

## Continental workers fight bankruptcy ploy

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Pilots and flight attendants struck Continental Airlines October 1, one week after Continental's president and chairman, Frank Lorenzo, filed to void union contracts under Chapter 11 of the bankruptcy code.

The fight between Lorenzo and the unionized employees is shaping up to be the biggest test of strength between employers and labor in the airlines industry since the strike by the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) was broken by the government in 1981. Lorenzo insists that Continental is not broke, and that his move was intended strictly to cut labor costs.

Continental halted bargaining with the pilots' and attendants' unions, even though they had agreed to substantial concessions in wages and work rules.

With the bankruptcy filing, Lorenzo fired Continental's 12,000 workers. Two days later the company announced it would resume flights to 25 of the 78 domestic cities it had routes to, and would call back 4,200 employees — working longer hours and for almost 50 percent less in pay.

Lorenzo had earlier fired members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) who went on strike in August.

Officials of the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) decided not to honor the IAM strike. Now the pilots, along with members of the Union of Flight Attendants (UFA),

are on the picket lines with IAM members.

The pilots' and attendants' unions are also considering a nationwide flight stoppage on all unionized carriers to show solidarity with the Continental strike in the face of threats by other carriers, particularly Eastern, to repeat Continental's bankruptcy ploy.

Union members point out that they had already either made significant concessions to Continental or had offered to do so. The attendants had offered concessions worth \$90 million over two years.

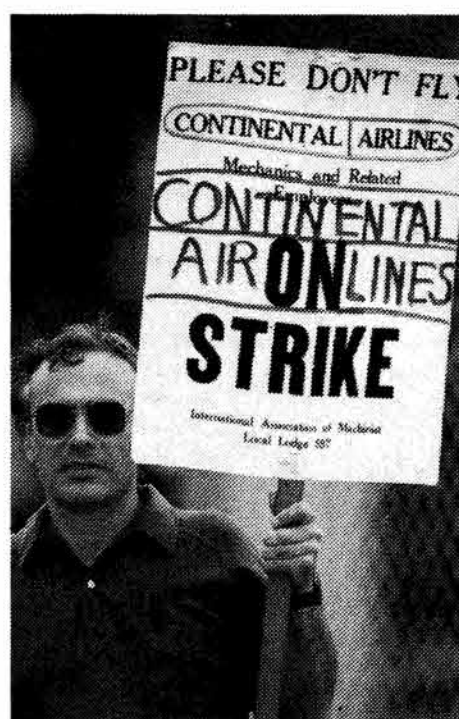
The pilots had already agreed to concessions worth \$100 million. When Lorenzo demanded \$60 million more, the ALPA asked to look at Continental's books including those of its parent company, Texas Air. Lorenzo said no.

The pilots also wanted concessions made contingent on unionizing New York Air, a nonunion carrier also controlled by Lorenzo.

Continental pays pilots less than any other major airline, an ALPA spokesman said, from \$42,000 to \$77,000 yearly. Flight attendants were paid \$16,224 to \$27,276 per year, according to a UFA official.

Media reports have accepted Continental's exaggerated claims that pilots got \$89,400 and attendants \$37,300 yearly under their union contracts.

The unions recognize Lorenzo's game.



Pilots, flight attendants join Machinists in big test of strength against Continental Airlines.

ALPA spokesman Dennis Higgins declared, "It never crossed my mind that he intended to do anything except bust the union." Higgins added that "where labor is concerned, he [Lorenzo] is vicious."

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## CIA orders Nicaragua rightists to step up war

BY HARRY RING

In a major new admission of U.S. backing for the counterrevolutionaries, or *contras*, in Nicaragua, it has been disclosed that they have had a "do or die" strategy imposed on them by the CIA. U.S. officials now also admit that CIA pilots based in El Salvador have been airlifting war materiel to mercenaries in Nicaragua since early spring.

Meanwhile, responding to intensified contra attacks from Honduran and Costa Rican border sanctuaries, the Nicaraguan government has declared that such border areas have in fact been turned into "military operations zones." Nicaraguan troops have now been ordered to shoot back, regardless of which side of the border they are being fired on from.

The disclosure that the CIA is using a Salvadoran air force base to drop military supplies to contras inside Nicaragua was made to the *New York Times* by "United States officials in Central America."

According to an October 2 *Times* account, the CIA planes drop ammunition, communications equipment, and medical supplies to their hirelings operating within Nicaragua.

The materiel is reportedly flown into Nicaraguan territory by U.S. civilian pilots employed by the CIA, plus Salvadoran air force pilots.

One U.S. official estimates that these illegal acts of war are conducted as often as a dozen times a week.

The CIA responded, "No comment."

Meanwhile, the *Washington Post* revealed September 29 that current escalated activity by the contras "is the result of a new strategy imposed on the Nicaraguan rebels by the Central Intelligence Agency that funds them, according to U.S. and rebel sources interviewed in recent weeks."

The paper said the stepped-up contra activity represents an effort aimed as much at "convincing the CIA and the U.S. Congress that they are worth the money put into their operations as at pressing the Sandinistas in Managua."

According to *Post* sources, "the initial ineffectiveness of the CIA-orchestrated campaign" produced the ultimatum.

The CIA reportedly told its principal hirelings, the Honduras-based Nicaraguan Democratic Front (FDN) that unless it "shaped up," funds would be cut off by this past September. The FDN is led by former members of ex-dictator Somoza's murderous National Guard.

According to one *Somocista*, the CIA pressure was so strong that by last April, supplies to field sources had dried up to the point that mercenary units inside Nicaragua were left stranded.

"We were left with no choice but to call our people back to their bases in Honduras," he said. "Our people in Nicaragua were in such bad shape that some of them struggled back to their bases literally without shoes."

The revelation confirms that the contras are simply U.S. mercenaries with no base of support among the Nicaraguan people.

One leader of the contras candidly admitted, "Our effort to simply fight a war in the rural countryside was a failure because it did not produce the popular uprising of the Nicaraguan people we had hoped for."

Another added that if they didn't get into the cities "then we are doomed to fight another 20 years in the mountains."

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## Labor leader hits U.S. policy in Salvador

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

HOLLYWOOD, Fla., Oct. 4 — Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the 455,000-member Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, took the floor here today at the AFL-CIO's national convention to describe the repression against Salvadoran trade union leaders by the U.S.-backed regime.

Sheinkman is a cochair of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador and was part of a U.S. trade union delegation that visited El Salvador last summer. The National Labor Committee boasts the sup-

port of many union leaders.

Speaking briefly from the floor, Sheinkman explained that 90 union leaders have been murdered by death squads in the past three years. Hundreds of others, he continued, have been disappeared, as have thousands of other Salvadoran working people. He warned that the Reagan administration "seeks to impose more and more military aid."

Sheinkman's remarks received much applause.

Sheinkman was addressing a proposed resolution opposing U.S. military aid to El Salvador. The resolution places more em-

phasis on the need for progress on securing democratic rights for El Salvador's workers and peasants than previous AFL-CIO expressions of official opposition to U.S. military aid. These have generally made aid contingent on Salvadoran government action aimed at solving the murder of two American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) workers killed in El Salvador in January 1981.

This change and Sheinkman's remarks, unusual at a gathering of AFL-CIO tops, reflects the mounting opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America in the ranks of the labor movement.

The AFL-CIO's criticism of U.S. policy in El Salvador, however, was muted by the fact that it was included as part of a broad resolution on foreign policy entitled, "Labor, National Security, and the World."

This generally anticommunist resolution reaffirms a number of positions on international affairs that do not reflect the interests of workers in the United States or elsewhere. This includes strengthening NATO to deal with the "threat" posed by "Soviet expansionism" as well as support for Israel in the Mideast.

The resolution also opposes economic aid to Nicaragua and falsely accuses the Sandinista government of "betraying the revolution."

In other action, the convention expressed support of striking Continental Airline workers and voted to condemn "the misuse of the bankruptcy laws to undermine workers' rights, and pledges organized labor's support to the unions that are fighting back against the antiunion employers who use this tactic to nullify . . . hard-won worker protection."

In our next issue, the Militant will carry a fuller report on the AFL-CIO convention.

## New confidence at NOW meeting for building women's rights mov't

BY CINDY JAQUITH

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Women's liberation fighters are gaining new confidence in their ability to construct a mass feminist movement. They recognize that such a movement — based on the strength of working-class women, Blacks, and Latinas — can become a powerful political force not only in the fight for women's rights, but in the struggle against all forms of oppression, exploitation, and war.

This was demonstrated at the national conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW). It was held here September 30–October 2 and attended by more than 2,000 people.

The conference of the nation's largest women's rights group came on the heels of the August 27 march on Washington of half a million for jobs, peace, and freedom. The experience of that demonstration, in which thousands of NOW members marched along with civil rights activists

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Militant/Yvonne Hayes  
Civil rights leader Coretta Scott King addressing National Organization for Women conference.



# Thousands held in Israeli camps

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

Since July 1982 the Israeli armed forces have held nearly 5,000 Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners in the Ansar prison camp in southern Lebanon. The Israeli government claims it is holding these prisoners to exchange them for eight Israelis captured by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) in the 1982 war.

Conditions in the makeshift prison camp are bad, reports Salah Taamri, who leads a committee representing the prisoners. Taamri, who headed the PLO's youth movement and served as a military commander in southern Lebanon before his capture in the 1982 war, told the *New York Times* in a September 26 interview that several prisoners had been fatally shot by the Israelis. He also reported that there are frequent beatings of prisoners, inadequate medical care, a lack of family visits, and poor food.

The majority of those held in Ansar are Palestinian. Following its June 1982 invasion of Lebanon, Israel arrested thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese. These arrests have continued, according to Amnesty International. The Israeli army has taken both combatants and those "suspected" of having links with the PLO.

Until July 1983 the Israeli government didn't recognize these prisoners to be held under the provisions of the Geneva Conventions, which are supposed to regulate the treatment of combatants and civilians in time of war. Israeli officials, therefore, refused to allow prisoners to see lawyers or have family visits.

A number of Israeli civil rights lawyers — including Lea Tsemel, Walid Fahoum, Mohammad Ma'amneh, and Felicia Langer — requested permission from the

Israeli Ministry of Defense to visit Palestinian and Lebanese clients held in the Ansar camp. In all cases their requests were denied. The ministry said that Israeli law doesn't apply to prisoners at the Ansar camp because they are neither Israeli citizens nor held on Israeli territory. The government also said that since the prisoners weren't going to be tried, there was no reason for lawyers to visit them.

The government refuses to admit holding prisoners in Israel itself. So, the lawyers' request to visit clients in Israel and the Israeli-occupied territories wasn't even addressed by the ministry.

However, Amnesty International reports that the Israeli army is holding Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners at Ramleh, Megiddo, and Jalameh prisons in Israel. These prisons are used as interrogation centers where those arrested in Lebanon

are questioned before being transferred to the Ansar camp. There have been reports of the use of torture in these prisons.

Earlier this year, Tsemel, Fahoum, Ma'amneh, and Langer took legal action against the Israeli government. The lawyers demanded the right to visit their clients. The Israeli High Court ruled on July 13, 1983, that the lawyers could visit the Ansar camp "subject to security arrangements."

So far, there have been no reports that the lawyers have been allowed into the camp.

The continued bad conditions in the Ansar camp have sparked several prison revolts. "We have had enough of suffering," Taamri told the *Times*. "They don't want to know the boiling inside of Ansar. I'm afraid that one day this powder will explode, and many faces will be blackened."



Israeli soldiers stand guard over Arab prisoners in makeshift camp in Lebanon.

## Nicaragua: border attacks escalate

Continued from front page

But the projected into-the-cities plan is quite minimal. One mercenary honcho said they hoped to make their fight known in urban communities "by briefly occupying them, painting their streets with slogans, holding a political rally or two, distributing arms to sympathizers for later use, then withdrawing before the Sandinistas could mobilize to concentrate their superior forces against us." (And, the record shows, also engaging in rape, murder, and kidnapping.)

But such hit-and-run tactics are hardly what the CIA is demanding. The real strat-

egy being imposed on the contras was explained by Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega.

According to the *Militant's* Nicaragua bureau, Ortega declared October 1 that the decision to return contra fire across the Honduran and Costa Rican borders was dictated by the fact that the counter-revolutionaries, "unable to operate for any length of time inside Nicaragua," have "been forced to resort to air attacks, sabotage, and artillery attacks mounted from just across the border."

In recent weeks, there have been air attacks on the Managua airport and the port of Corinto.

Since the contras, with the complicity of the Honduran and Costa Rican governments, have turned the border areas into "no man's lands," Ortega declared, "it is logical that we will have to operate from there as well. We have ordered our troops to return fire from the counter-revolutionaries, wherever its source."

"This does not mean," he emphasized, "that we are going to invade Honduras or Costa Rica, but simply that we are going to defend Nicaragua's sovereignty."

Meanwhile, a strong indictment of U.S. imperialist aggression was made at the United Nations General Assembly September 27 by Daniel Ortega, coordinator of Nicaragua's revolutionary government.

From the outset, Ortega declared, the strategy of the Reagan administration has been clear:

"Military aggression, more economic aggression, more slander campaigns, more attempts to isolate us internationally — all with the goal of destabilizing the Nicaraguan revolution to bring about its destruction."

Adding a fundamental point, Ortega continued:

"Thus they proposed to undermine the struggles of the people of the region and in particular, the struggle of the people of El Salvador."

"Crushing the Nicaraguan revolution would mean crushing the possibilities of change in Central America and would maintain the system of injustice and lack of freedom."

Ortega's address was greeted by sustained applause in the assembly — the U.S. delegation, of course, excepted.

## U.S.—'a government of law'?

The *New York Times* is no friend of basic social change in Nicaragua, or anywhere else. And Tom Wicker, one of its principal political analysts, is no dissenter from *Times* policy.

Which gives credence to his October 3 column based on a recent talk in New York by Father Miguel D'Escoto, the Maryknoll priest who is Nicaragua's foreign minister.

Wicker reports d'Escoto pointed to the fact that Congress was debating whether "to devote millions of dollars to the destabilization of another country."

Wicker adds: "Father d'Escoto asked in tones of disbelief, 'Is this a government of law?'"

Commented Wicker:

"That's a good question that can't quite be answered by accusations from Washington that Nicaragua itself is trying to 'destabilize' El Salvador by furnishing arms to guerrillas there."

"The Reagan administration has produced no proof of this and U.S. sources in Central America concede that the supposed flow of supplies is down to a trickle, of mostly nonlethal materials at that."

"More important, trying to overthrow a recognized government with CIA funds and a hired army — 'covert operations' is the euphemism — violates U.S. law, the charter of the Organization of American States, and the very principles the administration professes to uphold in Latin America."

Wicker also reports d'Escoto's prediction that if it persists, Washington will inevitably find itself sending in GIs.

But, d'Escoto added, even if Washington sends in 500,000 troops, as in Vietnam, "they won't obtain their goal," because in the resulting guerrilla war, "every Nicaraguan, including my 81-year-old mother, will fight."

## Grenada film showing

A benefit showing of the new film, *Grenada: The future coming towards us*, will be shown at Hunter College Playhouse October 14 at 8 p.m. for \$5. Grenada's Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman will introduce the film. Hunter Playhouse is located at 68th Street between Park and Lexington Avenues in New York City.



Nicaraguan contras at Honduran border. Their attacks on revolution have increased.

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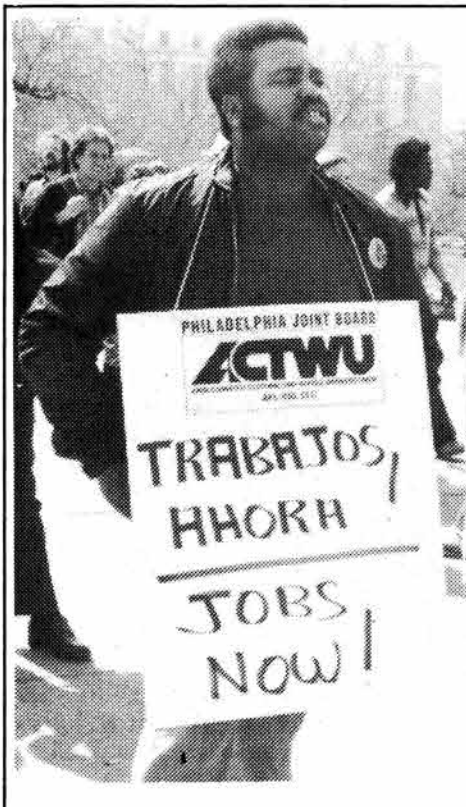
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# Congress okays U.S. war in Lebanon

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

"We are, in a quasi-way, declaring war with this resolution," Rep. Robert Walker of Pennsylvania told his colleagues in the U.S. House of Representatives on September 29. The truth is, however, there was nothing "quasi" about it. By invoking the War Powers Act in its approval of an 18-month stay in Beirut for the U.S. Marines, Congress proclaimed war on the Lebanese and Palestinian people.

On September 30 the Senate adopted the resolution, approved the day before in the House, authorizing the deployment of U.S. combat forces in Lebanon for 18 months. The bill's passage shows broad bipartisan support for Washington's war effort. The Reagan administration has committed 14 ships from the U.S. Sixth Fleet and 14,000 sailors, pilots, and marines to a five-nation imperialist combat force trying to buttress the shaky rightist regime of Lebanese President Amin Gemayel.

The congressional vote makes U.S. involvement in Lebanon's civil war the first U.S. war officially approved by Congress since World War II. The Korean and Vietnam wars were both undeclared — as is Washington's current war against the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan people.

Liberal Democrats led the way in supporting the war measure. Legislators, such as Rep. Stephen Solarz of New York, Rep. Michael Barnes of Maryland, and Rep. Howard Wolpe of Michigan, vigorously supported the Lebanon resolution. They are all noted for criticizing U.S. involvement in Central America. The U.S. ruling class hopes that the congressional backing for its war aims in Lebanon can be parlayed into bipartisan support for Washington's war in Central America.

Immediately following the September vote, President Reagan released a statement lauding the decision. He said the vote to keep the marines in Beirut shows the world, "America stands united, we speak with one voice, and we fulfill our responsibilities as a trustee of freedom, peace, and self-determination."

## No limits

While Democratic Party politicians say the resolution limits U.S. involvement in Lebanon, White House officials have repeatedly said the measure places no restrictions on Reagan's policies. "In a legal sense," admitted Rep. Les Aspin, a Democrat from Wisconsin who voted for the bill, "it does not limit the president."

Meanwhile, the cease-fire in Lebanon's civil war remains tenuous. Since it went into effect on September 26, the cease-fire has been marked by sporadic fighting between the Lebanese Army and the Muslim and Druse militia. Heavy fighting broke out on October 3 in the southern suburbs of Beirut, which are predominantly Muslim.

Also, negotiations between Gemayel's proimperialist regime and the opposition forces have yet to begin. Neither a date nor a location for the discussions have been agreed upon.

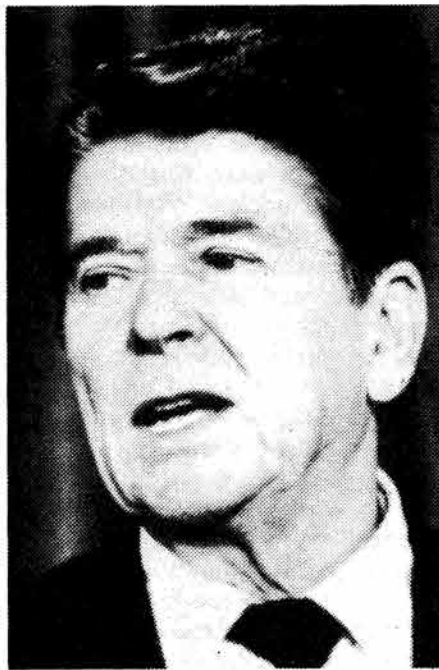
Gemayel's government is dominated by the Phalange party — an ultrareactionary group based on the privileged Maronite Christian minority. Lebanese Druse and Muslims, who make up the majority of Lebanon's population, have been fighting to change the country's discriminatory political system, which guarantees dominance to the Maronites.

The current civil war began when the Lebanese Army tried to disarm Muslim militia in West Beirut. The Lebanese government also attempted to move its troops into the Shuf Mountains, which is the traditional homeland of the Lebanese Druse. The Druse militia of Walid Jumblatt's Progressive Socialist Party drove the government troops out of more than 80 percent of the Shuf Mountains. In the days just before the cease-fire a fierce battle was fought for control of Suk al Gharb, a mountain village overlooking Beirut. With the help of U.S. naval shelling and French aerial bombardment, the Lebanese Army was able to hold onto the town.

According to the *New York Times*, Jumblatt said, in an October 1 news conference, that in the upcoming negotiations he would insist that Lebanon's president be chosen directly by the people. In the political setup imposed on the Lebanese people



House Speaker Thomas O'Neill and President Reagan. Liberal Democrats led way in supporting U.S. intervention in Mideast.



by French imperialism following World War II, the presidency is guaranteed to the Maronite community.

Pierre Gemayel, the Lebanese president's father and the founder of the Phalange party, has told reporters "We are ready to abdicate a little power, but on the condition that this does not change the essential." After claiming that no Muslim leader had ever asked for a Muslim to be president of Lebanon, Gemayel said "We have to reinforce this formula, not destroy it."

The Phalangist determination — and that of their imperialist backers in the United States and Europe — to maintain Christian privileges will mean renewed conflicts with Lebanon's Druse and Muslim communities.

The U.S., French, British, Italian, and Israeli troops are in Lebanon to aid the rightist government's effort to crush the Muslim, Druse, and Palestinian opposition

to its rule. The Lebanese Druse and Muslims have been aided by Syria, which has 40,000 troops in Lebanon. One reason for the buildup of imperialist military might in the country is to prepare to go to war with Syria.

Part of this preparation for a broader Mideast war is the political campaign to portray Syria as a puppet of the Soviet Union.

Another major aim of the imperialist intervention in Lebanon is to drive the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and its fighting units out of the country. Washington has pressured the regime of Syrian President Hafez al-Assad to help it accomplish this goal.

On September 23 the Syrian army forced 1,200 PLO guerrillas in the Bekaa Valley to move to the far northeast of Lebanon. These PLO fighters are members of Al Fatah, which is headed by PLO chairman Yassir Arafat.

In addition, the Syrian forces moved two brigades of the Palestine Liberation Army (PLA) out of the Shuf Mountains, where they had been fighting alongside Druse militia.

The moves against the PLO by the Syrian government, which came just two days before the cease-fire agreement, are a blow to the struggle to liberate Palestine from Israeli occupation. Moreover, these attacks weaken the united Arab struggle against imperialism.

Still, there are 10,000–15,000 PLO troops in Lebanon that the imperialists have yet to drive from the country. Arafat himself came to Lebanon on September 16 in response to the stepped-up combat role of imperialist forces in the war.

## Antiwar sentiment

The imperialists face still another problem in achieving their aims in the Mideast — the antiwar sentiment among workers and farmers at home. In the United States a New York Times/CBS News Poll showed that the majority of Americans oppose U.S. support to the Gemayel regime. And by nearly 3-to-1, those questioned said the U.S. Marines should be withdrawn from Lebanon rather than reinforced.

A poll taken in France showed that 56 percent of the French people oppose their government's involvement in the joint combat force.

Worry over how to prevent this antiwar sentiment from becoming a political problem fueled the congressional debate on the resolution to invoke the War Powers Act. "If you keep the marines there for 18 months," warned Rep. Toby Roth of Wisconsin, "there will be many Americans killed there. That's a cinch."

It's also a cinch that increased U.S. involvement in Lebanon's civil war will deepen antiwar opposition from U.S. working people. As one legislator put it in the debate: "It's a choice between sure disaster if we pull out and possible disaster if we stay. It's a very unhappy choice."

## Kansas protest backs Black farmers

BY JOHN GAIGE

NICODEMUS, Kan. — Singing, "No sale — We want justice — We will not be moved," and "This land is our land," 150 people marched here October 3 from the city park to Graham County Courthouse in Hill City to protest the foreclosure sale of 240 acres of Bernard and Alva Bates' 900-acre farm.

Farmers from the Central and Midwest states were joined by unionists, women, and Blacks to unite behind the Bateses, a Black farm family. The protest grew to nearly 300 people chanting, "No sale, no sale." But sheriff Don Scott carried it through quickly. He was backed by state police who lined the three sides of the U-shaped building. Police were stationed on the roof tops and fire hoses readied in the rear.

The Bateses were urged by lenders to buy 240 acres for \$120,000 three years ago. But they have been unable to keep up with their payments because they lost two crops, one to frost and the other to hail.

The Stockton Production Credit Association (PCA), one of the lenders, forced this sale. The Stockton National Bank, also holding a mortgage on the Bates' property, took over the PCA's mortgage for \$98,000.

The Bates family will now struggle to keep 670 acres mortgaged with the Federal Land Bank, land held in the family for generations. They farm near Nicodemus, a Black town of nearly 100 settled in 1877. There are about 14 other Black farmers in the area.

Merle Hansen, chairperson of the North American Farm Alliance (NAFA), told supporters the day before the sale at a meeting in the Baptist church in Nicodemus, "The Bates family deserves disaster assistance from the federal government, not foreclosure." The Nebraska farmer added, "Money could come from the \$600 million set aside for distressed farmers . . . money the secretary of agriculture is trying to turn back, saying it's

not needed."

Hansen said, "We face an unprecedented crisis in agriculture, there's a very great chance in the next few years we face the total elimination of the family farm. Foreclosures are reaching epidemic proportions. The Farm Home Administration (FmHA) is foreclosing on 700 farmers in Georgia and 262 farmers in Kansas to name two states."

At the courthouse protest Darrell Ringer, a leader of the Kansas American Agriculture Movement Grassroots (AAM), said, "It's actions like these where the American people hold the key to the future of America. . . . This recovery is strictly a fake. . . . Our enemy is the national farm policy that always gives the family farmers less than what they deserve."

Alvin Jenkins, national spokesperson for AAM Grassroots, joined the Bateses on the platform following the sale. The Colorado farmer, speaking to the Bateses' supporters, said, "One hundred years after freeing the slaves, you're all government sharecroppers." Referring to the ties these farmers seek to deepen with the Black movement and with Jesse Jackson, Jenkins said, "Jackson: here is the minority of the minority."

After the sale the demonstrators moved on to Stockton to protest the PCA. Farm leaders forced a meeting with Ben Leighton, president of the PCA, but were unable to get him to open the books or renegotiate on the Bateses' farm.

There is a feeling among farm leaders that the PCA will try to get a court judgement to foreclose on the 670 acres. They point out that the adjoining land has oil wells.

From Stockton, over 125 supporters gathered in a Nicodemus town hall to evaluate the day's events. Carol Hodne, coordinator of NAFA, reported, "In Stockton, we forced Leighton to admit that 50 percent of the farmers who borrow from the PCA are in the problem category financially. His only proposal was that farmers

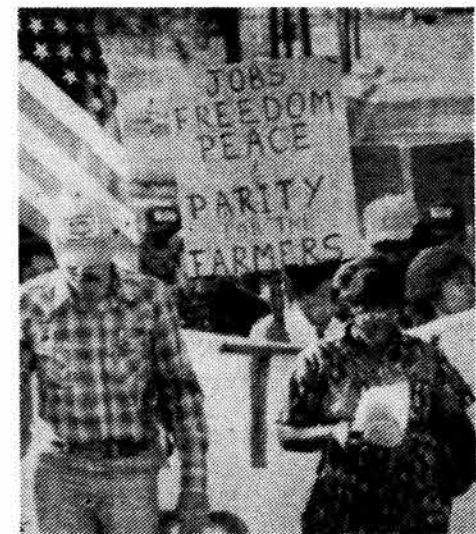
begin partial liquidation of land or machinery. We've learned that only puts one foot in the grave."

There was an exchange of views here among farmer leaders and others about what type of movement it will take to fight the economic crisis successfully and stop the foreclosures reaping havoc in the countryside.

Many farmers agreed from the outset it would be extremely difficult to stop this sale, but many agreed the unity and solidarity achieved in the defense of the Bateses was a partial victory, a beginning. Alva Bates explained she was "overwhelmed" by the support; "people came so far."

Wayne Cryts, AAM Grassroots leader, pointed to the need to continue to defend the Bates family.

Others who spoke included Ernest Chambers, a Black state senator from Omaha, Nebraska, and Arie Van Den Brand, a farmer from Holland who expressed international solidarity.



AAM organizer Darrell Ringer marches with Alva Bates protesting sale of Bates' land.



# Workers fight for union in Mississippi



Militant/Tony Dutrow  
Executive board members of IUE Local 698 in Clinton, Mississippi. They led successful struggle to establish union in "right-to-work" Deep South state.

BY ROHIMA MIAH  
AND TONY DUTROW

JACKSON, Miss. — Many companies that have fled the East and Midwest seeking low wages and no unions in the "right-to-work" South have found more and more workers fighting to establish unions.

In 1973, General Motor's Packard Electronic Division moved its wire harness assembly operation to Clinton, Mississippi, just outside Jackson. Jackson, the state capital, has a population of 200,000 and is the largest city in the state.

Fourteen hundred workers in the plant now manufacture components of wiring products as well as assemble electrical wiring units for GM and some American Motors vehicles.

The International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 698 invited us to have a discussion with union officials inside the plant where their office is located.

IUE Local 698 was established in 1980. Last May, an all-Black local leadership came into office. Approximately 60 percent of the workers in production jobs are Black.

Horatio Jones, the union's shop chairman explained why GM's Packard Electronic Division decided to move to Mississippi.

"Their primary objective was in search of lower wage rates. The minimum wage around that time was \$2.88 an hour and that's what our workers got," he said. "Then the starting wage at the Warren, Ohio, plant, organized by the United Auto Workers was \$5 to \$6 an hour."

According to Jones, two organizing attempts — by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and United Auto Workers (UAW) — were defeated prior to 1980. The UAW lost by only two votes in 1974, one year after the plant opened.

John Barnes, the local's insurance representative, recalled why Black workers first turned to the UAW. "In my mind the civil rights movement here in the 60s created a certain awareness. I think that's why in the beginning we were for the UAW which we saw as a more militant union that could do some things for us."

Three of the newly elected leaders we talked with were involved in the civil rights struggle when they were students at Jackson State University and Tougaloo College. These Black colleges were at center stage in the battles for equality in the late 1960s here.

The campaign to organize the plant was led by the IUE. "The campaign for the most part was for human dignity. Wages were never really an issue in 1980," Jones said, explaining that previous organizing drives had forced GM to bring wages up to keep the union out.

"We had a lot of problems on the floor. Seniority meant nothing and a lot of favoritism was practiced by management," added Jones.

He said that in 1978 GM claimed it would be "neutral" in union organizing drives in its new plants, but this turned out to be false. "They had ways of getting to people in the plant!"

"But they were not successful. We won

by a margin of 55 votes," said Jones.

The president of Local 698, Richard Johnson, recalls that he was among 28 workers who were fired and then won their jobs back through the new union.

Johnson said, "the so-called open door policy was there to brainwash the employees into believing you can go to management anytime. Once the company started to violate its own policies, workers began to realize that it was a sham."

"They were sending our brothers and sisters out the door, so we decided we needed a union. We wanted to change the whole system around to benefit the common people."

## Boeing Machinists ratify contract

BY DAVID McDONALD

SEATTLE — Members of District Local 751 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) voted 70 percent October 3 in favor of a new, three-year contract with Boeing, the Puget Sound's largest employer. The union currently represents 26,000 Boeing workers, with thousands more on layoff.

Most unionists came to the mass ratification meeting expecting to vote for a strike. The union's telephone hotline, IAM member Mark Manning told the *Militant*, had reported drastic company takeback demands that would "gut" wages, cost-of-living allowance (COLA), and health benefits.

However, the final package was not as bad as expected. While it contained concessions adversely affecting newly hired employees, it included immediate hourly wage increases of 29 cents to \$1.19, improved retirement benefits, preservation of COLA, and improved medical and dental benefits.

Tom Baker, IAM district president, and Justin Ostro, international vice-president, reported on the proposed contract but refused to recommend it to the membership.

Ostro personally urged the members to strike and promised to donate his salary to the strike fund for the duration of the action.

Baker described the negotiations as the toughest he had seen in 22 years. He listed Boeing's original takeback demands and said the company had begun to bargain seriously only three days before the vote. The contract represented, in his estimation, the best that could be gotten short of a strike. Baker had earlier vowed that District Local 751 would not engage in concessions bargaining.

While all currently employed workers will receive a wage increase, the increase is larger in the higher labor grades. After the first year the lowest five labor grades' pay will be frozen for the rest of the contract. As a result, labor grade 1 will go from \$11.38 to \$11.67 an hour, while labor grade 11 will progress from \$14.98 to \$17.11. The overall wage differential from lowest- to highest-paid worker will jump from \$3.60 to \$5.44.

Johnson recalled GM management's response to the membership electing an all-Black leadership. "They figured that this all-Black organization would not work, that we didn't have the leadership ability. But we're proving them wrong."

In a "right-to-work" state, a union faces an obstacle course even after the ink is dry on the contract.

"You're faced with the problem that you might lose members." How is this possible? Jones pointed to the fact that keeping members is an ongoing battle. "Under 'right-to-work' you're only committed to stay in the union one year after you join."

Local 698 has retained 90 percent of its membership since the union was recognized and a contract signed.

"Especially being a new union, we have to educate our members on what unions are all about. For the most part people in the South just don't know what unionism is all about," the shop chairman said.

A big concern of the Local 698 leadership, according to Johnson, comes from threats by GM to move a large part of Packard Electronic to Mexico.

"I have to believe in the end that their plans to go to Mexico will backfire," commented Jones, "because there will be a mass, grassroots effort" on the part of workers to fight corporations like GM that flee to Latin America and other countries to make superprofits. "The profits they are generating exploiting these workers is just tremendous," added Jones.

Already the work force at the plant has been cut by several hundred through contracting out work formerly done there to smaller, nonunion shops.

This has contributed to the already swollen unemployment lines in the Jackson area.

According to *Labor Market Information*, a state publication, signs of the

economic recovery claimed by the Reagan administration haven't reached many of Mississippi's impoverished majority Black counties. Several counties suffer from close to 20 percent joblessness. The same publication reports that in Jackson where Blacks comprise over 40 percent of the population, they make up two-thirds of the city's unemployed.

Local 698 had a big turnout for Jackson's first Labor Day parade in memory September 5.

We asked them if they also participated in the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom. Both president and shop chairman marched representing their local.

We asked them how the union viewed the drive towards war by the Reagan administration. "Our job is to educate the workers here on unionism and then to explain how issues like the war in El Salvador are interrelated," responded Jones.

Earl Mosley, editor of their union newspaper, the *Reflector* pointed to its role in educating the membership in labor's progressive history to move the union forward from the conservative union policies of the 1950s. In the August issue of the *Reflector*, the front page featured the announcement that Local 698 is spearheading the organizing of the first Mississippi chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

In summing up their views on the attacks against labor at home and abroad, Johnson said, "With the high unemployment causing people to get discouraged, when they see the rich getting richer and the poor poorer, we may even have a civil war in the country. When you talk about El Salvador, I think about a war right here!"

Miah and Dutrow are part of a Militant reporting and subscription team in Mississippi.

The deepest cuts will affect workers hired after the vote. The lowest-paid new hires will start at \$6.70, a full \$4.97 less than a currently employed worker gets.

Many workers expressed deep reservations about this provision and said it could lead to attempts to get rid of better-paid workers. Some also thought Boeing must be preparing to do some hiring and was waiting for the contract to be ratified.

Workers hired after today will never make the same wage as others; for all grades, the newly established top wage is at least \$1.25 less. It will also take new hires five years to receive full pay. Laid-off workers who are rehired will not be treated as new hires.

Most workers who voted for the contract thought it was better than others recently

negotiated in the Puget Sound area. They pointed to the shipyards, where workers accepted a three-year wage freeze, and the metal trades strike, where the employers extracted deep cuts in wages and job classifications.

Some workers were confused by apparently contradictory reports by Ostro and Baker on the proposed contract. Ostro said there would be no COLA for grades six and below, while both Baker and the printed contract summary indicated the opposite.

One worker, interviewed on TV, felt there was not sufficient time to decide. He said he didn't want to make a decision affecting his life for three years based on 15 minutes' thinking.

Immediately after the two reports, workers voted as they left the meeting.

## Palestinian leader addresses forum

BY PAUL SIEGEL

BROOKLYN, N.Y. — Dr. Hatem Hussein, a member of the Palestine National Council, addressed an audience of about 100 persons at the Militant Forum here on September 30. His subject was the situation in Lebanon.

Dr. Hussein explained that the purpose



Militant/Lou Howart  
Dr. Hatem Hussein at Brooklyn forum

of the U.S. Marines in Lebanon was to strengthen the Phalange government against the national progressive forces opposed to it. The Phalange party, based on the Christian minority, is a reactionary party whose military power was built by Israel.

It was the Phalange militia that carried out the massacres at the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps while the Israeli forces looked on and provided it with food and equipment.

In speaking of Israel, Dr. Hussein consistently differentiated between Zionism and the Jewish people, many of whom in both Israel and the United States are critical of Zionist policy. In response to a question from the audience about the "Jewish lobby" in the United States, he replied that there is no such thing as a Jewish lobby, but that there is a Zionist lobby, which is not the same thing.

He concluded by saying that the Palestine Liberation Organization has given the Palestinian people a sense of dignity and the will to resist. It calls for support by all those who are opposed to imperialism. In turn it supports the national liberation struggles of others such as those of the Blacks in South Africa and of the people of Central America.



# Nonunion airlines spreading under gov't deregulation

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

There has been a proliferation of nonunion operations in the airlines industry since governmental deregulation began in 1977 under the Carter administration, and more are expected.

Deregulation makes it easier for new airlines to be formed, and for routes to be added and dropped.

Fourteen nonunion carriers have started flying since 1978.

One is New York Air, which was formed by Texas Air. Texas Air is a holding company owned by Francisco Lorenzo, the union-buster who's trying to force Continental workers to take a 50 percent pay cut.

Another nonunion operation will be called Frontier Horizons. It's being set up by Glen Ryland, chairman of Frontier Airlines. Frontier Horizons is to share gates with Frontier at Denver's airport, and the "two" companies will cooperate on advertising, promotion, pricing, and scheduling, according to Ryland.

Ryland denies he has "present" plans to replace unionized Frontier with nonunionized Frontier Horizons. But he says, "Certainly it would be foolish to throw high-cost flying into markets that don't justify it."

That's not meant as a threat to his unionized workers, he claims, but he adds that "you've got to do what you've got to do."

Under deregulation, the number of passenger and cargo carriers increased from 35 in 1978 to 63 by 1980. Both the Carter and Reagan administrations claimed lower fares and better service would result.

But despite the current hoopla about bargain fares offered by Continental and others, travelers find that prices are going way up on less-traveled routes, and many of them are being canceled or cut back.

Further, once the projected "shakeout" of the industry is complete, there will be fewer carriers flying the major routes, which will be a monopoly-pricing situation.

"Five or six large airlines and a lot of small ones" are foreseen by one retired United official.

Combined with the recession, the increased number of airlines means more lines competing for fewer passengers. There were 26,202 million ton-miles (a ton of passengers and their baggage flown one mile) transported in 1979 compared with 24,876 million in 1981, with many more

carriers competing for them.

During the same two years, the percentage of seats-filled declined from 63 to 58.6 percent.

As a result of the scramble to acquire profitable routes and dump losing ones, airline profits have fluctuated wildly. A number of the best-known carriers are considered poor investment risks.

Much of their trouble is due to the cyclical boom-bust nature of capitalism. How this works in the airlines industry is described by *Business Week* as the inability of airline managements "to resist the temptation to add more capacity whenever it seems that traffic is picking up — and then slashing fares when the added seats remain empty."

Frank Borman, chairman of Eastern, is said by the magazine to have a "dogged adherence to massive capital spending to reequip the airline." However, Borman says, "the revenue everyone thought was going to come this summer and fall didn't come."

The owners of the airlines have sought to boost their profits by forcing concessions from their workers. A few of these giveaways are:

- Republic, a recent nine-month, 15 percent pay cut worth \$100 million, which comes on top of \$73 million worth last year.
- Pan Am, \$350 million in wage concessions from mid-1981 through next year.
- Western, a one-year, 10 percent pay cut worth \$42 million, after previous concessions worth \$50 million.

The proliferation of nonunion carriers will add to the pressure for concessions. *Business Week* summarizes the owners' goal: the nonunion carriers will prosper "for a decade or more, until the major carriers reduce their own labor costs to nonunion levels."

When that point is reached, says the president of a major carrier, "We'll blow away the low-cost competitors."

## 'Bankruptcy' ploy: bosses' new antilabor weapon

Recent precedents in bankruptcy proceedings by corporations are an ominous threat to the organized labor movement.

More and more, the employers are looking to the use of bankruptcy as a tool to bypass collective bargaining and slash wages and benefits and worsen working conditions.

Bankruptcy by definition is being unable to pay outstanding debts — a not unusual circumstance for many working people.

When it happens to an individual or a corporation, a court is supposed to determine which creditor gets how much. And the court decides what holdings or possessions must be sold to pay the creditors.

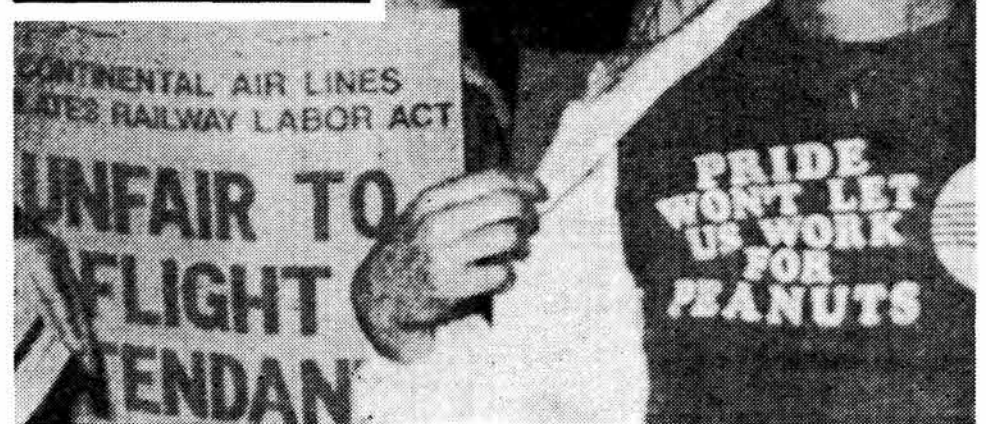
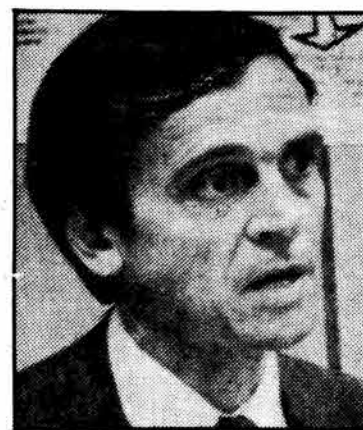
But some corporations are filing bankruptcy before they're broke. In August 1982 Manville Corp. did so to avoid paying damages in 16,000 lawsuits for injuries or deaths caused by the asbestos it manufactures.

Manville was hardly broke. It reported a net worth of \$1 billion. But it filed under Chapter 11 of the bankruptcy code to avoid anticipated debts from the suits.

Then there was Wilson Foods, which announced in April that it was filing for bankruptcy under Chapter 11 to get away from "onerous" union contracts. Wilson had a net worth of \$67 million. But the corporation was determined to cut wages and benefits by \$4 to \$5 an hour.

Wilson forced a bitter strike on the United Food and Commercial Workers, the major union in the meatpacking industry.

Both Manville and Wilson are continuing to operate, and neither is reportedly being "reorganized" — the term for selling



Continental workers, forced to strike by airline's boss Frank Lorenzo (inset) when he filed to void union contracts under bankruptcy laws. Airline is solvent; Lorenzo's aim is to bust unions. He's "offered" a pay cut of almost 50 percent.

## Strike at Continental

Continued from front page

Donnie Cox, a UFA official, said, "This gangster can't be allowed to remove unions from the property."

In Denver, where Continental, along with United and Frontier airlines, has a big operation, *Militant* correspondents talked with strikers and their supporters on the picket line and at a rally at the airport.

Workers from all three airlines, members of the IAM, ALPA, UFA, and other unions, are on the picket lines.

A picket sign read, "Frank the proud bird-buster" (a dig at Continental's "proud bird with the golden tail" advertising).

A mechanic said, "If labor doesn't get its act together, the companies are going to force us workers back to what it was like in the 1920s and '30s."

Referring pointedly to the pilots, he added, "What happened to us can happen to others."

Another IAM member, Steve Snyder,

said Continental is spending thousands of dollars on advertising in Denver, Houston, and Los Angeles newspapers for scabs, and more money on flying them in for training.

Lorenzo left flight crews and passengers stranded all over the country when he fired 12,000 workers.

Snyder doubted he would work for Continental again, but he was staying on the picket line: "I belong to a union and I'm going to continue to do my part."

Continental boasts that the strike hasn't severely affected its flights. However on October 4 the *Wall Street Journal* admitted that the strike "is creating more difficulty than expected and threatens to torpedo" Continental's plans to expand its flights 20 percent.

Continental was still cancelling flights "for lack of personnel willing to cross the picket lines," the paper said. In fact, cancellations were increasing, and less than 80 percent of scheduled domestic flights actually took off.

Continental was looking for crews but couldn't get them from its fired workers. And non-Continental replacement pilots need at least 10 days to train.

Because federal regulations limit flying hours, some working pilots have refused to fly because they had reached those limits. Others were getting close to them.

Some crews that had agreed to fly were failing to show up at the last minute, Continental conceded.

Continental is having trouble on other fronts as well. Travel agents have been reluctant to book passengers on the line.

And travelers too have been reluctant to fly the airline. Media reports indicate that many Continental flights are almost empty.

Continental is also being watched closely by its creditors, both secured and unsecured, as they're called.

The secured creditors include some of the biggest banks. They get the planes and other hard assets if the airline goes belly up. A lawyer for one of them said, "My guess is that the [secured] creditors will allow Continental to operate until they deplete the cash on hand."

The unsecured creditors, who would be repaid out of that cash on hand, are understandably watching Lorenzo more nervously. "If things don't improve dramatically within a week, we will go to court" to stop Continental from flying, said one.

The unsecured creditors are owed for such things as fuel, parts, and airport facilities.

Other airlines are closely monitoring Lorenzo's gamble that he can break the unions. Eastern's chairman, Frank Borman, all but openly threatened his employees that he'd follow Lorenzo's example in using Chapter 11 if they didn't grant more concessions.

A top executive at another airline asked, "If the idea works, why not use it?"

Charles Ostrofsky, Michael Brown, and Rich Iacovetta contributed to this report.

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# NOW meeting shows new confidence in building women's rights movement

Continued from front page

and trade unionists, left a deep imprint on the thinking of the NOW membership that was evident throughout the conference here.

The high point of the weekend, in fact, was a historic address to the delegates by civil rights leader Coretta Scott King, an initiator of the call for the August 27 march.

A former member of NOW's National Board of Directors, King received a standing ovation before and after she spoke.

King began by explaining the significance of the August 27 demonstration and the participation of women in it. "The National Organization for Women was there in large numbers," she said. "I want to thank you. That's important. It was extremely encouraging to see so many of our sisters participating in that demonstration."

## Struggle continues

She emphasized that the alliance forged around August 27 should continue to fight for jobs, peace, and freedom. The marchers, she said, "were not just mobilized for a one-day event. They never did plan to just end on August 27. We said we would continue our struggle beyond in this new Coalition of Conscience, because this is a continuing struggle."

King devoted a major part of her speech to explaining the vanguard role the Black struggle has played in inspiring other struggles against oppression, war, and injustice. "I believe very strongly that the women's rights movement was a direct outgrowth of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s," she declared.

"Before the civil rights movement, democracy was just another broken promise for millions of Black Americans. That movement sparked a national dialog on the whole question of human rights. Out of this ferment other movements were born. A wide range of ethnic groups began to assert their pride. The peace movement, regenerated by Martin Luther King, Jr., and other leaders, rose out of the ashes of McCarthyism to oppose the hypocritical involvement in Vietnam."

"Antinuclear and environmental groups became more outspoken and active," she continued. "Students and senior citizens began to organize their power. And of course the women's rights movement began to shake the foundations of a society too long corrupted by male domination and sex discrimination."

King urged NOW members to "become more politically involved in crucial social and economic issues." Doing so will add "new strength to the movement for social and economic justice," she said. "It is vital that the women's movement particularly embrace the concerns of minorities and the poor."

Warning that the enemies of women, Blacks, and working people will seek to divide such movements and intimidate fighters, she quoted from a speech by Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1961 to a group of women civil rights activists:

"Before the victory is won, some will lose jobs, some will be called communists and reds, merely because they believe in brotherhood. Some will be dismissed as dangerous rabble-rousers and agitators, merely because they are standing up for what is right — but we shall overcome."

## Strengthening alliance

Women rose to their feet in a standing ovation when King called for strengthening the alliance between the women's and Black movements. "Women and minority organizations are today the strongest supporters of affirmative action. But to keep this alliance strong we must stand up for each other's rights. Women of conscience must speak out against racism and concerned minorities must oppose sexism at every point. Discrimination is our enemy and we cannot tolerate it in any form."

King's address was the feature of an entire plenary session devoted to the struggles of women of oppressed nationalities. The two other speakers were Mary Frances Berry, a Black member of the U.S. Com-



August 27 march for jobs, peace, freedom had big impact on NOW membership.

mission on Civil Rights, and Raydean Acevedo, president of the Mexican American Women's National Association. The session also heard a rendition of antiwar songs by a youth group called Peace Child.

Holding such a plenary session had been mandated by last year's NOW conference, where a major debate occurred over the issue of winning women of oppressed nationalities to the organization. Led by Black and Latina members, a significant number of delegates argued for a course of championing the needs of women of oppressed nationalities, confidently seeking to recruit them to NOW, and uniting with civil rights groups around common actions.

They noted the failure of the organization to implement previous decisions to do this and the minimal attention paid to the

issue of racist oppression. This resulted, they said, in the fact that only a tiny number of Blacks, Latinas, and other women of oppressed nationalities were joining the organization.

Over the strong objections of national NOW leaders, including outgoing President Eleanor Smeal, the 1982 conference adopted a resolution calling for specific steps to increase the organization's activity among women of oppressed nationalities, including the creation of a national staff position "for a racial minority member who shall be responsible to the membership to promote the interests of minority women in all aspects of the organization."

Based on this victory, the organization has moved forward in the last year, with its active building of the August 27 demonstration being the high point. But the disag-

reements underlying the debate over women of oppressed nationalities remain.

The issue of Black and Latina women has been in the forefront of the clash between two political perspectives within NOW. One view, which is gaining adherents within the organization, is that NOW can construct a mass feminist movement capable of defending women's rights by orienting to working-class women, especially Blacks and Latinas, who have the most to gain from women's liberation and bring into the movement their potential power and that of their unions and civil rights groups. Winning these women will help transform NOW in the direction of waging an uncompromising struggle for equality, allied with forces in the labor and civil rights movements.

Some women who hold this view further believe this perspective can only be effectively carried out if NOW politically breaks with the Democratic and Republican parties and the employing class they serve, and instead works to advance independent political action by labor, Blacks, and Latinos.

The second viewpoint favors continuing and deepening the approach of the national NOW leadership, which is to seek reforms in women's status within the framework of what capitalism can offer. Those holding this view place increasing emphasis on working in and campaigning for the Democratic Party. While most NOW members favor supporting Democrats, many don't yet see this in contradiction to building an independent feminist movement.

## Racism: a feminist issue

Although the number of Black, Latina, Native American, and Asian-American women attending this conference was very small, the discussions on women of oppressed nationalities and working-class

## Central America big issue at conference

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Among the participants in the national conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) was Miriam Hooker, second secretary of the Nicaraguan embassy in the United States and a member of the Nicaraguan women's group, AMNLAE.

The warm welcome she received is one indication of NOW members' interest in the advances women in Central America and the Caribbean are making as part of the revolutions in that region, and the deep opposition to U.S. intervention there.

Many NOW members were able to learn first-hand the stake that U.S. feminists have in defending these sisters from U.S. military intervention.

The Women's Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean had a table where women could find books and pamphlets on women's liberation in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Cuba, and the Caribbean island of Grenada.

Many women dropped by to watch a continual slide show on the gains of Cuban women since the 1959 revolution in that country. A woman from the Cuban Cultural Circle in New York and another from the New York chapter of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a group of young, pro-revolution Cubans, helped staff the table.

At an issue hearing on peace and disarmament, Pat Brandt, a NOW national board member from the Southwest region, introduced a resolution in solidarity with women in Central America and against all U.S. intervention in that region.

The resolution explained that U.S. support for right-wing dictatorships and counterrevolutionaries there results in massive violence against women and children in the area. With the support of the Nicaraguan government, women are making important gains. This is the same government, the resolution pointed out, that the Reagan administration is attacking.

The resolution resolved that NOW go on record opposing any U.S. military or polit-

ical intervention in the internal affairs of Central America.

During the discussion Josefina Ellizander from Casa Nicaragua in New York spoke in Spanish to the 100 women in the room.

"I speak to you as a member of AMNLAE and of NOW," began Ellizander. "We, the women of Nicaragua, have the same rights as men in Nicaragua. These rights were won because we fought together with our *compañeros* for them."

"Today, Nicaraguan women, children, and the elderly are dying because of the war against Nicaragua. I ask you to further our cause and struggle for our rights. The 20th century will come to be known as the century of women's liberation."

Brandt introduced Miriam Hooker, who got a big round of applause. She thanked everyone for their solidarity and invited them to attend the scheduled session later that evening on Central America.

The resolution was unanimously adopted by those at the hearing.

In addition, over 250 signatures were collected in just two hours from NOW members who wanted the conference plenary to take up Central America.

While petitioning, resolution supporters circulated a brochure from the Women Against Nuclear Power Task Force of New Jersey NOW titled, "Feminists and the War in Central America." They also showed women the National Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador's report on the findings of a recent trade union delegation to that country.

While the Central America resolution did not come to the floor for a vote of the entire conference, it has been referred to NOW's national board for action.

Thirty-five conference participants attended the late-night meeting on Central America. It included a videotape on women in Nicaragua, and then a brief presentation by Hooker.

Hooker talked about the need for solidarity among the fighting women of the

world. "Many think of solidarity as you, North American women, giving support to us. But I think of it as sharing — you giving support and we Nicaraguans giving the lessons of our struggle and the inspiration of our gains as women."

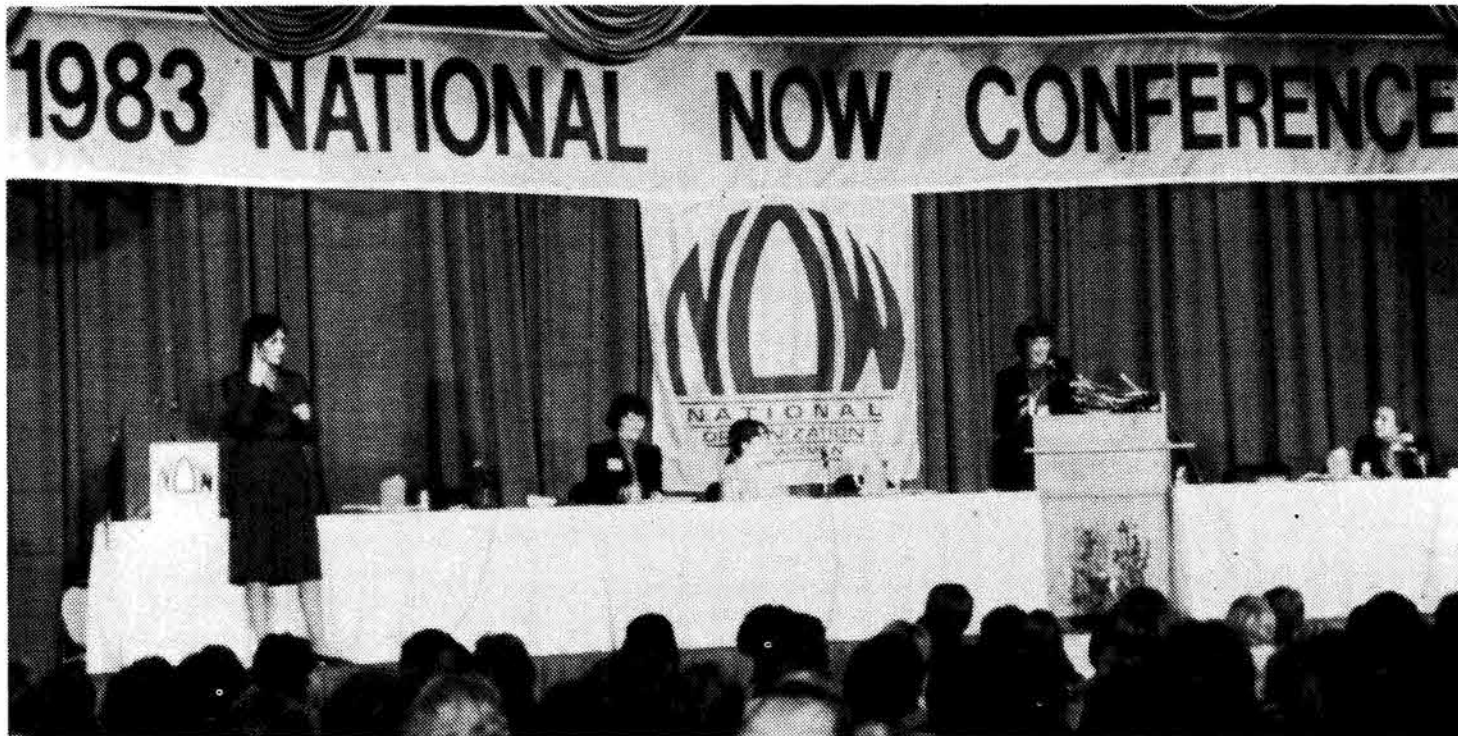
The Women's Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean also distributed leaflets inviting NOW chapters and regional organizations to invite Hooker to their meetings to help educate NOW members on why they should oppose U.S. intervention in Central America.

For NOW members and others who are interested in having a program on Central America, contact the Women's Coalition at (212) 870-2347 or the Nicaraguan embassy at (202) 387-4371.



Militant/Yvonne Hayes  
Josefina Ellizander from Casa Nicaragua told NOW members that women of Nicaragua have won equal rights with men because of revolution and appealed for support for Nicaraguan women.





Militant/Yvonne Hayes

Conference session with NOW President Judy Goldsmith chairing

women as a whole were the most important of the entire weekend.

A rich discussion took place in the workshop "Why is Racism a Feminist Issue?" The title of the workshop itself was significant, as the question of whether or not racism is a concern of women's rights fighters has long been debated in NOW.

Colette Roberts, a Black woman who heads NOW's Committee to Combat Racism nationally, explained to participants that NOW members as a whole, not just those of oppressed nationalities, must actively carry out work against racism. The organization can never be changed if this task is left to Blacks and Latinas alone, as it has been in the past.

Joyce Johnson, the Minority Women's Issues staff member in the NOW national office, presented a report on the interrelationship between race and sex discrimination aimed at dispelling myths that have blocked NOW from taking needed steps on these issues.

There is no such thing, she argued, as "minority women's issues" separate and apart from women's rights issues as a whole. In fact, women of oppressed nationalities suffer the most from all forms of sex discrimination.

Nor is it true that women's rights such as abortion are unpopular in the Black and Latino communities, she insisted, backing this up with polls indicating strong support for these rights — and on the ERA, broader support from Blacks than from whites.

Johnson listed some of the key issues NOW must fight on, precisely because they are so vital to women of oppressed nationalities, such as regaining Medicaid funding for abortion, equal pay, the ERA, the problems of pregnant teenagers, and unemployment.

She also stressed the importance of NOW actively working with other groups to win a national holiday on Martin Luther King's birthday.

#### Simpson-Mazzoli bill

The Simpson-Mazzoli anti-immigrant bill received special attention in Johnson's report. She explained its racist and antiunion character, noting the strong opposition to it from Latino groups.

(Over 700 women at the conference signed petitions against the deportation of Mexican-born Héctor Marroquín, a socialist and member of NOW, currently fighting to stay in this country. See story on page 7.)

Tina Tchen, a leader of Illinois NOW, presented ideas for action by NOW. She proposed that a Committee to Combat Racism be established in every state and in every chapter. She said such committees would be more effective than the minority women's committees that have existed in NOW. The new committee would be oriented toward action and toward involving all members of the organization, unlike the minority women's committees, where the experience was that women of oppressed nationalities were isolated.

Tchen advocated that the antiracist committees work to build coalitions with civil rights groups around issues of joint concern. "Go when they have a picket," she said.

Within NOW, she said, the issue of ra-

cism should be taken up in consciousness-raising groups, workshops at all conferences, and educational programs sponsored by NOW chapters.

In the discussion that followed, NOW-New York member Nan Bailey said she felt "this is the best workshop we have ever had on this question. It's historic what NOW did on August 27, joining with Black groups and unions on that march."

Bailey expressed confidence that NOW could win thousands of women of oppressed nationalities to the organization and urged workshop participants to "aggressively fight for our sisters to be part of this movement."

#### Debate in plenary session

The ideas expressed at the workshop came to the floor of the final plenary session for a vote in the form of two resolutions. While the first passed quickly, the second, containing concrete proposals for action, met opposition.

The first resolution advocated increasing the role of women of oppressed

nationalities in all of NOW's work and decision-making, placed NOW on record against the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, and advocated women of oppressed nationalities running for public office. A proposal to specify women candidates should run only independent of the Democratic and Republican parties was defeated.

The second resolution called for forming state committees against racism, proposed another plenary session on women of oppressed nationalities at next year's national conference, mandated NOW leaders to speak out against racism in all major speeches, and advocated quarterly meetings of NOW leaders who are Black, Latina, Asian-American, and Native American with the NOW national board "to develop an action plan for change." The resolution also called for NOW to "continue coalescing with the Coalition of Conscience for the Martin Luther King anniversary march in a networking/information sharing capacity."

When the point came for the resolution to be discussed, NOW national President Judy Goldsmith told the delegates that time

had run out for considering any more resolutions. A delegate immediately proposed that time be extended, and the motion passed.

In the discussion that followed, Colette Roberts proposed amendments that deleted two important proposals — the plenary session on women of oppressed nationalities, and the quarterly meetings of NOW leaders. Her amendments passed.

#### Racism and anti-Semitism

Then a number of women took the floor to challenge the resolution, demanding to know if Jewish women were included in the term "minority." The implication was that the effort to step up work with women of oppressed nationalities is somehow discriminatory toward Jews, or even outrightly anti-Semitic.

This argument had been expressed more openly the evening before in a caucus meeting of Jewish women, where a debate ensued over the August 27 march. Conservative women at the meeting attacked the march and Coretta Scott King explicitly because the call for the march opposed Washington's military role in the Middle East. These women also spoke in opposition to the attention the question of women of oppressed nationalities was receiving at the NOW conference.

Other women in the caucus meeting, however, viewed NOW's discussion on racism as positive. They saw the August 27 march as important for all victims of discrimination, including Jews, and defended the march coalition's stand on the Middle East.

Unfortunately, at the final plenary there was no time to clarify the confusion introduced by those who tried to falsely counterpose the interests of Jews to those of Blacks. But those attempting to get the resolution defeated by suggesting it consti-

Continued on Page 8

## NOW members back Marroquín's case

BY CARLA RIEHLE

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Héctor Marroquín and Priscilla Schenk, his wife, were among the 2,000 NOW members who attended the conference of the National Organization for Women (NOW) here.

Born in Mexico, Marroquín fled to this country to escape government repression. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) is now trying to deport him because he is a socialist and because of his antiwar, pronoun, and pro-women's rights views and activities. The depth of support that the Marroquín case has generated was illustrated by the more than 700 signatures that were gathered endorsing his right to political asylum in the United States.

Virtually no one the petitioners approached refused to sign. One NOW member said she believes "the women's movement has overlooked the immigration issue," and that it is an important one for the struggle for women's rights.

Many of the participants were already familiar with the issues involved and had signed Marroquín petitions at regional NOW conferences held around the country prior to the national conference.

Several NOW national board members have endorsed the case and a few local chapters have given their support.

A prominent feature of the conference was the discussions on recruiting women of oppressed national minorities to NOW and the importance of combating racism. The treatment of immigrant women — many of whom are Black and Latina — by the INS was discussed in some workshops.

In one issue hearing, Marroquín explained that, through his own experiences, he had reached the conclusion that racism and feminism are inseparable issues. When he was jailed by the INS, he had seen women being imprisoned, obviously bruised and beaten, after they were picked up by INS agents.

An especially warm reception was given

to Marroquín by the New Jersey delegation. Marroquín, who lives in Jersey City, was introduced at the caucus meeting of the Mid-Atlantic region (which includes New Jersey).

The New Jersey NOW exhibitor's table displayed brochures on his case.

Also well received was an open letter from Schenk asking support for her husband's right to asylum.

The letter pointed out that the issues involved are of vital importance to the women's movement and that "if we tolerate discrimination against any segment in our society, we make ourselves vulnerable to similar treatment in the future."

In addition, Schenk pointed to her own experience in the garment industry in New York City, where many of her coworkers are undocumented and afraid to demand their right to the minimum wage and better working conditions.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) sponsored a reception at the conference so that NOW members could meet Marroquín and Schenk.

Marroquín told those present that as a supporter of women's rights he was inspired by the interest shown in his case and in the issues of immigration and asylum at the conference. Delegates from chapters in several cities asked how they could help publicize the case, and several took petitions, which they then circulated at the conference.

The question of the war in Central America was another major topic of discussion at the convention. Supporters of Marroquín's case found that many women immediately drew a connection between the U.S. war drive and the government's treatment of refugees. Marroquín's presence helped personalize the war for many NOW members.

A resolution supporting Marroquín's right to asylum signed by almost 500 members was presented to the final plenary session. However, delegates were unable to



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

More than 700 NOW members signed to support fight against deportation of Héctor Marroquín (at right).

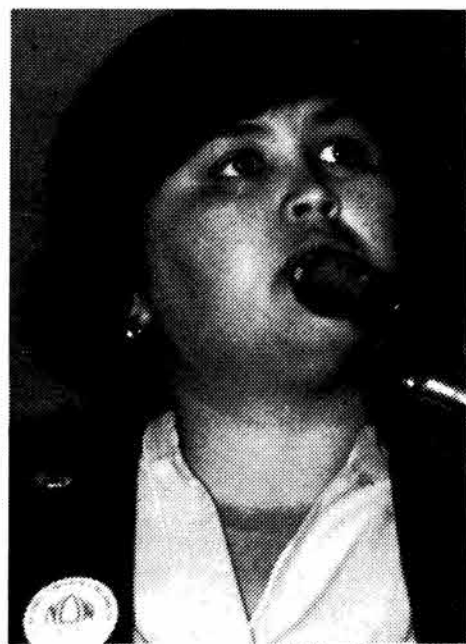
discuss several of the proposed resolutions, including this one. It is now before the national board for consideration. A resolution was passed, however, expressing NOW's opposition to the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill.

Supporters of Marroquín's case are confident that given the backing he received at the conference, even more support can be gathered as delegates return to their local chapters.

Marroquín will be touring a number of cities this fall, including Washington, D.C., Cleveland, Boston, Chicago, and Pittsburgh. NOW activists in these areas will be bringing the case to their local chapters, asking for support and for Marroquín to be able to address their meetings.



# NOW mtg: new confidence in rights fight



Militant/Cathy Rice  
**NOW national board member Pat Brandt helped initiate resolution against U.S. intervention in Central America and military draft.**

**Continued from Page 7**  
tuted racism in reverse were unsuccessful. The proposal was adopted overwhelmingly.

## Copper strike

The enthusiasm expressed by many members for winning more Black and Latina women to NOW reflected a desire to attract working-class women as a whole to the organization. Most dramatic in this regard was the response to the role of women in the strike of Arizona copper miners against Phelps Dodge Corp.

While few NOW members were aware of the details of the strike before they came to the conference, upon hearing about the struggle from Arizona NOW members, many reacted by offering solidarity. Some 300 conference participants signed a statement to the strikers, which said in part:

"We solidarize ourselves with your 13 unions on strike, who have supported our efforts on the ERA. We solidarize ourselves with the Women's Auxiliary and the women miners, who have been on the front lines in the fight against union-busting, and against the take-away gains won by women on the job through their unions.

Two strike leaders, Lydia González-Knott and Annie Jones, sent greetings to the NOW conference and asked for solidarity with their strike.

A workshop held during the conference brought together women who wanted to organize solidarity with the strike. Among those attending were three waitresses, who are members of Los Angeles NOW and leaders of Waiters, Waitresses, and Bartenders Against the Unfair TIP TAX. Their organization is seeking to organize restaurant workers to win repeal of the new federal law that forces waitresses to pay taxes on the receipts of their employers, leaving many with no income at all and some owing money at the end of the week.

The waitresses — Shiela Scovil, Sally Javier, and Cindy Gonzáles — explained the issues in their struggle and how they joined NOW because the Los Angeles chapter had aided them in their fight. They linked their battle to that of the copper miners and took the lead in the workshop on thinking out steps NOW could take to gain support for the miners. As Scovil put it, "These people need solidarity immediately. There's going to be a Vietnam down there if they don't get it. And if they lose, then these attacks will spread to the rest of us."

## Panel on union struggles

Scovil, Javier, and Gonzáles also participated in a panel at the conference on "Union Women Organized to End Sex Discrimination on the Job," which attracted many of the unionists at the conference. Other speakers represented the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, describing the fight by women workers at Hanes textile plants in North Carolina and the support they have received from NOW and the Coalition of Labor Union Women; District 925 of the Service Employees International Union, speaking on the fight for a decent contract and union representation at Equitable Life

Insurance in Syracuse, New York; and the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, reporting on an organizing drive for clerical workers at the University of Maryland.

The Coal Employment Project, which helps women get and keep jobs in the mining industry, had a table and representatives at the conference, including coal miners who belong to NOW. And nurses in NOW got together for a meeting initiated by the American Nurses Association to discuss recent hospital strikes and the threat that Reagan may try to draft medical personnel.

Solidarity with struggles of women, Blacks, Latinos, and labor in this country was also extended to working people abroad. Opposition to imperialist war ran deep at the conference. This came through the clearest on the question of U.S. intervention in Central America, which the majority of conference participants opposed.

Miriam Hooker, second secretary of the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington, attended the NOW conference and addressed several workshops on the importance of solidarity in the U.S. women's movement with women in Nicaragua. (See story on page 6.)

Many women at the conference felt it was urgent that NOW take a clear, official position against the U.S. war in Central America. NOW has not done so thus far, although it officially opposed the war in Vietnam.

But a minority was against coming out in opposition to the war. One place this was reflected was at a workshop on women in the military. Supposedly organized to discuss NOW's efforts to defend women in uniform against discrimination, including lesbians, most of the panelists actually promoted the U.S. military and advocated women become more deeply integrated into it.

## Resolution on Central America

A resolution calling for NOW to go on record against all U.S. military and political intervention in Central America and to declare its solidarity with women there passed unanimously in a workshop on "Peace and Disarmament." Its main initiator was a member of the NOW National Board, Pat Brandt, who is regional coordinator of Southwest NOW.

The resolution took a stand against "the draft and draft registration, which are preparations for war." It said the U.S. government's role in Central American nations "brings these countries closer to a regional war similar to Vietnam." It explained that "the Nicaraguan women's movement has achieved equal rights under the law and made other important gains with the support of the present Nicaraguan government."

The conference Resolutions Committee, however, organized the schedule of the final plenary session to place this vital resolution at the end of the agenda. Thus the resolution never came to the floor for a vote. It has been referred to the national board for action.

In addition to the resolutions on women of oppressed nationalities, several important resolutions did pass at the conference that advance NOW's work. These included proposals for a NOW campaign against the Hyde Amendment, which denies Medicaid funds to women for abortions; resolutions against sex discrimination in education and against tuition tax credits; a strong statement against violence against women; and a resolution urging that NOW take action to defend the right to equal pay.

## 1984 elections

The national leadership, however, focused its attention on two resolutions concerning the 1984 elections. The first called for NOW to endorse — for the first time — a presidential candidate in the 1984 elections. NOW's national board will decide who to support by December of this year. The second resolution explicitly ruled out NOW endorsing any third party or independent candidate for president in 1984 if Reagan is running, making it clear that the plan is to back a Democrat. Six of the seven announced Democratic candidates were invited to the conference and gave speeches to the delegates on the last day of the gathering.

The two resolutions on the elections were motivated principally by the argument that women need to defeat Reagan above all other concerns, and that failure to unite around a Democrat will lead to Reagan's reelection.

NOW leaders pledged to fight to have a woman put on the Democratic ticket as the vice-presidential candidate. Numerous women who have been elected to office as Democrats were featured throughout the conference. Their election, often with the help of NOW, was pointed to as a victory for the organization and a harbinger of progress to come.

Most women at the conference found the idea of women running for office and speaking out on women's rights attractive. This included candidates doing so on Democratic Party tickets as well as those running on independent, working-class tickets. Socialist Workers Party candidates who are NOW members were at the conference also and received applause wherever they spoke on their campaigns.

But many women were uncomfortable with the idea of endorsing a Democrat for president so far in advance of the elections.

Questions raised about this proposal in workshops included the following: "What if the candidate the Democrats ultimately nominate is against women's rights — will we still vote for him?" "Walter Mondale was vice-president when the ERA was defeated — will we support him if he gets the nomination?" "Could NOW decide to endorse no one if the candidate's stand on women's rights is not what we want?"

NOW leaders answered these questions by stating that the "electability" of the candidate had to be the major criterion for "practical" reasons — defeating Reagan. A woman coal miner, Kipp Dawson from Pittsburgh, took up this reasoning in one workshop and argued that "The problem we face is much bigger than Ronald Reagan. The United States is at war right now in Central America, not just because of Ronald Reagan, but because of the war policies of both the Democratic and Republican parties. It's not Reagan the person but the policies of both parties that is the problem."

In the final plenary session the broadest disagreement over political action concerned the question of endorsing a third party or independent candidate. When time ran out on the resolution, some 300 delegates voted to keep the discussion going and were successful in extending time.

Several women spoke during the course of the plenary against the political course the leadership was advocating. Dade

County NOW member Claire Moriarty spoke about the need to get out the truth not only on Reagan, but also on his counterparts in the Democratic Party. "The fact is that the Democratic and Republican parties combined forces to defy the will of the majority and defeat the ERA. Both parties have launched attacks on the rights of young, Black, and working women to have abortion funds. They have assaulted affirmative action, telling women like you and me we can't work in steel mills anymore, that we can't dig coal anymore."

"The Democratic and Republican parties are not our parties. The basis of our party is the basis on which we built the August 27 march on Washington."

Jackie Floyd, also from Dade County NOW and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Miami, told the delegates, "If we've learned anything in the women's and Black movements it's that we never won anything by keeping our fight within the confines of the Democratic and Republican parties. It's only been when we have organized an independent movement."

## Independent Black, labor candidates

An auto worker and member of Toledo NOW, Toby Emmerich, spoke against the resolution preventing endorsement of third party and independent candidates. She said the proposal "cuts us off from the only people who support us. The only way we're going to win is by mobilizing our allies — the unions, Blacks, and Latinos — around the issue of our rights. If we were going to support candidates, in my opinion they would have to be independent Black or labor candidates."

The resolutions to endorse a candidate by December and to rule out candidates who are independent passed. But the discussion over this course has only begun in NOW. It will continue in local chapters and regions and be tied to the related discussions of how to deepen the fight for women's rights, identify NOW with the fight against racism and recruit Black and Latina women to the organization, increase NOW's solidarity with labor struggles like the copper miners strike, and what stand NOW should take on U.S. intervention in Central America.

The conference demonstrated that a substantial number of NOW members are thinking about all these questions in a new, more radical way — under the impact of political events and the increasing number of working women who are turning to NOW for support and seeking to join the organization to advance the fight for women's rights.

## Feminists interested in 'Militant'

BY SANDI SHERMAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The *Militant* was well-received by participants in the national NOW conference.

Conference participants purchased 248 single copies of the *Militant* and 30 subscriptions. An additional 50 copies of the *Militant*, which contained a feature article on the Marxist view of violence against women, were distributed at a workshop on that issue. One subscription to *Perspectiva Mundial*, a Spanish-language biweekly, was sold.

Some of the papers were sold at the *Militant*'s exhibition booth, where socialist literature was also on display. However, most of the people who were introduced to the *Militant* at the conference found out about it by talking to socialist members of NOW in the workshops and in the hotel lobby.

Many conference participants expressed interest in the interview with a leader of AMNLAE, the Nicaraguan Women's Association. Others were very eager to read about the role of women in the copper strike currently underway in Arizona. Many were also interested in the *Militant*'s proposals on how women can join forces with their allies in the labor movement and the civil rights movement to win political power.

The example of NOW's participation in the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace and freedom was very popular with NOW members attending the conference. A number of women who were con-

vinced to subscribe did so because they saw the *Militant* as a participant in this important discussion.

Scores of conference participants also attended a socialist reception held in the conference hotel on Saturday night, where they met NOW members who are socialist candidates for public office in elections this fall and saw slide shows on Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada.



Militant/Yvonne Hayes  
***Militant*'s proposals on political action were well received by NOW members, as was article on Marxist view of anti-woman violence.**



BY MALIK MIAH

We're beginning to receive reports from socialist workers in factories, mines, and rail yards on goals they've taken for the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* subscription drive.

In Indianapolis socialists in the International Union of Electrical Workers have taken a goal of 10; in the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers union a goal of 12; and 5 more to workers in the United Steel Workers of America and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

In addition they plan to sell five subscriptions at plant gates where they have weekly sales teams. Taken together with on-the-job subscription sales, that's nearly half of their total subscription goal.

Although after the first Saturday they didn't sell a subscription — but 13 singles copies — they felt confident in making their goal. They said the biggest revelation was learning how "rusty" they were in asking workers, including regular *Militant* readers, to buy subscriptions.

In Philadelphia after a few days of the drive socialists sold 11 subscriptions — 7 to the *Militant* and 4 to *PM*. They also sold 75 single issues of the *Militant* and 20 copies of *PM*. Although the subscriptions were sold mainly door-to-door, plant-gate sales went up because overall participation of salespeople had increased. Socialists went to 7 plant gates with 8 teams and sold 28 papers — 10 to workers at a United Auto Workers-organized General Motors plant, and 9 to workers at an Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union shop of 500.

In San Antonio, socialists working at the Levi Strauss plant have taken a goal of 15. A Black co-worker, who recently spoke at a *Militant* Forum on Blacks and the 1984 election, has a new subscription.

The couple of socialists at the United Auto Workers-organized



Selling subscriptions to copper miners

Militant/Rich Stuart

General Dynamics (GD) army-tank plant in Detroit have taken a goal of 10. They are confident in meeting this goal — even though they have been there only a short time — since most of the workers are quite angry about their contract and their new employer. Previously the plant was owned by the Chrysler Corp. but was sold in 1979 to raise money when Chrysler faced bankruptcy. Chrysler's only profitable division had been the tank-producing plants. Thus it was not surprising that these workers rejected every concession contract Chrysler imposed on the union.

The workers' anger was recently elevated when the now-profitable Chrysler company was forced to give its workers a significant wage increase. The GD workers didn't get a penny. The new management has launched attacks on the union, demanding tighter work rules that will worsen working conditions.

Earlier this year, Chicago socialists had successful plant-gate sales during the Ed Warren candidacy for mayor of Chicago and then again during his First Congressional District campaign.

Based on this, socialists are confident they'll sell at least 25 subscriptions at the same gates.

Socialists in Cleveland report they're fired up. On their first Saturday sales and subscription day they sold 60 papers and 3 *Militant* subscriptions. They did much better than they expected and had to rush through an order for more papers.

San Diego socialists in the International Association of Machinists have taken a goal of 20. Most of the nearly dozen workers are new to the union.

And in Houston, socialist workers recently sold five subscriptions to coworkers at Shell Oil and the Champion Paper Co.

In general we're finding that the best aid to organizing subscription sales at plant gates and on the job is when the regular sales teams and the socialists working in the plants first get together to discuss out how best to sell to coworkers and workers entering the plants.

Deciding a goal for the drive, as well, can lead to better thought out discussions with workers we're trying to sell the paper and subscriptions to. We can also evaluate week-by-week how we're doing.

## SUBSCRIPTION SCOREBOARD

(Totals as of *Militant* issue #35, *PM* issue #19)

Area	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
Seaside	25/25	10/3	35/28	80
Toledo	50/18	5/2	55/20	36
San Antonio	55/17	20/6	75/23	31
Harrisburg	35/10	5/0	40/10	25
Morgantown	70/17	0/0	70/17	24
Iron Range	75/17	0/0	75/17	23
Lincoln	35/7	0/0	35/7	20
Wash., D.C.	80/15	20/3	100/18	18
San Jose	75/12	15/4	90/16	18
Milwaukee	110/16	10/5	120/21	18
Los Angeles	100/12	75/19	175/31	18
Charleston	45/8	0/0	45/8	18
Boston	95/16	15/4	110/20	18
Albuquerque	50/10	15/1	65/11	17
Denver	80/15	15/0	95/15	16
Twin Cities	120/18	10/0	130/18	14
Philadelphia	100/16	25/2	125/18	14
Dallas	50/8	15/1	65/9	14
St. Louis	120/15	0/0	120/15	13
Miami	70/9	10/1	80/10	13
Manhattan	150/19	50/6	200/25	13
Piedmont	50/6	0/0	50/6	12
Gary	45/6	5/0	50/6	12
Pittsburgh	135/15	0/0	135/15	11
Indianapolis	80/8	0/1	80/9	11
Detroit	85/8	5/2	90/10	11
Atlanta	85/9	5/0	90/9	10
Tidewater	75/7	0/0	75/7	9
San Diego	70/6	30/3	100/9	9
Salt Lake City	70/6	5/1	75/7	9
Louisville	55/5	0/0	55/5	9
Kansas City	65/7	10/0	75/7	9
Houston	60/8	30/0	90/8	9
Brooklyn	110/11	40/3	150/14	9
Seattle	75/6	5/0	80/6	8
Oakland	90/8	15/0	105/8	8
Portland	45/3	10/1	55/4	7
Capital Dist.	70/4	5/1	75/5	7
Newark	110/3	30/5	140/8	6
New Orleans	80/5	5/0	85/5	6
Birmingham	70/4	0/0	70/4	6
Baltimore	65/4	0/0	65/4	6
Chicago	135/8	15/0	150/8	5
Cleveland	80/3	5/0	85/3	4
Tucson	30/1	10/0	40/1	3
Price	35/1	5/0	40/1	3
Phoenix	75/3	25/0	100/3	3
Cincinnati	70/1	0/1	70/2	3
San Francisco	90/3	40/0	130/3	2
<b>Totals</b>	<b>3,695/459</b>	<b>615/75</b>	<b>4,310/534</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>Should Be</b>	<b>480</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>560</b>	<b>13</b>

## Steelworkers under boss attacks look to 'Militant'

BY BRUCE LESNICK

When the company you work for starts to cry about "sagging profits," when your boss says you have to give up some of your wages and benefits to keep the business afloat; when you're fighting mad and you've had enough of giveback contracts, phony bankruptcy schemes, and corporate budget balancing at the workers expense; where do you turn? More and more workers are beginning to see the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* as a place to go for answers.

Two examples from the first week of our national eight-week subscription drive illustrate this point.

Denver socialists sent a team of four to sell to workers at the United Steelworkers-organized CF&I mill in Pueblo, Colorado. The plant employs several thousand workers, but half are on layoff. Against this backdrop, the company campaigned for a concession contract cutting wages and benefits while providing no guarantee of jobs for laid-off workers.

A morning and an afternoon meeting were held at the Pueblo City Hall on October 1 where the steelworkers discussed the CF&I proposal. Correspondent Maureen McDougall reports that some 2,000 union members showed up for both meetings, about half of whom were Chicanos.

The sales team had brought along 30 copies of the latest *Militant* plus several back copies. They also had five copies of the *Young Socialist*, bimonthly newspaper of the Young Socialist Alliance. All the papers were sold before the end of the morning meeting. Back copies, too, sold for 75 cents to \$1.

A quick call to Denver brought the delivery of more papers for the evening meet-

ing. By the end of the day, the team had sold all the papers they had, totaling 59 *Militants*, 15 *YSs*, and one copy of *Perspectiva Mundial*. In addition, the team sold one subscription each to the *Militant* and *PM*.

"The main selling point was the copper strike," McDougall explained, referring to the battle between Phelps Dodge and union copper miners in Arizona.

The CF&I workers identify strongly with the copper strikers, both as fellow workers under attack, and as Chicanos. One salesperson explained that using state troopers to herd scabs, as is the case in Arizona, clearly shows which side the government takes in conflicts between workers and bosses.

But there was more on the minds of the CF&I steelworkers than their immediate fight with the company. Many workers were concerned about U.S. involvement in Lebanon. One worker in his 50s, sporting a Veterans of Foreign Wars hat bought a paper.

"My son's over there," he explained referring to Lebanon. "They have no damn business being there," he added. He had fought in the Korean War. "It's just the same thing all over again," he said. "Vietnam and now this. They never learn."

One worker had his money ready when approached by the *Militant* salespeople. "I know that paper," he offered, "That's the paper some of you guys were selling at the U.S. convention in Atlantic City in 1980."

Denver socialists had ruled out selling at the CF&I mill on a regular basis due to the fact that it's over two hours' drive from Denver. In light of the warm response the revolutionary press received there though,

they are rediscussing the idea.

Socialist workers from Seaside, California, traveled for a second time to Los Baños in the San Joaquin Valley to visit the picket lines of striking members of Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Workers. The workers are on strike against Lindemann and Levy-Zentner, companies which are trying to ram wage cuts and other concessions down the union's throat.

This visit coincided with the beginning of the *Militant-PM* subscription drive so salespeople went to Los Baños with the aim of winning some new readers. Ten picketing farm workers bought subscriptions to the *Militant*. This response put the Seaside socialists ahead of schedule in the subscription drive.

A special sales and reporting team of four socialists traveling throughout Mississippi called in their results from last week's sales. Spending the week in Jackson, the team sold a total of 130 papers.

The highpoint of the week, according to Tony Dutrow, team member, was the sale of 20 *Militants* outside the gate of the local Packard Electronic General Motors plant. The plant is organized by the International Union of Electrical Workers, and local officials indicated interest in buying a subscription to the *Militant*.

Near the campus at Jackson State, the team set up a literature table. Twelve *Militants* were sold in addition to a number of pamphlets on Central America.

## SUBSCRIBE!

'Perspectiva Mundial' is the Spanish-language sister publication of the 'Militant.' Like the 'Militant,' it carries regular coverage of the labor movement and the struggles for social justice in the United States and abroad, plus news and analysis with a special emphasis on the workers movement in Latin America.

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# 'Bruising' USSR: U.S.-Seoul policy

## South Korean puppet regime 'made in USA'

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

After Korean Air Lines (KAL) Flight 7 was shot down while violating Soviet airspace September 1, the *New York Times* interviewed Maj. Gen. George Keegan, who was chief of Air Force intelligence prior to his retirement.

"I have never failed to be surprised at how careless the [South] Koreans are, despite the risks of flying near Soviet airspace," he told the *Times*.

South Korean pilots, he said, "continued to bruise the Soviets on this. What happened today they invited."

The paper reported that "years of monitoring plane movements and military communications should have alerted Korean pilots to how sensitive the Soviet Union is to violations of its airspace, General Keegan said."

The report could have added — but didn't — that the South Koreans had firsthand knowledge of Soviet sensitivity: a KAL flight was shot down in 1978 while overflying the Soviet Union.

Years of "bruising the Soviets" with overflights in full knowledge of the risks does not add up to carelessness by KAL pilots.

These KAL overflights are no more accidental than was the sinking of the North Korean fishing boat *Pungsan* August 13 by the South Korean navy just 60 miles off Japan, hundreds of miles from Korean territory.

Both these actions are part of deliberate "bruising" of the Soviet Union and Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK, or North Korea), by the U.S. government and its allies, using important bases in Japan and South Korea.

This is one of the means by which Washington exerts pressure on the Soviet Union and other countries where working people have overturned capitalist rule and made major advances.

U.S. government policy is aimed at con-

Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Soviet troops entered Korea to disarm Japanese troops as far south as the 38 parallel; U.S. troops then occupied Korea south of this arbitrary demarcation line.

The joint occupation of Korea had been agreed to by U.S. and Soviet leaders, who said it would be temporary.

With the Japanese surrender, Koreans organized for independence. All over the country local organs of self-rule, known as People's Committees, were formed. A provisional national government, the People's Republic, was established in Seoul based on the People's Committees.

This government had a revolutionary and highly popular program. It included taking over Japanese holdings, which were extensive: 12.5 percent of the arable land throughout the country, and the overwhelming majority of industry (located in the north). It also called for universal franchise, including women, and distribution of the land to the impoverished peasantry. The land was to be taken from rich landowners and from traitors who had collaborated with the Japanese, as had most landowners and officials, and those Koreans who served in the Japanese police and military forces.

In the north, the Russians immediately recognized the People's Committees as the Korean government and did not intervene when it carried out its social program. The present government in North Korea, the DPRK, is based on these People's Committees of 1945. Kim Il Sung, a leading resistance fighter against Japan, came to power through this 1945 government. He has for many years served as president of the DPRK.

In the south, however, Washington declared the People's Committees and the People's Republic illegal and ruled through a U.S. Military Government that took over and revived the previous Japanese colonial apparatus. This included the hated police

of thugs sponsored by Rhee's supporters, who included admirers of Hitler.

Using these hated traitors and semi-fascists, the U.S. Military Government smashed the workers and peasants organizations and created an apparatus to its liking.

The U.S. and its Korean puppets, under Rhee's direction, then moved to establish a separate state in southern Korea. Even rightist politicians other than Rhee and his supporters opposed this because it would mean the permanent division of the country.

The U.S. military and Rhee organized "elections" in which only male property-holders could vote. Elders voted for their entire villages. Even so, wide-scale terror was applied by pro-Rhee thugs working with police.

Washington and Rhee established the Republic of Korea in the south in 1948.

This was fiercely resisted by the Korean people. Massive demonstrations by workers, peasants, and students were held to protest the U.S.-Rhee policies, which were permanently dividing the country. They were turning the south into a state where social reforms were fiercely resisted and repression was the order of the day.

Armed struggle began in a number of areas. The hated police were killed in many places. Rhee-U.S. reprisals were brutal. Whole villages were massacred on suspicion of supporting guerrillas. A quarter of the country was at one time under martial law.

So extensive was this armed struggle that it was not suppressed until 1955, two years after the Korean War ended.

From the northern half of the country, where wide-ranging social reforms had been carried out, former landlords, police, officials, and other collaborators fled to what was for them a haven in the south.

Rhee's paramilitary goon squads and former Japanese army and police elements were integrated into a military force. Citing alleged threats from the government in the north, the Rhee regime began armed provocations against the north while police used these "threats" as an excuse to torture and kill people suspected of opposing the U.S.-Rhee policies.

### Base against USSR

The aim of U.S. policies was to smash the Korean revolution and at the same time establish a base for war against China and the Soviet Union.

U.S. military officers in Korea and Japan were open about these goals during that period. Indeed, the atom-bombings of Japan had, in part, been a threat against the Soviet Union.

The revolution in China, as it came closer to power, spurred Washington to establish a counterrevolutionary bastion in South Korea.

U.S. policy, as intended, could only lead to war. After years of armed provocations against the north, and regular threats by Rhee to "march north" to smash the regime there, the DPRK responded on June 25, 1950.

With the majority it then held in the United Nations, Washington labeled the DPRK an "aggressor." It declared that the move southward by DPRK forces was "unprovoked" — ignoring the provocations by South Korea carried out in the weeks and months preceding June 25.

The South Korean forces quickly folded before the DPRK troops, in whose wake peasants carried out land reform. Many South Korean soldiers and peasants joined the DPRK army.

The Truman administration rushed U.S. combat troops into Korea and was able, after three years of war and unopposed at sea or in the air, to regain roughly the pre-war area of South Korea. This was only after marching to the Chinese border on the Yalu River and threatening to attack China with nuclear bombs. At this point Chinese troops intervened to aid the DPRK.

The U.S. war in Korea was even more

savage than that in Southeast Asia later. More than two million Koreans were killed. The U.S. Air Force at one point suspended attacks because the general thought there was nothing left to bomb.

An armistice was signed in 1953. The Rhee regime, however, refused to sign; it considered itself still at war with the DPRK, as have its successors.

Following the war the DPRK — with a planned economy, nationalized industry and mobilized population — rebuilt its economy, particularly heavy industry. South Korea lay prostrate for decades, carrying out its previous policies: repression of workers and peasants, citing alleged threats from the DPRK; provocations against the north to prove the "threats" real; and its own "march north" threats against the DPRK.

Political fraud in South Korea was notorious, as before. The wealthy landlords were joined by speculators who made their fortunes through corruption in sales of U.S. surplus food, mostly grains.

In April 1960 the people of South Korea rose, making the continued existence of the Rhee regime impossible. The U.S. ambassador "advised" him to step down, and Rhee left the same way he came — aboard a U.S. Air Force plane, back to Hawaii.

The 13-month period following Rhee's fall was the only time in modern history that people in South Korea have had anything even resembling democratic rights. They began to exercise them, holding meetings and demonstrations to extend those rights.

Inevitably, these meetings and demonstrations called into question the division of the country and the reactionary origin and nature of the South Korean state.

### General Park

That was beyond the bounds of what Washington and its Korean puppets would tolerate. In May 1961 General Park Chung Hee, a former lieutenant in the Japanese army, led a coup d'etat that restored the previous balance of forces. Park recited the "DPRK threat" litany as justification. He had Washington's blessings from the start.

Park also moved toward establishing diplomatic and economic relations with Japan. The U.S. government had long urged this policy on Rhee as a means of tying South Korea and Japan into a joint anticommunist economic and political alliance with Washington. Rhee had resisted this, in part because he was holding out for a higher price in reparations from Japan.

There was massive opposition to Park's negotiations with Japan, for many years Korea's colonial overlord. Most Koreans didn't trust Park in dealing with Japan and feared recognition by Japan would harden the division of their country.

Popular protests were crushed by Park with Washington's approval. The Seoul government soon tied itself to Japanese politicians and industrialists, using large kickbacks for political purposes and personal gain.

The Park regime ingratiated itself with U.S. imperialism by sending troops to South Vietnam against the worker-peasant revolution in that country. The U.S. repaid Park with massive amounts of money from U.S. businesses and government "aid."

Based on this, the South Korean economy began to grow, creating export industries and assembly operations primarily geared to the needs of U.S. and Japanese capitalism.

This economic growth, lopsided though it was, resulted in the creation of an industrial working class in South Korea that soon began to assert its rights against the repressive labor laws passed by the Rhee and Park governments.

The labor movement was assisted by religious groups. By the late 1970s this movement, joined by students protesting suppression of democratic rights, was gaining strength.

From the beginning, Park built up a repressive apparatus, at whose heart was the



South Korean peasants work fields near Demilitarized Zone under U.S. howitzers

taining and, if possible, reversing these gains for working people.

The policy includes provocative exercises with large naval task forces cruising dangerously near Soviet waters and ships. It has involved sending aircraft into Soviet airspace, knowing they will be fired on, to test Soviet air defenses, as the *Times* acknowledged in its interview with Keegan.

### Counterrevolutionary base

South Korea has played a vital role in these provocations since 1945. A review of events in Korea since the end of World War II makes clear that Washington's objective was from the start to establish a counterrevolutionary base to combat the spread of social revolution in Asia, including in Korea.

Japan, which had ruled Korea as a colony since 1910, surrendered in 1945 after the U.S. government atom-bombed

— who reappeared on the streets wearing U.S. Military Government armbands.

### Massive mobilizations

Koreans in the occupied south reacted to this with massive mobilizations for independence, democratic rights, and social reforms. Especially active were peasants' unions that demanded — and often began — redistribution of the land.

But the U.S. Military Government — with Japanese police and officials, their Korean collaborators, and U.S. troops — suppressed this revolutionary upheaval with barbaric force. In one month U.S. military courts in Taegu found 537 "rioters" guilty and sentenced 16 to death.

President Truman's administration also brought in exiled rightist politicians such as Syngman Rhee to form a Korean administration amenable to U.S. policies. Washington built up a paramilitary police force





Eight months after suppression of protests in Kwangju for democratic rights, President Reagan welcomed General Chun Doo Hwan, butcher of Kwangju and now president of South Korea.

notorious Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), which was formed with U.S. CIA help. The KCIA penetrated virtually every facet of South Korean society — campuses, labor unions, religious organizations, newspapers, businesses (certainly including Korean Air Lines), political parties, and more — to create an atmosphere of fear.

Political repression included pro-capitalist politicians opposed to Park and extended far beyond South Korea. In 1973 Kim Dae Jung, who came close to defeating Park even in rigged elections in 1971, was kidnapped from Japan by agents of the KCIA and taken to South Korea.

In 1967 and 1969 Korean students in Europe were kidnapped by the KCIA and brought back for trial for "subversion." Koreans in other countries, including the United States, are also closely watched and harassed by the KCIA.

The labor-religious-student protests

against repression grew. In order to thwart an even bigger rebellion, a palace coup, with U.S. backing, was organized. Park was assassinated by the head of his own KCIA.

The period following Park's assassination was similar to that after Rhee's downfall. Popular demands for civil rights grew, and the developing working class began to organize.

In April 1980, 3,000 workers seized the Sabuk coal mine. There were huge demonstrations in Seoul and other cities.

One of the smaller of these protests, in Kwangju, was attacked by cops and troops. The entire city revolted; the insurgents held Kwangju eight days before the army crushed the rebellion in blood with open U.S. support.

The U.S. also supported General Chun Doo Hwan's virtual seizure of power, with army backing, later in 1980.

During all this time, the U.S.-supported repression in South Korea has been accompanied by bellicose acts by U.S. and South Korean forces against the USSR and the DPRK. A small sample includes:

- Bumping of Soviet ships in international waters by U.S. ships in 1966.
- Close surveillance, such as that by the U.S. spy ship *Pueblo*, which was captured in DPRK waters in 1968.
- The provoking in 1974 by the South Korean navy of clashes with DPRK ships during frame-up "spy trials" in the South in which well-known poet Kim Chi Ha and others were sentenced to death.
- The provocative cutting of a tree in 1976 by U.S. officers within the Demilitarized Zone, which marks the 1953 armistice. This resulted in the deaths of two U.S. soldiers and a subsequent huge U.S. and South Korean show of force, complete with nuclear weapons.
- The recent sinking of the *Pungsan*.

Seen in this framework, the KAL overflights could not be accidental, but are deliberate.

#### Military buildup

Washington is also beefing up its military forces with additional air and naval forces in East Asia.

Washington presently maintains nearly 40,000 troops on Korean soil and has hundreds of nuclear-armed missiles there. The Pentagon has also announced plans to install neutron bombs in Korea.

It is gaining in its quest to involve Japan more in its anti-Soviet alliance. This is shown by recent Japan-U.S. maneuvers not far from Soviet waters, the largest joint military operation yet by the two countries.

From this brief sketch, conclusions about the South Korean state are obvious: it was established and is maintained by the U.S. government as an anticommunist bastion almost on the borders of the Soviet Union and China. The very existence of this state is a provocation.

Further, South Korea can act as a weapon against the Asian revolutions only by ferocious repression of its own workers and peasants. It uses its faked "threats from the north" to justify this repression.

Like KAL overflights of Soviet territory, the policies of this regime are not due to carelessness. On the contrary, they are deliberate.

These policies, and the ensuing high risks of war, will not change until this reactionary bastion is eliminated and Korea is reunified.

This objective is in the interests of Korean working people, as they have often demonstrated. It is also in the interests of U.S. working people.

## RC-135 crew members dispute Reagan on KAL story

The following article appeared in the September 15 *Chicago Sun-Times*, which picked it up from the *Denver Post*. The authors, T. Edward Eskelson and Tom Bernard, are former U.S. Air Force communication intelligence specialists who flew on RC-135 reconnaissance missions out of Okinawa. An RC-135 was reported in the vicinity of the Korean Air Lines Boeing 747 before it was shot down by the USSR September 1. The RC-135 is a military version of the Boeing 707. *Jane's World Aircraft Recognition Handbook* emphasizes that the Boeing 747 and 707 are easily confused.

The U.S. government possessed the capability to directly intercede during the events that culminated in the annihilation of Korean Air Lines Flight 007. Few facts concerning that capability have been brought to public attention.

Official sources have attempted to minimize the capability of the RC-135 reconnaissance aircraft by alleging that its mission off the coast of the Soviet Union was for the purpose of "verifying compliance with arms-control agreements."

Other sources have portrayed the RC-135 as a passive listening device. The president said the aircraft was back at its base in Alaska for a full hour before the attack on Flight 007, implying that no RC-135s were in the area during that time.

As former crew members on an RC-135 aircraft, we find these statements concerning the extent of its capabilities and involvement before and after the shootdown incompatible with our experience.

The RC-135 can stay aloft for missions of 18 to 20 hours, demanding only a single midair refueling. The aircraft are assigned "orbit" areas near target nations by the National Security Agency, which has operational authority over all personnel aboard.

It has been our experience that, on occasion, NSA adjusts the flight paths of RC-

135s so that they will intentionally penetrate the airspace of a target nation. This is ordered for the purpose of bringing a target country's air defense systems into a state of alert. This allows NSA to analyze these activated systems for potential flaws and weaknesses.

The RC-135 acts for the NSA as a prime receptor of signals emanating from a surveillance target. The aircraft is deemed so important to overall U.S. intelligence collection efforts in sensitive areas that it always is relieved on its orbit by another RC-135 just before the conclusion of its mission. We find the implication made by President Reagan that the Sakhalin-Kamchatka target area was abandoned by the RC-135 to be unbelievable and contrary to NSA policy.

The RC-135 has a superadvanced, ultrasecure communications system linked to the most sophisticated communications network in the world. This system permits the instantaneous reporting of tactical intelligence to the highest levels of government, including the president, from any location in the world. A message intended for the president is required to be in his hands no more than 10 minutes after the actual time of transmission.

It also has the capability of transmitting messages over a broad range of radio frequencies, including those used by civilian and military aircraft, ships, ground stations and air controllers. For instance, during the Vietnam War, crew members aboard RC-135s transmitted real-time warnings to U.S. pilots operating over North Vietnam, telling them they were being tracked by hostile radar. In some cases the warnings permitted U.S. pilots to evade missiles about to be launched.

Another feature of the RC-135 is the equipment manned by Strategic Air Command electronic warfare officers. This equipment can "jam" radar and radio transmissions in addition to certain electronic systems in other aircraft.

The RC-135 also contains an internal warning system that is manned by specially trained personnel who are assigned to monitor the tactical air activity and air defense radars of the target nation. This function demands that radio frequencies used by the target nation's military aircraft and air defense radars be continuously monitored for the earliest indication of any hostile activity that potentially could be directed against the RC-135.

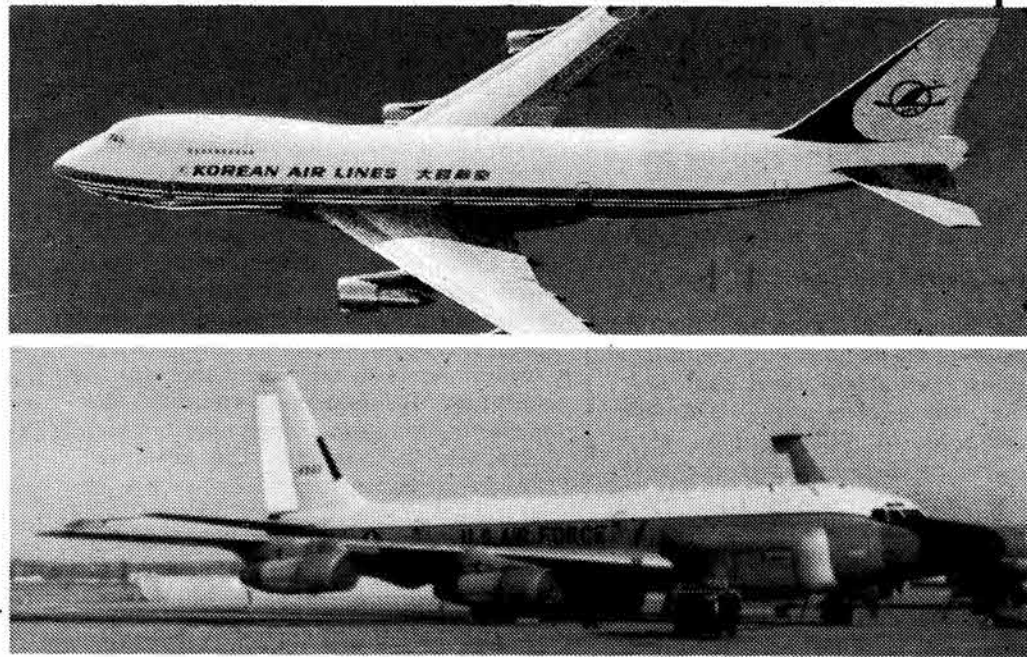
Within these capabilities of the RC-135 lie the precise reasons we believe that the entire sweep of events — from the time the Soviets first began tracking Flight 007, "confusing" it with the U.S. reconnaissance aircraft, to the moment fighter airplanes sitting on Soviet airfields were ordered to go to "alert" status due to the potential penetration of their airspace by an "intruder aircraft," to the time of the shoot-down — was monitored and analyzed in-

stantaneously by U.S. intelligence.

Without sounding like apologists for Soviet actions, we believe, based upon our experiences, that the official U.S. version of events is incomplete and misleading. There are serious questions as to not only what specific role the capabilities of the RC-135 played in the eventual shooting down of the KAL airliner, but also why those capabilities were never used in an attempt to head off the tragedy.

These disclosures are not intended to compromise legitimate national security interests of the United States. The Reagan administration has acknowledged publicly that Soviet authorities are aware of the purpose and mission of the RC-135 aircraft that daily fly off their coast.

Instead, we believe that only a full disclosure of facts held by NSA will provide the answers on this tragic event.



Korean Air Lines 747 and U.S. Air Force RC-135. In the air these two planes are easily confused.



# Antiracist fight by Chicanos, Indians gains through unions in Arizona

BY KAREN KOPPERUD

PHOENIX — "Hispanics have found the labor movement the best vehicle to help us. The enemies of labor are the enemies of Hispanics." These were the words of Bob Guadiana, United Steelworkers of America (USWA) staff person, speaking to the Tucson Labor Day rally as a representative of the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement.

Thirteen copper miners' unions went on strike July 1 against the Phelps Dodge Corp. — the second largest copper company in the country. The unions were forced to strike by Phelps Dodge when it demanded major wage, benefit, and work-rule concessions from the unions.

Since the strike began hundreds of scabs have been brought into the mines and the Phelps Dodge Corp. has received the active backing of the Arizona state government, the courts, cops, and news media in their drive to break the unions.

The stakes in this confrontation are huge — for the striking unions, the national labor movement, and the oppressed Chicano, Mexican, and Native American peoples, the largest section of the work force in this area.

The fight to build unions and oppose the companies' racism in the small Arizona copper towns have traditionally gone hand in hand here.

## History of racism in Southwest

Racism was part of mining in Arizona from its earliest days. Anglo cavalry officers discovered some of the rich silver and copper deposits in the area while on raids against the Apache Indians. When mining began, Mexicans from Sonora, just across the border, were imported as cheap labor. They were already skilled miners and smeltermen. Their knowledge was the basis of mining in the Southwest. The first mine and settlement in Clifton, for example, was built entirely by Mexican labor.

Wherever Mexicans and their descendants worked in the Arizona mines there was a dual wage standard. In the early days the most skilled Mexican workers might get \$25 to \$30 per month; Anglos received \$30 to \$70 per month. The rest of the Mexican work force might make \$12.50 to \$15 per month or as little as 12 cents per day. Forced to shop at company stores with their exorbitant prices, these meager wages were not enough to live on.

## Steelworkers Under Attack

How to fight back and defend jobs

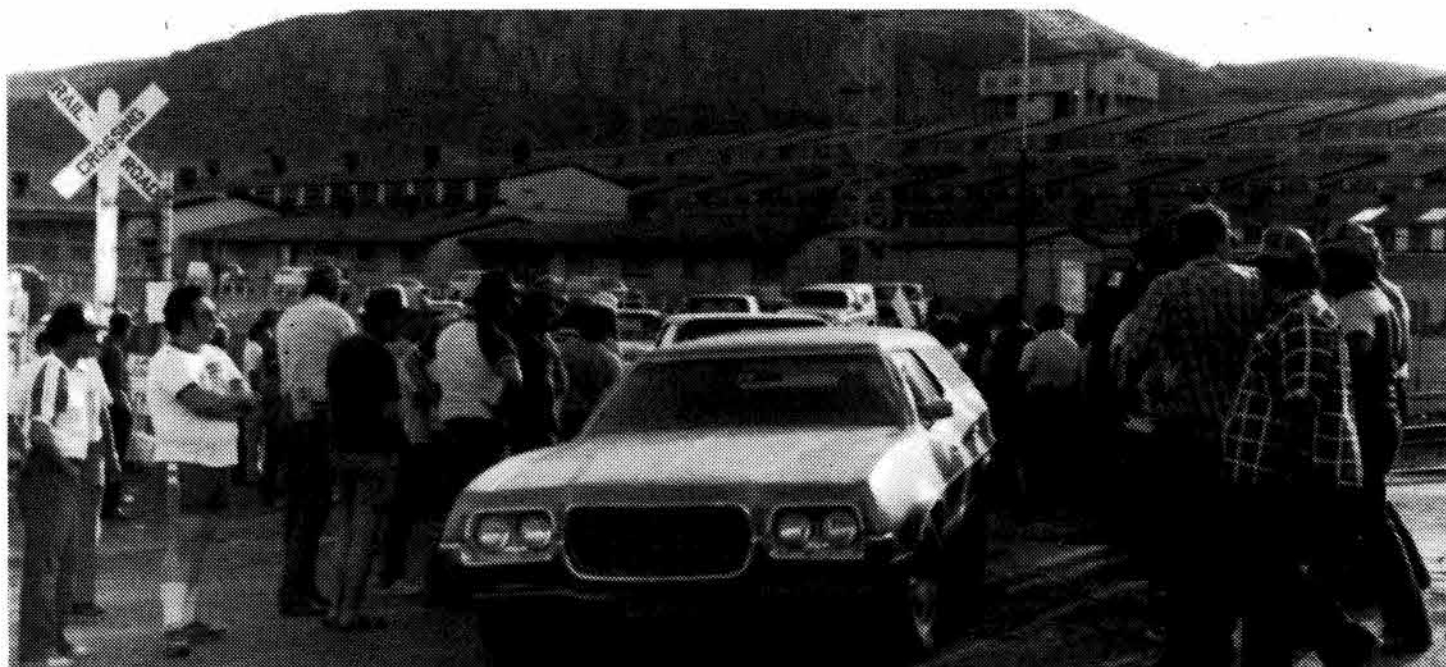


Geoff Mirelowitz

**Steelworkers Under Attack:**  
How to fight back and defend jobs  
by Geoff Mirelowitz, \$ .95, 40 pp.

The bosses and their government are pushing the line that only big concessions from steelworkers can "save" the ailing steel industry — and workers' jobs. In this pamphlet, Mirelowitz, a laid-off steelworker, answers the employers' attempts to blame workers for the economic crisis. He outlines a fight-back course for the steelworkers' union and the entire labor movement.

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Militant/Karen Kopperud

Chicanos, Native Americans are majority of strikers against Phelps Dodge Corp. Many advances by these oppressed national minorities have come through gains by union movement.

The Mexicans organized themselves. The "Mexican rate" and the gross racism of the foremen were the basic issues of the October 1915 strike in Clifton-Morenci. At that time Mexicans made \$2.39 per shift, while Anglos made \$2.89. Five thousand Mexicans went out on strike. The Western Federation of Miners, established in 1893, led the strike.

In 1917, in Bisbee, an unsuccessful strike for union recognition took place under the leadership of the Industrial Workers of the World.

These early strikes were led mostly by Mexican workers. While the bosses encouraged divisions between Anglo and Mexican workers to undermine these struggles, company-organized vigilante terror was the primary means used to smash these early attempts at winning union rights. After the 1917 defeat Phelps Dodge deported the strikers to the New Mexico desert.

In 1916 the Western Federation of Miners changed its name to the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers (usually known as "Mine-Mill"). Following World War I, Mine-Mill was very weak after suffering defeats from joint company-government violence.

The weakness of the union meant that the conditions of Mexican and Native American workers in the mines and in general were bad.

It wasn't until the rise of the industrial-union movement in the 1930s that unionism again developed in the mining towns. It was also in this period that the copper miners became divided into several unions — craft unions for the skilled and Mine-Mill for unskilled and semiskilled labor.

Today there are 13 unions at Phelps Dodge and 26 unions in all the copper companies. The United Steelworkers of America is the largest. (In 1967 Mine-Mill merged with the USWA.)

The weakness of the unions is reflected in the fact that the first Mine-Mill local chartered at Phelps Dodge's Clifton mine wasn't until 1942. Wages and living conditions hadn't qualitatively changed between 1915 and then.

Jim Crow segregation existed in the mining towns as well. And it was the Mine-Mill union that led the struggle against it, reflecting its majority Mexican membership. In 1944 the union initiated hearings before the National War Labor Board (NWLB). The hearings documented that three Arizona mining companies had two categories of workers. The first was "Anglo-American males." The new hires in this category were called "helpers" and were paid \$6.36 per shift. Everyone else was "other employees." This included all "Latin Americans," Filipinos, and Indians. These new hires were called "laborers" and paid \$5.21 per shift. Most people in this category could expect no raises and no promotions.

Many of the Mexicans and Native Amer-

icans returning to Clifton from World War II joined the 1946 strike led by Mine-Mill. This strike was for a contract and for implementation of the NWLB recommendation for equal pay. After 107 days on the picket line, with no strike fund, the largely Mexican union won its first contract with Phelps Dodge, its first raise, and a base rate of \$4.16 per shift for all new hires.

During this period a Clifton town council with a Mexican majority was elected for the first time.

It was only a first step. Until the late 1960s mining companies still carried Mexicans and Native Americans on their books under "Mexican labor." They were paid at a lower rate than Anglos in the same job classification. Mexicans and Native Americans were segregated in unskilled, dirty, and dangerous jobs.

The effect of the divisions among workers maintained by the copper companies was to drag down the pay scale for all workers in the region. This was shown by the "Southwest rate." Into the late 1950s the best-paid Anglo miners working in the Southwest were paid as much as \$3 less per day than their counterparts in other sections of the country. "Other" employees made \$4 to \$5 less per day.

The reason the companies gave for this was that there was so many "Hispanics" in the area who would work for less. The fact that Mexicans and Native Americans had fought bloody strikes for decades against discrimination and had never willingly accepted lower wages put the lie to the bosses' claim.

In its 1955 strike the Mine-Mill began the battle for parity with the national wage rate, that is, for the elimination of the Southwest rate.

## Racism and Phelps Dodge

Unions could not succeed against the copper companies until they overcame the divisions and racism.

Many Phelps Dodge workers come from families that have lived in these towns or Indian reservations for generations. Phelps Dodge's Ajo operation, for example, is next to the Papago Indian Reservation. Mexicans and Indians have decades of personal experience with the racism of the copper companies.

Roy Santa Cruz, district director of USWA Subdistrict 8 recalls how he was hired on in the 1950s. "In Globe-Miami they had what they called 'rustling shift,' like herding cattle. They would put everybody on the stage where they could look you over. They would pull out 10 guys in a group and the foreman would say, 'You got a job for a day. I want you to take a big drink of water, because I don't want to see you at the fountain. All I want to see is asses and elbows.'"

He went on, "All Mexicans went straight to the track gang or the smelter. There were no 'clean jobs' for us."

All the companies had a similar attitude

to their employees. Since the early 1900s the racist blacklist in Arizona mines was implemented through a 'rustling card' that had to be shown in order to be hired.

Eduardo Márquez participated in the first Mine-Mill strike in Clifton in 1946 and became president of the first USWA local in 1957. He recalled how Mexicans "went to the track gangs, the tailing dam, or the smelter. Anglo kids went to the grease racks or they were truck drivers or mechanics helpers."

Márquez commented, "There were never any Anglos on the track gangs until we got the union. All level entries got the same wages after the 1946 contract." It took long years of struggle to eliminate the inequities that went on after you were hired, however, he added.

Besides job segregation, lunch, locker, and shower rooms were segregated. Anglos got hot water, Mexicans got only cold for their showers. One steelworker in Clifton told with pride how one day in the late 1960s he and a group of other Mexicans tore down the heavy curtain that separated the workers for so long.

In Ajo, Phelps Dodge maintained segregation in the mine change rooms until 1974. In 1974 the union negotiated to change the rooms to male and female and to upgrade them both to government sanitary standards.

Women copper miners are in fact a relatively recent arrival. It took legal action to force Phelps Dodge in 1969 to hire the first women into the mines. Since then women have been an active force in the unions.

Every aspect of social life in these towns was segregated too — housing, schools, movies, swimming pools, and social clubs.

One white woman in her early 30s who is active in strike-support work remembers growing up in segregated Morenci. "A Mexican could not touch a locomotive. They would be fired immediately. Mexicans could not bid into any skilled jobs. They always kept the Mexicans owing their soul to the company store. The first white woman to marry a Mexican could not get a company house for decades. There was separate everything. Everybody hung around together in their own groups — Indians, Mexicans, whites. And these are very small towns.

"The Mexicans and Indians really started the unions," she continued. "The success of civil rights had a little to do with it, but in an isolated town like this it was mostly done by the local unions. The unions kept working on their rights and grievances."

## Housing discrimination

Housing in company towns is assigned by the company. Native Americans in Morenci, for example, were confined to the worst housing, in an area called "tent city." Mexicans were crowded into "tortilla flats" and along Gila Street. There was no paint and precious few repairs available for these houses.



The schools were segregated too. Roy Santa Cruz remembers, "Hardy was for the Mexican-Americans and Roosevelt was for the Anglos" in Globe-Miami.

One of the most insidious aspects of the segregation was the consistent campaign to deprive Spanish-speaking Mexican children of their language. Spanish was not permitted on the school grounds at any time. An Arizona *Daily Star* article of Sept. 15, 1983, quotes 34-year-old State Senator Peter Rios, a native of San Pedro barrio in Hayden, as saying, "In those days, you would get smacked across the mouth or slapped on your hands for speaking Spanish on the school grounds. It was forbidden."

Roy Santa Cruz said, "You couldn't speak Spanish in the schools. They whipped you with a bull whip."

#### Company dictates life

The company always had definite ideas about what young people in their towns were to do with their lives. Young men who were Brown should stay in their place and behave themselves. If they didn't they were pressured into the army or driven out of town. During all the various wars, Ed Márquez commented, "for every Anglo they drafted seven or eight of us. The company decided many of the Anglos were 'essential to war production' and got exemptions for them." But many of the young men came back unwilling to accept the company's conditions in these towns.

One way the unions stood up to the companies' racism was by championing the cause of the Mexican work force. This was clearest in towns like Clifton-Morenci and Douglas where a majority of the population is Mexican and Native American. It was also true in other mining towns with smaller Mexican and Native American populations.

The unity and solidarity necessary to win anything from the arrogant copper bosses had to be based on the commitment people give an organization that they could see was fighting in their interests.

#### Housing discrimination broken

The story of the big breakthrough in overcoming housing discrimination in the Phelps Dodge company towns demonstrates the role played by the unions. Roy Santa Cruz said, "In a company town housing is a condition of employment. We had something to say about that."

Ed Márquez recounts how it occurred in the 1967-68 negotiations. This was the year the Mine-Mill local affiliated with the United Steelworkers. The entire executive board of the first United Steelworkers Local 161 was Mexican. It was the first year of coordinated bargaining, when all the unions committed themselves to negotiate together with all the copper companies. It was also a landmark year for civil rights gains by the unions. And it was also the year the unions had to wage an eight-month strike to win that contract.

"We had gotten the Federal Housing people [HUD] involved in these negotiations. We were all in the Steelworkers hall in Douglas: the union negotiating committee, federal officials, and Phelps Dodge. Mr. Pat Scanlon, who was then in charge of labor relations for P-D in Douglas, said to the government officials that the reason the company could not integrate company housing was because 'the Mexicans were very dirty. The company couldn't give them better housing.' The negotiating committee was mostly Mexican-American. We all went wild, including the Anglos. Some people started shouting 'Remember the Alamo.' Well we kept HUD rolling on that issue."

Further federal civil rights hearings were still necessary in 1974 to deal with the lingering housing segregation. Phelps Dodge never gives up anything easily.

Around 1968 the unions were instrumental in getting a federal decree and contract provisions requiring companies to open up the skilled trades jobs such as electricians, boilermakers, pipefitters to Mexi-



Women, children have established auxiliary organizations to back copper unions striking Phelps Dodge Corp.

cans and Native Americans. Today they make up a larger portion of the membership of these craft unions than ever before.

#### Combined struggles

Many in the Chicano and *mexicano* and Native American communities see the current struggle as a continuation of their long

battle for human rights and dignity against the companies' racism. This is why more and more Chicano, *mexicano*, and Native American organizations are backing the strike as are unions with significant numbers of Chicano and *mexicano* work forces.

For example, the recent United Farm Workers convention passed a strike-support resolution. The flag of the UFW hangs

## Ariz. miners strike Duval Corp.

BY DAN FEIN

TUCSON — At midnight on September 30, 2,000 copper miners at Duval Corp., 25 miles south of Tucson, went on strike.

Five unions represent the Duval miners — United Steel Workers of America (USWA), Teamsters, Operating Engineers, Laborers, and International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. The USWA is the largest. Twelve hundred of the strikers have been laid off for at least a year and a half.

Four days before the contract expired, Duval announced its intention to continue production even if the unions went out on strike.

In 1967 copper workers in 26 unions were able to establish "coordinated bargaining" with the copper companies. All unions involved negotiated similar contracts with the copper companies.

On July 1 Phelps Dodge broke the pattern by forcing a strike on its workers when it refused to continue the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) and demanded other concessions in the new contract. Kennecott and most other copper companies had already signed a new three-year contract with COLA. Duval Corp. decided to join Phelps Dodge's union-busting bandwagon.

The course of negotiations and the decision to continue to run the mines is making clear to workers that Duval, like Phelps

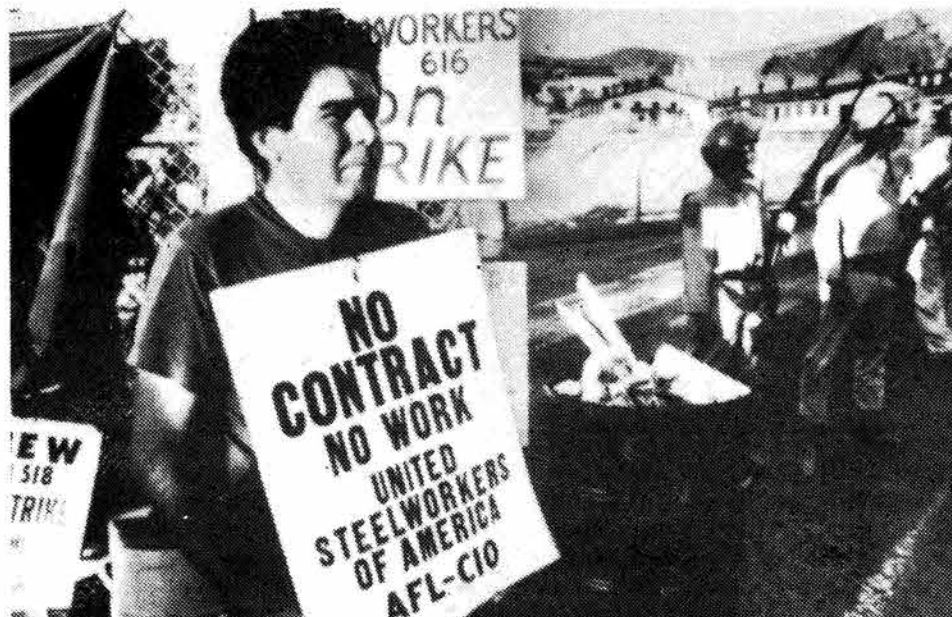
Dodge, wants to eliminate the unions. When negotiations started in August, Duval refused to include one of its mines in the negotiations.

This was unprecedented.

The company then pushed hard for job combinations where one worker does the job of two or more workers thus resulting in more layoffs and speed up. The union negotiators were promised by Duval that if the unions accepted this "cross-training" and other local concessions, the company would keep the COLA in the new contract.

A leaflet distributed by the Duval Unity Council (the coalition of unions involved) dated September 26 explained that Duval lied. After the unions agreed to some job combinations, the company returned to the bargaining table and continued to demand: 1) no COLA, 2) wage freeze for those still working, 3) a \$3.03 per hour cut in pay for those presently laid-off and new hires, 4) no sick pay, and 5) reduction in medical coverage.

According to Jim Smith, chief negotiator for the Duval unions and USWA District 38 assistant director, Duval called in 192 foremen from its nonunion mines in Nevada and New Mexico to come to Tucson and work. They set up more than 100 beds at the mine and hired a catering service to helicopter in food for the strike breakers.



Duval Corp. joins Phelps Dodge's union-busting efforts. Above, picket stands outside Phelps Dodge mine as police stand guard for company.

in the Steelworkers hall in Clifton and in the office of Roy Santa Cruz.

Chicanos Por La Causa, an Arizona social service group, has offered its services to strikers in Ajo. A benefit for the strikers was organized at a popular South Phoenix ballroom and others are planned in the Chicano and *mexicano* community.

At a news conference in September on Mexican Independence Day, representatives of the Arizona Farm Workers (AFW), itself on strike against citrus growers, issued a statement in support of the copper strikers. The AFW donated \$1,000 to the strike relief fund.

The Chicanos, *mexicanos*, and Native Americans in the Southwest identify these unions for what they are: indispensable agents in their struggle for human dignity.

Although conditions are not what they should be — unemployment remains high in the mining towns, racism persists in housing and education — the situation for Chicanos, *mexicanos*, and Native Americans would be qualitatively worse if the copper unions are destroyed.

It would be a defeat for the dignity and civil rights of Chicanos, *mexicanos*, and Native Americans. It would deprive them of the most powerful tool that they have yet to devise in their struggle. If that happens, all working people will suffer a grave setback.

Almost 900 copper miners at Anamax mining company, 20 miles south of Tucson, have also been on strike since August 1. The company wants to eliminate the cost-of-living adjustment and reduce wages. Anamax continues to operate its plant with about 200 salaried personnel and 80 scabs. Anamax officials have refused to negotiate since the strike began.

Solidarity with the striking copper miners is spreading throughout the country. As more union members become aware of this serious union-busting drive by the copper barons, they are reaching deep to give financial support to the strikers.

Roy Santa Cruz, USWA District 38, Sub-district 8 director, told the *Militant*, "Between \$50,000 and \$60,000 a week has been arriving in Arizona to help strikers pay utility bills, rent, and mortgage payments."

### San Diego IAM backs copper strikers

SAN DIEGO — District 50 of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) is sponsoring a benefit fund-raiser for the striking Arizona copper workers October 22. District 50 is comprised of workers from seven IAM locals in the San Diego area.

The proposal for the fund-raiser came out of a resolution to support the copper workers adopted at the last district meeting. A committee of IAM members has been set up to start building the benefit.

The resolution states in part:

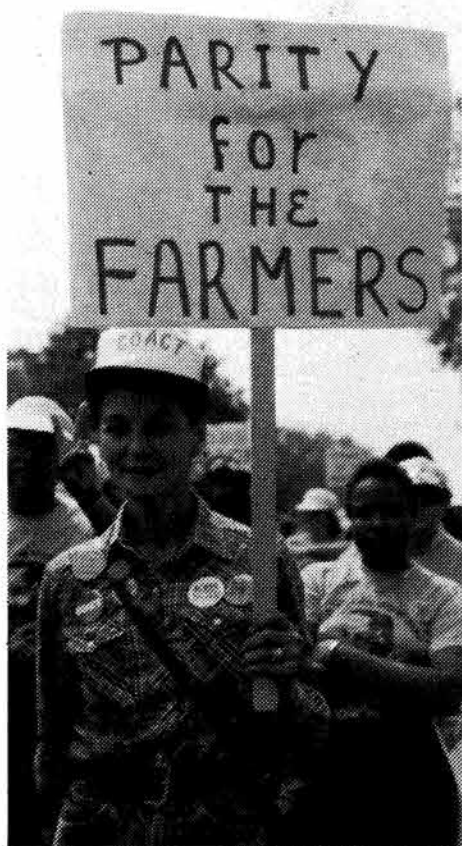
"That IAM District 50 pledges its undivided solidarity and support for copper workers' demands for a decent contract."

And, "in order to further educate IAM members in San Diego about the issues in the copper strike that District 50 invite the IAM in Arizona to send a representative of the workers on strike to come to San Diego to tell the truth about the strike to unionists here."

In addition to the benefit fund-raiser the resolution also pledged to organize collections of food and money to be sent to the Copper Strike Relief Fund in Tucson, Arizona.

Plans are underway to build the benefit at IAM-organized plants in San Diego. Flyers publicizing the meeting are being printed up and tickets are being distributed to locals in the district. The benefit will be held at 8 p.m. at the IAM hall, 5150 Kearny Mesa Road.





Militant/Lou Howert  
Farmers who marched at August 27 demonstration in Washington demanded parity.

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

(First of two parts)

U.S. working farmers are squeezed in a vise between the low prices they receive for their produce on the market and their mounting costs of production. In the past few years this situation has worsened, and thousands are going bankrupt and their farms are being foreclosed.

They have responded by waging a fight to stop foreclosures and to get the government to do something about their plight. Farmer activists are conducting a far-reaching discussion about the demands they should be placing on the government and the methods of struggle they should use.

One contribution to this discussion, which is being widely circulated among family farmers, is a pamphlet, *Parity: An American Farm Program That Works*. It was written in 1979 and published by the U.S. Farmer's Association. The pamphlet — two articles by farm leaders Merle Hansen and Fred Stover — is a serious attempt to outline a program for solving the problems of the family farmer. Hansen has long been associated with the Nebraska Farmers Association and presently heads the recently established North American Farm Alliance. Stover, an Iowa farmer, is president of the U.S. Farmers Association.

#### Marketing problem

Hansen explains, "If farmers failed to produce enough food to feed our people, then we would have a 'farm problem.' However, when farmers go broke because they are producing too much food in a world of hungry people, when we have starvation amidst abundance, then we have a problem with our marketing system, not with our farmers."

Hansen points out that "One consequence of our marketing system is that farm prices no longer have any relation to food prices." Food prices city workers pay at the supermarket keep going up, yet the prices farmers get for their produce, either fall or, at best, increase at a rate below the rise in costs.

What do Hansen and Stover propose be done about the problem of prices?

Like many other farm leaders they demand that the government maintain farm prices at or near 100 percent of parity. This is one of the more popular demands raised by protesting farmers today.

Stover gives the following definition of parity. "Parity," he explains, "is a statistical means of hitching farm prices to farm costs. If total farming costs rise, say 10 percent, then the indicated parity figure will rise accordingly. If farm costs go down, the parity figure will also go down."

"Here is how it is done: A base period is selected when farm prices and farm costs were in a balanced relationship. Initially, for the basic crops the five-year period of 1910 to 1914 inclusive was used as a base."

"Each month the U.S.D.A. [United States Department of Agriculture] determines the weighted average of all prices re-

# Government price supports and family farmers

## A contribution to the discussion on parity

ceived by farmers. This is called the 'prices-received index.' They also determine the 'prices-paid index' which includes all farm costs including interest and taxes."

In November 1978, he points out, the prices-received index was 536. The prices-paid index was 763.

"The parity ratio; the overall average of farm prices," Stover writes, "is determined by dividing the prices-received figure of 536 by the prices-paid figure of 763. This gives us the November parity ratio of .70 or 70 percent of parity."

Parity is then simply a way of measuring the relationship between costs and prices for the farmer. And the demand or 100 percent of parity is a proposal that prices be established at a level sufficient for farmers to meet production costs and have enough to live on.

This demand is based on the assumption that the government, within the framework of capitalism, or the "market system," as Hansen calls it, can determine the relative prices of commodities. As Hansen puts it, "farm prices are made in Washington."

Long experience has shown, however, that the capitalist government is incapable of determining the prices of commodities. At most it may influence them. This was shown during World War II when prices skyrocketed despite war-time price controls. Only wages were frozen.

More recently the same thing happened during President Nixon's administration. Nixon's so-called wage-price controls, launched in 1971, did not prevent the explosive price rises of 1973-74. They only prevented workers from winning wage hikes needed to keep up with escalating living costs.

#### Can gov't keep prices up?

If the government can't keep prices working people pay down, can it keep prices farmers receive up?

Hansen thinks it can. "Under a good farm program," he writes, "participating farmers are assured that they will not have to sell their products at less than a fair price. In return for this assurance, they may be required to follow soil conserving practices and make production adjustments."

"All of this should be done without burden to the U.S. taxpayer or the creation of large bureaucracies. The legislative tool with a proven record of success has been the 'non-recourse loan at 90 percent of parity' on the basic storable commodities such as wheat, rice, corn, rye, soy beans, barley, oats, grain sorghum, and cotton. This means that after harvest, participating farmers are eligible to receive loans from the government in the amount of 90 percent of the parity price (as published monthly by the U.S.D.A.) for each commodity produced. Then, later in the year, when market prices are higher, the loans can be repaid with interest."

But what happens if prices are not high enough to enable the farmer to repay the loan?

"If in the rare case the market does not allow the farmers to sell their crops at a price that will cover the loan plus interest," Hansen writes, "the non-recourse feature

requires the government to take possession of the crop and the farmers get to keep their loans." In other words, the government, in order to keep prices up, will take commodities off the market by buying them at 90 percent of parity.

Hansen assures us that this will only happen in rare cases. But why only in rare cases? The tremendous productivity of U.S. agriculture has led to farm prices that have been below 90 percent of parity for the last 30 years.

The only way the program Hansen recommends would work is if the government buys a good part of the farm produce every year at 90 percent of parity. Far from costing nothing, the expense would be tremendous. In a hungry, ill-clothed world, food and fiber would end up in government storehouses.

Any move by the government to sell or distribute the stored commodities would send farm prices plunging with disastrous results for farmers. Such a program meets neither the needs of the hungry nor the farmer.

But Hansen and Stover say the program they recommend has met the test of practice. It was proved workable during Franklin Roosevelt's administration.

"Farmers had 20 years," Hansen writes, "when they received 98.2 percent of parity. They had it because following years of intense struggle by farmers, it was made government policy. They had it because there were good people in positions of power in the government and good administrators. . . . From 1935 thru 1954 farmers received 98.2 percent of parity and about 99 percent of it through the market place, with the government only seeing to it that there was a floor on farm prices."

Sounds good.

Unfortunately a graph in the Hansen-Stover pamphlet disproves their own case. The graph, compiled by the USDA, shows the movement of farm prices in relationship to 100 percent of parity over a 67-year period from 1910 to 1977.

#### War and farm prices

Since 1913 farm prices have been at or above 100 percent of parity on only three occasions, during World War I, World War II, and briefly during the Korean War.

Only the disruption of food production by war and the resulting food shortages and hunger that resulted, produced a market situation that allowed farm prices to rise to parity or above. Roosevelt's real "farm program that worked" was the imperialist slaughter and not "good people" in government or the 90 percent of parity non-recourse loans.

The short rise above parity during the Korean War was speculative, based on the belief that the U.S. imperialist aggression in Korea meant a broader war was imminent.

In anticipation of war-produced shortages, the food monopolies, speculators, and other profiteers bought up huge stocks of farm and other commodities. They hoped to resell them at much higher prices and thus make huge profits.

As soon as the front stabilized in Korea, however, these speculators dumped their hoarded commodities on the market, caus-

ing farm commodity prices to plunge. In relationship to parity they have been falling ever since. The only exception was a brief period in the early 1970s when crop failures and famines in many countries, along with the associated commodity speculation, caused farm prices to rise. And even during this short-lived boomlet farm prices remained well below parity.

Indeed, except for war periods when farm prices were unusually high, and the aftermath of depressions in 1920-21, 1929-33, and 1937-38 when farm prices were unusually low, farm prices have been steadily falling more and more below parity.

Ultimately this reflects the more rapid growth of labor productivity in agriculture as compared to industry in the 20th century.

Just as the rapid growth in labor productivity in a new industry like pocket calculators is reflected in a rapid fall in the price of calculators relative to other commodities, so the more rapid growth of labor productivity in farming compared to other branches of production is reflected in a fall in farm commodity prices relative to other prices.

Better off farmers, who can keep up with the latest technology, are able to meet costs even as prices drop. The small farmer, however, is caught in a growing cost-price squeeze.

Is there a way for the small family farmer to get out of this mess?

#### What way out?

The truth is that as long as capitalism lasts the outlook is grim. As in industry, centralization of production and application of advanced technology is proceeding in agriculture.

Under capitalism this means that more and more of agricultural production will be carried out by those who have the financial resources and access to credit necessary to purchase the latest and most efficient farm machinery and to survive in spite of lower prices. Smaller farmers are less and less able to compete. More and more they are driven off the land. Government policy may speed this development up a bit or slow it down, but it cannot reverse the basic direction under capitalism.

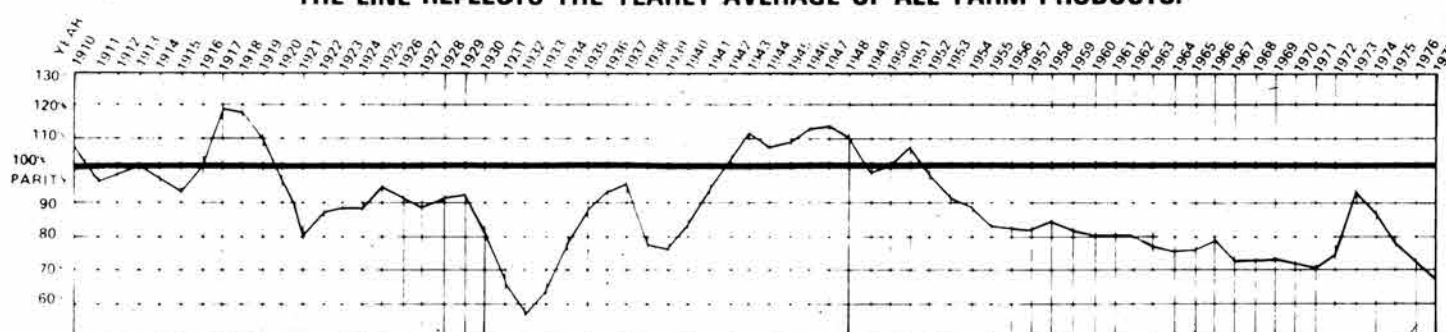
It is against this background that discussions are occurring among farmers on what course of action to take. Increasing numbers are turning towards an alliance with the labor movement. The labor movement too is engaged in discussions on how workers can defend themselves from the crises of the capitalist system. By forging an alliance to combat the effects of these crises, workers and farmers can lay the basis for building a movement that can overturn the rule of big business and establish a government in the interests of workers and farmers. This is the only road to eliminating the capitalist market system that victimizes working farmers in this country.

In our next article, we will discuss how in Cuba, where workers and farmers abolished capitalism, a government price-support program benefits independent farmers.

(to be continued)

#### HERE IS THE PARITY RATIO LINE FOR 67 YEARS.

THE LINE REFLECTS THE YEARLY AVERAGE OF ALL FARM PRODUCTS.



One hundred percent parity is relationship between farmers' production costs and prices they need to get to make decent living. Graph shows that for most years since 1910 it has been below this.

U.S. Farmers Association



# Georgia socialist campaigns among farmers

BY JAMES CAMPBELL

ATLANTA — Sara Jean Johnston is on the ballot as the Socialist Workers Party candidate in this state's special election in the 7th Congressional District. The election, to be held October 18, was called to fill the seat left vacant by the death of Rep. Larry McDonald, who was aboard the Korean Airlines Flight 7 that was shot down over Soviet territory on September 1. McDonald was president of the right-wing John Birch Society.

Kathryn McDonald, the late congressman's widow, is considered to be the frontrunner in the election race. Another major capitalist candidate is former state Sen. Dan Fincher from Rome, Georgia. He was encouraged to run, according to the *Atlanta Journal*, by some of Larry McDonald's former supporters who didn't want to support McDonald's widow because she comes from California and is a woman.

Also considered to be contenders are State Rep. George Darden, a Marietta Democrat, and David Sellers, a Marietta Republican. Sellers ran against McDonald in the last election.

Virtually all the candidates are proclaiming themselves McDonald's true heir. In a column in the *Atlanta Constitution* entitled "In Seventh — Line Forms to the Right," Bill Shipp writes, referring to the field of candidates, "All, save the socialist candidate, Sara Jean Johnston, are about as far to the right as you can get without wearing a brown shirt and brassard."

Johnston has been asked several times by reporters, "Aren't you running in the wrong district?" "Can a radical get a hearing in such a conservative district?" Or, "Aren't you uncomfortable campaigning in John Birch territory?"

The SWP campaign has shown that the workers and farmers in this district aren't reactionary. It's the Democratic Party, which runs rightist candidates for office, that is reactionary.

The 7th Congressional District runs northwest from above Atlanta to the Tennessee border. It includes many family farms and industrial areas near Rome and Marietta — such as Lockheed-Georgia, which employs 15,000 workers. Johnston and her supporters have campaigned in the district and have found that workers and

farmers there, like anywhere else, are worried about war, unemployment, and the rapid rise in bank foreclosures on family farms.

A good example of this was Johnston's experience campaigning at the North Georgia State Fair in Cobb County on September 24. In less than two hours Johnston and two supporters distributed hundreds of copies of the SWP campaign platform and special leaflets on the crisis facing small farmers. They also sold 15 copies of the *Militant*.

Johnston got a good response when she approached fairgoers, introduced herself and said, "I'm the SWP candidate in the 7th C.D. election. I'm opposed to another Vietnam in Lebanon. All troops and ships should get out now."

Farmers spoke with the socialist campaigners about their problems in trying to make a living while being squeezed by the banks and the falling prices of their products.

Two young white women took campaign leaflets from Johnston and then walked away. A few minutes later they returned and said they had gone by the Ku Klux Klan booth. They had been disgusted by the Klan's racist speeches and had given them the socialist leaflets. The women told them they should be ashamed for being such bigots. One of the women bought the *Militant* and walked back by the Klan booth and waved it at them.



Sara Jean Johnston (left) campaigning at North Georgia State Fair  
Militant/Susie Winsten

## Teachers rescind support to socialists

BY DEBBIE TARNAPOL

SAN JOSE — On September 28 the San Jose Teachers Association (SJTA) withdrew its endorsement of Siobhan Dugan and Rick Trujillo in the November 8 school board elections. Dugan and Trujillo, both trade unionists, are the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party.

"We're saddened by the loss of their endorsement," Trujillo, a county bus driver and member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265, said at a news conference on September 30. "We," Trujillo continued, "remain in solidarity" with the

teachers' struggle.

The SJTA is in a battle with the San Jose Unified School District board, which, having declared bankruptcy, has torn up contract agreements guaranteeing wage increases to the teachers. Against this backdrop the teachers union announced its support for the socialist candidates at a news conference on September 23.

The candidates had been interviewed by representatives of the union and their positions thoroughly explained. Dugan and Trujillo were recommended by the Board of Directors of the SJTA, and the Representative Council of over 100 teachers approved the recommendation by a wide margin. Norbert Strecker, a current member of the board was also endorsed.

But union tops in the National Education Association (NEA) thought this was a bad move. They pressured their San Jose local to rescind its backing of Dugan and Trujillo. The NEA and local union officials asked the SWP candidates to agree to limit their campaigning to "school board issues." In particular, the union leaders objected to Dugan and Trujillo linking the deterioration of San Jose schools to Washington's wars.

"We respectfully disagree with the

teachers association that the war in Central America and Lebanon is not relevant or appropriate in a school board campaign," Dugan and Trujillo said to the media. "When the Reagan administration turns education dollars into war dollars, it's relevant to challenge Washington's foreign policy."

Meanwhile, support for the socialist candidates is growing. Dugan, a welder at the FMC plant and member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 562, was told by one coworker, "If I lived in your district, I'd vote for you."

Many passengers on Trujillo's bus route have indicated they support the SWP campaign, which has been receiving prominent coverage in the city's largest daily, the *San Jose Mercury News*. One young Chicano rider told Trujillo, "Hey! I saw you on TV. I liked what you said. They should spend money on education. We don't need another Nam."

Both candidates have been invited to speak to Parent-Teacher Association meetings. Dugan is scheduled to speak to the local NOW chapter, and the Mexican American Political Association has requested an interview with the candidates. Meetings to talk to unions and students are also set.

## Brutus hails support in asylum fight

BY AUGUST NIMTZ

MINNEAPOLIS — "Above all it was the thousands of Americans supporting us that led to this victory." This was the assessment of Black South African poet Dennis Brutus in an interview with the *Militant* about his successful two-and-a-half-year fight to win political asylum in the United States.

On September 6, Chicago Judge Irving Schwartz ruled that the attempt of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to deport Brutus was unjustified. Although the INS indicated it might appeal the judge's decision, it announced on September 16 that it would not.

"This is a victory for our people in South Africa as well as for the people of the United States," Brutus said. "There was a contradiction involved in this fight," he continued. "While the Reagan administration was trying to force me out of the country, the American people were struggling to keep me in."

Brutus, an English professor at Northwestern University just north of Chicago since 1971, has been a long-time opponent of the racist South African regime. He played a leading role in South Africa's expulsion from Olympic competition.

In February 1981 the INS began the effort to deport him on the dubious grounds that he applied late for his visa. As word spread about the government's victimization of this well-known antiracist activist, defense committees began to spring up around the country.

Early support for the case came from a broad array of forces — antiracist fighters, church groups, the Black press, Black elected officials, and scholars. In some cities, such as Minneapolis, trade union officials also offered support.

The hearing before Judge Schwartz on July 18-22 received extensive coverage in

the media including ABC's Nightline, CBS National News, and supportive editorials in the *New York Times*, the *Chicago Sun-Times*, and the *Chicago Tribune*.

Brutus said there were broad political implications in the victory. "This victory will help in the fight against government efforts to deport other political activists." He expressed a willingness to speak out on behalf of Héctor Marroquín and others who faced similar deportation. Marroquín, a socialist and activist against U.S. aggression in Central America and the Caribbean, has been waging a seven-year fight against deportation to Mexico.

Brutus explained that the victory will also be important in the fight against harassment by the U.S. Justice Department of two southern African liberation groups, the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia. Both groups have observer status at the United Nations, and the Justice Department is trying to interfere with their activities in opposition to South Africa.

"In addition," Brutus pointed out, this victory "will strengthen the fight against the deportation of so-called illegal aliens. This is especially important in view of the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill, which we have to fight."

"The most important question now," Brutus said, "is where do we go from here. It must be recognized that people supported me because of the South Africa issue." For this reason Brutus indicated that he wants to "see the various defense committees on my behalf expand to defend and assist others from Africa and elsewhere from the Third World and to take up other issues related to South Africa."

The Dennis Brutus Defense Committee in Chicago will hold a victory celebration on October 7.

## N. Carolina hikes ballot requirements

BY OSBORNE HART

GREENSBORO, N. C. — During their summer session, the North Carolina General Assembly enacted a new law restricting ballot access for political parties independent of the Democrats and Republicans. On September 27, the U.S. Justice Department approved the restrictive features of the law under the Voting Rights Act.

Meryl Lynn Farber, 1982 Socialist Workers Party 5th Congressional District candidate, denounced the legislation during a news conference here on September 21. Farber told a group of reporters, "The intent and effect of this law," Farber said, "is to reinforce the two-party system's strangle-hold on the political process."

The law, entitled "An Act Relating to the Formation of New Political Parties to Conform with Federal Court Rulings" H.B. 1026, will require independent political formations to obtain 37,000 signatures of registered voters to gain a place on the state-wide ballot. Under the previous law 5,000 signatures were needed. This requirement constitutes a 750 percent increase in the number of signatures. It will

make North Carolina's signature requirement the sixth highest in the country.

Farber noted this was the second attempt by the General Assembly in as many years to limit "the democratic rights of voters."

"In 1981, after the SWP successfully obtained ballot status by collecting over 18,000 signatures, the state enacted the 'Party Switch' law, which required anyone signing a petition to place a party on the ballot to become a registered member of that party," Farber said.

Despite the Justice Department's approval of that law, the SWP won a suit declaring it unconstitutional.

By fulfilling the requirements for ballot status in 1982, the SWP also qualified to be placed on the 1984 statewide ballot. "It's no accident that the General Assembly enacted this new law after the SWP obtained ballot status through 1984," Farber said.

"It is no coincidence," she continued, "that the signature requirements were increased while the National Black Independent Political Party is petitioning in this state, and thousands of Blacks are looking for alternatives to the two parties."



# THE GREAT SOCIETY

**He's slipping** — We're not surprised that Interior Secretary Watt wants to hike the rent of national park employees who live in gov-



Harry Ring

ernment-owned homes within the park system. (Employees are suing to block the increase.) But what puzzles us is that Watt hasn't

moved to sell the houses to private landlords.

**Balanced view** — A Prof. Belton Fleisher, hired by the Chamber of Commerce to study the minimum wage, did recommend against the idea of a "subminimum wage" for teenage workers. He favors one for everybody. He suggests freezing the present minimum permanently and letting inflation do the job.

**By Dick Nixon?** — A New York bookstore offers, *How to Sell Your Car for More Than It's Worth*. An ad advises: "Designed for used-car professionals, but just

as useful for the layman with a lemon on his hands, this is the book that tells you all the tricks of the trade — from hiding dents to pricing and writing ads that sell."

**Gold on gold** — What with the goldfish market fairly stagnant, growers came up with the idea of promoting them as live food for other pet fish — piranhas, etc. The goldfish retail for about 20 cents each, but business is holding up nicely. "The type of people who spend \$8 to \$10 a week to keep fish to feed fish are not your basic blue-collar types subject to layoffs," cheerfully explained one

hatchery representative.

**No wastrels** — After an extensive study of U.S. corporate gift-giving abroad sponsored, thoughtfully enough by Parker Pen, a communications prof concluded that most U.S. execs considered gift-giving a waste of time and of course, "time is money." She apparently didn't poll them on bribery.

**Easier parking too** — If you're diffident about driving around in a Mercedes Benz, you might consider the new "Baby Benz," a compact that goes for a tad over \$20,000.

**Yo, ho, ho** — Sea Goddess Cruises will feature smaller ships and a limit of 60 passengers so you'll feel more like a guest on a private yacht. Features include a bar in your cabin, stocked at no extra charge. Trips, \$500 a day.

**Perish the thought** — Fabrice Simon, a currently trendy fashion designer, takes \$2,000 and \$3,000 for his dresses. But he assures, no two are alike. They can't be, he explains. "You can't have women walking into a room and seeing themselves coming and going when they're spending that kind of money."

## CALENDAR

### ARIZONA

#### Phoenix

**Grenada: Black Revolution in the Caribbean.** A slide show and first-hand report by Lilian Hall. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 15, 7:30 p.m. 17 E Southern (corner of Central). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 268-3369 or 256-7133.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Los Angeles

**U.S. Marines Out of Lebanon.** Speakers: Susan Mordechey, Israeli Peace Movement, Committee in Solidarity With the Palestinian People; Eli Shelala, Lebanese student, Committee in Solidarity With the Palestinian People; Sue Skinner, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 8, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

**Support the Striking Davis Pleating Garment Workers!** Speakers: Dixie Youts, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union organizer; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 15, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Bookstore/Libreria Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

#### Oakland

**What's Behind Reagan's Prowar Hysteria?** Speakers: Brenda Sunoo, cochairperson, Korean Support Committee; Walter Turner, director, Africa Resource Center; Tony Ryan, staffperson, Nicaragua Information Center; Veronica Cruz, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Eastbay Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 839-5316 or 658-8898.

#### San Diego

**Mexican Barbecue.** Meet and hear Mel Mason, socialist city councilman from Seaside, California. Sun., Oct. 16, 12 noon to 4 p.m. Donation: \$5. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

#### Seaside

**Revolutionary Roots: the Continuing History of Workers Struggles.** An Educational Weekend. Class 1: "Marx and Engels on the National Question," Sat., Oct. 22, 2 p.m. Class 2: "Origins of Women's Oppression," Sat., Oct. 22, 7 p.m. Class 3: "Communist Manifesto," Sun., Oct. 23, 12:30 p.m. Class 4: "Wage-Labor and Capital," Sun., Oct. 23, 3 p.m. Translation to Spanish. Seaside Public Library, 550 Harcourt. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (408) 394-7857.

### COLORADO

#### Denver

**Continental Bankruptcy: an Attack on the Labor Movement.** Speakers: Fred Hinz, striking Continental worker; Harold Sudmeyer, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Oct. 14, 7:30 p.m. 126 W 12th Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

### FLORIDA

#### Miami

**Fight for Women's Rights Today: Report Back From NOW Convention.** Panel discussion. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Oct. 14, 8 p.m. 633 Martin Luther King Blvd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 756-1020.

### GEORGIA

#### Atlanta

**See Sara Jean Johnston, Socialist Workers Candidate for Congress, on League of Women Voters' Live TV Debate.** Sun., Oct. 16, 7 p.m. Channels 5, 11, and 2. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

### KENTUCKY

#### Louisville

**After August 27: How Can We Win Jobs,**

**Peace, and Freedom?** Speaker: Arlene Rubinstein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Kentucky. Sat., Oct. 8; reception, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. 809 E Broadway (near Shelby). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**Socialist Workers Party Mayoral Campaign Rally: Speakout Against War and Racism.** Speakers: Eloise Linger, SWP candidate for mayor; Mohammed Oliver, staff writer for the *Militant*; Willieann Newberry, aunt of Elijah Pate; representative from the Committee for a Democratic Lebanon; others. Sat., Oct. 8; social hour, 6:30 p.m., program, 7:30 p.m. Roxbury Community College-Massachusetts College of Art, cafeteria, Tower Bldg., 3rd fl, Huntington Ave. at Longwood Ave. Ausp: Student Government Association of Massachusetts College of Art. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Concession Contracts: a Discussion on How Our Unions Can Fightback.** Speakers: Leon Mack, member, United Auto Workers Local 600; Jon Olmsted, steelworker and *Militant* correspondent. Sat., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

### MINNESOTA

#### Minneapolis

**Socialist Workers Campaign Rally.** Speakers: Lisa Ahlberg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council, 8th ward; John Gaige, Minnesota SWP state organizer. Sat., Oct. 15, 7:30 p.m. Sabathani Community Center, 310 E 38th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Minneapolis Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**Civil War in Lebanon: Why the Marines Should Be Brought Home.** Speaker: Mousa Shukair, Arab-American Committee. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Oct. 9, 8 p.m. 4715 A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

### NEBRASKA

#### Lincoln

**Anti-imports and Buy America Campaign: Will Tariffs Save Jobs?** Speaker: Mike Carper, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Oct. 9, 7 p.m. Lincoln Indian Center, 1100 Military Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (402) 464-2565.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**Battle Against Union-busting: Lessons of the Arizona Copper Strike.** Speaker: Rich Stuart, laid-off miner, *Militant* reporter on copper strike in Arizona. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Oct. 14, 7:30 p.m.; preforum dinner, 6 p.m. 141 Halsey (corner of Raymond). Donation: forum \$2, dinner \$3. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Women's Rights Today: a Report Back From the NOW National Convention.** Speaker: Deborah Higdon, delegate to NOW convention. Fri., Oct. 14, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Harrisburg

**Nuclear Power: War and Profit.** Film showing with presentation by Doug Cooper, Socialist

Workers Party candidate for city council. Sat., Oct. 8; social, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 803 N 2nd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (717) 234-5052.

### Philadelphia

**U.S. Out of Lebanon: Bring the Troops Home Now!** A protest meeting. Speakers: Bob Stanton, Socialist Workers Party; Tom Barry, activist for peace in the Mideast; Samir Dasha, Palestinian activist. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. 5811 N Broad. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

**The Vietnam War: Why the U.S. Fought, Why the Vietnamese Won.** Speakers: Mark Emanation, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee; Tyrone Williams, Vietnam veteran, member of Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 15, 8 p.m. 5811 N Broad. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

### Pittsburgh

**Hear the Socialist Workers Candidates on WAMO-FM Radio.** "Focus on Pittsburgh," show with host Eugenia Hall; 106 FM. Sat., Oct. 9 and 15, 9 a.m., SWP candidates for city council. Sat., Oct. 22, 9 a.m., SWP candidate for Allegheny County Commissioner.

**Grenada in Revolution: Four Years of Black Freedom.** Speakers: Prof. Richard Blackett, University of Pittsburgh, Department of Black Studies; Linda Nordquist, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Grenada; slide show. Sat., Oct. 15, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

**Nicaragua Today: Life in a Military Zone.** Speaker: Jon Hillson, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Nicaragua. Sat., Oct. 29, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

### OHIO

#### Cincinnati

**The Housing Crisis in Cincinnati.** Speakers: Kathleen Denny, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city council; others. Sun., Oct. 16, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. (busline #45). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

### TEXAS

#### Houston

**Concession Contracts in Steel — Do Profits Save Jobs?** Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Oct. 8, 7 p.m. 4806 Alameda Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant

Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

### VIRGINIA

#### Newport News

**Attack on Labor Unions: How Do We Fight Back?** A panel discussion. Sun., Oct. 9, 4 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**U.S. Out of Lebanon!** Speaker: Ike Nahem, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Oct. 9, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

**On Strike: Eyewitness Account of Copper Miners' Strike.** Speaker: Rich Stuart, *Militant* reporter at Arizona strike. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Oct. 16, 7 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

### WEST VIRGINIA

#### Charleston

**Eyewitness Report From Nicaragua: Why U.S.-backed Invasion Is Losing.** Speaker: Jon Hillson, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from Nicaragua. Sat., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. 1584 A Washington St. E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

#### Morgantown

**Behind War in Lebanon: Why U.S. Troops Should be Pulled Out.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Oct. 8, 8 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

**U.S. Intervention in Latin America Today. Film: Americas in Transition.** Speaker: Dave Ferguson, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Oct. 15, 8 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

### WISCONSIN

#### Milwaukee

**U.S. Intervention in Lebanon: A Speak-out.** Speakers: Dr. Hatem Hussani, member of Palestine National Council; Rev. Claude Joyner, Incarnation Lutheran Church; Bob Clark, vice-president of United Electrical Workers Local 1111, coalition of Black Trade Unionists; film showing of *Beirut can't read*. Thur., Oct. 13, 7:30 p.m. Fine Arts Lecture Hall, University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee. Ausp: Hatem Hussani Tour Committee and General Union of Palestine Students. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

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**Their Trotsky and Ours: Communist Continuity Today**  
by Jack Barnes

**Lenin and the Colonial Question**  
by Carlos Rafael Rodríguez

**Two articles on the 1916 Easter Rebellion in Ireland**  
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# Marine's death in Lebanon angers his hometown

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

Testifying before the House Foreign Affairs Committee on U.S. intervention in Lebanon, Marine Corps Gen. P.X. Kelley described the U.S. forces in Lebanon as "the marines who went into Vietnam."

According to the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, this remark, which Kelley called a Freudian slip, "raised a few gasps in the room."

But mistaking Vietnam for Lebanon is not a mere slip

## AS I SEE IT

of the tongue. The parallel drawn with the Vietnam War is a compelling one.

True, from the standpoint of the ruling class, Kelley made an unforgivable blunder. The ruling class is trying to blot out the Vietnam War experience, particularly the massive protests that helped force Washington out.

But this is proving hard to do. Just how difficult became clear to me when four U.S. marines were killed in Beirut.

Randy Clark was one of these marines. He hailed from Minong, Wisconsin, 50 miles south of Duluth, Minnesota.

More than 1,000 people attended his funeral. "It will take more than the pomp of a military funeral," reported the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, "to ease the pain suffered by

this town of about 500 since the 19-year-old Clark was killed in Beirut, Lebanon Sept. 6."

To the crowd of 1,000, Rev. Arvid Sundet of the Calvary Lutheran Church in Minong said: "We don't even know if his death has served any purpose. And so we ask questions. We ask questions of our national policies. We question our president."

"We join the Clark family in asking 'Why? What for?' Peacekeeping is not a satisfactory answer!"

Randy himself had similar feelings. A few days before his death he wrote a letter to his parents, which was later reprinted on the front page of the *Minneapolis Tribune*.

"Well, 76 more days until we get in the ship. Everybody wishes we would leave today," he wrote September 1. "It's a nightmare when we close our eyes."

Like many young workers, Randy did not join the military to kill Druse freedom fighters or Salvadoran peasants. Kevin Postl, one of Randy's closest friends, said, "he didn't go into the military for fighting. He went in for the learning and travel. Like you see in the TV commercial — you get to see everything."

"He died for no reason at all. I don't know why the Americans are over there," he continued.

According to his father, Randy joined the military "because he couldn't find a job, so he thought he'd go into the marines and get the schooling he wanted."

Following Randy's death, President Reagan had called his father, James Clark, to express his condolences as

well as to restate the U.S. government's intention to keep the marines in Lebanon.

"I'm sure as hell not going to vote for you next year," Clark told the president, if things don't change in Lebanon.

After learning of his son's death, Clark told reporters, "This fiasco going on there now, it's exactly like they dragged us into Vietnam."

"Old Reagan says now he wants to keep them [marines] there another 18 months," said another Minong resident. "I was with an old friend, a Vietnam veteran, and he said, '18 months, here's another Vietnam. Pretty soon it'll be two years.'"

Sentiment against Washington's wars is on the rise in Minong. In fact, residents are circulating a petition calling on Reagan to withdraw U.S. forces in Lebanon.

"One petition, complete with 90 signatures, popped up last week in the Hometown Saloon," reported the *News-Tribune & Herald*, Duluth's daily newspaper. "We'd all sign it twice if we could," the paper quoted one woman as saying.

I think this antiwar sentiment prevails everywhere. I know it's widespread at Champion International, a large paper mill in St. Paul, where I work.

If the people had the right to vote on war, I think it would be a landslide for getting out of Lebanon.

Frank Forrestal is a member of United Paperworkers International Union Local 264.

# Canada actions demand abortion rights now

Continued from back page

support abortion rights.

On the same day, right-wing forces mobilized on the other side of town. Some 20,000 people were bused free-of-charge to Toronto, not only from Canada, but also from Detroit and New York. Directly inviting a confrontation, the Right to Life Association changed the date of their rally, originally planned for September, when the October 1 proabortion demonstration was called.

"The antichoice forces have chosen to hold a single rally here in Toronto," said Catherine Daw, vice-president of the Toronto chapter of CARAL. "We are holding rallies and other activities in the communities, reaching the local people, and showing our strength nationwide."

"People are rallying around this action and have begun to mobilize for the future battles that are ahead of us. New chapters have been formed. Old chapters are rejuvenated. And small towns in remote areas of the country are beginning to get involved."

A recent Gallup Poll showed that 72 percent of people in Canada support women's right to abortion.

Following the rally, the spirited crowd

wove its way through downtown streets of Toronto, chanting, "Hey hey, ho ho, abortion laws have got to go. Ho ho, hey hey, abortion clinics are here to stay!" "We have just begun the fight, abortion clinics are our right!" and "Not the church and not the state, women must control our fate!"

Banners and picket signs reflected the

binational character of the demonstration, which involved both English-speaking Canadians and French-speaking Québécois. The large contingent of Québécois was identified by a banner reading: "Les Femmes Francos Torontoises" ("The French-speaking Women of Toronto").

The coalition of groups involved in the action plans to continue the struggle with an educational campaign reaching out to the unions, community organizations, and other broad forces. It has launched a mass petition drive for abortion rights and legal and political defense for those who face trial on November 21.

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(signed)

Lee A. Martindale  
Business Manager

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# Bosses deepen antiunion attacks

There are big stakes in the current confrontation between Continental Airlines and the striking pilots, flight attendants, and mechanics. If Continental can bust the strike and the workers' unions, it will mark another step toward weakening the working class, particularly its most powerful section — the trade unions.

Since the end of the post-World War II economic expansion in the late 1960s, the U.S. capitalist class, like its imperialist competitors abroad, has been restructuring its basic industries to make them more competitive and profitable. In addition to the airlines, this includes auto, steel, meatpacking, trucking, and railroad.

This restructuring is being advanced by the introduction of new technology to raise productivity and by an offensive against the labor movement. The employers are attempting to qualitatively lower labor costs and weaken the unions.

The attacks on labor are taking many forms:

- Voiding union contracts through the bankruptcy laws.
- Using mergers to impose new concessions on the workers, as General Motors is doing through its joint project with the Toyota Co. to produce cars at GM's Fremont, California, plant.
- Moving plants to the South and other areas in this country and abroad in the search for lower-paid, nonunion labor.
- Introducing new technology such as containerization on the docks, which results in the loss of thousands of longshore jobs.
- Eliminating the caboose on trains, thus undermining the safety of smaller train crews, and establishing mile-long unit trains, thus wiping out rail lines to smaller towns and eliminating thousands of jobs.

Even before the Continental strike, concessions and other attacks against workers had become the norm at the major airlines. The government set the example when it smashed the air traffic controllers strike, and their union, in 1981.

Today, Continental Airlines is leading the way in demanding bigger concessions from the unions — demanding they accept nonunion wages and working conditions or have no job at all. Anyone who refused has been fired and replaced by scabs.

Moreover, Continental is using a new tactic to fight the unions — bankruptcy. While still financially solvent, Continental declared bankruptcy to void its labor agreements. Eastern Airlines announced it was considering doing the same.

The use of this new union-busting tactic by the employers is in addition to their more commonly used methods to weaken the labor movement.

In Arizona, for example, the state government and National Guard are using the "right-to-work" laws to protect scabs hired by Phelps Dodge. The courts have joined in by limiting the number of copper miners who can picket the mines.

The upturn in the business cycle that began almost a year ago is accelerating employer attacks on the labor movement. The bosses are trying to intimidate the recently called back and newly hired workers from getting confident about fighting to improve their working conditions.

Rail, meat, telephone, copper, and now airline work-

ers have taken defensive strike action when the bosses sought to impose major concessions. In almost every case the workers came up with the short end of the stick. Major exceptions were the Chrysler and telephone workers.

Overall, however, these defensive strikes have not prevented setbacks and defeats.

The response of the top labor officials has been less than effective and is a major reason workers have suffered setbacks.

In the main, the officials have accurately called the bosses' new tactics "union-busting" as in the case of Continental's bankruptcy. They repeated this at the recent AFL-CIO national convention.

But their strategy to fight back is to collaborate with the bosses and their government. While pledging verbal solidarity for the striking airline workers, the AFL-CIO action is to promise to go before Congress and lobby for new bankruptcy laws and the re-regulation of the airline industry.

What should the AFL-CIO and organized labor be doing to fight the employers' union-busting drive against airline and other workers?

We need to begin by basing ourselves on the ranks of organized labor. Through the united activity of millions of their members, the unions can reach out and help mobilize their potential allies — Blacks, Latinos, women, and farmers — to fight the employers' attacks. This includes exposing the hypocrisy and use of state power by the government. It means telling the truth about what the bosses' restructuring of basic industry means for labor: weaker unions, fewer jobs, lower wages, more race and sex discrimination, and worse working conditions.

We need to organize effective solidarity for workers on strike, particularly for the airline workers and copper miners. Adopting resolutions is a good way to begin, but much more is needed.

A major campaign should be launched to get the truth out about these struggles to workers across the country. Meetings and rallies should be organized to express support and discuss further solidarity activity.

To expose the lies of the airline bosses, the unions should demand that the books of the airlines be opened and scrutinized by union and consumer representatives and union-appointed accountants to learn the truth about their finances, tax loopholes, and price-gouging.

"Independent auditors," such as the ones Eastern Airlines hired to prove their financial difficulties, are not what we need.

To alleviate the effects of the layoffs and firings, we should demand that the government take immediate steps. Unemployment compensation should result in no loss in pay and should last as long as we are unemployed.

In order that workers not be victimized by the introduction of new technology, a national law should be adopted that shortens the workweek with no cut in pay. This would spread the available work to more workers.

The employers' attempts to reorganize industry so as to alter in their favor the relationship of forces between themselves and the workers pose a big challenge to the labor movement. Working people can only rely on our own independent organization and mobilization to beat back the employers' attacks.

# Labor's long debate on anti-Chinese violence in the U.S.

BY MILTON CHEE

Asians in the United States are today joining together against a growing trend of anti-Asian violence. This trend echoes the anti-Chinese violence in this country in the 1800s.

A little over a century ago, like today, a debate arose in the labor movement over the role of immigrant workers.

The first wave of Asians came with the California gold rush. As Chinese laborers became more integrated into the economy, a heated debate developed over what labor's stance should be. A large majority were for excluding Chinese from the United States. Yet, a small minority opposed this racist view. This is described in the first two volumes of the *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* by Philip S. Foner.

Foner writes that, "There were two attitudes toward the Chinese in the labor movement. One view was that

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since 'a nation's wealth consists chiefly of its labor, which is its capital,' American workers should welcome anyone, 'Chinaman, African, or native of any country coming voluntarily to this soil.' Opposition to the Chinese, by dividing the working class, only served the interests of employers. Instead of denouncing the so-called 'yellow menace,' American workers should organize the Chinese and prevent employers from using them to reduce wage standards. Not for an instant should they confuse the struggle against unfair immigrant labor competition with anti-foreign prejudices.

Those who proposed this correct approach to the problem were few. Even A. C. Cameron, who was far in advance of other labor leaders in his belief that Negro and white workers should unite, took a wrong stand on the question of Oriental immigration. 'Yes,' he wrote in the *Workingman's Advocate* of June 12, 1869, 'bring them along, Chinaman, Japanese, Malays, and monkeys, make voters of them all; acknowledge them as men and workers; mix them all up together, water down the old Caucasian race.'

"The *Arbeiter Union*, ably edited by Adolph Douai, criticized these expressions of race hatred, but agreed that Chinese immigration should be stopped because their living standards were so low that it would take a hundred years until they absorbed western civilization.

"With such an attitude coming from the advanced leaders of the labor movement, it is not surprising that so many workers opposed the Burlingame Treaty of 1868 under which the United States and China recognized the right of their citizens to emigrate to the other country. No sooner was the treaty ratified than the labor movement began a campaign to have it abrogated. This demand was advanced at each congress of the National Labor Union after 1868, and was made one of the planks of the National Labor Reform Party. The presence in America of Chinese labor, said the Labor Party, 'is an evil, entailing want and its attendant train of misery and crime, and should be prohibited.'

By 1877, the anti-Chinese sentiment had grown to the point that the slogan "The Chinese Must Go" was the single plank in the platform of the California Working Men's Party, founded by Denis Kearney.

Kearney's rhetoric claimed to favor "wrest[ing] the government from the hands of the rich and plac[ing] it in the hands of the people . . . to destroy the great money power of the rich." But the rhetoric covered up the real purpose of this party which was "to rid the country of cheap Chinese labor as soon as possible."

The Knights of Labor, in an otherwise good record of solidarity with immigrant workers, succumbed to the anti-Asian xenophobia. The K. of L. excluded Chinese from membership with few exceptions. It lobbied for passage of an anti-Chinese bill of 1882. Some of its West Coast leaders boasted about their vigilante acts against Chinese.

In 1885 at Rock Springs, Wyoming, a massacre took place when white miners, carrying the banner of the K. of L., raided the Chinese section of town. Twenty-eight Chinese were killed, 15 were wounded, and their homes pillaged and burned. K. of L. leader Terence Powderly admitted "this act of inhumanity and butchery is inexcusable." But, he said, "the Chinese and those who desire to employ them" provoked the massacre.

The *Labor Standard*, English-language journal of the Working Men's Party of the United States, (not to be confused with Kearney's party) urged all socialists to oppose the slogan of "The Chinese Must Go." The use of Chinese in antilabor activity must be opposed, it said. It urged Chinese workers to join other workers in unions to raise their wages.

Eastern socialist Caleb Tilly wrote, "You can look in your shoe shops for some of the men that were made tramps not by Chinese, but by a more powerful enemy, an enemy that has no heart, no soul, that never hears your dying groans, capital."

# 'Bulgarian plot' scam collapses

"Most Americans are probably unaware that the so-called evidence connecting Bulgaria and the Soviet Union to the attempted murder of Pope John Paul II has totally collapsed.

"For months, every accusation against these two countries, however flimsy and implausible, was given big news coverage. But the collapse of the 'proof' of Bulgarian involvement has been treated as a 'nonstory.'"

That is what Will Reissner wrote in the July 1 *Militant*. Now, three months later, the Italian newspapers *Il Messaggero* and *Corriere della Sera* report that the presiding judge investigating the "Bulgarian connection" case will file slander charges against Turkish gunman Mehmet Ali Agca for providing false evidence against two Bulgarians.

Agca, an ultrarightist now serving a life sentence in an Italian jail for shooting the pope, had supplied the only evidence linking Bulgarians Sergei Antonov and Todor Aivazov to the shooting. Since then, Agca's testimony has been proven false.

But Judge Ilario Martella has still not ordered the release of Antonov, a Rome ticket clerk for the Bulgarian airline. Antonov has been in jail since November 25, 1982, without any charges ever filed against him.

Under Italian law, a judge can keep a person in jail for up to five years without filing charges.

Judge Martella's slander indictment against Agca cites not only Agca's claim that Antonov was involved in a plot to kill the pope, but also his claim that Antonov had conspired to assassinate Polish Solidarity union leader Lech Walesa.

The so-called "Bulgarian connection" in the 1981 shooting of the pope was first raised in September 1982,

more than a year after Agca had been convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment.

It surfaced in a *Readers Digest* article by long-time CIA-associated journalist Claire Sterling.

Sterling claimed to have discovered evidence suggesting that the Bulgarian secret service was actually behind Agca's attempt on the pope's life. She then assured her readers that if the Bulgarians were involved, they had to be acting under orders from the Soviet KGB.

Following the publication of Sterling's article, the mass media were full of reports and speculation about a Bulgarian-KGB plot to murder the pope. NBC television aired a special report by Marvin Kalb going over the "evidence." Columnists pontificated about the plot. Politicians cited it as proof of Reagan's claim that the Soviet Union is the "focus of evil" in the world.

But while millions of people heard or read of the charge against the Bulgarians, far fewer know it has been proven totally false.

The whole episode was just one in a steady stream of "journalistic" slanders against governments Washington does not like. Remember the disappearing "Libyan hit squads," and the "Soviet combat brigade" in Cuba, and Vietnam's supposed use of "yellow rain" in Kampuchea, and the Cuban government's "involvement" in the drug trade?

Meanwhile, Sergei Antonov is still rotting in jail. Where are the editorials in the big-business press demanding his release as a "prisoner of conscience"? Where are the television specials reporting on the conclusive evidence that the Italian secret services — the SIDE and the SISMI — fed Agca information in jail so the frame-up of Antonov could take place?



# Auto workers at River Rouge plant get rotten deal

BY MIKE HILLS

DETROIT — In September the Ford Motor Co. successfully blackmailed United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 600 into accepting a concession contract. We will lose \$4.13 per hour in wages, one week of vacation, and four paid holidays. That's not all. The company will cut incentive pay by 20 percent and cost-of-living pay by 25 percent.

The vote was 5,154 to 2,799 in favor of the contract. Local 600 is the largest local in the UAW, representing both auto and steel workers at the giant River Rouge

## UNION TALK

complex near Detroit. The concession contract will cover only the 4,000 steelworkers.

How was Ford able to put this rotten deal over on the union?

In a surprise move a week before the deal was struck, Ford broke off negotiations with the union. It threatened to immediately shut down its "money-losing" steel-making operation unless the UAW granted major wage concessions.

While Ford is crying poverty in its steel division in order to get wage concessions, workers know that Ford's overall profits are way up. According to the *Detroit Free Press*, Ford sales for the first two weeks of September alone are up 61 percent. In the first half of the year, Ford reaped profits of \$542 million, and it expects to clear over \$1 billion for 1983.

But Local 600 union officials bought the company's

argument that UAW steelworker members should get a cut in pay since profits were down in that division.

It's as though producing cars and making steel have no connection. Without the steel there would be no cars and thus no profits.

Instead of rejecting the concessions, the union leadership tried to come up with its own deal. This eventually led to divisions within the officialdom.

Nick Nestico, president of the rolling mill section of Local 600, wanted to accept Ford's demands right away. He threatened to split the union and form a new local if the rest of the leadership didn't go along. Nestico even hired a lawyer to go to court to attempt to bar the auto section of Local 600's membership from voting on the contract. He thought they would vote to reject the concessions.

Legal action proved to be unnecessary, because the whole union leadership encouraged the membership to accept Ford's demands.

This is how one union official explained it: "Most of the membership was pleased with the outcome. It's great to get a piece of the pie as opposed to no pie at all. There's too much unemployment already. Sure it's not what we need, but it means we won't get what we don't want — unemployment."

After the disastrous concessions imposed by Chrysler from 1979-82 led to 65,000 lost jobs, fewer auto workers today buy the argument that a give-back contract saves jobs.

It's a bitter lesson auto workers have learned, especially at Chrysler. This is why workers there made it clear to Chrysler in early September they would strike if necessary to win a big wage gain.

Ironically, the day after Chrysler workers signed their new contract, the UAW leadership pushed Ford's concession agreement on us at River Rouge.

The company calculated it could use its phony book-keeping — saying they have separate auto, steel, glass, and other departments — to further divide and weaken our union. Ford consciously sought to pit the incentive and nonincentive groups, auto and steel divisions, and different job classifications to create competition between workers.

Although most workers know the company is the motor force behind attacks on our standard of living, without a leadership to fight back we end up trying many schemes that involve "cooperating" with the company.

We have tried phony employee-involvement programs that encourage workers to eliminate their own jobs as part of their teamwork with management. We have sacrificed working conditions and health and safety rules to compete for higher profitability.

It is always: heads, Ford wins; tails, labor loses.

In response to a question, "How do you feel about the new round of concessions?" the replies were typical.

"We're against it."

"It stinks!"

Despite this resentment and anger, most Rouge workers did not see any alternative to voting for the concessions.

It is clear, however, that discussions are beginning on how to organize the type of leadership that can effectively fight future attacks by the company.

Mike Hills is a laid-off Rouge electrician and a member of UAW Local 600.

## LETTERS

### Always on same side

I almost totally disagreed with Harry Ring in "Is the 'arms race' root of war danger?" (Sept. 30, 1983, *Militant*). My views had developed agreeing with those Ring opposed, namely that the arms race was the root of the evil of confrontation.

In fact, I was disappointed the *Militant* has not bitterly criticized the USSR, their view that Russian soil is "sacred," and so forth.

Oh, to be very sure, Reagan was making political hay exploiting the tragedy [of the Korean airliner]; but the stupidity of shooting down even a real spy plane, let alone babies and children, seemed to justify that Reagan deserved this inning.

Ring rightly pointed out the real problem is imperialism, the most advanced form of capitalist exploitation. And he implied that imperialism exists on both sides of the controversy. Perhaps it is correct that most of it is on the side of America, although I doubt it. The USSR is an empire.

The USSR should be criticized for risking war, killing the innocent, evasiveness, setting the cause of the proletariat back, alienating party members in several nations, alienating workers in many nations, advancing fascist causes, and allowing Reagan this inning.

I am waiting for occasional issues about which the *Militant* may see something good in American policies, for some of them (few though they may be) do spring from noble views of the working class.

And I am not so sure I agree with Ring that we should "stand up to those who cruelly and hypocritically exploit" this tragedy. We may therefore alienate the working class. I think it is better to point out the evils on both sides, and not always jump into every battle always on the same side.

But Ring should be commended for rooting out the true cause, which in this case is easily overlooked. One thing I did not overlook was the sanctity of the big-business grain deal, which will profit quite a few who aren't even farmers.

C.A. Long  
Stevens Point, Wisconsin

### If the shoe fits

Recently, Phyllis Schlafly, the right-winger and opponent of women's rights, wrote a column attacking Barbara Honegger, the woman who quit the Reagan administration protesting its lack of concern for women's rights.

Schlafly wrote that Honegger was "a nobody [who got] tremendous access to the national print and electronic media by feeding their prejudices and sensationalizing what they want to report."

This may be the first time Schlafly has offered an accurate description of her own public career. One, of course, can't imagine her writing it in reference to herself. But it's the closest she may ever come.

D.S.

Oshkosh, Wisconsin

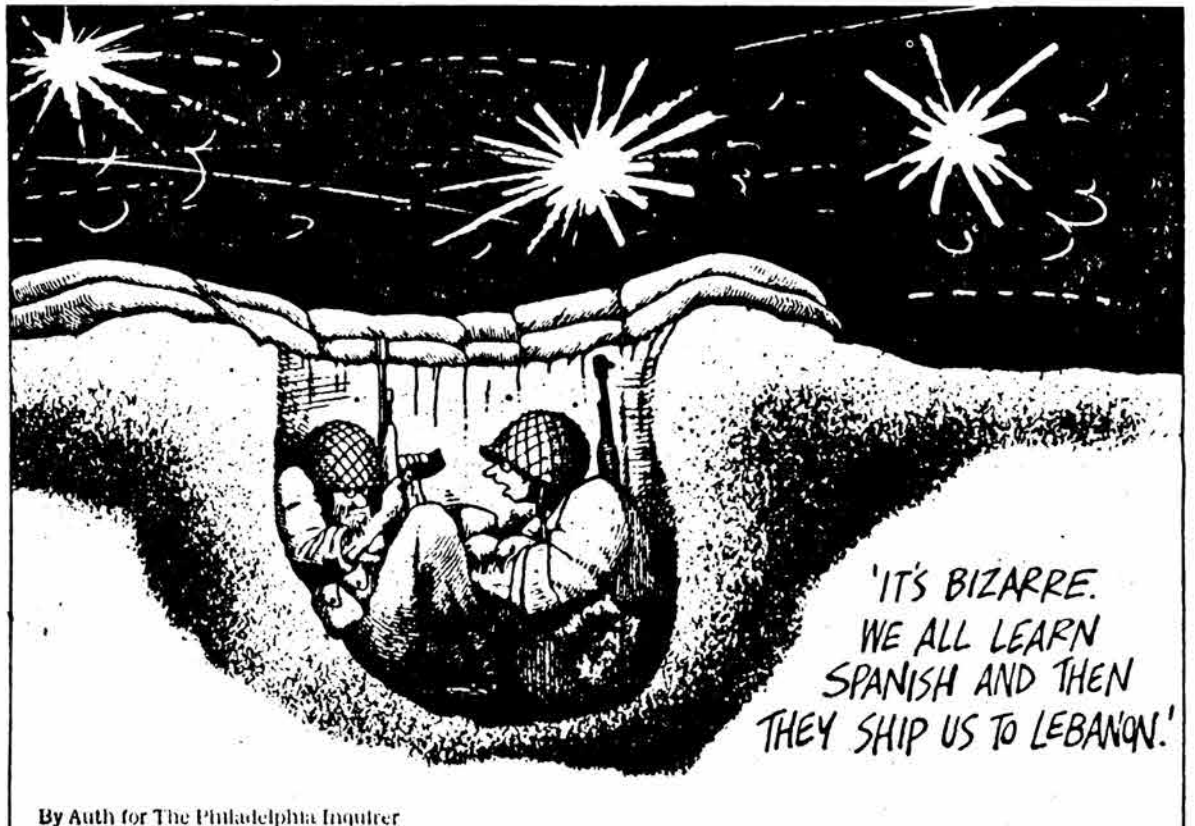
### Philippines forum

An interesting and educational forum was held here in Oakland on September 24, featuring a panel discussion on the recent developments in the Philippines. Speakers included Edwin Batongbacal of the Union for a Democratic Philippines (KDP) and Joe Rocomora, codirector of the Southeast Asia Resource Center.

Rocomora, who spent four months in prison in 1972 in Manila for activity in opposition to the Marcos dictatorship, stressed that the unfolding struggle in the Philippines is part of and similar to the struggle against imperialism in Central America. He explained that the enormity of U.S. investment in the Philippines (both financial and military) makes the threat of direct U.S. military intervention very real, if Washington feels the threat to the Marcos regime is grave enough. He emphasized the importance of building a movement in the United States that anticipates such intervention in order to help stop it.

Rocomora reported that in October the May 1st Movement (a labor federation in the Philippines) will be sending union officials to this country to go on a speaking tour.

He also discussed some of the impact that the murder of Benigno Aquino and subsequent developments had on the thinking of opposition forces in the Philippines. For instance, he explained, prior to Aquino's assassination the opposition was calling for a boycott



of the 1984 presidential elections. Now other alternatives are being considered.

The forum was attended by about 50 people including a number of young Filipinos. Paul Montauk  
Oakland, California

### Korean airliner

The *Militant's* coverage of the Korean plane incident has been excellent. But I wanted to suggest that you write an article placing the downing in an historical context of U.S.-staged events designed to sway U.S. public opinion to accept war. This has been alluded to, but an examination of it could be powerful.

From the sinking of the *Maine* to Pearl Harbor and the Gulf of Tonkin, there is always some tragedy that conveniently comes along just when the rulers want to go to war. In the case of the Korean airplane, it is not one specific war, but two, with the Soviet Union blamed for being the real cause of instability in Central America and Lebanon. It very conveniently coincides with U.S. plans to push ahead with the installation of missiles in Western Europe, as well.

One other point: In Leon Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution* he has a marvelous description of the bourgeois "oppos-

ition" to the 'tzar, and later to Kerensky. With scathing sarcasm he paints them as posturing ineffectual cowards. The Democratic "opposition" in the U.S. Congress is really in a similar position. The War Powers compromise is the most recent joke. It might be effective to critique the Democrats and liberals as the opposition instead of merely as collaborators in pursuing similar ruling-class objectives. If they claim to be the opposition, well, what kind of opposition do they mount? Of course, their response to the Korean airplane downing is another good example of their role.

Frank Boehm  
Chicago, Illinois

### Women's rights

Ellen Haywood and Susan Zarate wrote a letter in the September 2 *Militant* about the problems of sexual harassment on the job, affirmative action, and the New York chapter of the National Organization for Women's discussion of rape and violence against women.

As a Black male prisoner who admires such men as Malcolm X and Castro, I automatically support all liberation struggles. However, a recent event at this correctional institution with a white female guard suing as a job affirmative action right to strip search

male prisoners and supervise showers caused me to pause and reflect.

The likes of Rev. Jerry Falwell effectively argued against the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, claiming it would create unisex public toilets.

Moreover, it appears women do not criticize Justice Sandra Day O'Connor whose judicial decisions oppose abortion. But they do criticize Reagan for that. Does the women's movement struggle only to replace men with women or an unjust society with a just one?

A prisoner  
Wisconsin

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

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.



## Canada actions: 'abortion rights now!'

BY ILONA GERSH

TORONTO, Ontario — The Canadian Abortion Rights Action League (CARAL) and the Ontario Coalition for Abortion Clinics (OCAC) mobilized 2,000 people here to participate in a rally and march October 1. The demonstration was the largest of 20 held in cities across Canada to defend women's right to choose abortion, to legalize free-standing abortion clinics, and to demand that the government remove abortion from the criminal code.

The day of action was called in response to a series of right-wing attacks on abortion clinics in Toronto and Winnipeg last summer. The police raided the Winnipeg clinic twice, confiscating medical equipment and pressing charges against the staff under the federal antiabortion law.

Section 251 of the Criminal Code forbids abortion, except after approval by a hospital board certifying that pregnancy would endanger the life or health of a woman.

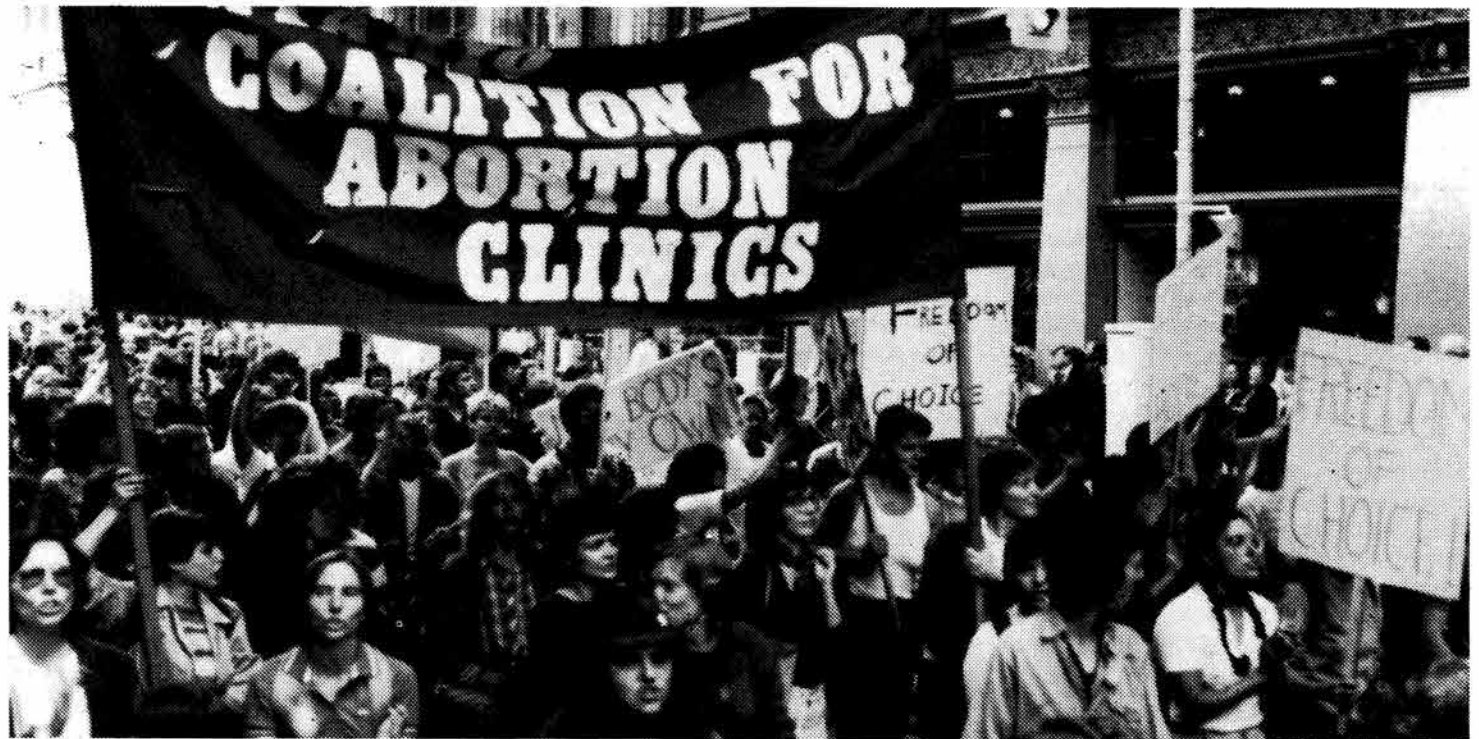
The Toronto clinic was also raided by police, who seized medical equipment and charged medical staff.

Dr. Henry Morgentaler, a longtime fighter for abortion rights who founded the two clinics as well as one in Montreal which remains open, is facing charges of conspiring to perform abortions. The charges of performing and conspiring to perform abortions carry a maximum penalty of life imprisonment. The conspiracy charge can be used against anyone who supports the clinics, even if they are not involved in performing abortions.

The police raids and legal charges are only part of the campaign against abortion rights. Dr. Morgentaler, a central target of antiabortion forces, was physically attacked outside the Toronto clinic in broad daylight while a news conference was being held. Three weeks after the raid, an arson attack closed the clinic, which had remained open for consultations. A women's bookstore on the ground floor was destroyed.

Money has been raised to replace the confiscated equipment and repair the fire damage, and Dr. Morgentaler plans to reopen the clinics soon.

Speakers at the rally outlined an extensive fund-raising and political campaign



2,000 marched in Toronto on October 1 for abortion rights and against attacks on abortion clinics.

Militant/Ilona Gersh

for the legal defense of the staff, who go on trial November 21.

Carolyn Doherty, speaking for OCAC, explained the significance of the November 21 trial date. "The clinics in Toronto and Winnipeg are our test cases," she said. "But our long-term goal is beyond these two particular cases. It is to win this breakthrough so the abortion law is unenforceable and finally overturned. And the principle will be established so that health centers and women's clinics throughout Canada and Quebec can at last offer real choices for women."

"Legal initiatives," she said, "without mass support cannot bring about the changes we want. It is only in large numbers that we can collectively win the medically-insured clinics that we are demanding. And this is why we have reached out and involved the trade union movement, the immigrant community, lesbian groups, and many others who have not been traditionally involved in this area."

Cliff Pilkey, president of the Ontario

Federation of Labor, sent a message of support to the rally. "At the Ontario Federation of Labor convention, November 1982, a majority of 1,500 delegates endorsed women's freedom of choice and access to abortion."

"Poor, working-class, and rural women are disproportionately penalized by criminal code restrictions affecting the legality and availability of abortion. This must be changed. We need the establishment of free-standing medical clinics providing abortion totally covered by provincial medical plans."

Carol Ann Scevoir, president of United Steelworkers of America Local 6624 and head of the union's women's committee in District 6, said that, "If a year ago someone told me I'd be standing in front of a crowd speaking on prochoice I would have laughed. When I was first approached on the abortion clinics," she explained, "I was against them."

"But within the labor movement there's been a lot of education done around the

clinics. And a lot of unionists, male and female, are now seeing the need for these clinics. The trade union movement has basically, all through history, been fighting for people's rights. It's so essential that women have the right to choose."

Scevoir explained that today, because of economic uncertainty, high unemployment, cuts in social services, lack of child care, the high cost of education, and the tracking of women into low-paying jobs, it is more important than ever for the union movement to support abortion rights for women.

More than 100 organizations, including the Canadian Labor Congress; the Manitoba, Ontario, and British Columbia Federations of Labor; women's groups; professional organizations; churches; and political organizations, endorsed the day of action. Union locals from the auto, rail, postal workers, public employees, telecommunication workers, and carpenters unions have held discussions and voted to

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## Blacks, labor oppose Louisville city merger plan

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

LOUISVILLE — A ballot proposition to merge city and county governments here is sparking an important discussion among Blacks and unionists about how to gain political power.

Merger is being touted by the Democratic and Republican parties as a money-saving, job-creating boon to the area's economy. Business and labor alike, say the politicians, will benefit. This is the line of Project 2000, a group representing most of the major corporations here that is bankrolling the merger campaign.

Opposition to merger, however, is widespread, especially in the Black community. "Merger is a life and death issue for Blacks," Laken Cosby told the *Militant*. Cosby is the West End Coordinator of Voters Opposed to Enlargement (VOTE). Blacks make up 31 percent of Louisville's population and 4 of the 12 seats on the Board of Aldermen are held by Blacks. However, Blacks represent only 14 percent of the countywide population.

As a result, on the proposed 27-seat council, only four or maybe five districts would represent the Black community. "Merger would gut our political power and our representation," Cosby continued. "This city's power brokers don't want to see a strong, independent Black mayor either."

Commenting on the affirmative-action

language in this year's plan, Cosby added, "This is not a substitute for political power. With blood, sweat, and sometimes death, we won voting rights, fair housing, and affirmative action. But only our political power can insure enforcement of these gains."

In 1982 a similar proposal was voted down by a narrow margin. Working-class neighborhoods, both Black and white, rejected merger by margins of three or four to one.

Merger was in mothballs until July 1983. A new charter commission then revised the merger plan in an effort to attract more votes. But there is nothing essentially new about this anti-Black, anti-working-class proposition.

Audrey Williams, a Black state legislator, explained why merger is back on the ballot. "It's a proven fact that in every instance where Blacks have begun to realize significant political strength in an inner-city or urban area," she said, "some kind of reorganization takes place."

"In this instance, here in Louisville, I think somebody in the leadership of this community saw that Black political power was growing and decided to push for merger to nullify it. This is where the idea for merger was formed. White people don't want Blacks running this city any more than they want a Black president."

Promerger forces have tried to lure

Black support with bribes. David Grissom, chairman of Project 2000, told the Democratic Party Black leadership organization, PAC-10, that funds for Black-owned businesses might be available if PAC-10 reconsidered its antimerger position. PAC-10 unanimously rejected the bribe.

In the Black community the newspapers, community organizations, and ministers are campaigning against the merger. Anti-merger activists are linking the fight for the right of Blacks to run for office with defense of voting rights. Saturday walk-a-thons in the West End have registered over 3,000 new voters.

The most significant new force in the antimerger camp is the Greater Louisville Central Labor Council, representing 8,000 city and county union members. Jerry Tucker, president of the council, explained labor's position on merger. "I was a member of the Charter Commission and fought for collective bargaining. Since union rights for public employees are not guaranteed, labor should oppose merger."

Commenting on labor's prior promerger position, Tucker stated, "We went out on a limb, but this year labor people are very upset by the fact that labor is being taken for granted. When we have an issue close to labor's heart, we have an obligation to become active. When labor is aroused it can show its muscle."

The Greater Louisville Central Labor Council's new position reflects growing

problems labor faces in this city.

The Wood Mosaics plant was organized for over 30 years by the Carpenters, until it was closed in June. It has since been reopened under new ownership and union members have been replaced by new hires earning minimum wage. The Board of Aldermen could have intervened since they had authorized \$7 million in revenue bonds to Wood Mosaic. The Board of Aldermen did nothing.

ConAgra has announced that it will be taking over the Armour meat plant here. It plans to close the plant one day to reopen it nonunion the next. The government has defended big business here too.

Big business has made passage of the antilabor "right-to-work" bill a top priority in the state legislature. Their hype is the same for "right-to-work" as for merger: labor problems are responsible for the high unemployment in Kentucky, therefore a climate more favorable to business is a prerequisite for more jobs. In other words, bust the unions.

Labor's outspoken opposition to the merger plan will help lay the basis for the kind of Black-labor alliance necessary to beat back the employers' offensive and the government's support for it.

Arlene Rubenstein, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Kentucky, is a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.