement age to 66 and then even further. But not until the year 2010 — they say.

One of the rawest swindles is to postpone the cost-of-living increase due this July 1 until next January 1.

Last year, the cost of living was officially estimated to have gone up 7.4 percent. This year, government officials say, it's probably somewhat less. So you lose maybe 6 percent for six months, the commission says, and the government saves \$40 billion.

For a six-month postponement, \$40 billion? That doesn't seem to add up, until you think about it.

There are now 36 million people on Social Security. Postponing the increase until January 1, 1984 means they get no increase for 1983. That loss is permanent. Each year after you draw Social Security you're getting some

6 percent less, not just the year the increase was skipped.

Moreover, this is not simply a lost increase. It's a cut. When such an increase is made it's an acknowledgement that the cost of living has gone up at least that much. To cheat the pensioner out of that increase means falling that much further behind the increasing cost of living.

By the end of the decade, that means an estimated average loss of over \$1,100 per person. Which is how they'll save the \$40 billion.

The figures also indicate how "generous" social security payments are. The average for a single retired person is \$420 a month. Multiply that by 12 months, divide by 52 weeks, and you get a grand average of less than \$97 a week.

Is it any wonder there are persistent reports of increased sales of pet food to senior citizens?

Some opposition has already been voiced.

A representative of the 14-million-member American Association of Retired Persons declared, "We have no choice but to oppose it flatly and with all the resources we have."

The AARP cited the payroll increase and the introduction of a tax on benefits as key reasons for its opposition.

The American Postal Workers Union and other unions of federal employees said they would oppose the proviso for bringing government workers under Social Security.

All unions and other progressive forces should join the opposition. Retired people need increased benefits, not more cuts. People who have worked a lifetime — accumulating heavy profits for their employers — have earned the right to retirement on an income that permits them to live decently.

Scrap the war budget and put meaningful taxes on the corporations and there would be money to do this, and a lot more socially worthwhile things.

In 1979, an earlier Social Security commission did a poll which showed that more than half the people in this country had little or no confidence that Social Security benefits would be there when their time came.

Sen. Patrick Moynihan, a New York Democrat and member of the present commission, says he was much disturbed by that poll. What it really means, he pointed out, is that people think that "government is lying. That government is stealing. That government is not to be trusted."

And rightly so.

Sailors take a dim view of Washington's wars

BY DAVID HARPER

MILWAUKEE — I was struck by a recent AP story that quoted Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger stating that the biggest factor causing young people to join the armed forces "is the fact, as the president has very well said, that it's an honor to wear the uniform again."

Pride and patriotism, the story says, are swelling the ranks of the armed forces, according to the administration.

But the people who enlisted in the armed forces tell a

AS I SEE IT

different story. I had a chance to talk to many sailors last fall in preparation for a demonstration at Great Lakes Naval Training Center in North Chicago. The action was against U.S. intervention in Central America. A number of sailors participated.

I talked with one young sailor who had registered as a

conscientious objector and planned to go to college after high school. But both his parents were suddenly laid off from Conrail, where they had 20 years' seniority, and his plans went down the drain. He joined the Navy to learn a skill.

A 19-year-old told me he had planned to take a maintenance job at a local Chevy plant and work alongside his father, who had 26 years in the plant. His father's layoff ended that plan, and now he's in the Navy too. Pride and patriotism?

One sailor had been working and attending school. But faced with inflation and tuition hikes, he couldn't afford to support himself. He withdrew from college and entered the Navy to learn a skill. After four months of his six-year hitch, he declared himself a conscientious objector and applied for a discharge.

Sick of the run-around, he came to a local peace group, which told him about the demonstration. He and another friend offered to publicize the demonstration among other sailors.

Nearly every enlisted person I talked to said they were in the military because of economic conditions, and most

of them were anxious to get out. None of them wanted to go to Central America, except for one young man who turned out to be the son of an officer.

Most sailors saw a parallel between Central America and Vietnam. They believed that the U.S. war against Vietnam was unjust and wrong. They agreed that people should have the right to form whatever kind of government they want. Many were concerned about the government's disregard of Vietnam veterans, and the failure of the Veterans Administration to help Agent Orange victims.

One sailor related that his father, a Vietnam vet, drinks heavily and can't find a job. "He talks a lot about Vietnam — but never when he's sober."

I asked another sailor about pride and patriotism and keeping the country safe for democracy. He smiled and said, "John Wayne died in Vietnam."

One sailor who came to the demonstration told me, "I'm here because the United States doesn't belong in El Salvador. It's the greed factor of capitalism; they take everything they can get."

LETTERS

Miami rebellion

For many New Years to come, I will remember the "ringing out" of 1982 and the "ringing in" of 1983. I had just finished reading your article on the successful socialist publications fund, and its final paragraph wishing readers a happy, revolutionary New Year, when the rebellion broke out here in Miami.

It was an inspiration to see young, Black freedom fighters taking to the streets in rebellion against the fascist thugs who call themselves the Miami police.

Of course the media attempted to portray the clash as purely Black against white, when in reality it is a political and economic issue. Ghettos, of no matter what color, should never exist in a country as industrially advanced as ours.

Cuba, much less developed, has all but wiped out ghettos. Yet our capitalist rulers keep Blacks in such inhumane conditions simply because it's cheaper and more profitable than to allow them their basic rights to decent housing, jobs, and education.

As long as these conditions exist, clashes will erupt between the oppressed and the right arm of the oppressor, the police.

During the rebellion I felt the need to become involved in the process. I called the local Socialist Workers Party office, but unable to get through, I took my copy of Mel Mason's pamphlet *The Making of a Revolutionary* and distributed it in the Black community.

The only way forward in Miami, as well as the entire United States, is for Blacks to unite with all working-class peoples and progressive elements to bring about a new government of, by, and for the working people. This would include self-determination for the Black community with their own local police force and government — county police out of Miami's Black community!

Enclosed is a contribution to the socialist publications fund.
Dennis Marsella
Dania, Florida

'Revolutionary art'

In his review of the latest San Francisco Mime Troupe production, *Americans or the Last Tango in Huahuateno* (*Militant*, Dec. 31, 1982), Ike Nahem opens with the following statement: "It is very rare indeed when revolutionary politics and genuine artistic talent combine into something we can truly call 'revolutionary art.'"

Rare indeed! The reviewer, with a small, passing statement, ventures into an area previously traveled only by the most sectarian, antiartistic, hackneyed journalists of the radical left (perhaps the most notable being the *Guardian's* Irwin Silber; earlier incar-

nations came from the Stalinist *Daily Worker* — now the *Daily World*).

This is not to say Ike Nahem is a Stalinist, a sectarian, or hackneyed. What I mean to raise here is the much more significant question of confusing politics and art, or more precisely, using political criteria to evaluate the quality of art.

Ike is very explicit: "Revolutionary politics" plus "genuine artistic talent" equals "revolutionary art." Ah, were it so simple!

The 19th century novelist Emile Zola once referred to art as "nature seen through a temperament." It is very important to not confuse or equate a political program or framework with a temperament. True, the socialist revolution frees the artistic temperament from the inhuman, destructive fetters of this outmoded, suicidal social system. Why else would artists yearn so strongly for, even sacrifice much of their time for the revolution?

But the revolution must go no further. It cannot seek to direct the artistic temperament, or give it content. In doing so, it would introduce new fetters, and the "art" would never be "revolutionary," no matter how revolutionary the politics were.

We all have cultural tastes which differ from one another. Ike Nahem's taste, judging from his review, seem to lean in the direction of what one can only call "political art." Others go in different directions. It is important, though, to stop short of evaluating the cultural tastes of individuals or the work of artists with such political criteria as "revolutionary art." It confuses art with politics (something the Nicaraguan revolution has not done), and revolutionaries with artists.

Rich Lesnik
New York, New York

Contribution

I am sorry for taking so long to notify you of my change of address. I was released from prison in October 1982. I'm now able to obtain my own copies. But as a token of my appreciation and as a need to the people (your paper and services) I contribute this small donation of the enclosed amount. Thank you.

Michael Glashen
Hazel Crest, Illinois

'Militant' a relief

Had the fortunate opportunity to read a copy of your paper recently. I've been locked-up for the past six and a half years, so reading the viewpoints expressed was a revelation to me. You said a lot of things I've felt to be true but never heard about. After a steady dose of ruling-class fabricated propaganda, I was beginning to doubt

my sanity. It's a relief to know there are like-minded people somewhere that care enough to take a stand for what is right. I'd like to receive your paper regularly if you can arrange it for me.

A prisoner
Pontiac, Illinois

Support to come

I've received two copies of the newspaper the *Militant*, and I must say that your paper is a thing of reality. My friends and I feel your paper explains basic facts dealing with today's society. Each page has a complete understanding and not the comic strips that other newspapers overflow with.

Subjects such as white collar crime, legal murder, the Reagan administration's secret war against Nicaragua — from those few articles I truly comprehend why half of society pleads insane; especially with people in Washington (Reagan administration) trying to fulfill a dream of "doing it my way or I'll cut you down because I'm the cowboy that once was."

A prisoner
Lawrenceville, Virginia

Custer's last stand

In a victory for women, Native Americans, and all oppressed nationalities, the American Multiple Industries was forced to discontinue manufacturing the "Custer's Revenge" video game.

The object of the game is to see how many times the nude, male figure can rape the naked American Indian woman without being hit by arrows.

Protests against the game had been organized by a number of women's rights and Native American groups.

At a protest in New York City, Michael Bush, executive director of American Indian Community House, said, "As American Indians we see this disgusting video game for what it truly is — a sexist, racist, sadistic expression, the sole purpose of which is to fill the pockets of its creators and promoters."

Denise Fuge, president of the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women, charged that the game used "new technology to exploit women and degrade the American Indian community, portrays rape as an erotic act, and promotes the acceptability of raping certain groups of women, that is, Indian women."

The game was withdrawn directly as a result of the protests. As a company spokesman explained, "The game came to symbolize rape and racism in the eyes of too many people."

That's a sharp change of tune. In an earlier response to the protests, they said, "It's strictly for fun. These little . . . figures are



not doing violence to women. The only thing that might be construed as violent is tying an Indian maiden to a post and ravishing her, but he doesn't beat her first."

L.M.
Jersey City, New Jersey

Thank you

I wish to thank you and those contributors who made my free subscription to the *Militant* possible. I surely appreciate it.

You may rest assured I will and have passed the first two copies of the *Militant* on to my brothers in cages and will continue to do so. Thank you for your time and concern.

A prisoner
Marion, Illinois

Up to date

I am writing this letter for one of my comrades who has been in the hole at the State Correction Institution at Huntington for over a year now. He is a lifer in this state system.

He is in the struggle and a good rebel. He has to deal with these sick minded guards and their barbaric ways everyday. He has no funds to pay for your paper and can not write because of his situation at this time. He would appreciate it if you would send him your *Militant* newspaper.

He tries to stay up to date on the struggle over in El Salvador. Our brothers over there are doing a good job of keeping the government at bay.

So I am asking your help in this matter, and I know my comrade will deeply appreciate your help in sending him your paper in his present situation.

A prisoner
Huntington, Pennsylvania

Proud

I am writing this letter to you in hopes that you will lend me your sincere cooperation and assistance.

You see I am very interested in your 40-page pamphlet, *The Making of a Revolutionary*. Being young (18) and a proud Puerto Rican in racist America, I would like to say that it would be a joy and a pleasure if I was allowed to obtain this particular material.

But due to the circumstances, that I am presently incarcerated in one of America's torture chambers, I am unable to send a contribution to the *Militant*.

I must say I am in full support of your magazine. So therefore, if you could make an exception it would be truly appreciated if you sent me a copy without any obligations whatsoever.

A prisoner
Joliet, Illinois

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Ohio farmers protest foreclosure 1,000 drown out auctioneer, but government forces sale

BY SCOTT BREEN

LONDON, Ohio — "No sale! No sale! No sale!" For 20 minutes this chant shook the Madison County Courthouse January 14 as nearly 1,000 angry farmers drowned out the auctioneer's words.

Farmers gathered here in this central Ohio town from all over the state, and even from Indiana and Canada. They came to protest the foreclosing and sale of Doug and Pam Dailey's farm at a sheriff's auction.

Foreclosure on the Dailey's 191-acre farm was demanded by the Production Credit Association and its parent agency, the Federal Land Bank Association. At one time, the Daileys farmed 1,800 acres, but poor weather, declining farm prices, and increasingly steep interest on loans from these lending agencies combined to reduce their acreage and saddle them with a heavy debt.

The Production Credit Association (PCA) refused to renegotiate payment on a \$400,000 loan to the Daileys. This led to 100 farmers occupying the PCA offices in London for five hours on January 6, demanding that the debt be renegotiated. Nonetheless, the PCA requested that the sheriff foreclose on the property because the Daileys had been unable to make their payments.

When an 11th hour attempt to secure a court order halting sale of the Dailey farm failed, the stage was set for this outpouring of solidarity.

The rally was called only two days before at a meeting of 300 farmers in nearby Mowrystown. It was a meeting to organize a southwestern Ohio chapter of the Family Farmers Movement (FFM), a new organization that is rapidly growing in the state.

There, Allen Wilford, a spokesman for the FFM, was greeted with a standing ovation when he declared: "Abnormal conditions call for abnormal reactions."

The conditions of farmers are certainly desperate. According to a 1982 *Cincinnati Post* series on Ohio agriculture, the number of Ohio farms has decreased at a rate of 1,000 each year since 1976. And debts for the remaining farmers have become staggering as interest rates in some cases have risen to over 20 percent. At the same time prices for many crops have dipped below actual production costs.

As a result, "twice as many Ohio farmers declared bankruptcy in 1982 as in 1981," according to Tom Storey, a spokesman for the Ohio Farmers Union (OFU). The OFU joined the FFM in calling the January 14 action.

In addition, both the OFU and the FFM have called for "an immediate moratorium on farm foreclosures to give us some time to get our house in order."

The hundreds of farmers who converged upon the courthouse fear they will be foreclosed next. "They say only 5 percent of us are in trouble," Gary McClelland, a bean and hog farmer from Brown County remarked. "It's more like only 5 percent are not in trouble." As the crowd gathered before the 10 a.m. auction, comments such as, "There's strength in numbers" and "We came to stand up and be heard" were frequently expressed.

As the Madison County sheriff began reading the notice to sell the Dailey farm from the steps of the courthouse, farmers started a rolling chant of "We can't hear you, can't hear, can't hear." This was soon followed by "No sale, no sale, no sale!" This chant reached a deafening crescendo when the auctioneer took the bullhorn to start the bidding.

Despite the inability of anyone to hear the auctioneer, let alone any possible bid, the deputies used a felt-tipped pen to mark a bid of \$225,000 on a cardboard poster.



Militant/Scott Breen

Farmers protest sale of foreclosed farm in London, Ohio, January 14.

Shouts of "No, No, No," and sustained booing filled the air. This continued until the deputies left, having declared the land sold and the auction over.

A few minutes later, it was announced that the Federal Land Bank itself had made the bid and bought the land.

Farm organizers plan to file legal papers contending the auction was invalid.

With the help of a bullhorn, Doug Dailey addressed the crowd: "We don't believe we should be robbed of our work. Right now we are in the toughest times of our lives."

"We are in the front lines of a major battle for economic freedom. PCA and other

lending groups can take me on and they can take you on, but they can't take us all on."

At this, the cheering crowd broke out into chants of "PCA, Go Away."

"What do we do next?" he continued when the crowds quieted. "Fight," they responded.

"We need to work together, we need to organize!"

"What do we want?" he asked. "Moratorium!" was the immediate and united response.

When this reporter asked demonstrators about the Reagan administration's latest proposals to turn stored grain over to farmers as a "payment-in-kind" if they cut back

production, the replies were all negative. The most common responses were "quick fix," "phoney," "they've ruined us with their embargoes" and "everybody is raping the farmer."

At the end of his speech, Dailey made a final announcement: "Another farm was to go on auction Monday — it's been canceled!"

On this victorious note, the rally ended. Farmers began dispersing, but not before FFM organizers gathered their names. They left determined to continue the fight, "to keep on fighting, no matter what happens here today," as Pamela Dailey declared.

Blacks sue VW for discrimination

BY AL DUNCAN

PITTSBURGH — On January 4, nine current and former Black employees sued Volkswagen of America (VW) for \$70 million, charging racial harassment and discriminatory job practices at the company's plant near New Stanton, Pennsylvania.

In the suit, the Black employees point to a systematic policy of racism by VW in hiring, job upgrading, and treatment of Blacks at the plant.

The suit occurs in the context of indefinite layoffs at VW and contract negotiations covering 5,000 workers represented by the United Auto Workers (UAW).

"We're looking for \$50 million in punitive damages, \$20 million in compensatory damages, and injunctive relief — the ceasing (of) all discriminatory practices, and (for Blacks) to be provided a safe place to work," said Robert Lampl, lawyer for the plaintiffs.

In all the suit points to over 50 different incidents of racist treatment of Blacks.

For example, two Black women applied for positions at Volkswagen in 1981 and got no response. Three months later they filled out new applications, identified themselves as white, and were hired within 48 hours!

For those Blacks who were hired, according to the suit, racism was the norm at VW.

Chuck Penn, a plaintiff in the suit, relates a chilling incident that happened to him at work — the discovery of what he thought was a bomb!

He discovered the "bomb" in his desk drawer at work in November. Later, a telephone caller said, "Hey nigger, next time it'll be a real one."

Penn contacted the FBI shortly thereafter. Since November the FBI claims it has been pursuing an "active" investigation of the incident.

This type of activity doesn't occur on the

job unless it is encouraged or tolerated by the boss — which is well known by the FBI.

The suit singles out David Frueauf, the plant's personnel director, for "telling ethnic and racial jokes" and for "using racial slurs and encouraging others to do likewise."

These things have been going on since the plant opened in 1977, according to Lampl. Long before the suit, these types of problems were brought to the attention of Volkswagen.

George Simmons, executive director of the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, said his office has pending litigation involving complaints against VW.

Robert Pitts, board member of the Pittsburgh NAACP and of the Black Coalition formed for employees at the plant, said, "We have no reason to question or doubt anything those Black employees said happened, because we were fully aware of those incidents when they happened."

Pitts said the Black Coalition, composed of organizations such as NAACP of Western Pennsylvania, Urban League, and Greater Pittsburgh Business Development Corp., tried to make VW aware of the allegations.

The coalition even took the plight of Blacks to VW corporate headquarters in Wolfsburg, West Germany.

At the center of the controversy at VW is affirmative action.

According to Pitts, when the plant was first opened, VW promised that minority group members and women would make up 9 percent of the work force.

But, Pitts said, the company produced "no goals or timetables, nothing to shoot for, nothing in writing."

The only thing the company did in response to concerns voiced by members of the Black community was to make it possi-

ble for people to get applications at employment offices located in Black areas.

"They played the numbers game with Blacks and shifted them around and then out," charged James Ashton, who prepared the suit with Lampl.

He further charges that the company used double standards on the results of medical examinations prior to hiring and that whites with similar medical problems were favored over Blacks.

Ashton vowed that they intend to subpoena VW's applications and other documents to determine the extent of the problem.

As word of the suit has gotten out, Ashton's phone has been ringing off the hook.

When asked to comment on the charges in the suit, Tom McDonald, Volkswagen director of public relations at its national headquarters in Troy, Michigan, said the company would have no comment until it has gone over the suit.

While VW has been reluctant to comment in public, it has shown no such hesitation to do so in private and with deadly results.

William Brock, a VW employee and newly elected president of the Washington, Pennsylvania, NAACP, originally refused to join the suit filed by other members of the Black Caucus, a group active at VW.

But on January 7, he joined the suit. That night he shot himself and died the next morning.

Brock left behind a letter explaining how VW officials had threatened him if he didn't stop the suit being filed by the Black Caucus. He was told he would face sexual harassment charges from two white female employees unless the suit was dropped.

In the opinion of many here, while William Brock may have held the gun, it was VW that pulled the trigger.