

Socialist Workers Party launches '84 ticket

Mel Mason for president; Andrea Gonzalez for vice-president



Militant/Miguel Pendás

Mel Mason and Andrea González



Militant/Betsy Soares

SEASIDE, Calif., Dec. 15 — At a press conference today, Mel Mason, a city councilman in this city of 37,000 on the Monterey Peninsula in central California, announced his decision to run for president of the United States in 1984 on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

His running mate is Andrea González, national secretary of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Mason was elected to the city council in 1980. He is a longtime leader of the Black

**See pages 9-12 for feature on
Socialist Workers Party 1984 election campaign.**

community here, and he ran for office as a socialist and a fighter for Black rights. In 1982, Mason ran as a socialist for governor of California.

The Mason-González campaign will be discussing with workers and others the root cause of the economic crisis — the capitalist system.

In a press statement, Mason said that one of the central themes of the Mason-González campaign will be "opposition to U.S.

intervention in Central America, Lebanon, and the Caribbean."

Mason called his campaign "an instrument of international workers solidarity" and said he planned to visit Central America and the Caribbean during his campaign. "This campaign solidarizes with the freedom fighters in El Salvador, opposes the U.S. invasion of Grenada, and stands in solid support of the revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua."

Mason said his campaign will be of special interest to young people because it opposes the draft and draft registration.

"This presidential campaign will be significant to the city of Seaside, not simply because one of its citizens is the candidate, but because we have a program that provides real solutions for the problems working people face," said Mason.

Mason called for dismantling the huge war budget and using it to provide jobs, housing, education, Social Security, food stamps, and medical care.

"My campaign will chart a perspective of independent political action as the means of achieving our aims, independent of the two parties of the rich — the Democratic and Republican parties," continued Mason.

"My campaign advocates that Black communities, as in Seaside, run their own independent candidates for political office. These candidates will be like I've been — accountable only to the people and not to the banks, big business, or the landlords. My tenure in office, and the way in which I used that office to struggle on behalf of Blacks, Latinos, other minorities, women, workers, the poor, the elderly, and youth, serves as an example of how a true independent elected official will function.

"My campaign recognizes that workers need their own political party. I support the formation of a labor party based on a fighting trade union movement, which would have as its goal the establishment of a workers and farmers government in this country."

Mason announced that in order to run for president, he was resigning from his job at the Monterey Peninsula College and from his seat on the city council.

Eyewitness report from Grenada

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada, Dec. 14 — Arriving here at Pearl's Airport, I'm pleasantly surprised to see a billboard. It's one I had seen more than one and a half years ago when I visited Grenada. The sign reads, "Welcome to Free Grenada."

Of course, the U.S. and Caribbean occupation troops currently on this island say that it's only now that Grenadians are free. Entering Grenada almost two months after the U.S. invasion of the country, I'm especially curious to see how the Grenadian people feel about the invasion and occupation.

Along the road from Pearl's to the capital, some billboards remain that I remember from 1982.

At that time, the Grenada revolution was three years old. In 1979, the people had overthrown the U.S.-supported dictator Eric Gairy and established a revolutionary government led by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Under the leadership of his party, the New Jewel Movement (NJM), jobs were created, schools built, and free medical care made available. There were many billboards urging people to work hard to defend and extend the gains of their revolution.

I realize now why those particular billboards are still up. They all have a new and counterrevolutionary meaning in a Grenada where workers and farmers no longer hold political power. "Work harder, produce more, build Grenada," reads one. "Not one hour without production," reads another.

Meanwhile, the one that read, "Not one second without the people," is gone.

There are some exceptions to the missing slogans. In Birchgrove the community center looks much the same as it did in 1982 — complete with the silhouette portraits of Che Guevara on the outside wall and the slogan, "¡Venceremos! [we will

win!]" Here and there I see notices painted on walls announcing past congresses of the National Women's Organization and the National Youth Organization.

But everything changes when I reach the capital. "Welcome, USA," "Thank God for USA," "God Bless America for Liberating Us," are among the many slogans I see supporting the U.S. invasion.

Billboards with revolutionary slogans are plastered over with counterrevolutionary posters. The most widespread is one showing former Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard and Gen. Hudson Austin being paraded by U.S. troops through the streets, blindfolded and dressed only in

lincolns. Coard led the overthrow of Bishop's government and organized the assassination of the prime minister and his supporters October 19, opening the door to the U.S. invasion.

At the bottom, the poster asks Grenadians to "turn in all weapons, help build a truly democratic Grenada." I see another notice that offers 264 E.C.\$ [\$10 U.S.] for every working weapon handed in and 1,300 E.C.\$ [\$50 U.S.] for any Cuban handed in to the authorities.

And then there's the U.S. troops. They're all over the capital.

While there are no longer any

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Miners convention: 'no concessions'

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

PITTSBURGH, Dec. 14 — "Concessions are, for a labor union, a form of suicide by degree," United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Pres. Richard Trumka told the union's 49th Constitutional Convention, which opened here December 12.

Banners throughout the convention hall read, "No backward steps" and "No take-away contracts." These were themes of the successful election campaign conducted last fall by Trumka, Cecil Roberts, and John Banovic, who are now the union's top officers.

"Some people," said Trumka in his convention address, "will argue that it is better to have a job at a lower wage rate than no job at all."

But "concessions will not put our unemployed members back to work," said Trumka. "They will go back only as a result of increased demand for coal."

Following Trumka's talk, delegates heard the report from the convention's Col-

lective Bargaining Committee. The UMWA "faces a grueling schedule of contract negotiations in the coming year," explained committee chairman Don McCaney. Contracts covering most UMWA members expire next year including the agreement with the Bituminous Coal Operators Association, which runs out Sept. 30, 1984.

The committee report also reaffirmed the union's stand of "No backward steps and no take-away contracts."

In a departure from practice at previous conventions the committee report stated, "It is counterproductive and detrimental to the membership to announce our bargaining goals, our priorities, and our strategy to the coal operators and the public."

The committee's report was quickly and unanimously approved. Following this action Trumka said, defending this decision, "All the resolutions submitted to this convention will be considered by the negotiators, and further direction will

come from our district conferences next year."

Preparing the union for an expected showdown with the coal operators is clearly the major issue for delegates here. They view this as of key importance to the future of the entire union.

On December 13, a serious, democratic discussion was held for the better part of the day on the option of a selective, rather than industrywide, strike; the amount of an assessment for a strike fund; "streamlining" the contract ratification procedure; and granting greater powers to the international president.

The initial proposals from the convention's Constitution and Grievance Committee on these subjects, which were submitted as a package, were voted down and sent back to committee for modification.

At the morning session on December 14, the convention approved new modified proposals from the Constitution and Grievance Committee as well as one change offered from the floor.

—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY PEGGY BRUNDY

Socialists in New Orleans report that they have been selling between 40 and 50 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to industrial workers at plant gates and on the job during the last few weeks.

The key to their success, according to Rachele Fruit, is that every week they discuss out why it is important for workers to read the current issue of the *Militant*.

"The first step," she said, "was to discuss where we wanted to take the papers. We decided we wanted to focus on plants organized by the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW), the United Auto Workers, and the International Association of Machinists (IAM)."

Sales to oil workers

Reaching workers in OCAW organized refineries and chemical

plants is particularly important in the New Orleans area. Almost one-third of the refinery workers represented by OCAW are in Gulf Coast refineries. Contracts at most refineries expire Jan. 7, 1984, and discussions around the new contract have begun. Many oil workers remember that when their contract expired in 1980 the company forced them out on a lengthy strike, and they are closely following developments in the Greyhound strike.

"When the issue with Fidel Castro's speech on Grenada came out, we had a 10 minute report on what was in the speech and why reading it would help U.S. workers in their struggles." That issue also had an article reporting on the national meeting of socialist oil refinery workers. It was held in New Orleans to discuss how the union could best respond to the attacks on their living standards and working conditions by the oil com-

panies and the government.

"We sold 39 copies of that issue at our targeted plant gates, including 15 singles and two subscriptions to oil workers and 11 to striking Greyhound drivers.

Labor solidarity

"The next week we mapped out a campaign to sell the *Militant* based on the issue of labor solidarity. We decided to take the *Militant* and *PM* to all our regular industrial sales plus the Amalgamated Transit Union picket lines, bus barns of the city buses, Trailways drivers, the Carpenters, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers and IAM union halls. In the first two weeks of this campaign, almost 90 papers were sold at these sites."

Part of this campaign was sending a subscription team to Norco, Louisiana, where the Shell (Norco) refinery is located. Nels

J'Anthony, a worker at Shell headed up the team. Many of his co-workers live in Norco. The team covered only one block and sold 12 copies of the *Militant*.

One of the best sales people on the team was a young Black supporter who had grown up in Norco and introduced the *Militant* to his friends and relatives.

The team was also able to visit with a construction worker in Norco who had bought a *Militant* at the Carpenters union hall and asked the socialists to stop by his house and discuss politics.

Regularize sales

Members of the Young Socialist Alliance are also participating in the sales and discussing selling the press in their weekly meetings.

Socialists working at the Tenneco Oil refinery discussed how they could step up use of the *Militant*. Sales at the Tenneco refinery

are quite difficult since they are to workers in cars moving by quite fast. The socialist oil workers decided to regularize selling at their own gate, usually on their day off, which often falls during the week because they work rotating shifts.

In addition to using discussions of the contents of the *Militant* and *PM* to be better prepared for sales of the papers at the plant gates, New Orleans socialists have also profited from discussing and sharing the experiences of each sale after the fact.

As a further step in this process, they plan to organize reports and discussions on each of the plants where the socialist press is regularly sold. The aim of these discussions will be to better understand the history and work force at each location, as well as some of the most pressing concerns of those workers who are buying the socialist press.

U.S. escalates war in Lebanon, threatens Iran

BY HERMAN CHAUKA

Dec. 14 — The Reagan Administration is escalating its military assaults in Lebanon, and has made thinly veiled threats of extending them to Iran.

The pretext for the threats against Iran was the December 12 bomb explosion at the U.S. embassy in Kuwait. The Islamic Holy War, a group described in the media as supporting the Iranian revolution, reportedly took credit for the explosion. The Iranian Foreign Ministry immediately and categorically denied any involvement by the Iranian government.

Meanwhile, on December 13, two U.S.

warships stationed off the coast of Lebanon fired 50 rounds from naval guns into a mountain area near the capital city of Beirut.

This was assertedly in response to Syrian forces stationed there which had fired at U.S. spy planes flying overhead.

Earlier, on December 4, 28 U.S. warplanes bombarded the area. Two of those planes were shot down, with one pilot killed and another captured.

As U.S. warships bombed Lebanon, Washington's main ally in the region, Israel, was threatening to kill Yassir Arafat. The leader of the Palestine Liberation Or-

ganization (PLO) and members of his guerrilla forces were slated to sail from the Lebanese port of Tripoli aboard Greek ships flying the United Nations flag.

The UN had negotiated a cease-fire between the PLO leader and Syrian-backed forces trying to split the PLO. Evacuation of Arafat and his supporters was a key part of the agreement.

Israeli war minister Moshe Arens publicly refused to preclude the possibility that Israeli forces would attack the UN ships providing the PLO safe-conduct.

Another Israeli official arrogantly declared that his government reserved the "right" to attack the Arafat forces whenever and wherever possible.

The bellicose threats were echoed by former Israeli minister of war Ariel Sharon who presided over the murderous invasion of Lebanon last year. He declared Arafat should not be allowed to leave Tripoli alive.

The UN safe-conduct agreement involved evacuation of some 4,000 Palestinian liberation fighters and civilians to Tunisia, Yemen, and other Arab countries.

A week earlier, Israeli warships had bombarded an area near Tripoli where PLO forces were stationed.

The initial threats against Iran were made by an unidentified "senior" U.S. official who said that if they established Iranian complicity in the Kuwait embassy assault, "we'll have to look at retaliation, possibly with the French."

The threat was reiterated December 13 by Secretary of State George Shultz. In an inflammatory declaration, he vowed, "there will be ways of getting at them."

The attack on the Kuwait embassy, Shultz asserted, was aimed "at the general concept of law and order."

He piously added that it flouted "the precepts of civilized life."

This is from the government that has provided Israel with the most heinous weaponry to carry out its wars against the Palestinians, Lebanese, Syrians, and other Arab peoples. The kind of "civilized life" Shultz has in mind is exemplified by the massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila camps in Lebanon last year, at the hands of Phalange forces. Washington is now propping up in the Lebanese government.

The threat of military reprisal against Iran is not based on the bombing of the Kuwait embassy. That's only the pretext. Washington knows perfectly well that so long as it tries to impose its domination on the nations of the Mideast, no amount of repression will stamp out popular resistance by the people there.

The real concern about Iran is fear of the example its people set when they toppled the U.S.-imposed dictatorship of the late shah. Washington is determined to prevent the Arab peoples from also rising up against imperialist domination.

The U.S. oil barons undeniably have a big stake in what Washington is trying to do. But American working people have none at all. They, not the oil barons or Pentagon brass, will do the dying. Already nearly 300 GIs have died in Lebanon. That number will surely increase if Washington is not compelled to withdraw all military forces from the Mideast, and halt its threats against Iran.

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Grenada eyewitness report

Continued from front page

roadblocks, the invasion force constantly patrols the country.

As I'm walking along the waterfront — the Carenage — I notice a young woman. She's wearing a button with a familiar face on it.

"Excuse me. Who's that on your button?"

"Lenin," she answers proudly.

I explained that I'm a writer for the *Militant* and *Intercontinental Press*. She's heard of *Intercontinental Press*.

The woman, 19, was a private in Grenada's People's Revolutionary Army (PRA). She wasn't a member of the NJM. I ask her about what occurred leading up to the invasion and in the weeks since.

"Well," she says, "you can ask any Grenadian and they will tell you that the Cubans were behind the killing of Maurice Bishop."

"But as far as I'm concerned, that's not true. Fidel [Castro] and Maurice were too

close. I, for one, think it was totally Bernard and Phyllis [Coard]. They were giving all the orders."

The ex-PRA soldier says that there's deep confusion among Grenadians, who, because they opposed the assassination of Bishop and the other central leaders of the revolution, supported the U.S. invasion. She opposed it.

Meanwhile, the anticommunist propaganda has had a big effect in Grenada, she says. "The masses don't want to hear about revolution. They think the revolution brought them grief."

"My feeling is that the revolution was destroyed from the top by the Coards. But the whole party leadership has to share the blame. They didn't educate the masses enough."

Are there other Grenadians who think like her?

"Yes. Especially the comrades of the NJM. But it will be a long while before we can rebuild."

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Why the U.S. invaded Grenada

Maurice Bishop Speaks to U.S. Workers



The Militant

Closing news date: December 14, 1983

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Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

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Salvador rebel group reaffirms need for unity within FMLN

Says ex-leader ordered Commander Ana Maria slain

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua, Dec. 14 — In an official communiqué, the People's Liberation Forces (FPL) of El Salvador stated that their former top leader, Salvador Cayetano Carpio (Commander Marcial), had "ordered and planned" the murder of FPL leader Mélida Anaya Montes (Commander Ana María). The communiqué was reported on the front page of the December 13 Sandinista daily *Barricada*, and the full text printed inside.

The FPL statement, issued in El Salvador December 9, was also printed in full in the Cuban Communist Party daily *Granma* and circulated by the Cuban news agency Prensa Latina.

Ana María — second-in-command of the FPL — was brutally stabbed to death in her Managua home last April 6. A close political associate of Marcial's, a man named Rogelio Bazzaglia ("Marcelo"), was arrested by Sandinista security forces shortly afterward for the crime. On April 12, Marcial, who had flown to Managua for Ana María's funeral, committed suicide.

The FPL statement reports that the Revolutionary Council, the FPL's highest leadership body, met in El Salvador in August and concluded unanimously there was "total and absolute proof" that Marcial had organized the murder of Ana María.

A major political dispute inside the organization broke out into the open in January and February of this year, at meetings of the FPL Political Committee and Central Command, the statement reported. At issue was the question of increasing steps toward unification with the other organizations that make up the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN). Ana María was strongly identified with the prounity forces in the FPL.

At these meetings, "Marcial insisted on maintaining schemes of a dogmatic and sectarian nature," the FPL said. He, along with Marcelo, found themselves in a minority of two within the Central Command. All others voted in favor of increasing efforts toward unity.

This was both "a political and moral defeat" for Marcial, the statement continued. As founder of the organization, "he had the most ample opportunity to argue in favor of his point of view, but he did not do so frankly and honestly before the collective body."

Instead, "he began to act behind the back of the party," in particular trying to undermine the prestige of Ana María. In doing so, he "increasingly distanced himself from the dynamic of collective thinking in the leadership, which never supported him in his attitude toward Ana María."

At the time of the January and February meetings, the FPL said, "the Political Committee and Central Command did not yet understand the depth and genuine gravity of Marcial's ideological deformations."

However, as subsequent events showed, "Marcial no longer shared the collective interests of the party, of the revolutionary forces, of the working class, or of the people."

As for Marcial's specific role in the murder, the statement says:

"Blinded by political ambition and fanatical self-aggrandizement, he ordered and planned, along with Marcelo, the assassination of Ana María, thus stripping himself of his quality as a revolutionary and leader of our people. Discovered in his crime, Marcial opted, in a final act of political cowardice, for suicide, attempting to evade his responsibility and save his reputation...."

Public circulation of this statement followed the split from the FPL of a small group that has formed an organization called Revolutionary Workers Movement—Salvador Cayetano Carpio. This group, says the FPL, "holds the backward, sectarian, and antiunity positions put forward by

Marcial. They deny the FMLN's role as the vanguard of the revolution and proclaim themselves the sole representative of the working class."

Pointing to the way such positions can play into the hands of imperialism, the FPL recalled the experience of Grenada:

"No one is unaware that recently in Grenada a group of revolutionaries was used either directly or indirectly by imperialism to provoke division and confrontation within the New Jewel Movement. This created propitious conditions for the Yankee imperialist aggressor to justify and carry out the invasion of Grenada."

The FPL concluded with an appeal for solidarity among all sectors of the FMLN. Sectarian attitudes, it said, "harm the interests of the proletariat and the entire people; they benefit only the enemy. In face of the treacherous plans of imperialism, the oligarchy, and its puppet dictatorship, the attitude of every revolutionary must be to strengthen internal unity among revolutionaries and to consolidate the FMLN."

MANAGUA, Dec. 15 — A statement by Nicaragua's Ministry of the Interior ap-



Guazapa
Commander Ana María. People's Liberation Forces statement says Cayetano Carpio ordered her assassination.

peared on the front page of *Barricada* today. It said that Marcelo, after his arrest for the murder of Ana María, not only confessed to his role in the killing but "declared that his criminal act had been directed by Salvador Cayetano Carpio."

The ministry said that when this information was communicated to Carpio on April 12, "he declined to comment, neither accepting nor rejecting it, and maintained an absolute silence." Later that same day Carpio committed suicide.

The ministry said all this information had been given to the Political Committee of the People's Liberation Forces (FPL).

Greyhound strikers draw lessons

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

DECEMBER 14 — As members of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) vote on a contract proposal, they and other workers are drawing a number of conclusions about their strike against Greyhound, now in its 40th day.

The contract they are voting on gives the company concessions estimated at 14 percent in wages and benefits.

On November 28, two days before the present proposal was approved by a majority of ATU's Greyhound bargaining council, the strikers rejected by 96 percent a contract with wage and benefit givebacks of 17 percent. Greyhound had originally demanded more than 20 percent in givebacks.

Results of the vote are expected December 20 or 21.

The striking ATU members are much changed because of this strike. After almost two decades of relatively easy labor relations, Greyhound workers were told to make major concessions or give up their jobs.

They had become one of the targets of the escalating offensive by the employers and their government against working people here, joining the Arizona copper workers, Continental Airlines employees,

and others.

The goal of the employers is simple: boost their profits by cutting labor costs, using any means available.

The hard-line tactics, careful preparations, and arrogance of John Teets, Greyhound's chairman, reflect this union-busting determination of the employing class. Teets has resorted to large-scale hiring of scabs in a threat to replace the striking ATU members, expensive advertising appeals to the public, and threats to lease out the operation. The company even blamed the killing of a picket by a scab driving a Greyhound bus on the strikers.

It's possible to fight

One of the conclusions ATU members, and other unionists, are beginning to draw from this strike is that it is possible to fight back and win more than at first seems possible.

As Greyhound's intransigence became apparent, the union responded with a series of rallies that solidified the membership.

Rallies drew supporters from other unions, inspired by the fight the Greyhound strikers were putting up. Only a tiny handful of ATU members were crossing picket lines — against Teets' calculations.

Rallies in several major cities around the Thanksgiving weekend, in effect mass picketing, crippled or even halted Greyhound operations during its peak-business period.

The solidarity the Greyhound strikers won — the boycott called by the AFL-CIO and other unions, financial donations, and especially the solidarity on picket lines — is seen as crucial by the strikers.

"We'd never have got anywhere near this far without [such] help," is the way one New York striker put it.

Discussions are deepening about the need for labor solidarity with Greyhound and other workers on strike, even independently of how the Greyhound ATU members vote on this contract.

Reflecting a growing class-consciousness, Greyhound strikers and other workers understand much better that a fight by one group of workers is important to and must be joined by others.

As a Phoenix picket said, "Our fight against Greyhound now will make it easier later for other unions, and for us too."

Others inspired

Most important, the resolve of the ATU members and those union leaders who are willing to stand up has tremendously strengthened the union. It was their unity and resolve that pushed Greyhound back to

the extent it was.

And workers in other unions, in addition to the unemployed and unorganized, have been encouraged by this fight. They too will be more willing to fight in the future.

Copper miners in the Southwest have been inspired by this strike to fight harder in their difficult strike against the copper bosses.

Important sectors of the working class, especially Blacks and Latinos, were won to support the strike as well. This was done first of all by appealing to passengers at ticket counters, and also by the ATUers taking their case to community groups in some areas.

They certainly didn't spend the money Teets did, with his full-page ads. Nor did they get a fair shake — to say the least — from the big-business media, but the strikers were nonetheless successful at public relations.

Political questions

A number of ATU members, having heard union officials' explanations of why they should support Walter Mondale for president, have observed that neither Mondale nor any other Democratic Party candidate has said or done anything to support their strike.

This has led, some ATU members have told us, to some caustic comments in meetings about the wisdom of the lesser-evil strategy of the labor officialdom in politics.

Socialist workers have reported receptivity by ATU pickets and supporters to the idea that labor should form a party of its own.

Solidarity still needed

Greyhound workers are voting according to whether they think they should go back now — united to fight another day and on the calculation that no better contract is possible at this time — or whether they think the union can stay united and win the solidarity necessary to beat Teets back further.

However they vote, they will be stronger the more solidarity they have. Two rallies last week, in New York City December 7 and in Newark the following day, each drew several hundred unionists in spirited demonstrations of solidarity. Another is scheduled this evening in New York's Port Authority terminal.

The example Greyhound workers have already set through their determination, and the conclusions that many of them and others are reaching through this fight, will affect the labor movement even more than it has so far.

Ohio memorial rallies for driver

BY BILL KALMAN

CLEVELAND — Two memorial meetings were held in northern Ohio last week to protest the death of Ray Phillips, who was killed when a scab-driven Greyhound bus ran him over December 5.

The first memorial meeting was in Zanesville, where Phillips was killed as he



Striker Sharon Blanken at Zanesville memorial rally for Ray Phillips, killed by scab-driven Greyhound bus.

and other members of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) picketed a training facility Greyhound had set up for scabs.

The driver, directed by a Greyhound supervisor, drove through a crosswalk, which the pickets were in, and a flashing red light without stopping, according to witnesses.

On December 7, 300 ATU strikers and supporters gathered less than a mile from the scene of what witnesses call a murder. On hand were members of ATU locals in Cleveland, Columbus, and Youngstown, Ohio; Charleston, West Virginia; Pittsburgh; and Indianapolis.

Members were present from other unions, including the United Mine Workers, United Food and Commercial Workers, United Auto Workers, Teamsters, Machinists, and Laborers.

A representative of the Phillips family who spoke thanked the ATU for its support and added that "Greyhound flowers or bosses are not welcome at the funeral."

The next day, a rally of 250 ATU members and other unionists in a militant and determined mood was held in Cleveland to mark Phillips' death.

Three Nicaraguans killed in new rightist attacks

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Two Nicaraguan customs workers were killed December 5 when camouflaged planes from Honduras strafed the port of Potosí in the Gulf of Fonseca. The same day, a Nicaraguan fisherman was slain when Honduran boats and planes opened fire on his boat.

Although the identity of the attackers on Potosí could not be determined, counter-revolutionary Nicaraguan exiles financed and led by the CIA have taken credit for earlier attacks on Nicaragua's Pacific Coast.

A letter of protest by the Nicaraguan government to the government of Honduras outlined the events that led to the killing of the fisherman. On December 4, according to the letter, a Nicaraguan Coast Guard boat was attacked in Nicaraguan waters by "two fast-moving launches of the Honduran Navy."

"In exercise of its legitimate right to self-defense, the Nicaraguan Coast Guard repelled the unjustified attack, hitting one of the aggressor launches with a projectile," the letter explained.

Attacks by Honduran boats, and later planes, continued, resulting in the death of the Nicaraguan fisherman the next day.

The Nicaraguan government's letter of protest called the attacks "acts of flagrant aggression and violation of national sovereignty" which demonstrate "the absolute lack of desire for peace on the part of the Government of Honduras."

Honduras, which provides a staging ground for thousands of counterrevolutionary Nicaraguan terrorists and their CIA trainers, is also a base for some 6,000 U.S. combat troops. Nicaraguan officials have warned constantly of the danger that a military provocation will be used to launch an invasion of Nicaragua by Honduran troops, followed by direct U.S. intervention.

In a related development, the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry announced it had discovered a plan for counterrevolutionaries to attack an outpost of the Costa

Rican Rural Guard near Nicaragua and make it look like an assault by Sandinistas. The attack, according to the ministry, was to be carried out by exiles led by ex-Sandinista traitor Edén Pastora. The man scheduled to lead the assault spoke to his troops in Spanish "with a heavy foreign accent."

On Nicaragua's northern Atlantic Coast, an attempt by rightist exiles to seize an area near Puerto Cabezas was defeated, according to a December 9 *New York Times* interview with Nicaraguan Defense Minister Humberto Ortega.

The rightist offensive, which took place in November, included forces based in Honduras and near the Costa Rican border. "They were unable to achieve their goal because of our defensive strength, in this case the strength of the territorial militias, which held off the aggressors in many encounters in that part of the country," Ortega told the *Times*.

In an effort to break through the U.S. press blackout on the efforts of the Nicaraguan revolution to achieve peace, the Embassy of Nicaragua in Washington placed a full-page ad in the Sunday, December 11 *New York Times*. "Realizing that war among brother nations is a real possibility at this moment in Central America," the ad said, "Nicaragua wants the American public to understand its position and not be misled by the confusion of reports or the campaign of misinformation directed against a nation that truly wants peace."

The ad listed the most recent efforts by the Nicaraguan government to obtain negotiations leading to peace in the region. It also reprinted in full three new decrees by the Nicaraguan government that have been highly distorted in the U.S. media. The decrees offered amnesty to counter-revolutionaries who return to Nicaragua and lay down their arms; announced the opening of the elections period in January 1984; and extended amnesty to Miskito Indians who have been involved in counter-revolutionary attacks against Nicaragua.

Jaime Wheelock interviewed on capitalists, church, land

A major interview with Nicaraguan leader Jaime Wheelock has been translated into English and published by the international news magazine *Intercontinental Press*. The interview, which is widely distributed in book form in Nicaragua, was done by exiled Chilean journalist Marta Harnecker. It appeared in English in three installments in the November 14, November 28, and December 12 *IP*.

Wheelock is a member of the nine-man National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) and is Nicaragua's minister of agrarian reform. The interview deals in depth with economic questions including agriculture, but it also covers the full scope of other political issues posed by the Nicaraguan revolution.

Of particular interest to *Militant* readers will be Wheelock's comments on the role of the bourgeoisie in Nicaragua, a question that has generated much debate in the workers movement in the United States. "The axis of our policy of alliances was not the bourgeoisie," he tells Harnecker, "but the people. Our assessment of the relationship of forces is based on a reality; we have the arms and the people are with us."

Wheelock describes the FSLN strategy for taking power in 1979 and where tactical agreements with anti-Somoza capitalists fit into this overall task. He discusses at length the revolutionary government's approach to the bourgeois forces who have remained in the country since the 1979 triumph.

Wheelock stresses the importance the revolution has given to two of the weightiest sections of the population —

small agricultural producers and artisans. He explains the evolution of the Sandinista land reform program and the challenge of introducing economic planning in an underdeveloped country. "We can't force the nationalization of tortilla production. That would be absurd," he notes. "Although we may have socialist principles — and we do have them — the solution to transforming our society does not lie in expropriating all the means of production. This wouldn't lead to socialism but rather to its opposite."

In another part of the interview, the FSLN leader takes up the role of Christians in the revolution. "In the framework of the currents inside the church as such, we can say that the Christian sectors, if it is possible to speak of Christian sectors, have two attitudes — some are opposed to revolution and others support it. But this attitude, at bottom, is an attitude of class," he explains.

To order copies of the Wheelock interview, or to subscribe regularly to *IP*, send in the coupon below.

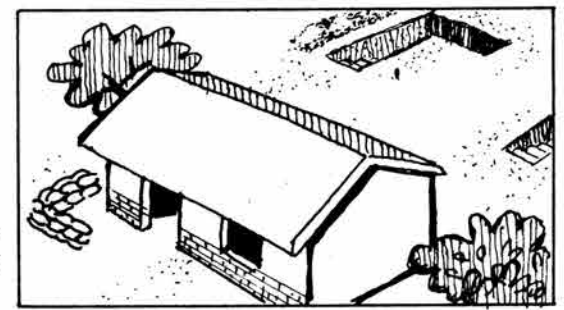
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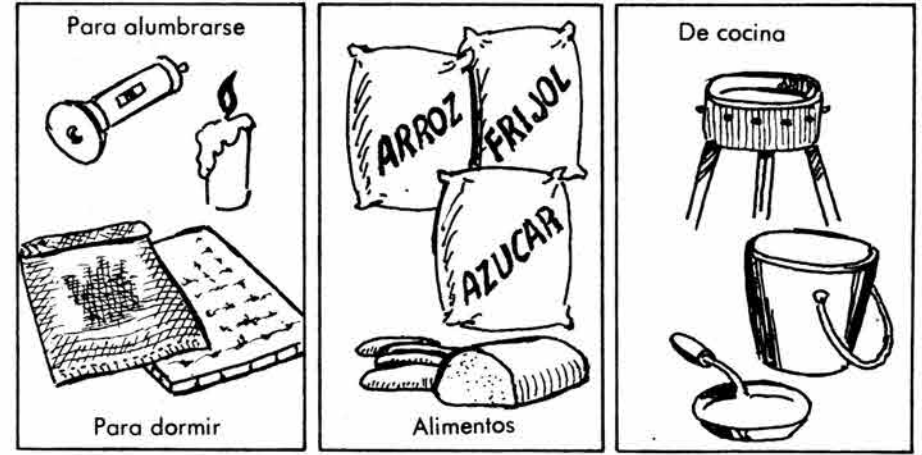
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ELECCION DE LA CASA QUE SERVIRA DE ALBERGUE A LOS NIÑOS

- Procurar que sea de:
- bloque, ladrillo, cuarterón.
 - si es posible grande
 - que se pueda construir en el patio refugio antiaéreo y hoyo para botar excrementos (caca)



RECOLECCION DEL MATERIAL PARA TENER EN LA CASA ALBERGUE DE LA CUADRA



Page from booklet published in *Barricada* on care of children during invasion. This page shows shelter from air attacks and stockpiling of provisions.

Reporter's notebook: Christmas in Nicaragua

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Here in this country where the Reagan administration claims religious persecution runs rampant, all workers get a paid day and a half off December 7-8 to celebrate one of the major Catholic holidays — the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, or *Purísima* as it is called here.

Twelve governmental bodies joined forces to spectacularly decorate downtown Managua's Simón Bolívar Avenue with six major scenes. One portrayed the Virgin Mary as the mother of peace; another as the mother of Nicaragua's 50,000 heroes and martyrs who fought to free their country.

Central leaders of the government and Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) — such as Daniel Ortega and Tomás Borge — were among the thousands of Managuans out in the streets taking part in the festivities.

"For anyone who cannot understand what this revolution is, it could become incomprehensible — the change of atmosphere to one of parties and happiness that was breathed yesterday all over the country — compared with the tension of an entire people digging trenches, air-raid shelters, training in the Sandinista Peoples' Militias, getting ready to repel the invader, which predominated only two or three weeks before," commented the FSLN daily *Barricada* in an editorial the following day.

As the title of the editorial pointed out, "The Armed People Guarantee Your Happiness."

After the October 25 U.S. invasion of Grenada, efforts intensified dramatically here to prepare the best possible defense of Nicaragua, from the same kind of assault.

In the course of November, the 100,000-strong voluntary militia force went through 20 days of intensive training. First-aid and fire brigades, formed through local block associations, received instruction.

Barricada published a 16-page pull-out handbook explaining in detail how to care for special problems of children during an invasion. Included in it was everything from psychology, food rations, elementary first-aid, and suggested games.

These defensive measures leave this predominantly Catholic country in the best possible shape to celebrate the approaching Christmas holiday.

Once again, this year 20,000 youth will forsake Christmas with their families in order to make sure every last coffee bean is picked. Coffee accounts for 40 percent of Nicaragua's foreign exchange, and pickers are in increasingly short supply. Many who used to rely on the three-month harvest as their only source of employment now have their own farms or land granted free of

charge by the agrarian reform.

Joining the coffee pickers will be some 600 U.S. citizens, organized in brigades by the National Network in Solidarity With the Nicaraguan People. To participate, or obtain more information, *Militant* readers can write to the Network at 2025 I St., NW, Suite 402, Washington, D.C. 20006, or call (202) 223-2328.

On Nicaragua's Atlantic coast, hundreds of Miskito Indian families — predominantly Moravian and Catholic — will celebrate Christmas reunited. In November, the revolutionary government decreed a general amnesty for all Miskitos who had taken part in counterrevolutionary activity.

This measure was made possible in large part by the Miskitos themselves, who through their own experience in the last four years, saw through the lies they had been fed by counterrevolutionary forces. On the other hand the revolutionary government allocated tremendous human and financial resources to improving the employment and living conditions on the Atlantic coast.

Toy production is a special concern at the TENSA factory in Granada, located some 45 minutes southeast of Managua.

This plant also makes home furniture, but the TENSA workers collective has decided to switch over entirely to wooden-toy production because of the approaching Christmas holiday and the country's lack of hard currency to provide imported toys.

The workers face a number of problems, among them decapitalization by the former owner, lack of special carving tools, and the fact that 22 of their members are mobilized in a reserve military battalion.

To get production going, workers have devised a number of innovations and 16 have volunteered for double shifts.

International solidarity will also go a long way to reduce the toy shortage as some 40 tons of toys — all donated by East German children — recently arrived in Nicaragua's principal port, Corinto. The transportation costs were picked up by the Soviet Union.

Militant correspondents attended *Purísima* festivities among wounded soldiers at Managua's military hospital.

These victims of the U.S.-financed war made their way to the service on crutches, wheelchairs, and some on stretchers.

Despite heavy casts or worse still — missing fingers and limbs — Sandinista combatants were in high spirits, eager and proud to tell the *Militant* of the battles in which they had fought.

'We won't be another Chile or Grenada'

Nicaraguans tell North American unionists they're prepared for U.S. invasion

BY CINDY JAQUITH

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "Every factory is an invincible trench in defense of the revolution."

This slogan — and hundreds similar to it — covers billboards, fences, factories, and houses throughout Managua, the capital of Nicaragua. Professionally lettered, or simply spray-painted, they are a graphic statement of the high level of preparation of the Nicaraguan people for the U.S. invasion they expect at any time.

Colorful billboards declaring "All arms to the people!" were among the first sights a group of 24 trade unionists and solidarity activists saw as we arrived in Managua November 20 from the United States and Canada. Our tour was sponsored by *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language socialist biweekly, and by the *Militant*.

'Nicaragua wants peace'

In two weeks of meetings with representatives of the Nicaraguan labor, women's, and youth movements, as well as with neighborhood defense committees and many individual Nicaraguans who stopped to talk with us, we heard the same message repeated: "Nicaragua wants peace, but we will fight to the end to defend our revolution."

Stressing that they consider the North American people — particularly workers, Blacks, Latinos, and Indians — to be their allies, Nicaraguans urged us to bring this message back to our unions and communities to help mobilize opposition to the U.S. war against their country.

This war is already in full swing, with daily attacks by CIA-organized exiles in several parts of the country. But these rightist forces have been unable to win domestic support for their attempt to topple the popular Sandinista government. Thus the Nicaraguan people expect the next stage in the war to be an invasion by Honduran and/or Guatemalan troops, combined with U.S. combat troops, 6,000 of which are currently across the border in Honduras.

As a member of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) explained to us, Nicaragua intends to rely on its own army and militia — as well as the population as a whole — to beat back the invaders. They expect that imperialist troops could seize whole cities in their country. The war will last years, as the Vietnam War did.

But they are also convinced that the Nicaraguan people will eventually win the war, whatever the cost in human life and destruction. "The invaders may come in, but they won't get out," Humberto Avilés of the Nicaraguan Committee in Solidarity with the Peoples explained to us.

"The Nicaraguan people, our government, and our vanguard, the FSLN, have never given in," said Cristóbal Espinoza, a leader of the union at the Fanatex textile plant in Managua. "We will not be another Chile or Grenada — get this out to your fellow workers."

This determination to fight stems not from a hatred of North Americans, everyone stressed, but from a love for freedom. The Nicaraguan people sacrificed dearly for that freedom in the war that brought down the U.S.-backed Somoza



Militant/Michael Baumann

Carlos, union leader at Texnica textile plant in Managua, greets tour members. Nearly 200 women at factory have joined militia. At right, sandbag fortifications on main street in Bluefields on Atlantic coast, where military attacks by counterrevolutionaries have sharply increased.



Militant/Cindy Jaquith

dictatorship in 1979. They will fight even harder to prevent another such tyrant from being imposed on their country.

The Nicaraguans we met proudly described the fruits of the 1979 revolution: the literacy campaign that has enabled the majority of Nicaraguans to read and write; the health clinics that have been established in factories and neighborhoods, free of charge; the child-care centers which, while still scarce, are enabling women to join the work force and contribute to defense of the country; the land that has been given to poor peasants; and the numerous construction projects aimed at providing jobs and overcoming the economic backwardness that was the legacy of domination by Washington.

Land reform continues

Despite the war footing the country is on, and the economic blockade by the U.S. government, these advances are continuing. While our tour was there, land was distributed to peasants in Nueva Guinea, El Sauce, and Wiwili.

Those peasants will work the land with rifles on their backs. In a meeting with José María, a leader of the Rural Workers Association in Matagalpa, we learned of the counterrevolutionary attacks on coffee pickers in the region. Delvin Joseph and Alevino González, leaders of the Sandinista Workers Federation in Bluefields, on the Atlantic Coast, told us that there was a sharp rise in counterrevolutionary forays in that area in the last few months. One such assault took place in Punta Gorda, 30 miles away, while we were in Bluefields.

Despite the seriousness of the military situation, the mood we found was not one of panic, fear, or demoralization. "It would be hard for us to feel tragic or sad about the coming war," said a leader of the Sandinista Youth—July 19 (JS-19), in Matagalpa. He expressed the confidence we observed elsewhere that the revolution has prepared and organized the masses to meet the invasion in the strongest way possible.

Role of mass organizations

At the heart of this preparation is the mobilization of the population through the mass organizations and unions in Nicaragua, such as the Sandinista Workers Federation; the Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE); the JS-19; and the Sandinista Defense Committees, the neighborhood block associations. This is coupled with a campaign of popular support for Patriotic Military Service, Nicaragua's newly established military draft, and recruitment to the Territorial Militias.

The great majority of people we met were members of the militia. They drill on their day off or at night after work. Many proudly wear their uniforms even while not on duty. A large number are women.

In the factories, workers serve militia duty defending the plant for four hours either before or after their shift. Each factory also has a good number of their work-

ers mobilized in militia units at the front. At the Fanatex plant, of 1,100 employees, 90 workers were on leave to fight. Three hundred others were active in the militia.

The Texnica textile plant, also in Managua, has 1,200 employees, 400 of them women. Of these women, 186 are in the militia. Eighteen women are in the reserves, and 198 are in health brigades, which are preparing for the emergency medical needs of war.

Workers are also striving to increase production and combat sabotage by counterrevolutionary elements within the country. A woman communications worker told us how her union responded when someone in the plant tinkered with the machinery to create a power blackout. The union mobilized its members in an immediate protest demonstration and then began an investigation to catch whoever was responsible. They discovered the culprit to be a technician hostile to the revolution.

But if Nicaragua relied for its defense only on industrial workers, a small minority of the population, the revolution could not survive. The great majority of the country is made up of peasants and small merchants and vendors. These sectors, too, are being mobilized to defend what they have gained through the revolution.

Women step forward

A major role in defense mobilization is being played by AMNLAE. It is active among housewives, peasant women, workers, merchants, and professionals, recruiting them to AMNLAE and organizing them in the defense effort.

Karla Rodríguez, an AMNLAE leader in Matagalpa, explained that her group helps organize women on cooperative farms to keep production going when the men have to be mobilized for combat. AMNLAE is also organizing women in the Matagalpa neighborhoods, called *barrios*. The goal is to maximize women's participation in the militia, civil defense brigades, food distribution, and night watch.

AMNLAE was also organized in all the factories we visited, focusing on the particular problems of women workers and deepening their involvement in the union, defense work, and neighborhood civil defense for when the invasion comes.

Defense brigades in markets

The barrios themselves are organized by the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS). We talked with CDS leaders at the sprawling *Mercado Oriental*, or Eastern Market. Olga Rosco, head of the 42 CDS units in the market, welcomed us, saying, "This visit of yours is very important to us, with the U.S. invasion right on our doorstep."

Rosco and other CDS leaders, all of them women, described some of the special measures they are carrying out through the CDS in the market. One hundred fifty men and women — mostly vendors and artisans — have been trained in first aid. There are also fire brigades and brigades

trained to evacuate children, pregnant women, and the elderly from the market in the event of an attack.

Separate squads have been designated to prevent looting when the invasion comes. And bomb shelters are being built.

We were also invited to talk with Catholic supporters of the revolution who belong to the Christian Base Communities. They wanted us to know that they, too, were prepared to take up arms to defend the revolution. Isidro, a union leader and member of the group, said his three children have all registered for the draft. "The revolution represents for us the transformation of those who didn't know anything, particularly the workers and peasants. We'll fight all together to defend the revolution to the last consequences because that's what Christ wants. This is a true revolution of the poor."

Dialogue on U.S. labor movement

Because our delegation included many industrial workers, the Nicaraguan people had a lot of questions about the U.S. labor movement. What were the North American workers going to do about Reagan's plans to invade, they wanted to know. The most pointed question to us came from a young man from the local CDS in Monimbó, an Indian community in Masaya: "We've seen big demonstrations in the United States in support of Nicaragua — but the Chrysler and General Motors workers don't participate in these. Why?"

His question sparked a dialogue between trade unionists on our tour and Monimbó CDS leaders about the state of the U.S. labor movement; the contradiction between the misleadership of the unions and the antiwar sentiments of the rank and file; and the vanguard role of Blacks and draft-age youth in opposing U.S. war aims. We expressed our conviction that the U.S. working class will in fact be the backbone of the movement that must be built to stop Reagan's wars.

"Pressure the U.S. government through your unions," suggested one worker. "We don't want the toys our kids get for Christmas to be bullets, planes, and tanks."

'Don't give up your struggle'

The CDS leader who chaired the meeting, José Poveda Davila, closed the discussion: "Despite the fact you come from an advanced country and we come from an underdeveloped one, as proletarians we have the same goal — to bring our people forward to freedom."

"We want to learn from your experience too. We know there are many struggles in the United States, even though it is a capitalist system," he said, pointing to struggles by U.S. workers, Blacks, and Indians.

"Don't give up your struggle. We know it is more difficult at this time. Your union leadership has been bought off by the big corporations. But workers will never sell out or give up, as the Sandinistas have shown."

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Divide-and-rule imperialist policy splits Cyprus

BY WILL REISSNER

On November 15, only hours after President Reagan signed a nearly \$1 billion aid package for Turkey, representatives of the Turkish ethnic minority on the strategic Mediterranean island of Cyprus announced the establishment of an independent state on the portion of the island they control.

The self-proclaimed "Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus" encompasses the northern third of the island. Since 1974 it has been occupied by the Turkish army, and about 25,000 Turkish troops remain on Cyprus to this day.

Turkish Cypriots comprise about 18 percent of the island's 650,000 inhabitants, while 77 percent are ethnic Greeks.

Imperialist bases

The November 15 declaration of independence is the latest reflection of a three-decade-long policy of "divide and rule" fostered by London and Washington in hopes of turning Cyprus into a NATO bastion only 60 miles from the coast of Syria.

A high Greek official told the French newspaper *Le Monde's* correspondent Eric Rouleau that "the Turks would have never dared to recognize the independent pseudo-state on Cyprus if they had not first gotten the agreement of the Reagan administration. America, we know, has never been favorable to the reestablishment of the unity and independence of Cyprus, because Cyprus is resolved to remain in the camp of the nonaligned countries" (November 17).

Cyprus' strategic role in the eastern Mediterranean has been highlighted by the events in Lebanon since the June 1982 Israeli invasion.

British, French, and Italian troops in Lebanon are being supplied by way of two giant British military bases on Cyprus. The British have also allowed Italian fighter planes to use the Cyprus bases to provide air support for Italian troops in Lebanon.

In addition, since August 1982 the Pentagon has been using the civilian airport at Larnaca to supply U.S. Marines in Lebanon, despite the strong opposition of the Cypriot population. As many as seven to eight U.S. planes per day have been landing in Cyprus on their way to Beirut. Casualties from the bombing of the marine barracks in Beirut were also evacuated to Cyprus.

About 10,000 British troops and dependents are permanently stationed at the two Cyprus bases to defend British imperialist interests in the Middle East.

In 1956, for example, the British and French invasion of Egypt, mounted to retake the Suez Canal after its nationalization by President Gamal Abdul Nasser, was launched from the British bases in Cyprus.

British troops based on Cyprus were also dispatched to Jordan in 1958 and to Kuwait in 1961 to prop up the pro-British monarchies there.

Divide and rule

Since the days of British colonial rule over Cyprus, London has pitted the island's Turkish minority against the Greek majority. London's aim was to thwart the

independence struggle, which was largely based in the Greek community. When that became impossible, it used communal frictions to prevent the development of a strong Cypriot state reflecting the anticolonial sentiments of the island's majority.

Turks have lived on Cyprus since the Turkish Ottoman Empire conquered the island in 1571. During the three centuries of Turkish rule, Turkish and Greek Cypriots joined together on several occasions in revolts against the policies of the Turkish sultans.

Turkish rule ended in 1878, when the decaying Ottoman Empire handed the island over to the British, who wanted Cyprus as a base from which to protect British imperial interests in the Middle East and British control over the Suez Canal and the shipping routes to their empire in India.

In 1955, guerrillas of the National Organization of Cypriot Struggle (EOKA), based in the Greek community, began an armed struggle against British rule. The British in turn played their Turkish card, hoping that by pitting Turkish Cypriots against Greek Cypriots they could maintain colonial rule.

When the struggle against British rule in Cyprus began to get backing from Greece in international forums, British Prime Minister Anthony Eden invited the Turkish government to become involved in Cypriot affairs as a counterbalance.

With the encouragement of the British and Turkish governments, leaders of the Turkish ethnic community on Cyprus began calling for the island's partition in the event British rule ended.

Massive population transfers

The British were forced to grant Cyprus its independence in 1960. Partition, however, was not a viable alternative at that time, because the small Turkish minority was widely scattered throughout the island.

Only in the wake of the 1974 Turkish invasion did partition become a real possibility. When Turkish troops occupied more than one-third of Cyprus, a massive population transfer took place. Some 200,000 Greek Cypriots fled or were driven from their homes in the area seized by the Turkish army and 65,000 Turkish Cypriots left the predominantly Greek areas.

Before the British yielded control of Cyprus in 1960, they forced the new republic to give Britain absolute sovereignty over two military bases covering an area of 99 square miles.

Under the treaty of independence, Britain, Greece, and Turkey were all given rights to intervene on the island as guarantors of that treaty. In addition to the British forces, 950 Greek and 650 Turkish troops were to be permanently stationed on Cyprus.

The treaty of independence also gave the Turkish Cypriot community privileges and benefits it had never had in the past, even during the centuries of Turkish rule. The effect of these privileges was to poison relations between the two communities on the island, thereby giving the three outside powers ready excuses to continually intervene.



Turkish invasion of northern Cyprus, 1974. U.S. looked favorably on this blow to independence of Cyprus, seeing a Cyprus split between Greeks and Turks as incapable of ridding itself of imperialist military bases and domination. Partition favors U.S., British goals in Mideast.

The British also foisted a constitution on Cyprus that made the island virtually ungovernable. Containing 199 articles and hundreds of paragraphs, the constitution regulated life down to the smallest details and cut across the right of the majority of Cypriots to manage their affairs as they chose.

Turkish veto

Under the British-imposed constitution, all government posts were divided along ethnic lines, and the Turkish Cypriot community was given an absolute veto over all measures related to defense, internal security, and foreign affairs.

The post of president was reserved for a Greek Cypriot, while the vice president had to be a Turk. The council of ministers had to be composed of seven Greeks and three Turks, and the legislature was fixed at 35 Greeks and 15 Turks.

Municipalities had to maintain parallel Greek and Turkish structures to provide water, power, and health services to the same area.

The army had to be composed of 60 percent Greek and 40 percent Turkish personnel, while the police were constitutionally divided on a 70 percent to 30 percent ratio.

The British insistence that the Turkish minority of 18 percent have veto power over all foreign policy, defense, and internal security decisions, as well as disproportionate representation on all levels of government, was aimed at preventing the newly independent Cyprus from carrying out the foreign policy it favored, which included the elimination of British military bases.

The continued existence of those bases more than two decades later and the November 15 Turkish Cypriot declaration of independence both highlight how successfully the British-imposed constitution served its purpose, making it impossible for the majority to govern as it chose and exacerbating frictions between the Greek and Turkish communities.

Shortly after independence, Cypriot leaders began trying to remedy the situation. In November 1963, Cypriot President Archbishop Makarios, who had been the central leader of the struggle against British colonialism, proposed to the Turkish community a 13-point plan to "democratize" the constitution so that the majority could carry out the normal prerogatives of government while still providing guarantees for the Turkish minority.

The Cypriot vice-president, Dr. Fazil Kutchuk, did not even reply to the memorandum, while the Turkish government in Ankara, in its capacity as a "guarantor" of the treaty of independence, vetoed the plan.

'Tripartite colonialism'

Makarios pointed out that a state could hardly be considered independent if it

could not even amend its own constitution without outside interference. He blasted what he described as the "tripartite colonialism" that was fostering a partition of the country.

British and U.S. diplomats warned Makarios that unless he backed down from his plan to amend the constitution and showed signs of political "realism," a Turkish invasion would be likely.

In this tense context, intercommunal violence broke out in December 1963. Using these clashes as a pretext, Ankara-backed figures in the Turkish community began pushing for a partition of the island and a physical separation of the two populations. Turks were urged to leave predominantly Greek areas, and those who would not were branded traitors. Several Turkish members of the Communist Party and left-wing unions were murdered for voicing opposition to partition.

The campaign had its effect. More than 20,000 Turks moved out of mixed Greek-Turkish areas and into scattered Turkish enclaves.

In the wake of the December 1963 fighting, leaders of the Turkish community began openly talking about creating an autonomous Turkish state in northern Cyprus. In addition to being the most fertile part of the island and the richest in mineral resources, it is only 40 miles from the coast of Turkey. The fact that northern Cyprus was then overwhelmingly Greek and the Turkish population was concentrated in the south made little difference to the pro-Ankara forces.

As a result of the 1963 communal friction and the subsequent regrouping of much of the Turkish population into enclaves that were closed to Greek Cypriot authorities, the elaborate constitutional provisions for joint Greek-Turkish control broke down, and each community handled its own affairs.

The fighting, however, led to the introduction of yet another outside force. A United Nations force has been on Cyprus ever since March 1964.

In addition, thousands of regular Greek and Turkish troops were smuggled onto the island. By 1967 it was estimated that in addition to the 950 Greek and 650 Turkish troops in Cyprus under the terms of the treaty of independence, nearly 10,000 more were there as "illegals."

Another outbreak of intercommunal violence, in which two dozen people lost their lives, took place in November 1967. At the height of the tensions, Turkey and Greece placed their armed forces on a war footing, and a Turkish invasion fleet was readied as the Ankara government threatened to end the Cyprus problem once and for all.

Greek-sponsored coup

While the Turkish government was threatening invasion, the Greek military regime that had seized power in Athens in

Continued on Page 16



Protest demonstration in Nicosia, Cyprus, following November 15 unilateral declaration of "independent" Turkish Cypriot state. Banner in Turkish reads: Down with Denktash puppet state — Turkish and Kurdish political refugees.

Arafat: we will gain our objective

Two interviews with chairman of Palestine Liberation Organization

The following are excerpts from two recent interviews with Yassir Arafat, the chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

The first is taken from the October 28 English-language edition of *Al Fajr*, a Palestinian weekly published in Jerusalem. It was obtained by an *Al Fajr* correspondent, Ghassan Bishara.

The second interview was held in Tripoli, Lebanon, on November 12 by a group of French journalists. The interview, conducted almost entirely in English, was broadcast over Radio France Internationale two days later. Our excerpts are taken from a transcript of that broadcast.

Question. A year has passed since the end of the last Israeli-Palestinian war. What has happened during this past year? How is the Palestinian revolution faring?

Answer. I would like to remember now the Israeli-American decision taken at the start of the invasion, on June 4, 1982, which aimed at liquidating the PLO, its political existence and military forces and destroying its infrastructure. What has happened since? The Palestinian-Lebanese unified forces fought together against the Israeli invading army — the greatest and proudest Arab battle in contemporary Arab history, despite the great gaps both in weaponry and numbers between the two fighting forces.

Nonetheless, in accordance with resolutions of the PLO military council and the Palestine National Council (PNC), we not only succeeded in escalating our military attacks on Israeli forces in Lebanon, but in coordination with the Lebanese resistance, we turned these attacks into a war of attrition against the Israeli presence in Lebanon.

This was confirmed by Israeli military sources and is considered one of the reasons the Israeli government redeployed its forces to the Awali River in order to minimize their casualties. Thus, what they thought was going to be a three-to-five day journey into Lebanon against our forces has become a trap for their continued presence in Lebanon.

Of course in the face of this reality and the success of our forces, the conspiracies against us multiplied. Events in the Beqa'a [Valley], resulting from Arab interference, are mere attempts by these Arab regimes, masked behind Palestinian names and symbols, at achieving what Israel failed to achieve last year in Beirut.

Q. What avenues for a solution to the Palestinian problem are there to pursue considering that the PLO has lost the military option with its departure from South Lebanon?

A. We had not used Lebanese territory for attacks against Israel since I agreed at the Tunis [Arab League] Summit in 1979 not to do so. This was in response to a request by the Lebanese government. [The Israeli reaction was that] they launched two wars against us, one in the summer of 1981 and the invasion of last year, during which

Lebanon and Palestine lost 72,000 killed and wounded. The majority of those were women and children.

Now, since we agreed to leave South Lebanon, in the past three months, with Israeli confirmation, we have initiated 355 operations against Israeli forces.

Our revolution is not only with the gun, for if it were we would be thieves and robbers — our revolution is with a surgeon's scissors, a farmer's hoe, a worker's hammer, a Palestinian woman sewing for her children late at night and a newborn Palestinian child on Palestinian soil. Our people in the occupied territories came out to defend our achievements in a tide-like movement when the news of the Beqa'a events became known.

Q. It appears that a stalemate has developed on the political level since the negotiations with Jordan stopped. Do you agree?

A. The dialogue with the Jordanian government didn't end. Even now I say the door remains open for a continued dialogue with Jordan. I shut neither a door, nor a window, nor any small opening on further dialogue with Jordan.

Q. Why did the Palestinian-Jordanian dialogue stop? Did the Jordanians aim to receive a mandate from the PLO to represent the Palestinian people in any future negotiations?

A. No. The truth is that the Jordanian government didn't demand the mandate you are talking about. The disagreement with Jordan was about the bilateral communique regarding the Reagan Plan [of Sept. 1, 1982].

About the Reagan Plan, I have to say that while it denies our right to self-determination, granting that very same right to 1,800 Falkland Islanders, it denies us a very basic right which is recognised by the United Nations and basic to the American political system and the American people.

I am aware that the American people do sympathise with our plight, contrary to their government, but it should be made clear that US interests can't be forever protected in the Middle East while the American government is bypassing our basic right of self-determination.

Q. What is the reason for the Beqa'a mutiny?

A. Arab intervention and conspiracy, basically Syrian and Libyan. The Palestinians involved are simply puppets... but as was decided at the central council, we remain open-minded and willing to solve this problem with our brothers in Syria.

Q. Palestinians both in the '48 territory and the '67 territories expressed their utmost support of you and of the PLO immediately after news of the Beqa'a mutiny became known. How important to you is their support and what would you say to them?

A. I call this the tide which came once the conspiracy against us became known.



Palestinian children demonstrate in support of Arafat. Palestinians expressed overwhelming support for Arafat and his leadership against attacks by Syria and its handful of Palestinian supporters. Arafat calls this display of support "the tide which came once the conspiracy against us became known."

To every child, to every man and woman, young and old, to every youth and all Palestinians in our land, I say thank you. I also say to them our pledge remains and so does our oath, that we will meet in Jerusalem.

Our people are a giving people, and a people of sacrifice. That is why they are great, even in tribulation.

Question. Mr. President, in 1974 you were received in triumph, I remember well, at the United Nations. And today you are in a school, as you say, in a little school of Tripoli, and one has the impression that you've lost a large part of your power. What do you feel about that this evening?

Answer. You have to remember that when I went to the UN, I lived at that time in a cave in south Lebanon. It does not matter from where you start. The objective is not this school. It isn't Beirut. It isn't Tripoli. My objective is Jerusalem.

Q. When do you think you will go there?

A. I am a man of history. Sooner or later we will attain our objective.

But we know that we confront a very difficult situation. There are the Camp David accords with Egypt, which make it such that Egypt, with all its weight, is on the sidelines. We are trying to say to our brothers, the Egyptians, to return back to their own ways.

We have some problems with the Syrians. Now I am under siege — the attack of the Syrians and Libyans. And at the same time, I am facing another siege by the Israeli navy.

But it is very important to understand why they are all around me: because there is a Syrian-American agreement. Last year there was an American-Israeli agreement to liquidate the PLO in two, or three, or five days! But where is Haig? The Haig who organized all this aggression. Sharon? Where is Sharon? Where is Begin?

When I left Beirut, I mentioned something very important: the volcano, the volcano which has already started in Beirut. It will act, everywhere.

Look, even in Israel it has started. There is an economic disaster. Begin was obliged to step down. There is a war of attrition being waged by the joint Palestinian-Lebanese forces against the Israeli Defense Forces.

The Americans are obliged, too. While Mr. Reagan imagined he was on a picnic, he was obliged to bring out his whole navy from New Jersey, or wherever, and bring out very important units of the marines to the east of the Mediterranean Sea.

And this volcano, it is erupting in Beirut, in the mountains, and in Tripoli. What will happen after? No one knows. But remember this volcano! It won't go out. This volcano will destroy the American interests which are planning, organizing this conspiracy against the Palestinians, against the Arabs.

Maybe from time to time the U.S. will succeed in making accords with the Syrians, or an arrangement with Sharon or

Begin. But those accords will never last long. One can control by power only for a short period. Force doesn't control in the long run. Hitler invaded France, but where is he now?

Q. We would like to ask you, Mr. President, about what journalists call, perhaps wrongly, the PLO dissidents.

A. They have been used by the Syrians, by the Libyans, too — in their opinion — to control the PLO, or if not, to damage the PLO, damage the image that glorifies our heroes in Beirut and this miracle of 88 days of resistance, the longest Arab-Israeli war. This is a big conspiracy from the Syrians, the Libyans, because they want to use the Palestinian card as one of their cards in the Lebanese question.

That is why we will fight to defend our political independence, our independence of political decision.

You can see this is very simple and clear. It may be that they are trying to put such and such reason to gloss over things, but you cannot kill the dream. That is what they are trying to do. They are trying to kill the dream in the eyes of our children.

But I'm sure they won't succeed. You know why? Because there are men who have decided to die to defend their people, their political program, and their freedom of decision. Look at the masses inside our country and outside: they are strongly supporting the PLO.

Q. Don't you nonetheless find it strange that within a revolutionary movement there is talk of loyalists and dissidents?

A. No, it is not a matter of loyalists and dissidents. There were many problems in Europe during the Nazi occupation, remember. It wasn't a matter of loyalists and dissidents. No. It is simply surrogates, puppets, used by the invader.

But they can't stop the course of history. They are trying to stop the course of history, but they can't. Because our revolution is with the strong will of the people.

I hope you will go into the occupied territories and you will see how the masses are supporting the PLO. Outside the occupied territories also. Yesterday I received a very important telegram from the AAUG in the United States, the Arab American University Graduates, who support completely the PLO in the United States. I receive between 150 and 200 telegrams every day which support the PLO.

No stability, no peace, no settlement in this area by overjumping the PLO, which represents the Palestinian people, the 5 million Palestinian people and their leadership.

I am not in my place through a military coup. I am here through this Palestinian democracy, and we are very proud of it. Some Arab regimes who are against our democracy are trying to put some troubles in front of our democracy. But to be sure, we will continue our democracy in spite of all the obstacles which are put before us.

From Pathfinder

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'Attempt to deport Marroquin a blow to freedom of speech'

BY DOUG COOPER

HARRISBURG, Pa. — Héctor Marroquín, the Mexican-born socialist and trade unionist threatened with deportation, told his story during a two-day visit here November 30 and December 1.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service has ordered Marroquín deported because of his socialist views. His appeal is currently pending before the U.S. Supreme Court.

Highlights of Marroquín's visit to Harrisburg included a plant-gate get-together with workers at the Hershey chocolate factory in Hershey, Pennsylvania, a public meeting at the Pennsylvania Social Services Union hall in Harrisburg, and participation in a strike solidarity picket line of 200 outside the Greyhound station.

At the Hershey plant, which employs 2,500 workers, John Stauffer, an executive board member of the Bakery, Confectionery, and Tobacco Workers Local 464 distributed hundreds of leaflets at the gate announcing the meeting. Political Rights Defense Fund brochures explaining the facts of the case were also distributed.

When Marroquín arrived at the plant for the afternoon shift change, many workers stopped to shake hands, offer words of encouragement, and wish him luck.

But chocolate workers weren't the only ones to respond. The Hershey bosses made a point of calling Stauffer into the office that morning and questioned him for an hour. As he explained to the public rally on December 1, "They gave me static. But I'm used to static." Stauffer told the bosses that he had broken no rules by distributing the leaflets, Héctor was the victim of a terrible injustice, and that workers in the plant had a right to know about it.

Carlos García, a Puerto Rican activist and community organizer, also spoke at the rally.

Immigration policy, he said, is a weapon used in particular to keep out those who can help working people here.

Anita Stabile, president of the Harrisburg chapter of the National Organization for Women, spoke on Marroquín's fight and the struggle to defend women's rights. "Harrisburg NOW and other feminists salute your courage and conviction," she said. Harrisburg NOW is an endorser of Marroquín's fight for political asylum.

Marcia Reeves, a community activist and a representative of the Afrikan School, pointed to the racist and discriminatory treatment given to Haitian refugees by the Carter and Reagan administrations.

Hipólito Hidálgo, publisher of the city's bilingual paper, *Pan America*, explained how hundreds of thousands of workers from Latin America come here to find work and instead find discrimination every step of the way.

Cathy Fox, president of the local chapter of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and Tom Guelcher, an organizer of the Harrisburg Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, also brought greetings to the meeting.

The solidarity shown for Marroquín's fight and all other political refugees was best expressed in a written message sent to

the meeting by Anna Price, president-elect of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union. Price recently returned from a four-day tour of Nicaragua, along with other union leaders.

Price wrote: "The United States policy in Central America — the administration's refusal to acknowledge that the mass struggle continuing in El Salvador and the 1979 victory of the FSLN [Sandinista National Liberation Front] in Nicaragua, are mass struggles of workers trying to improve their lives — is outrageous.

"Their contention that those same struggles are threats to our national security is a lie.

"In El Salvador, labor leaders are persecuted, prosecuted, and murdered for speaking out and fighting for workers' rights.

"The same is the case in Mexico and in other areas of the world. In those countries, this government supports those repressive measures. In Nicaragua, where the workers have finally been able to triumph, our country is in opposition.

"It should be no surprise to us that the United States and the Reagan administration is claiming that the political exiles of those countries are not welcome here. It should be no surprise to us that the Reagan administration is trying to beat down and suppress workers and leaders of their unions who speak out for their rights. It is happening at home and it is happening on our borders.

"The battle to prevent the deportation of Héctor Marroquín is truly a battle for us all. If his deportation is accomplished, it will be a blow to freedom of speech. Those of us who continue to struggle for workers' rights in this country cannot afford to have our freedom of speech threatened, nor can we risk having a labor leader like Héctor Marroquín persecuted and murdered."

'Solidarity only way workers can win'

BY BARRY DAVID

SAN ANTONIO — "Solidarity is the only way workers can win their struggles today."

That message came across here November 20 as striking meatpackers, Greyhound workers, and copper miners gathered with supporters from some 10 different unions to raise money for strike relief and rally support for three important strikes.

Originally called as a benefit for United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 171 members, who have been on strike against San Antonio Packing Co. more than two months, the rally was broadened to include Greyhound workers, who had gone on strike November 3, and Phelps Dodge copper strikers, who have been in a major battle against union-busting for five months.

Speakers at the rally included Charles Redgrave, local chairman of the Amalgamated Transit Union, representing Greyhound workers, and Federico Esparza, president of United Steelworkers of America Local 501, which represents 500



Speakers at Harrisburg meeting to demand political asylum for Héctor Marroquín. Left to right: Cathy Fox, Tom Guelcher, Marcia Reeves, Anita Stabile, Marroquín, Carlos García, Jamileh Cooper, Hipólito Hidálgo.

Georgia Black family fights racist attacks, won't move

BY SARA JEAN JOHNSTON

MARIETTA, Ga. — "That night of the shooting, it never crossed my mind to move, but it did cross my mind why, why?" stated Mary Cater at a rally of civil rights activists in downtown Marietta on November 17.

Cater, an executive board member of the Cobb County NAACP, and her family moved into their "dream house" less than two months ago in an all-white neighborhood in Mableton, Georgia. In the first month, the Caters faced shotgun blasts into their home, barely missing their young son. Their mailbox was run down, car tires slashed, and back windshield smashed in.

Three weeks later, Mary Cater was at home alone when a car drove onto her lawn, shining bright lights into her window. After contacting Cobb County police, she was told to "go out and investigate."

"Officials, police officers, community leaders were asking me, why that street, that neighborhood? Are you block-busting for the NAACP or any civil rights group?" said Mary Cater.

workers at Phelps Dodge's smelting operation in El Paso.

Esparza, along with the local's financial secretary and their two wives, both of whom are active in the strike through the women's auxiliary, drove more than 10 hours to be at the rally.

Most of the 125 in the audience were striking meatpackers, Greyhound workers, or members of four different locals of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE).

Jaime Martínez, IUE international representative and vice-president of the Central Labor Council, chaired the rally. He initiated the sponsoring organization, the newly formed San Antonio Strike Relief Committee, which is endorsed by the labor council.

Speaking for Greyhound workers, Redgrave explained: "We are the newest members of what seems to be a growing group of people in the United States — workers on strike against greedy corporations." He called on other unionists to join their picket lines.

Esparza explained that strikes are nothing new for copper workers: in 20 years of working for Phelps Dodge, "every three years I have been out on strike."

But this time is different; Phelps Dodge is demanding givebacks that would set the union back to his first days there, he said.

He described the union-busting tactics of the company: "They unleashed violence against us. Women were dragged down the streets of El Paso. When I tried to help them, they [police] broke my arm in half. The kind of police protection they have offered us is sticks and guns."

Esparza went on to describe how the union has fought back, including the important role of women in the strike and the need for continuing solidarity.

Other speakers at the rally included Gilbert Sánchez, chief steward for UFCW Local 171, who thanked the participants for their support.

"Cobb County has just celebrated its 150th anniversary. One hundred fifty years of not allowing a Black to have a chance with public elections — city, county or state. To ride over the county, outside of Marietta, you may find three Black businesses to none in South Cobb," stated Cater.

"My family has lived in this county for over 150 years. We are not block-busting! And we will not move!" exclaimed Cater.

"To understand terrorism in Mableton, Georgia," stated Rev. Bill Thurston, executive director of PUSH in Atlanta, "you have to understand the terrorism of the U.S. government in Grenada! These are not isolated acts of racial terrorism. When they invaded Grenada, a Black island, they gave the green light to invade Georgia. It signaled to racist and anti-women elements that they can use terrorism in Cobb County. To fight back, to understand, you have to put these attacks in a broader world view.

"Terrorism is a tool used to intimidate people from standing up for their rights," said Thurston. "During an economic crisis, those in power will try to find scapegoats to take the heat off those who are responsible for the crisis. Six thousand U.S. marines invade the 'tiny island of Grenada. The president says it is to 'protect American lives ... to try to stop communism.'

"Cobb County is not isolated from the rest of the world," said Thurston. "The domestic policy of the U.S. government is going on in the context of their international terrorism. The terrorists are taking their signals from the White House, the statehouse and the courthouse. We must not let Reagan's acts make him a hero before the American people. We must expose his actions for what they are. We must tell the truth about Grenada."

Following the rally, Mary Cater explained that the week before bullets ripped through her home, "kids from the middle school and high school told relatives' children that there would be a 'welcome home party' for the Caters but don't tell them.

"The word was out in advance, but the police did nothing," said Cater. "Local ministers told me that the reason the law was slow to move was because I'm in the NAACP."

When asked what she planned to do next, Cater said, "I hope we can hold the next rally in Mableton, maybe at my house. We need more organizations to come forward, more people. We need PUSH to set up a chapter in Cobb County."

In light of the escalation of racist attacks and killings in Georgia over the last three years, this public rally in defense of the Cater family was an important step forward.

The newly emerging coalition of the Cobb County NAACP, Operation PUSH, and local community leaders is now planning more public rallies in defense of the Cater family. The Atlanta PUSH, Metro Fair Housing, and Cobb County NAACP are sponsoring a protest demonstration in Mableton on January 15.

"A victory for us will help others who are victims of this kind of thing," said Cater. "We're getting together all those who want to stand up and put a stop to it."

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By Art Preis

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Why working people should support socialists in '84

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The Socialist Workers Party has nominated its ticket for the 1984 presidential elections. The candidates are Mel Mason for president and Andrea González for vice-president.

They were nominated at a recent meeting of the SWP National Committee in New York. Both Mason and González are members of the party's National Committee.

Mason, 40, is a city councilman in Seaside, California. He held a news conference there on December 15 to explain his decision to run for president (see story on front page).

A national news conference and rally launching the socialist campaign will be held in St. Louis later this month. It will coincide with the convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, a national organization of young workers and students. The YSA is expected to endorse the ticket at its five-day gathering. González is the national secretary of the YSA.

Hard times for working people

The 1984 presidential elections take place at a time of tremendous hardship for working people.

The number of marines returning home in coffins from Lebanon mounts as Washington escalates its intervention in the Middle East, Central America, and the Caribbean.

Stepped-up union-busting by the employers — determined to raise profits and their competitive edge over their international rivals — has forced the Greyhound workers, Arizona copper miners, Continental Airline employees, and others to go on strike to defend themselves and their unions.

Social welfare programs continue to be cut as the government tries to convince us that medical care, education, decent housing, and child care are privileges, and not basic rights.

Racist and sexist attacks are at the heart of the combined government-employer offensive. Increasingly, attempts are also made to undermine constitutional rights.

Capitalism: source of problem

Given this situation, it's no wonder that the 1984 elections have become the focus of big political discussions among Blacks, Latinos, farmers, women, and all working people about the need to take political action to deal with these problems and what kind of political action is most effective.

The principal message that the Mason-González campaign will take to this discussion is that all the big problems facing us have a common source: the capitalist system. The problem is not simply Reagan or the Republican Party — it's the rule over society by a tiny handful of bankers and big businessmen who are interested in their profits, not human needs.

Mason and González believe that getting Reagan out

of the White House will not result in fundamental changes.

It's only by workers and our allies — the majority — organizing to fight for our interests and the interests of all the oppressed that society can be changed. Mason and González say that working people must take political power out of the hands of the ruling rich and replace their capitalist system with a socialist one.

This is the only way that human needs — not private profits — can become the national priority and we can realistically expect to live at peace with the rest of humanity.

'We' and 'they'

In an interview with the *Militant*, Mason explained some of the themes of his campaign.

"This capitalist government," began Mason, "does not represent the majority of people — it can't, because it serves a different class, the employers. And their interests are totally incompatible with ours."

"The Democrats and Republicans always talk about 'we,'" Mason continued. "'We' have to work harder to make 'our' companies more profitable. 'We' are being hurt by imports. 'We' are threatened by Cuba. 'Our' national security is endangered by tiny islands like Grenada. 'Our' economy is damaged by the copper and Greyhound strikes."

"But who's 'we'?" asked Mason. "The owners of Greyhound, the big oil corporations, and the U.S. government? Working people have nothing in common with them."

"The 'we' I'm campaigning for are the workers on strike, the women, the undocumented workers, the Black youth who can't find a job. That's the 'we' I'm interested in, and that's the 'we' who can change this country."

"The Democrats and Republicans represent 'they,'" Mason continued. "'They' is the employers who are threatened by worker and peasant revolutions in Latin America; by strong unions; by Blacks, Latinos, and women who stand up for their rights."

"Our campaign is saying that we need a new kind of government," said Mason, "one that acts in *our* interests, and defends *us* against the employers."

"We need a workers and farmers government that would begin to reorganize society on a totally different basis."

Labor party

To get such a government, Mason emphasized, working people cannot look to the capitalist parties and politicians. "Instead, we must look in the direction of our own class, including when we're thinking about political action," said Mason.

"We need to march, rally, and actively protest against the racist, sexist, antilabor policies of the employers and

their government. We need to turn our unions into fighting instruments that defend our working conditions and living standards and that champion the demands of Blacks, Latinos, women, and all working people.

"It is possible now, through unity, solidarity, and determined struggle, to win more than might seem possible at first glance."

"We need to organize our own political party, too. We need a party of our class, a labor party based on a revitalized union movement, that will champion the interests of workers, farmers, Blacks, women, and every other victim of this decaying society."

"We think this road, and not the AFL-CIO officialdom's support for Democrat Walter Mondale, is the way forward for labor. This — and not the support the National Organization for Women and many Black leaders have given Mondale — is the way to go for Blacks and women."

Mason indicated he was eager to discuss these ideas with supporters of Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic Party nomination.

"Jackson has raised an important idea," said Mason, "that of a fighting alliance of Blacks, Latinos, women, farmers, and the poor to advance their cause. I agree these forces have common interests, should ally, and if we do so, we can be politically effective. But in what framework?"

"Jackson argues we can win equality and economic justice within this class-divided, capitalist system. That's why he seeks to reform the Democratic Party. I disagree."

The Democratic and Republican parties are both servants of the ruling rich, said Mason. Working people need their own mass-based political party "to represent us in the political arena and lead political struggles in our interests 365 days a year."

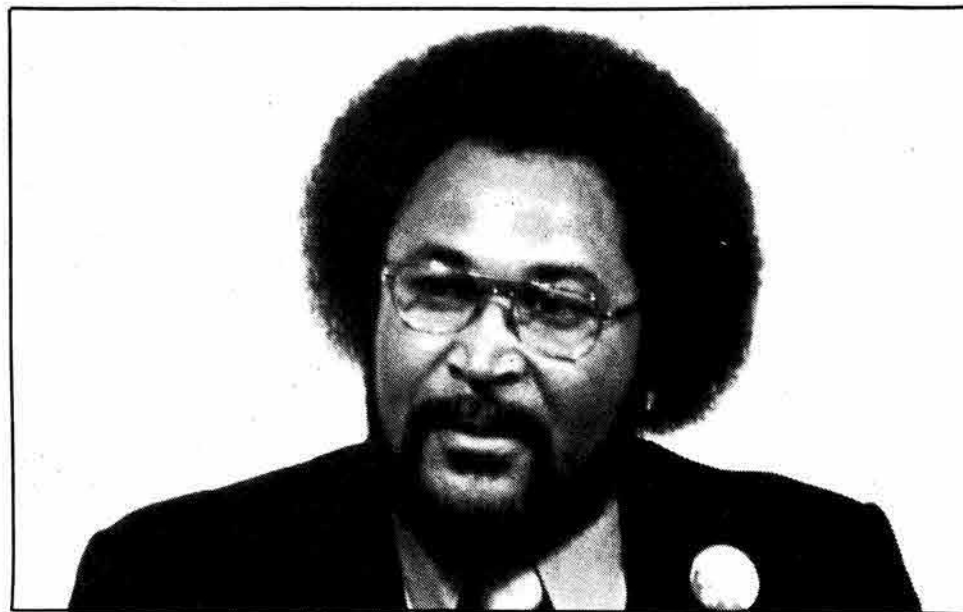
An independent Black party would also be a vehicle to fight for the interests of all working people, Mason explained. A social and economic program in the interests of Blacks — calling for an end to imperialist war, racist oppression, and the exploitation of workers — directly expresses the interests of *all* working people. The example of an independent Black party, Mason feels, would not only be an advance in and of itself, but would also inspire and hasten the formation of a labor party.

No support to Washington's wars

Mason reviewed some of the major proposals of the socialist campaign:

- Withdraw all U.S. troops from Lebanon, Central America, and Grenada. Stop sending money to the dictatorship in El Salvador and the counterrevolutionaries who are invading Nicaragua. Withdraw support to the racist South African regime. No draft.

Continued on Page 12



Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, Mel Mason; candidate for vice-president, Andrea González.

Mel Mason for president

BY HARRY RING

Mel Mason seemed in especially good humor. Especially since part of his Sunday morning off was being taken for a telephone interview. He was recently nominated by the Socialist Workers Party as its candidate for president.

"We had a great party last night," Mason explained. "We celebrated Ken Collins' victory."

Collins had been the target of a frame-up arson charge. A young Black hotel worker, he's active in Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 483.

Collins and Mason are both members of the Seaside, California, branch of the SWP. Collins had been harassed by his employers in neighboring Monterey because of his union activity, and when a fire of unknown origin broke out at the hotel, he was charged with setting it, even though there wasn't a shred of evidence against him.

A public campaign was organized to defend Collins. Mason, a member of the Seaside City Council and a well-known veteran of the civil rights movement, played a particularly important role. Public pressure built to the point where the district attorney dropped the charges for "insufficient evidence."

Get U.S. forces out of Grenada

In the *Militant* interview, Mason discussed some of the issues he'll be campaigning on.

One that will get particular emphasis, he said, will be the demand for a total withdrawal of U.S. occupation forces from Grenada.

Mason feels especially strongly about Grenada, having visited there in 1981 to see the gains of the revolution first hand.

Twice he helped organize speaking tours in the Seaside area for Joseph Burke, then Grenada's consul general here. Burke was received with special interest by Seaside's large Black community.

Discussing the assassination of former Grenada Prime Minister Maurice Bishop and the opening this provided for the U.S. invasion, Mason said, "I think that what's happening now is the stage is being set for the next Grenada revolution."

"When the United States government was talking about making Grenada safe for 'democracy,' basically what they were saying is they were making it safe for 'free enterprise.'"

"That means that gains, such as women's rights, made by the revolution, will have to be wiped out. The unemployment rate, which was changed from nearly 50 percent to under 14 percent by the revolution, will obviously go up again."

"They'll try to smash the new unions there, just like they're trying to break the unions here. That all means the people will have to struggle again to rid themselves of oppression. That's why I tell people here in Seaside that the struggle of the Grenadian people is not over, that the new revolution has just begun."

Despite the current defeat in Grenada, Mason stressed, the revolution there still offers important lessons for Blacks and other working people in this country looking for the road to social progress.

Independent Black political action

Turning to issues at home, Mason said one thing he'll be discussing is the important political example being of-

fered by the National Black Independent Political Party. NBIPP's far western regional representative, Mason said he will point to the party's continuing opposition to the two major parties, and to capitalism itself, as an important example of the political road forward for Black people and for working people generally.

Recalling his experience last year as the socialist candidate for governor of California, Mason said the issue of total independence from the two capitalist parties was given particular focus by his presence in the race along with Thomas Bradley, the Black mayor of Los Angeles who was the unsuccessful Democratic aspirant for the governor's seat.

During the campaign, Mason said, the question was posed of why he was in a race that included a Black nominee with a more realistic chance of being elected.

"People listened to our explanation," Mason said. "It made sense when we pointed out the big difference in program between us and Bradley. You have to judge candidates by their program. In that campaign people could readily compare our socialist program with Bradley's defense of the status quo. There were people who would point out to us that there was little difference they could see between Bradley's program as a Democrat and the program of Deukmejian, the Republican."

Does Mason see Jesse Jackson's present bid for the Democratic presidential nomination as the same as Bradley's?

Jesse Jackson campaign

"No. There are significant differences," Mason responded. "For one thing, while Bradley happened to be Black, he was never involved in the Black movement. Before being elected mayor in Los Angeles his career was as a city cop."

"Jackson, on the other hand, gained prominence as a civil rights leader. As someone who has spent some twenty-odd years in the civil rights battle," Mason observed, "I can relate to that."

What's significant about Jackson's campaign, Mason continued, is that it's been given momentum by the deep political ferment that's now going on among Black people in this country.

But the main problem with Jackson's campaign, he said, is that Jackson projects a program aimed at reforming capitalism — the system responsible for racism, sexism, and exploitation of working people.

Integral to this program, Mason continued, is Jackson's goal of reforming the Democratic Party, which along with the Republican party, is a big-business tool to attack the rights and living standards of working people. "By trying to organize Blacks, Latinos, women, and workers into the Democratic Party," he explained, "he's basically leading them onto a dead-end street. Jackson says he wants to reform the Democratic Party, but how can you reform a party that represents those who run this society and have created the problems we face?"

Noting that Jackson had referred at one point to the Democrats as having put a dagger in the backs of Black people, Mason said, "What we want to do in our campaign is get people thinking about building a party that won't put a dagger in their back — building their own party."

Discussing recent political developments in Seaside, Mason said, "I've been able to beef up the city's affirmative action program. I got council agreement on hiring a



Mel Mason and Andrea González

Black city manager. We won the hiring of the only woman city attorney in central California. And we promoted a Black woman city worker to city clerk. To my knowledge, she's the only Black woman city clerk in the state."

These gains, Mason said, have helped set the tone for continued city hiring of Blacks and other minorities and encouraged people to press for city jobs.

"I think," Mason continued, "since I've been in office, it's helped to raise the general political consciousness in the community, because I've done more than talk. I've used my office to organize struggles against police brutality, struggles around jobs and housing. We've taken on landlords."

"And in the course of these fights, we explain why these problems occur, that capitalism is responsible. And that the only way we're going to be able to guarantee health care, housing, and jobs is with a society that makes these things a priority — and the only society which will do that is a socialist society."

Discussing his own membership in the SWP, Mason recalled how he first became aware of the party through reading the *Militant*.

In the late '60s, when he was a member of the Black Panther Party, he would make frequent trips to Oakland, where the Black Panthers were based. "That's when I began running into the *Militant*," he said. "There'd be SWP members doing community sales, or in the shopping centers."

"I had read Malcolm X so I knew this was the paper he talked about. I bought the paper pretty regularly, and eventually I subscribed. I was always glad I ran into it because, as Malcolm said, this is the best newspaper in America."

"And if not for dedicated members of the party who were out selling it, I might not have had the opportunity to come in contact with the paper, or the party."

Air Force racism

Mason feels his joining the SWP was a logical outcome of his political progression.

Born in 1943 in a Kentucky coal mining town, he spent his teen years in Seaside. In high school he was a star basketball player.

After finishing high school and some time in community college, he decided he would escape a dead-end situation by joining the Air Force. He signed up at the end of 1961 and became a radio operator. But he was in hot water from the day he joined. He rebelled against the senseless regimentation and, with fury, against the racism of the military.

He never came up for assignment to Vietnam, but had firmly resolved that if he were assigned there he simply wouldn't go. It was not a war he felt he had any stake in.

In 1965, his stubborn refusal to knuckle under to racism led to his discharge, which he readily accepted.

A month after he returned home to Seaside, Malcolm X was assassinated. That event gave a spurt to Mason's thinking about the situation of Blacks in this country. Then, in August of that year came the explosive Black rebellion in the Watts area of Los Angeles. A month later a similar outbreak occurred in Seaside. Mason was out in the streets for that. He describes it as the first political action he was involved in.

But still looking for individual escape, he accepted a basketball scholarship to Oregon State University. Again, the racism was so heavy that he rebelled, ending a promising sports career.



Mel Mason speaking at Texas rally protesting deportation of undocumented workers.

MASON FOR PRESIDENT • GONZALEZ FOR VICE-PRESIDENT



Militant/Yvonne Hayes

Andrea Gonzalez for vice-president

BY HARRY RING

Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party nominee for vice president, is a firm partisan of Puerto Rican independence, a union-builder, an angry opponent of sexism and racism, and a totally committed fighter for socialism.

She grew up in one of Brooklyn's Puerto Rican *barrios* (neighborhoods), a member of a struggling working class family. Her knowledge of racism, sexism, and exploitation is definitely first-hand.

Now 32, her beliefs have developed with some 15 years of political activism.

She joined the Young Socialist Alliance in 1974 and the Socialist Workers Party a year later. Previously, she was a leading young figure in the movement for Puerto Rican independence. Since leaving school she has worked in a Houston steel mill, a Maryland shipyard, and in the Washington, D.C., transit system. As one of the small minority of women working in the D.C. transit system, she and her coworkers effectively fought sexual harassment on the job and, with equal success, attempts by management to exploit the issue to pit unionists against each other.

She was one of three children, she explained in an interview, but part of a "gigantic" extended family where "everybody kind of raised each other." She has a six-year-old daughter.

Her father was born in Puerto Rico and her mother in Brooklyn. For 18 years her father worked in a small Brooklyn sheet metal plant. When it closed down, he got a job with the New York transit system, working there until he was permanently disabled in an accident resulting from understaffed crews.

Her mother is a public school kitchen worker. "First she was a dishwasher. Then they laid off the cook, so now she's cook and dishwasher."

Her father is deeply conscious of his Puerto Rican heritage and passed it on to his children.

Her father was also a militant union member and that was imparted too. There were a number of strikes at the sheet metal plant, and Andrea would accompany her father on the picket line.

She got directly acquainted with work early on. "We all had to work," she said. "My father always had two jobs. When I was 12 or 13, he had a job cleaning a Protestant church in our neighborhood. I'd go and work with him, and he'd give me like 50 cents an hour from what he got."

Throughout high school and college she worked at whatever jobs came up. "I even worked briefly as a maid," she recalled.

Her career as a rebel began in the mainly white, Catholic high school she attended.

Assassination of Martin Luther King

Her first head-on conflict with the school authorities came with the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Some of the Black students approached her as a member of the student council to get a commemoration meeting for King. She thought that a good idea and went to the principal, who stubbornly refused.

"Well, I went through the roof," she recalled. "I remembered all the crying and praying when Kennedy was killed. Why wasn't there the same reaction for this man who had done all these good things? They wouldn't even say a prayer for Martin Luther King."

Earlier, at 13, she got in trouble when, in a European

history book, she saw a reference to the *Communist Manifesto* and decided she wanted to read it. She finally found it in the public library.

"I read the whole thing," she said, "but I didn't really understand it, so I had my father read it. What we mainly got out of it was that there are two groups in society — those who have and those who don't."

It was around that time that she decided she was no longer a Catholic.

Why?

"Because of *Life* magazine. The pope had made a visit to the Philippines. They had these pictures where this guy is decked out in all this finery, with gold all over him. And there were these little children in rags, the skinniest things. And this guy was doing nothing for them, even though he obviously had the means."

"So I raised this in class. And they couldn't answer my question, why didn't the church give some of its money to help these people? So right then I decided this wasn't a church I wanted to be a member of. I kept going for a couple of years because of my family, but I never had any more interest."

College deepened her radicalism. She attended Brooklyn College, a part of the City University of New York.

When she enrolled there were 20,000 students on the campus. Of these, 150 were Black or Puerto Rican.

Struggles at City University of N.Y.

In her first year, there was a major battle for open admissions to eliminate academic requirements designed to discriminate against oppressed nationalities. At Brooklyn College the central leadership was arrested during the fight and González found herself part of the new leadership that filled the breach. The citywide fight was victorious.

In her second year, with open admissions, there were more Puerto Rican students and González became active in a campus group, the Puerto Rican Alliance. That year there was a big student strike against the Vietnam War and she was in the thick of it. Her thinking became more radical.

A family tragedy deepened her conviction on the need for fundamental change. That summer her sister Alberta died at age 12, of encephalitis. González did some reading on the disease. "I found there was an epidemic of it in New York that summer and maybe 15 kids had died, in neighborhoods like ours."

"It turned out that it came from not picking up the garbage. The flies that surround the garbage carry it."

"That convinced me there was something basically wrong with this society and there was no reforming it. To think that a system would allow 15 kids to die because the city wouldn't pick up the garbage."

Puerto Rican nationalism

It was at that same time that she became a conscious Puerto Rican nationalist.

"I began to realize," she explained, "that our position in this country was tied in with the relationship to the island. And the fact that the island had no rights was tied in with the system. That the people on the island — as far as this government is concerned — are nonexistent, have no rights at all. Washington tells us that Puerto Ricans are poor because they're 'lazy,' and 'have too many children.' But I realized that it was the U.S. government that keeps us poor and that it was in the interest of the rich people who run the United States, and Puerto Rico, to keep us that way."

González had grown up favoring statehood for Puerto Rico because she believed that Puerto Rico would starve if it wasn't a state. "We thought you could have it both ways, be a state, but still be separate."

"But how could being a state be better for anybody when being in the United States is not good for anybody that doesn't have anything?"

"All Puerto Rico would be as a state would be a gigantic ghetto — like the South Bronx grown a hundred times over."

González became active in the nationalist movement. She worked with the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Puerto Rican Independence Party, but mainly with the Young Lords Party, an organization that evolved in the 1960s from a street gang into an active political organization of Puerto Rican youth.

"I worked mainly with them," González said, "because they focused more on the conditions of Puerto Ricans here, although they actively supported the independence fight."

At the time, González thought she wanted to be a psychologist, that this was a way of helping her people, and she graduated as a psychology major.

Continued on Page 12

Returning to California, he, his cousin, and a third member of their old street gang moved to San Jose and got jobs at Western Electric.

Of the plant's 1,500 workers, about 1 percent were Black. The three new hires quickly saw the shifting Black workers were getting and they initiated the Black Workers Unity Caucus, which was successful in winning half a dozen promotions for Blacks.

During this time, Mason joined the Black Panther Party. By then his experience with racism, coupled with his activity at Western Electric, had convinced him that racism was a product of the capitalist system. He began looking at the problems of working people as a whole. And while recognizing that Black people had special problems of oppression they had to deal with, he also saw a need for unity among working people in the fight against capitalism.

Mason said he feels many people tend to remember the mistakes that were made by the Panthers and how those mistakes "plus a whole lot of 'help' from the FBI" led to its dissolution.

"But," he continued, "I think it's important that we also look at the good examples the party set. One of them was taking the party to Black workers. They did good work in the unions. They encouraged our activity at Western Electric."

At the same time, he continued, the Panthers played an important role in many community struggles.

"And it pointed to a course of independent political action away from the Democratic and Republican Parties. I talked in no uncertain terms about the necessity for socialist revolution."

For Mason, the years that followed only deepened his socialist convictions.

Returning to Seaside, he was active in community battles, changed his election registration from "independent" to "Socialist Workers" and made contact with the party. In 1980, he ran for city council. Despite redbaiting from the media and others for his outspoken socialist views, he was elected.

A tireless fighter, Mason is looking forward to the presidential contest with obvious relish.

Come to the Kick-off Rally for the 1984 SWP Presidential Campaign

Featuring presidential candidate Mel Mason and
vice-presidential candidate Andrea González
At the convention of the Young Socialist Alliance

Friday, Dec. 30, 8 p.m., Sheraton-St. Louis Hotel, St. Louis, Mo.

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(Left) Mel Mason and supporters defending GI rights at Fort Ord, California, during 1982 gubernatorial campaign. (Right) Andrea González at N.Y. picket to support striking Greyhound workers.



Why workers should back socialists in '84

Continued from Page 9

- Use the money in the war budget to create jobs by launching a massive public works program. Shorten the workweek to 30 hours with no cut in pay.
- Repeal "right-to-work" for-less laws and all other antiunion legislation. No government interference in union affairs.
- Enforce the Voting Rights Act. Desegregate all schools, including through the use of busing. Pass and implement affirmative action legislation, including quotas. Restore Medicaid funding for abortions. Stop the deportations of undocumented workers. Ratify the Equal Rights Amendment.
- Put a moratorium on debts plaguing family farmers, and extend credit for machinery and feed.
- For working-class political power. For a labor party. For a Black party. For a workers and farmers government — government by and in the interests of the majority. For a socialist society and a socialist world.

Working-class fighters

Mason and González are workers and veteran fighters against the reactionary policies of the employers and their government.

Mason is from Seaside, a city of 37,000 on the Monterey Peninsula in central California. A longtime leader of the Black community in Seaside and a union activist, he is employed at Monterey Peninsula College and is a member of the California State Employees Association.

Elected to the Seaside City Council in 1980 on a program of using the city council to advance the interests of Blacks and the entire working class, Mason has utilized his office to speak out on behalf of unionists, Blacks, women, GIs, the elderly on fixed incomes, and others. As a councilman, he has helped organize people to fight for their rights.

Mason is the far western regional coordinator of the National Black Independent Political Party. NBIPP is an organization founded in 1980 whose aim is the full liberation of Black people. It calls for a break with the Democratic and Republican parties.

As a city councilman, Mason has hammered away at Washington's war policies, insisting that foreign policy is as much a local issue as housing and education. Mason explains that U.S. workers must shape a foreign policy that is in their interests and not in the interests of the big corporations. This, he says, is the only way to stop Washington's new Vietnams, with their menacing potential for escalating into nuclear annihilation.

Based on this viewpoint, Mason visited Grenada in 1981 to get a first-hand picture of the accomplishments of the revolution there. As a supporter of the government led by slain revolutionary leader Maurice Bishop, Mason has vigorously denounced the U.S. invasion and occupation of Grenada as a racist, colonialist action.

In 1982, Mason ran a socialist campaign for governor of California.

González: leader of fight against war

Andrea González, 32, has been a transit worker, steelworker, and shipyard worker.

González is a leader of the struggle against U.S. imperialist war. Active in opposition to the attempts to reimpose the draft, she has been touring the country recently speaking out against U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua, the invasion of Grenada, and the threats against Cuba.

González has visited Nicaragua twice. She gives a

first-hand account of the gains workers and farmers have made there since the 1979 revolution that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza.

The reason Washington is so hostile to Nicaragua and Cuba, González explains, is that it fears the example these countries set for the peoples of Latin America and all the colonial world, and increasingly for workers and farmers here in the United States.

The free health care and education, economic development, and expansion of democratic rights that have been the fruits of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions show what workers and farmers can do when they take political power.

Women's rights activist

González is an active fighter for women's equality. She is a member of NOW. She has been part of the struggle to win passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, full reproductive freedom for women, affirmative action, child care, and equal pay.

With the nomination of González for vice-president, the SWP ticket reflects the political importance of the fight for women's rights and the centrality of their struggle to the transformation of society.

Andrea Gonzalez for vice-president

Continued from Page 11

"But I began to see," she said, "that it was a deeper question. That it wasn't just doing good deeds. There was a different road, and I had to know what it was."

She continued to fight without letup. And she was in the thick of a pitched battle on the Brooklyn College campus.

1973 Mideast war

Zionism was a powerful political force on campus and its proponents included members of the Jewish Defense League, a violent, right-wing, racist outfit.

That was when González met the Young Socialist Alliance.

The YSA, she recalled, had a chapter of five members on campus. It was in the period after the 1973 Israeli invasion of neighboring Arab countries and a wave of support for Israel swept this country, particularly Brooklyn College.

The Puerto Rican and Black students, she said, felt a deep instinctive solidarity with the Palestinian people who obviously also suffered national oppression.

The YSA, with its small numbers, was in the forefront of defense of the Arab revolution against the U.S.-backed state of Israel. They regularly set up a table on campus featuring pro-Palestinian literature.

"Pro-Israeli right-wingers," González said, "would surround the table with the intention of beating these YSAers to a pulp."

Activist Puerto Rican and Black students would defend the table and I was among them. "We were generally suspicious of what we saw as 'white' radicals," she continued, including the YSA. But the YSA was like our spokesperson on Zionism. We had to respect them for that. The YSA took the Zionists on, and they knew what they were talking about. They stood up for what they believed in. They organized campus meetings for Palestinians and we'd help defend them."

González was already out of school when she finally decided to join, first the YSA and then the SWP.

González is a proponent of independence for Puerto Rico from U.S. colonial rule and for the rights of the millions of Puerto Ricans like herself who live in the United States.

Mason and González intend to campaign from one end of the country to the other between now and next November. Their ideas will be part of the political discussions this year in the factories, mines, mills, and union meetings; picket lines and unemployment lines; gatherings of women and of farmers; among Black and Latino working people; in the prisons, among GIs, in high schools, and on college campuses.

The SWP will also be fielding many candidates in state and local races in 1984.

A massive effort by campaign supporters will be necessary to collect the large numbers of signatures required for their names to appear on the ballot in as many states as possible.

Are the ideas being raised by Mason and González practical ones for working people to consider today?

"Definitely," said Mason. "In fact, given the depth of the problems we face here and around the world, bold new solutions and fundamental changes from a working-class perspective are the *only* kind of ideas that are practical."

She soon became a leader in both. She served as a YSA and then a party organizer in Los Angeles. She directed YSA activity in the women's liberation movement nationally. She's attended the SWP leadership school and is a member of its national committee. She's the national secretary of the YSA.

A member of the National Organization for Women, González has been active in its minority women's task force in both Los Angeles and New York. She was a delegate to NOW's 1981 convention.

Inspired by Nicaragua trips

In 1978, before the victory of the Nicaraguan revolution, she worked actively with Nicaraguan revolutionaries resident in Los Angeles, building solidarity with the anti-Somoza forces. Since the revolution, she has been a steadfast activist in the solidarity movement opposing U.S. aggression there and throughout Central America and the Caribbean.

She has visited Nicaragua twice since the revolution and found both visits "inspiring."

She participated in the two conferences held in Tijuana, Mexico, by the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, organized to help advance the solidarity movement in this country and to help broaden it out so that it can effectively reach key sections of the population, the organized workers, Blacks, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans.

A central theme of the SWP presidential campaign, she said, will be opposition to the U.S. war drive.

She hopes to get to Puerto Rico during the campaign to solidarize with the independence forces there. Also, she said, she plans to visit, in prisons in Puerto Rico and here on the mainland, the Puerto Rican victims of grand jury frame-ups.

She's looking forward to the campaign with obvious eagerness. She said, "I think there's as lot more people out there today who are like I was when I was 18. I know we're going to reach a lot of them in this campaign and we're going to win some to our party."

MASON FOR PRESIDENT • GONZALEZ FOR VICE-PRESIDENT

U.S. makes Grenada safe for big business

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

MONTREAL, Canada — The U.S. military occupation force on Grenada is rapidly dismantling the programs of the Grenadian revolution that improved health care, education, economic well-being and democratic participation in running the country.

That was the conclusion of a fact-finding mission that visited Grenada in mid-November. The delegation represented several aid agencies that had sponsored "people-to-people" projects in Grenada before the invasion: Oxfam USA, Oxfam Canada, several European organizations, and the Canadian aid group, CUSO.

Dionne Brand, a member of CUSO, reported on the delegation's findings at a meeting here December 1. Brand was in Grenada from February 1983 until the U.S. invasion, working with Grenada's Agency for Rural Transformation. Although not on the delegation herself, Brand and other CUSO workers are touring Canada to speak on the devastating effects of the U.S. occupation.

'Vulgar show'

Four days after the October 25 invasion, Brand and the other CUSO workers were evacuated from Grenada on a U.S. Air Force transport plane. On the way to the airport, Brand said, she got a look at the actual size of the invasion force.

"We had been told on the radio that only about 2,000 marines had come ashore from a 15-ship task force," Brand recalled. "But on the road from St. Georges to the landing field at Point Salines, which is about 11 miles, there were marines literally shoulder to shoulder along the road — behind bunkers, in people's houses, at checkpoints.

"We witnessed a convoy of 30 vehicles coming from Point Salines filled with marines. They had commandeered some Grenadian trucks and written across the front of them in white paint "U.S.A. Is Taking Charge."

Brand said that the military might Washington used to subdue a tiny island of 133 square miles represented "an incredible and vulgar show of force."

The fact-finding mission that spent a week in Grenada beginning November 11 witnessed Washington's methodical attempts to wipe out the last vestiges of popular institutions that flourished during the four and a half years of revolution, Brand told the audience.

The U.S.-installed-and-controlled Grenadian advisory governing council, headed by Nicholas Braithwaite, has already announced that two of the most important organizations, the National Women's Organization (NWO) and the National Youth Organization (NYO) are to be dissolved.

Braithwaite told the delegation that the NWO and NYO are being outlawed because they are "political."

At the same time, any workers in the government ministries who were members, supporters, or even friendly to Maurice Bishop's New Jewel Movement are being fired from their jobs, Brand reported. In fact, the head of Grenada's Food and Nut-

rition Council, a woman who was active in the NWO, was fired as she was meeting with members of the fact-finding mission. Non-Grenadian nationals who were working in the government or on government projects are expelled from Grenada on 28-hour notice.

Searches and detentions

The delegation also found that organizations and individuals are subject to constant harassment and attempts at intimidation. Brand reported that the marines conducted searches of the offices of the National Youth Organization, the Mirabel Farm School, the Center for Popular Education (which waged Grenada's successful drive against illiteracy), the National Cooperative Development Association, and other organizations.

"The U.S. military shows up and herds everyone outside the building," Brand described. "Then they do a search of files and documents, some of which are then taken away. And after they are finished they try to encourage the population to loot the premises. This is an attempt to push the Grenadian people to physically and morally disrespect the institutions that were built up during the revolution," Brand said.

She also reported that the delegation had found the practice of detention much more widespread than Washington has admitted.

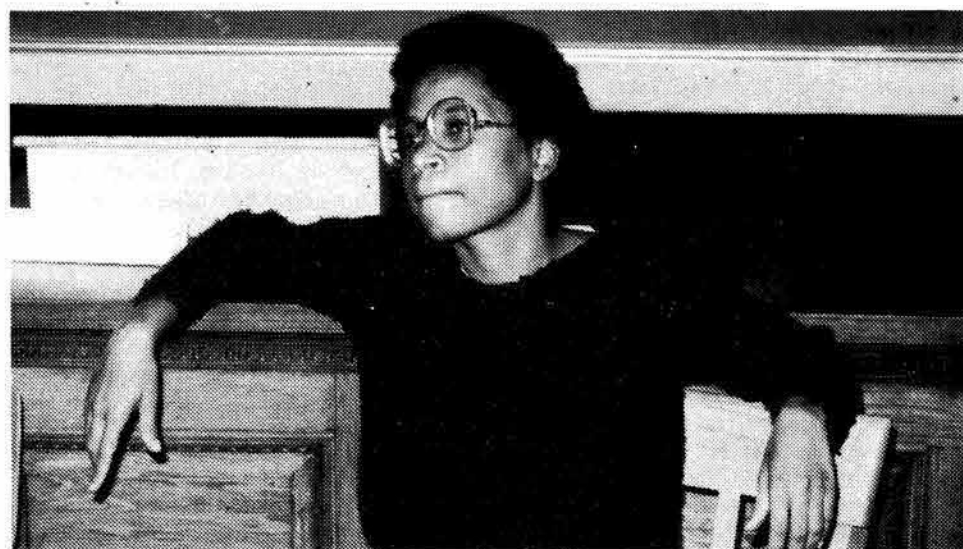
"The U.S. military has constructed detention camps at the Point Salines airport site made of corrugated metal with no roofing. The detainees are given one meal a day and one bath a week.

And insubordination, Brand said, "is dealt with by forcing prisoners to lie down on the asphalt of the runway — if you have ever tried to walk on asphalt in 90 degree sun you can get an idea of what this punishment is like."

Many of the prisoners, Brand explained, are picked up in sweeps of neighborhoods. Marine units comb the neighborhoods looking for "ex-PRA members" (Peoples Revolutionary Army) or "leftist activists."

One leader of the National Youth Organization the delegation interviewed had been detained for two weeks at Point Salines. During his detention he was interrogated at one point nonstop for 48 hours.

"When he was finally released the U.S. military gave him a green card with a number in the 700s. He was picked up again, and when he was released a second time his card showed a number somewhere



Dionne Brand

Militant/Steve Wattenmaker

in the thousands," Brand said.

While the fact-finding delegation was in Grenada, they were briefed by officials of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), who proudly outlined Washington's \$20 million masterplan for returning Grenada to complete U.S. economic and political domination.

Complete with visual displays, the AID officials explained their nine-point plan for post-invasion Grenada:

1. Conduct a feasibility and cost analysis study of completing the new international airport at Point Salines. The airport, of vital economic importance to the island, had been scheduled to open in March 1984.
2. Repair war damage. However, U.S. AID didn't have a proposal for what U.S. government agency should foot the bill.
3. Upgrade the AID mission on Grenada. The proposal was to give AID "full station" status on Grenada, which presumably would give it not only economic function, but responsibility for political and military aspects of the occupation as well.
4. Maintain long-term and short-term security and stability. The recommendation attached to this point is for Washington to "continue a U.S. military presence with both a combat and advisory role — with advisory on civil affairs, engineering, legal and medical, and psych-ops."

When the AID officials were asked what form of psychological operations they were contemplating, they made it clear that the occupation forces plan to maintain their

control of the newspaper and commercial radio station.

5. Restructure the education system. U.S. officials explained that they are particularly anxious to throw out curriculum materials that have been developed during the revolution. They want to reinstitute the type of curriculum that exists in other Caribbean countries heavily dominated by U.S. influence.

6. Lift price controls and review tariff structures. The recommendation on this point is for a lifting of price controls on basic foodstuffs.

7. Establish a new Grenada policy on private investment.

8. Eliminate state farms and commercial state enterprises. The state enterprises and farms have already been shut down, while Washington comes up with a plan to sell them off to private investors. Meanwhile, some 900 workers on the state farms alone have already lost their jobs.

9. Balance-of-payments and budget assistance. Under this point the AID officials explained that they would try to facilitate IMF loans to Grenada — loans that Washington did everything possible to block during the revolution.

All of these proposals, Brand reminded the meeting, are being put into effect before there is even a date for supposedly "free elections" to vote in a new government in Grenada.

"So you can get a clear indication of who really is taking charge in Grenada," she said.

'Bishop made welfare of farmers priority'

Union Farmer is the newspaper of the Canadian National Farmers Union (NFU). Its November issue carried an article by editor Terry Pugh on the U.S. invasion of Grenada titled "Grenadian farmers union's future dim in wake of invasion."

"Over the past three years," Pugh explains, "members of the NFU had participated in tours hosted by Grenadian farmers, and had seen firsthand many of

the ongoing improvements in agriculture in that country."

The following are excerpts from Pugh's article:

The October 25 invasion of Grenada by United States marines has placed the fledgling Productive Farmers Union of Grenada in jeopardy as civil liberties in that small Caribbean nation have been suspended and activities of political organizations and trade unions sharply curtailed.

In addition, the future of the land reform program initiated by the former government of the late Prime Minister Maurice Bishop is unclear.

What is certain is that many of the progressive reforms ... will be set back.

The Farmers Union of Grenada was an affiliate of a regional organization known as the National Farmers Union [NFU] of St. Vincent and the Grenadines. In the October issue of *The Farmer*, the organization's monthly newsletter, the Caribbean farmers union denounced the American invasion as "an act of war and a display of tyranny."

"The NFU of St. Vincent and the Grenadines expresses its solidarity with the people of Grenada, and especially to the Productive Farmers Union, made up of small farmers and peasant workers," said the paper.

Marlene Green, a CUSO [an international development agency funded in part by the Canadian government] staff officer ... and five other CUSO workers were evacuated from the island three days after the U.S. troops landed. ...

"You just go to Grenada and see what they (the American invasion forces) have

done. If they had taken one tenth of the money they have spent on this adventure, and given it to Grenada four years ago when Grenada was asking for assistance, Grenada would be way ahead now, and this wouldn't have happened," [said Green].

CUSO is appealing to the Canadian public for funds to meet the immediate needs of Grenadians affected by the invasion. Funds will be used to rebuild projects as soon as conditions allow CUSO to be certain that aid will reach the people who need it.

[Jacie Skelton, NFU Manitoba Coordinator told *Union Farmer* of the invasion:] "My initial reaction was anger. When we were in Grenada, we saw a government that was working hard to build the country. It was working to stop illiteracy, improve health care and put unemployed people to work productively in agriculture."

The government of the late Maurice Bishop, said Skelton, clearly put the welfare of small and medium-size farmers as a priority, unlike many of the other islands in the Grenadines which are client states of the United States. She cited Grenada's attempt to obtain supplies of fertilizer for farmers at reduced prices by organizing the island governments to bargain as a unit with the supplier. The other governments flatly refused to participate in the exercise she explained. "That was just one example, there are many more," she noted.

Because of the progressive nature of the farmers union, with some of its members active in the New Jewel Movement [Grenada's revolutionary party], Skelton says their safety at the hands of American military personnel now on the island is questionable.

MAURICE BISHOP SPEAKS

THE GRENADA REVOLUTION 1979-83

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How Calif. hotel worker beat frame-up

BY LARRY LUKECART

SEASIDE, Calif. — In a victory for democratic rights, on December 1 the Monterey County District Attorney dropped the attempted arson charges filed against union activist Ken Collins. Collins, a young banquet attendant at the Hyatt Del Monte in Monterey, California, had been falsely charged with setting a fire in a storage room on October 5. Collins, an active member of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Local 483 and a leader of the Seaside chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance, had faced a maximum of three years in prison and a \$50,000 fine.

Union activists and other supporters of democratic rights have drawn a number of important lessons from this case. These were discussed at a victory celebration held here on December 10.

The rally, held in Seaside, was attended by 60 supporters of Collins. Speakers included Richard Criley of the Northern California Civil Liberties Union; Nancy McClintock from the Monterey County Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Alonzo González, past president of Salinas League of United Latin American Citizens; Lance McClair, mayor of Seaside; Mel Mason; Mrs. Alberta Collins, Ken's mother; Sherman Smith, vice-president of Monterey Peninsula NAACP; and Ken Collins.

One lesson learned is how close the collaboration is between the Hyatt and the Monterey Police Department. Former Monterey cop and current head of Hyatt security, Bob Keller, told the local cops, "Ken Collins should be considered suspect because he was a strike captain and he was a rabble-rouser, although he didn't do anything violent."

The district attorney's case against Collins rested entirely on circumstantial evidence. The obvious aim of this frame-up was to attempt to demoralize and scare Collins into resigning from his job.

A defense fund was established to raise money for legal expenses and build a broad support for the case. The Collins Defense Fund worked with the legal team, gained supporters from all sectors of the community, circulated petitions, and campaigned to get letters sent to the district attorney demanding that the charges be dropped. It was this growing pressure that was key in winning this case.

The day of the ruling, Collins' Hyatt

coworkers lined up to shake his hand at work.

Prior to the ruling Collins spoke before his union executive board about the case. Pending consultation with the international union leadership, the board voted to express concern about the case to the district attorney.

Collins had walked the Greyhound picket line in Salinas, California, in support of the strike against the bus company. Most of the drivers expressed interest in the case. Several strikers sent their personal congratulations when they heard that the charges had been dropped.

Speaking about his case at a San Francisco rally in opposition to the U.S. invasion of Grenada Collins pointed out that "this case makes clear that if you are a young Black antiwar union activist who fights to improve the lives of working people, then the bosses and their institu-

tions, the cops and the courts, will fight you and attempt to silence you."

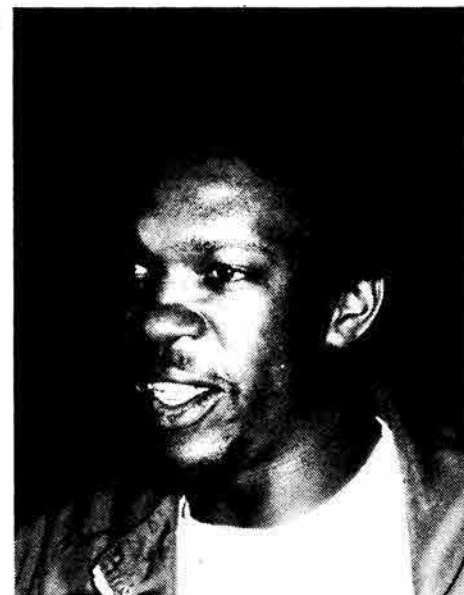
He continued, "It is also clear that if you belong to a party that defends its members, if you organize a broad defense to expose the bosses' lies and explain the truth you can win."

The charges were finally dropped because of "insufficient evidence."

Not waiting for the reverberations of the decision to die down, the district attorney's office continued with their lies.

In another attempt to discredit Collins they issued a statement saying the reason the case went so far as it did was because Collins refused to give his fingerprints and that he only did so after a court order.

But the police department had to admit that they had taken a set of fingerprints when Collins was arrested. A second set was taken with Collins' lawyer present. At no time did Collins refuse to be fingerprinted and there never was a court order.



Militant/Larry Lukeart

Ken Collins

Wash. women's health clinic firebombed

BY LISA HICKLER

EVERETT, Wash. — An arson fire destroyed the lab and staff room of the Feminist Women's Health Center in this town 30 miles north of Seattle. This is the latest attack in a three-month campaign of harassment directed against the clinic.

Local feminists opened the health care facility after it was determined that as many as 1,700 women a year were forced to leave Snohomish County to obtain abortion services. The clinic now sees about 200 clients a month for abortion, counseling, and other medical care.

Women with appointments at the clinic have been forced to cross picket lines of jeering right-wing bigots. Weekly pickets have also videotaped patients entering the clinic and recorded their automobile license plate numbers. The center has had its phone lines jammed with 400 to 700 calls a day. Organizations sponsoring these activities have included the Knights of Columbus, Women Exploited by Abortion, and Concerned Citizens.

These right-wing outfits got a boost from the all-male Everett City Council, which granted a permit to close off the street — effectively blocking access to the clinic — to hold a "rally and prayer vigil" on

November 19. Speaking at the rally was Seattle Catholic Archbishop Raymond Hunthausen. Hunthausen is a figure prominent in the peace movement. Hunthausen asked those at the rally to pray for doctors who are "using their healing power for the destruction of life."

When reporters asked one outspoken clinic opponent for her reaction to the fire, she responded "Hallelujah!" She told the media, "We believe if enough Christians stand up against this, the lord will shut it down."

But just in case the lord didn't shut it down, someone firebombed the clinic in the early morning of December 3, causing \$40,000 in damages.

Defenders of women's rights responded swiftly by holding a broadly attended news conference. Clinic supporters filled the room and applauded statements by representatives of the National Organization for Women (NOW), the Washington State National Abortion Rights Action League, Washington State Women's Political Caucus, and others. In addition, statements protesting the firebombing were sent to the news conference by the American Civil Liberties Union, Ship Scalers Union Local 541, the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights, and several other groups.

Diane Hale of the clinic pointed out that the firebombing follows a pattern of nationwide violence against abortion clinics. George Beykovsky of the Feminist

Women's Health Center Defense Committee noted that the so-called prolife organizations are in reality antiwoman. He said that before abortion became legal "hundreds of women, particularly poor women and women of color died or were maimed each year from the dangerous and dehumanizing butchery of back-alley abortions."

Pat Cameron spoke for Everett NOW saying that NOW supports "a woman's right to choose. . . . NOW stands ready to defend against any and all attacks on this matter of personal choice."

The Everett City Council drew fire for its role. Abortion rights activists reported to the *Militant* that the council considered testimony last summer on the feasibility of enacting city ordinances that would effectively restrict abortion rights in Everett.

Su Docekal of Radical Women asked, "Is the city of Everett attempting to win recognition as the most antiwoman, anti-labor town in the state? We call on the city council to denounce the firebombing by the antiabortionists — and to show some courage in defending our state and federal laws on abortion."

Audrey Fine, spokeswoman for the clinic, told reporters that the center will be functioning again in two to four weeks. "This type of terrorism will not close our clinic. We are united here to demonstrate our strength and commitment to women's lives. We will rebuild our clinic. We will never be deterred from our goals."

Goal: 'In full and on time'

BY HARRY RING

"In full and on time."

That fund-raising slogan of the Socialist Workers Party was born in the 1950s and designed to deal with a problem.

Funding of a workers party has traditionally been a big challenge. Unlike the major parties, we obviously don't have the support of big business. Rather, we are dependent on the regular, and special, contributions of members and supporters.

In the 1930s, when our party was being established, funding was a particularly acute problem. Expenses were a lot lower back then, but income was even less.

In those days, as the few available dollars came in, the most pressing bills were paid. Often emergency measures were needed — special pleas for immediate cash to get out the next issue of the paper, or to keep the phone from being disconnected. Obviously such a situation didn't help to maximize our political efforts.

In the 1940s, big progress was made in systematizing the finances of both the branches and the party center. Weekly contributions became more regularized. Special funds were completed on schedule. Unanticipated financial crises were reduced to a minimum.

In the 1950s, we began to slip back. Several fund drives were not successfully completed. The party leadership recognized its responsibility and, from its efforts to turn around one lagging drive, the slogan, "In full and on time" was born.

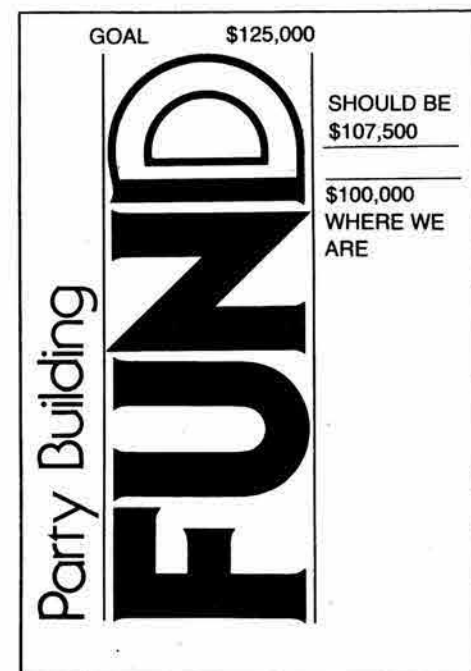
Since then we've lived up to that standard pretty well. But the present Party Building Fund ran sufficiently behind so that we had to postpone the closing deadline from December 1 to January 1.

Since then, as our scoreboard indicates,

we've narrowed the gap. But there's still work to be done.

Last week, we suggested trying to finish the drive by December 22 to avoid the difficulties of collecting money during the holiday period. That may have been unrealistic, but we surely can meet the January 1 goal.

Financial support, like activity, is a result of the political consciousness and commitment of members and supporters. But, even with the most conscious of members and supporters, effective activity doesn't just happen. It has to be organized and led. That's every bit as true for fund-raising. "In full and on time" is a leadership responsibility.



Copper boss tries to evict strikers

BY DAN FEIN

TUCSON, Ariz. — Phelps Dodge copper workers in El Paso, Texas, and Ajo, Morenci, and Douglas, Arizona, have been on strike now for five and a half months. Phelps Dodge Corp. is trying to break the 13 unions representing copper workers by demanding major concessions, including lower pay for new hires and elimination of the cost-of-living adjustment.

The company has hired scabs to replace the strikers and is using other means to break the strike. For example, Phelps Dodge is threatening to evict strikers from company-owned houses in Morenci and Ajo. At first the company said only those strikers who "violated the law" on the picket line would be evicted. But, in fact, all striking workers have received notices. Although the company hasn't yet thrown anyone out of their homes, they are pressing to do so.

At the beginning of December, like every month, rent was due in Ajo and Morenci. Many workers were already two months behind in rent payments. The striking unions, led by the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), raised over \$100,000 the last week in November to pay the December rents for those behind in payments.

One Morenci picket suggested this was a poor use of union funds. He thought the rent should not have been paid to the company — that the strikers should just stay in their homes no matter what.

Meanwhile, on December 7 a striker in

Ajo won a two-week reprieve against being evicted from his company-owned house. Arizona Supreme Court Justice Stanley Feldman ruled against the eviction of Arturo Galvez until the full court hears legal arguments on December 20.

Last August Galvez was one of the strikers who the company "fired" for alleged acts of strike misconduct. He was then sent an eviction notice ordering him to leave his home in 30 days. When the 30 days were up, Galvez was still at home with his family. Phelps Dodge then filed suit to get Galvez out. Pima County Superior Court Judge Lillian Fisher backed the company in her September ruling. Galvez and the unions appealed.

The Arizona State Court of Appeals again backed the company in a December 6 ruling. Galvez and the unions appealed immediately to the Arizona Supreme Court where Feldman gave Galvez the two-week reprieve.

The unions are arguing that Phelps Dodge is evicting Galvez and his family in retaliation for exercising First Amendment rights. Phelps Dodge is arguing its right to end its rental agreement at the end of the lease.

The December 20 hearing will examine whether Feldman's stay should be extended for all workers facing eviction while appeals continue. Even if the state Supreme Court rules against Galvez, it is not at all certain Galvez will move out. Strikers have vowed not to let the company or cops force any strikers out of their homes.

Ex-marine: a socialist since junior high school

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

When we read the inspiring story of Sgt. Jim Stryffeler's victory over the Marine Corps brass for free speech for GIs (*Militant*, December 9), some questions came to mind that we thought readers of the *Militant* would be interested in.

What experiences had brought Stryffeler, a model marine of five years' service, to oppose U.S. interventions in Central America, Lebanon, and Grenada, and to join the Young Socialist Alliance, which he did this June?

How was he accepted by his fellow marines, who knew of his antiwar and socialist views? How was he received by coworkers at the Induction Center in Cincinnati when the Marine Corps tried to victimize him for his political beliefs, and then when the brass was forced to grant him an honorable discharge?

To answer these questions, the *Militant* recently spent several hours with Stryffeler in New York, just as he was preparing to go on nationwide tour to help build the YSA national convention, which takes place December 28-January 1 in St. Louis.

'Ordinary' circumstances

Stryffeler comes from a working-class family from Alliance, Ohio. His father is an electrician and a Vietnam veteran.

His mother works teaching bookkeeping. His sister is married to a dairy farmer.

He joined the Corps at 17 because, he said, he "couldn't stay at home." Like many young people, he "just didn't like [high] school. I was bored with it; it wasn't teaching me anything."

So he graduated from high school in Alliance early and was "hanging out around the house," which his parents didn't want him to do.

He couldn't find a job. He thought about going to college at Kent State, but then he got arrested with a friend on a minor charge of trespassing.

"We didn't tell our parents about the arrest," he said. "I just went and joined the service after I got in trouble."

Why'd he pick the Marine Corps?
"Because it was the service that could get me out of town the quickest." While the other branches had various delays, "in the Marine Corps, it's bang, you can go tomorrow."

Because he wasn't yet 18, he needed a parent's permission to join. It was "no problem," he said. "The recruiter took care of the whole deal in one day. I took the test, took the physical, came out, got my mom's signature, and was on the plane," for San Diego and boot camp.

His story, as so far told, is very much like that of thousands of sons and daughters of workers and farmers who end up in the service.

Socialist since junior high

But Stryffeler has been, he told us, "a socialist in one form or another as far back as junior high school."

Further, his arrest for trespass was at Kent State. He and a friend drove there to take part in a protest against the erection of a gymnasium on the site of the killings of four students there by the Ohio National Guard in 1970 during a demonstration against the U.S. invasion of Cambodia.

When he was 10 years old, he said, he visited a booth set up by the Communist Party at a fair in Canfield, Ohio. He "was able to get their newspaper and youth publications, and to communicate with pen pals in the Soviet Union."

He went to the libraries in Alliance "to try to get anything I could find, anything I could read by Marx, Engels, and other people."

Stryffeler also explained that his relatives in France, where his mother comes from, were in the Communist or Socialist parties.

And his grandfather, he said, "had a lot of respect for the Communists because he fought with them in the Resistance [during

World War II against the Nazis] and because he was in prison with Russians."

His grandfather "just won't put up with the stuff that's said about the Soviet Union," Stryffeler said.

He also met others who considered themselves socialists in Ohio. With a few other people, he said, they got together for discussions. One of his friends was "real big on Marx and Lenin," Stryffeler said, "and he knew a little bit about Trotsky, which got me interested," although there was little other than "an old hardbound copy of the *Communist Manifesto*" at the public library.

Met communists on Okinawa

After boot camp, Stryffeler was sent to Okinawa, where he was assigned to the 3rd Combat Engineer Battalion as a chaplain's clerk.

At Kadena Air Base on Okinawa, he said, he went through a series of classes on Japanese customs and how to deal with the Japanese.

During one two-hour session an instructor told the class, "There's communists here, and these people are going to protest outside the gate. Every time they do we have to close the base down because they'll beat you up. They might kill you. They're violent, they're just crazies."

But, Stryffeler said, "I didn't buy that. I knew better." He knew enough already about socialists, "from talking with a high school friend and stuff," that they didn't see him as the enemy. They "might have seen the brass that way, or the Marines as a whole, but they didn't see us individual workers as enemies," he said.

Stryffeler had noticed the racist treatment of Okinawans on his base. They were treated "lower than life: they've got to scrub floors, shine your shoes, do your laundry."

And he picked up on popular feeling among Okinawans about the U.S. military occupation of their island: "The sentiment was get the hell out of here, we don't want you people here."

With a couple of other marines, he got an apartment off base, which allowed him to leave the compound. And he sought out the demonstrators.

"They weren't ready to beat me up," he said. "They wanted to talk to me, and they were really glad I wanted to talk to them."

They directed him to a bar where they could talk in private.

The time was February 1979, and the talk in the bar was about the approaching triumph of the Nicaraguan revolution over the U.S.-backed tyrant Somoza.

"They explained to me what was happening in Central America, what our country was doing," he said.

"They were telling me people's names I hadn't heard before like Cardenal, Borge, Fonseca, all these other leaders of the Nicaraguan revolution. They were talking about them as great leaders of the working class. I was starting to look at them almost like folk heroes, with real interest."

They told him "great things are going to happen in Nicaragua soon, and in El Salvador, too."

The bar, he said, "became our little communist club," where Stryffeler and his Okinawan comrades met three to four times a week.

He learned that the Okinawan communists did not consider themselves Japanese. Japan had colonized their country, they pointed out, and they wanted a socialist Okinawa, and self-determination.

Classes and ensuing discussion, Stryffeler said, were crucial in helping him understand events like the Iranian revolution and the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. And he became "really big on Nicaragua."

Revolutionary victory in Nicaragua

On July 19, when the Sandinistas triumphed in Nicaragua, *Stars and Stripes* reported nothing. Only on the 22nd did the



Militant

Ex-marine Sgt. Jim Stryffeler discussing experiences in high school and military that led him to antiwar and socialist political action. After threatened with court-martial for expressing his ideas, protests compelled Marine Corps to grant him honorable discharge November 9.

paper, which is published by the brass, say anything.

"A communist dictatorship, that's what they said, took over and democracy was no longer in Nicaragua," Stryffeler said the paper printed.

But the Okinawans, he said, "had a whole different story. I walk into the bar and it's in full celebration. It was fantastic, all these Okinawan communists. I'm right there partying away; we had a great time. It's one of the best memories I have of my whole life, celebrating the victory."

Stryffeler says of the Okinawan communists, "It became part of their work to educate this individual marine. They found someone open and they really did a lot of good work."

They were especially proud of their work among GIs during the Vietnam War, he said. Some of the marines they met then they described as "internationalist communists," he said.

Discussions among marines

Armed with the truth about world events, Stryffeler was able, in the troop indoctrination classes on base, to challenge the official explanations, as did other marines he talked with at camp.

While most GIs, he pointed out, were focused on finding social outlets for their loneliness, he had many productive barracks discussions, "especially with the Latins and Blacks, about Nicaragua, El Salvador."

Black marines did not believe claims by the brass that racism did not exist in the Corps. Stryffeler had noticed in boot camp that white drill instructors who referred to him as a man called Black marine boots "boys."

And on Okinawa, the Klan was active, he said; crosses were burned outside barracks.

Many Latins, he observed, knew a lot about the Marine Corps' invasions of Central America, and they knew about and admired the struggle by Augusto César Sandino against the U.S. interventions in the 1930s in Nicaragua.

Fleet Marine Force Socialist Club

From Okinawa Stryffeler was transferred to the Fleet Marine Force (FMF) Atlantic at Norfolk, Virginia.

There he sought out others for discussions about socialism and the revolutions in Central America. He met a fellow marine who was a member of what is now the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA) and convinced him they should form an organization, which they did — the FMF Atlantic Socialist Club.

He wasn't attracted to the DSA. He knew the DSAer wasn't a revolutionary, he said, because "he was supporting candidates in the Democratic Party. He thought Tom Hayden [formerly a radical, now a Democratic Party politician] was one of the greatest things that ever walked on earth."

Stryffeler had yet to meet the YSA or Socialist Workers Party.

The FMF Atlantic Socialist Club eventually grew to nine members, he said. They discussed things like the struggle of the Fort Jackson Eight, a group of anti-Vietnam War GIs who successfully beat back an attempt by the brass to victimize them during the 1960s.

The Norfolk marine socialists also put

up posters calling on GIs to celebrate the Nicaraguan revolution, he said.

One poster, the biggest they made, called for the disbanding of the Marine Corps. "We listed all the crimes the Marine Corps committed, things that're supposed to be the illustrious history of the Corps," he said.

Transfer to Cincinnati

The FMF Atlantic Socialist Club ended up dissolving, he said, because its members were transferred out of Norfolk one by one. Stryffeler was sent to Cincinnati and assigned to the Induction Center, which recruits members to all branches of the armed services.

In Cincinnati, by looking in the phone book, he found the YSA and SWP, and began attending their public forums. He held campaign meetings for SWP candidates in his trailer.

He took part in classes on the women's liberation movement and the *Communist Manifesto*, among others.

People at the Induction Center, he said, "were very sympathetic to my views; every time a situation arose in the world, they wanted to know what I thought about it."

They had big discussions, he said, after the brass censored a talk they assigned him to give about the August 27 march on Washington, D.C., for jobs, peace, and freedom.

"Several of the other military people," he said, "started to become sympathetic and would read the *Militant* when I'd bring it to work, would read the *Young Socialist*." He "sold one coworker a sub to the *Militant*," he said with pride.

These discussions "turned out to be the enlisted against the brass," he said, which the brass "was really unprepared for."

When marines were sent to Lebanon, he said, the government would tell the officers "what to tell us about it, and just expected us to believe it."

A majority of the military people at the center, he said, disagreed with the official explanations about the U.S. role in Lebanon. Likewise, a majority did not agree with the U.S. invasion of Grenada.

They began to fear a U.S. invasion of Nicaragua, and further intervention in Central America, "which would mean that many of us, marines, sailors, soldiers, and airmen, would be placed in a position that we may be killed for no purpose."

After the bombing of the Marine compound in Beirut, in which 240 GIs were killed, many marines he talked with began to open up, saying they didn't want to die in Lebanon.

Stryffeler lost two friends in the Beirut bombing, one of whom, Paul Calahan, went to school with him in Lorain, Ohio.

"Paul got sent to Lebanon, and he's dead now," Stryffeler said. "His parents don't understand it, marines don't understand it, and I can't accept it."

When the brass decided to victimize him, he got a lot of support from his coworkers at the Induction Center.

When he returned as a civilian to invite people to a victory celebration, he was wished well by everyone except one 30-year lifer.

That was "one individual right-winger, out of a total of 50 people," Stryffeler said; of the rest, "I still feel very close to those people."

Insanity house? — Raymond Gastil, of the anticommunist Freedom House, was unhappy with *The Day After*. In a newspaper let-



Harry Ring

ter, he complained the film failed to show how more adequate preparation and public calm could have saved the day. Example: That light

plane in which the pilot died and the other two passengers managed to land the plane. "They had lost a third of their population ... but they did not panic and they survived."

Stanko strikes again — New Agricultural Dept. charges have been filed against the Colorado and Nebraska meatpacking plants operated by Rudolph Stanko. Earlier revelations confirmed that the Stanko plants, major purveyors of hamburgers for the nation's school lunch programs, are filthy and rat-infested. Now officials assert the company has been making burgers from cattle that were dead on arri-

val. Meanwhile, Stanko keeps operating.

Shopping tip — When Neiman-Marcus began charging \$3 for its Xmas catalog, we vowed to stop giving them free publicity. But you should know that this year they're featuring Chinese Shar-Pei puppies, reputedly the world's rarest breed. \$4,000 a pair. Plus, optional, a hand-carved Chinese pagoda doghouse, \$2,700.

Come now — The *New York Times* reported that the Democratic presidential contenders agree that Jesse Jackson gets a far better

audience response than they do. But, the paper adds, "privately there is some complaining that, as the Black among the eight contenders, he is held to a less stringent standard of experience and expertise." Now we understand there's not an ounce of racism, or envy, in their bones. But do they really expect Jackson to measure up to such intellectual and political giants as Mondale or Glenn?

Zip for the Gip — The White House touch football team managed to get through the season without winning even one for the Gipper. In seven Congressional League games, they were credited

with one forfeit and six losses.

Mr. Nice Guy — Despite a firm, long-standing nonbelief in a divine being, we have to admit surprise that a bolt doesn't come down when our pious president attacks aid to the disabled as "non-productive" dependence, and does so while proclaiming a National Decade of Disabled Persons.

It figures — While the prez was en route to a conference to beat his gums about excellence in education, White House aides announced he would press for further cutbacks in federal school financing.

Imperialist divide-and-rule policy splits Cyprus

Continued from Page 6

April 1967 began its own campaign to get rid of President Makarios. The Greek junta wanted to oust Makarios because of his opposition to the military regime in Athens and his alliance with the powerful Cyprus Communist Party (AKEL — Reconstruction Party of the Working People of Cyprus).

AKEL was, and remains, by far the strongest party in Cyprus. In the 1968 elections it polled 40 percent of the vote, and in 1970 it won all nine parliamentary seats it contested. AKEL deliberately declined to run for more seats in order to avoid winning a majority, which it could have done.

The Makarios coalition government was anathema not only to the Greek military junta, but to the U.S. administration, and to the Turkish government as well. All three accused Makarios of being soft on Communism and feared the possibility of "another Cuba" in the Mediterranean.

In 1970, with the blessings of the Athens military government, right-wing Cypriots began a campaign to oust Makarios and establish unity with Greece. In August 1971, Gen. George Grivas, a Cyprus-born officer in the Greek army, returned to Cyprus clandestinely to lead a guerrilla struggle against Makarios. Grivas had been the military commander of the 1955-59 campaign against British rule.

When Grivas died of a heart attack in 1974, the Greek military regime decided to take direct control of the guerrilla movement and shift its focus. The *New York Times* reported on March 3, 1974, that the junta's "object was to use [the guerrillas] more effectively against the island's militant leftists and Communists for the time being, rather than to back up the demand for union with Greece."

In July 1974 the Greek military regime, under severe pressure at home, tried to divert attention from its unpopular policies by sponsoring a coup to overthrow Makarios and absorb Cyprus into Greece.

Kathy Boudin's trial to start in February

The trial of Kathy Boudin for the 1981 Brink's armored-car holdup is scheduled to begin on Feb. 6, 1984, in White Plains, New York.

The site of the trial was recently moved from Orange County to White Plains, just outside New York City. Boudin's attorneys had successfully argued that an impartial jury could not be found in Orange County because of extensive prejudicial publicity during the earlier trial of three of Boudin's codefendants.

Despite the change of trial location, however, Orange County judge David Ritter will preside. Ritter handed down maximum sentences to the first three defendants after a trial that took place in the atmosphere of an armed camp.

The Brink's case is important for supporters of democratic rights. The government is attempting to set new precedents in further stripping away the constitutional rights of all defendants, especially those who are political activists.

The courts have continued to refuse to separate Boudin's trial from that of Samuel Brown, a codefendant who turned state's evidence in an earlier phase of the case.

The coup succeeded in its first goal — Makarios was ousted. But this led to the Turkish military invasion of Cyprus a week later and to the ongoing partition of the island. As a result of this fiasco, the military junta in Athens collapsed just eight days after giving the go-ahead for the Cyprus coup.

Washington looked with favor upon both the coup against Makarios and the Turkish invasion. An editorial in the July 22, 1974, *Christian Science Monitor* noted that "there has been no love for Archbishop Makarios in Washington; and the U.S., wanting above all to maintain peace and stability in the region, displayed no forceful concern about his removal."

New York Times columnist James Reston wrote on July 17, 1974: "No doubt the planners at the Pentagon would like to see Greece and Turkey control the island, settle their intercommunal differences on Cyprus and permit it to be used as a NATO base. . . ."

Turkish control over northern Cyprus was, in fact, consolidated. But the goal of eliminating Makarios and integrating southern Cyprus into Greece was not achieved. In the wake of the Turkish invasion and the collapse of the Greek military regime, Makarios was able to return to power in December 1974 and served as president until his death in 1977.

Ever since the 1974 invasion, Turkish Cypriot leader Rauf Denktaş has worked ceaselessly to lay the groundwork for last month's declaration of independence. That proclamation is simply a cover for the actual integration of northern Cyprus into Turkey.

Last year Ankara subsidized half the Turkish enclave's \$120 million budget and provided millions more in development aid. Turkish currency has been the currency of the enclave since the 1974 invasion, and the land grab and expulsion of Greek Cypriots has been guaranteed by the continued presence of the 25,000 Turkish troops.

In announcing the declaration of independence, Denktaş cynically claimed that the move "will not hinder, but facilitate the establishment of a genuine federation" between the two communities on Cyprus.

Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Lebanon, Palestine:
THESE ARE REVOLUTIONARY TIMES.

Join with young revolutionaries
COME TO THE YSA CONVENTION
Dec. 28-Jan. 1, in St. Louis, Missouri.

From Chile to the Philippines, workers and farmers are fighting against oppression and for a world without exploitation. They are joined by those in the U.S. fighting against the capitalists and their government, which attacks our rights and living standard and sends troops to protect U.S. profits around the world.

Hundreds of young working-class fighters will meet at the YSA convention to discuss a strategy to fight back against attacks on working people and the oppressed.

The theme of this year's convention will be the

fight against Washington's war in Central America and the Caribbean and the impact of these revolutions on U.S. and world politics. Representatives of struggles around the world will be present as well as activists from the Black, Latino, labor, and women's movements. Convention activities will include rallies, classes, films, and a celebration of the 25th anniversary of the Cuban revolution.

To find out more about how to attend the convention contact the YSA chapter nearest you (listed on page 17) or fill out the coupon below.

Clip and send to: YSA, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.
☐ Send me more information on the YSA and the convention.
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—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Cuba's Foreign Policy: What is the Real Record? Speakers to be announced. Sat., Dec. 17, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Aup: Militant Forum Series and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Fight Against Union Busting — For Union Solidarity. Speakers: Jim Cushing-Murray, vice-president of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1222; Dixie Youts, union organizer, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; Chuck Sheehan, former president, Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization Local 593. Translation to Spanish. Fri. Dec. 16, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Bookstore/Libreria Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Support the Striking Greyhound Workers. Speakers: Eunice L. Wilson, Greyhound driver, committeeperson and member of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1315; Andy Hardin, member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 227; Karl Wisman, member of

Three days later, more than 100,000 people — one-fifth of the total Greek Cypriot population — gathered in the main square of Nicosia, the capital, to condemn the Turkish move.

The United Nations Security Council voted November 18 by a margin of 13 to 1 to brand the declaration of independence "legally invalid." That phrase had been added to a weak British draft resolution after many hours of bargaining. The British delegation refused, however, to include any reference to the Turkish occupation troops on Cyprus.

By contrast, the Nonaligned Movement has regularly called for a complete withdrawal of foreign troops from Cyprus and an end to all forms of interference in its internal affairs.

From Intercontinental Press

Pipefitters Local 522; Craig Honts, member of International Chemical Workers Local 15 and Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 17, 7 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Defend Greyhound Strikers. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Dec. 17, 8 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 867-7755.

MINNESOTA

Virginia

After Grenada, Is Nicaragua Next? Eyewitness report and slide show. Speakers: Pat Virgin, recently returned from Nicaragua; Lisa Ahlberg, recent Socialist Workers Party candidate for Minneapolis City Council. Sat., Dec. 17, 7 p.m. 112 Chestnut St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Antiwar Marine Speaks Out. Speakers: Jim Stryffler, ex-marine and member of Young Socialist Alliance; Joe Allor, Socialist Workers Party; Anne Kiske, High School Students in Solidarity With Latin America; Sam Diener, draft resister. Sun., Dec. 18, 7 p.m. 3109 S Grand, Rm. 22. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

OHIO

Cleveland

Why the U.S. Government Goes to War. A Young Socialist Alliance Educational Conference, Sat., Dec. 17. Class 1: "Why Washington Fears the Grenada Revolution." Speaker: Andrew Pulley. 12 noon. Class 2: "The Cuban Revolution — Its Meaning for U.S. Workers." Speaker: Tamar Rosenfeld. 3 p.m. Forum: "U.S. Hands Off Nicaragua!" Speakers: Omari Musa and Jim Stryffler. 7:30 p.m. followed by YSA fundraising party. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$2 per event or \$5 for conference. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

OREGON

Portland

Nicaraguans Prepare For Invasion by U.S. Slide show and presentation. Speaker: Sandra Nelson, activist in Salem Committee on Latin America, just returned from Nicaragua. Sun., Dec. 18, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.



Ed Asner

Militant/Harry Ring

Ed Asner talks with miners

In its "Inside Talk" column the September issue of the *United Mine Workers Journal* printed an interview with Ed Asner, president of the Screen Actors Guild (SAG). As it may also be of interest to other workers, the *Militant* is reprinting it in full.

Ed Asner, who is best known as TV's "Lou Grant," came to Washington recently to serve as master of ceremonies for the fund-raising dinner which launched the UMWA's new scholarship fund.

Asner is president of his union, the Screen Actors Guild (SAG), AFL-CIO.

JOURNAL: There aren't any coal miners in Hollywood. Why do you give your time to help the UMWA raise money for a scholarship fund?

ASNER: I see it as my duty as a member of the labor movement.

When I was younger, I worked in an auto plant which had an open shop. Later, I worked at a Ford plant which was completely union. The difference was like night and day.

Having a union gave us some dignity; and some power, and that's a lesson I'll never forget.

Working people today are up against powerful corporations and right-wing politicians, and we have to follow the old saying, "All for one, one for all," if we expect to fight back. So I try to help whenever I can.

JOURNAL: Many people don't think of actors as workers who need a union. What kinds of problems do your members face?

ASNER: People may think of actors as the few stars who make big money, but my union has 54,000 members, and at any one

time 85 percent of them are unemployed. Many others are working only for short periods and have trouble supporting themselves. We had a major strike in 1980, before I became SAG president, and the goals were the same ones that other workers are trying to achieve: job security, a fair share of the revenue we produce, and better working conditions.

JOURNAL: Many people believe "Lou Grant" was taken off the air because CBS was upset about your efforts to raise money for medical aid for workers in El Salvador. Why have you spoken out against the U.S. role in Central America?

ASNER: Our government's policies in El Salvador are hurting American workers.

U.S. companies are exporting jobs. They have billions of dollars invested down there. Real unions are outlawed, and so are strikes. Union leaders are killed, and soldiers are stationed inside factories to keep order.

The average wage in El Salvador is less than three dollars a day, and American companies like it that way.

As American citizens, we should be trying to change those conditions. It's not just a moral question. It's in our self-interest to help those workers.

If we don't help them win better standards, we're either going to keep losing jobs, or get dragged down to their level so we can "compete."

And if America doesn't help workers in other countries, they'll just look elsewhere for help.

JOURNAL: You are the president of the union that was headed by Ronald Reagan in his younger days, but you don't seem to agree with him on very many issues.

ASNER: No, I don't. You know, there is a common thread that runs through everything that Reagan does, and that is to help big business at the expense of everyone else.

He's helping big business make more profits by ignoring workers' safety on the job.

He's helping them fight union organizing.

Unfortunately, most other politicians are the same way.

JOURNAL: What can we do to change that?

ASNER: Well, it won't be easy, but we have the power if we use it.

I think your union, the UMWA, is one that is definitely headed in the right direction. Your program of getting the membership involved in political action, organizing, and all the other programs is very impressive.

A few elected leaders can't do it alone. Every working man or woman has to find some way that they can help.

Power struggle among Steelworkers officials

Continued from back page

have been McBride's personal choice as successor, has indicated his intention to stick to McBride's policies. His two prime goals, he stated, are getting Democrat Walter Mondale elected U.S. president and "rebuilding our union."

Another important development offers a glimpse of the differences that may be developing at the union's international offices at Gateway Center here. The USWA lost a major arbitration case that will bring sharp reductions in vacation and unemployment benefits for 200,000 workers in the basic steel industry.

Arbitrator Benjamin Aaron ruled that the big seven steel corporations can calculate vacation and supplemental unemployment payments on the basis of the new wage scale that is part of the concession contract. This is despite the fact that these benefits were earned by time worked before the concessions went into effect, under the old, higher wage rate. A union official called the economic loss for workers "inestimable." The *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette* said it could save the companies \$50 million.

In a move with no recent precedent, Williams refused to invite Odorich and McKee to a meeting of the union's district directors and executive officers where the arbitration ruling was discussed on December 5, according to Odorich.

Odorich also stated that Williams has informed him that he will no longer represent the international union in dealing with two in-house unions that represent USWA headquarters employees and staff workers. Odorich has said he is in favor of recalling many of the 300 of these workers who were laid off or pressured into early retirement in

a recent staff retrenchment at Gateway Center.

To what degree this split in the top officialdom may lead to political debate and discussion in the union that would allow the interests of the union ranks to come forward remains to be seen. Meanwhile, opposition candidate Ron Weisen, president of USWA Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works and a longtime foe of many of the top leadership's policies, including concession bargaining, held a press conference December 6 in the lobby of Gateway Center.

Weisen is running under the slogan "Save Our Union." He told the media he would run on a "no concessions" platform of restoring rank-and-file control over the union.

To the cheers of about 40 steelworkers assembled in the lobby, he blasted the "country-club unionism" of the top international leadership, promising to slash their salaries to that of the highest paid working steelworker.

Weisen pledged a "return to the tactics of the 1930s" to rebuild and revive the union, which has dropped from 1.4 million to 725,000 members under the McBride team's administration.

Weisen criticized both Williams and McKee sharply. Both "bureaucratic members" of the USWA International Executive Board, "will promise our membership the 'world' during the course of this election, because they certainly will not be able to run on their past records," he stated.

The three candidates must receive valid nominations from 111 USWA locals. Weisen protested the refusal of the incumbent administration to deliver to him com-

plete lists of the USWA's approximately 4,700 locals. This information is necessary in order to make a complete effort to achieve ballot status.

Weisen stated he would ask the U.S. Department of Labor to monitor both the nominations meetings and the membership referendum election.

In criticizing the "tuxedo unionism" of the current administration, Weisen termed union spending for Political Action Committees in support of Democratic and Republican politicians "a joke."

"The only way we will do any good," he said, "is to elect our own people, labor people," to office.

In response to a reporter's question on foreign steel imports, Weisen struck a theme identical to the USWA top officialdom. "I oppose all imports," he said, criticizing corporations and banks for overseas investment policies.

He called for a Tennessee Valley Authority type set-up of federal funding to rebuild the steel industry under the management of "regional public authorities," and the take-over of abandoned mills under the power of "eminent domain."

McKee and Williams have yet to make formal announcements of their platforms.

The *Militant* stays on top of the most important developments in the labor movement. It has correspondents who work in the mines, mills, and shops where the events are breaking. You won't miss any of it if you subscribe. See the ad on page 2 of this issue for subscription rates.

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NOW endorses Mondale

On December 10 the national board of the National Organization for Women (NOW) voted 32-5 to endorse Walter Mondale for president in 1984. This decision — marking the first presidential endorsement ever made by the women's rights organization — will intensify discussion among NOW members on political action and women's liberation.

According to press reports, debate at the board meeting focused on three Democratic party candidates — Mondale, Sen. Alan Cranston, and civil rights leader Jesse Jackson. In a nonbinding vote earlier in the day, 23 supported Mondale, 11 backed Cranston, and 3 abstained.

NOW's board was empowered to endorse a presidential candidate after considerable discussion by delegates at the organization's national conference this past October. There was significant reluctance to immediately endorse whichever Democrat claimed to have the best chance of defeating Reagan. Mondale served as vice-president in the Carter administration — when the Equal Rights Amendment was defeated and Medicaid for abortions was cut off.

A good number of delegates were also uncomfortable about a proposal put forward by the NOW national leadership that prohibited endorsement of any candidate from a third or independent party.

The decision to endorse Mondale will not end the discussion on political action in NOW, but rather, open it up further. In announcing the decision, NOW Pres. Judy Goldsmith said it was "essential to make the strongest possible statement for the one candidate we felt could, indeed, do the best for women and defeat Ronald Reagan."

But backing Mondale will do nothing to advance the fight for women's rights. Nor will it contribute to defeating the antiwoman, prowar, racist policies of the current administration. Those policies are not the aberration of

one man, but the necessary actions of the ruling class of bankers, businessmen, and landlords who can only maintain their profits through war, exploitation, and discrimination.

To be effective, fighters for women's rights have to begin with this fact. There is no easy shortcut to winning women's liberation.

The Socialist Workers Party has announced its 1984 ticket of Mel Mason for president and Andrea González, a NOW member, for vice-president. Their platform is the polar opposite of what Mondale and the Democrats are offering.

Mason and González don't say "vote for me and I'll set you free." Instead, they plan to use their campaign to further the building of a mass, independent women's rights movement, one based among union women, Black women, Latinas, and young women.

It makes no sense for women's rights fighters to be locked in battle with the two parties that run the country and then turn around and campaign for them in 1984.

Mason and González are explaining that the road to women's liberation is the same as the road to Black liberation and an end to class exploitation — uprooting the capitalist system itself.

But to fight the system, a new party is needed. The Democrats and Republicans represent big business. Mason and González support the formation of a labor party based on a fighting trade union movement. Such a party would champion women's interests and the interests of all working people.

Mason and González explain this perspective is a realistic one — what's unrealistic is labor, women, Blacks, and other victims of capitalist society continuing to subordinate their needs to the two parties that represent their enemies. It's an idea for NOW members to carefully consider.

Reagan's 'color-blind' racism

The Reagan administration's efforts to halt and reverse affirmative action went into high gear this month.

On December 2, the Justice Department filed a brief with the Supreme Court against a Detroit police department affirmative action program designed to increase the number of Black cops hired and promoted.

On December 6, Reagan made one more in a series of moves designed to gut the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. He appointed to the commission a staunch opponent both of busing to desegregate the schools and of quotas to enforce affirmative action, while refusing to reappoint a former member who had been critical of his administration.

Again on December 6, the Justice Department asked the Supreme Court to overturn lower court rulings that prohibited the Memphis, Tennessee, fire department from laying off newly hired Black workers because of budget cuts.

From 1950 to 1976, the Memphis Fire Department hired 1,683 whites and 94 Blacks. To begin to remedy this outrageous discrimination, a court-ordered affirmative action program was put in place in 1980. It mandated that 50 percent of those hired and 20 percent of those promoted had to be Black.

The results? Today, 16 percent of the privates and 14 percent of the lieutenants in the Memphis Fire Department are Black.

In May 1981, budget cuts resulted in layoffs in the department. If they had been done according to strict seniority — "last hired, first fired" — 61.4 percent of those laid off would have been Black — a number four times the proportion of Blacks in the department.

The Black firefighters went to court to prevent these

discriminatory layoffs, which would have substantially reversed the gains made in desegregating hiring and promotion.

A federal district court issued a preliminary injunction saying that layoffs according to seniority could not be applied *insofar as they decreased the percentage of Blacks*. It's this ruling that the Reagan administration wants the Supreme Court to reverse.

These moves have been combined with recent statements by Assistant Attorney General William Reynolds railing against any measures which are specifically geared to closing the gap between the working conditions and living standards of Blacks and whites through the upgrading of Black rights.

In explaining the basis of his opposition to affirmative action, Reynolds said, "Probably the most pernicious lingering effect of past discrimination in this country is the continued tolerance to classify people on the basis of race."

Reynolds calls for hiring and promotion to be "color-blind."

Reynolds makes one small error: *discrimination is not a thing of the past in the United States*. In fact, the attacks on Black rights are increasing as part of the U.S. rulers' moves to push back all working people.

To pretend to be color-blind in a society where Blacks are second-class citizens is to condone the racist status quo and to oppose equality for Blacks.

The labor movement, which has the biggest stake in championing the rights of Blacks, should speak out loudly and clearly against these latest attacks on affirmative action.

Lift sanctions on Poland

Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa has called for an end to economic sanctions against his country.

At a December 5 news conference in Gdansk, Walesa said the sanctions imposed on Poland in 1981 by imperialist nations were causing serious damage to the country's economy. "Sanctions should be ended because what Poland needs at the moment is not losses of millions of dollars but aid of billions of dollars," he said.

In his statement sent to the Nobel Peace Prize ceremony in Oslo December 11, the union leader reiterated the call to drop sanctions: "My country is in the grips of a major economic crisis. This is causing dramatic consequences for the very existence of Polish families."

Walesa's call is a welcome one. When the Polish regime crushed the Solidarity union two years ago, the Reagan administration and other imperialist governments seized the opportunity to impose strict sanctions on Poland's already weak economy; to tighten the nuclear noose around all the workers states in eastern Europe; and to step up military intervention around the world.

Reagan hypocritically claimed to be acting in the interests of the Polish workers. He utilized the fact that

some Solidarity leaders in exile had urged sanctions.

Far from aiding the Polish workers in their just fight for democratic rights, the sanctions and other measures weakened the struggle of Solidarity by weakening the Polish workers state, a tremendous conquest of the toilers of that country. When Solidarity leaders failed to repudiate the imperialist measures and accompanying anti-communist propaganda, they deepened the confusion among Polish workers about how to advance their struggle.

In the United States, the sanctions were a godsend for the anticommunist officialdom of the AFL-CIO, which embraced these and other reactionary attacks against Poland. Draping themselves in the cloak of "free unionism," the AFL-CIO bureaucrats sought to whip up a campaign to inflict as much damage to Poland and other workers states as possible, and to portray the union-busting, bloodstained government in Washington as the true defender of world peace and democracy.

Walesa's statements offer an opportunity for trade unionists to again speak out against the criminal policies of the AFL-CIO and Washington on Poland, and to demand an end to all sanctions now.

11 Puerto Rican Nationalists railroaded in 1937

The following article, "U.S. Imperialism Attempting to Railroad 11 Puerto Rican Nationalist Leaders to Prison," appeared in the Oct. 23, 1937, *Socialist Appeal*, as the *Militant* was called at that time.

The events described in the article were the culmination of five years of proindependence agitation by the Nationalist Party headed by Pedro Albizu Campos. During this period at the height of the depression, the party gained a mass following among those seeking radical solutions to the oppression suffered under U.S. colonial rule. As it gained strength, the independence movement came under increasing violent attack by the cops who were commanded by U.S. colonial officers. In October 1935, cops massacred several Nationalists outside the Río Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico. Four armed attacks against the home of Albizu Campos were carried out, all demonstrations were banned.

The trial of the 11 Nationalists was part of Washington's attempt to smash the party's leadership. By the end of 1938, the United States had succeeded in imprisoning most of them.

Since September 13, [1937] a trial, silently ignored by the American press, has been taking place at the city of Ponce, Puerto Rico. The 11 nationalist defendants, in-

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

cluding Julio Pinto Gandía, president of the Nationalist Party, and Lorenzo Piñero Rivera, interim general secretary of the same, are accused of assassinating an insular policeman who was killed during the premeditated police machine-gun attack upon a nationalist demonstration on March 21, 1937.

It would be well to state the antecedents of the present trial. On February 12, the federal circuit court in Boston, rejecting an appeal for retrial, upheld the sentences meted out on July 31, 1936, to Dr. Pedro Albizu Campos and seven other nationalist leaders who were convicted by a federal jury for "conspiracy to overthrow the United States government," and sentenced for terms varying between 6 to 10 years at the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary.

While the case was being appealed to the United States Supreme Court, the Nationalist Party decided to hold a demonstration in support of Dr. Albizu at the city of Ponce. The mayor of Ponce, Tormos Diego, granted a permit only to revoke it at the last moment under pressure from superior military authorities at San Juan. The demonstration started at the set hour and within a few moments machine guns, ably managed at strategic points, began to cut down the crowd — men, women and children, participants, and bystanders were indiscriminately mowed down like blades of grass. When it was over, nine were dead and more than 200 were wounded. A dozen more died the following day. Thus did the naked brutality and insolence of Yankee imperialism manifest itself on that day — rightfully it is called the Massacre of [Palm] Sunday.

An investigating commission headed by Arthur Garfield Hays and consisting of many prominent Puerto Rican attorneys, journalists, and intellectuals set out to determine the responsibility for the tragic events of [Palm] Sunday. The Hays report subsequently made clear that civil liberties and rights are constantly being flouted by Governor Blanton Winship who refuses to recognize the elementary rights of freedom of speech and assembly. The Hays report furthermore maintains that what actually took place on March 21 was purely and simply a premeditated massacre.

The Nationalist Party of Puerto Rico calls for the independence of that island from the United States. The Roosevelt administration, which so hypocritically condemns Japanese violations of Chinese territorial integrity in the name of "humanitarianism" and "civilization," has been ruthlessly suppressing the national aspirations of the Puerto Rican people. The nationalists are constantly being terrorized, hounded, and incarcerated.

American imperialism is determined to railroad the present defendants to jail. The jury chosen does not contain one friend of Puerto Rican independence. Evidence presented by state witnesses has been baseless and contradictory, obviously concocted. On June 1, 1937, the Supreme Court upheld the sentence against Dr. Albizu Campos thus condemning him to years of suffering in the Atlanta Penitentiary.

Every revolutionary, every sincere individual, every honest friend of democratic rights and liberties for colonial and semi-colonial people, must raise his voice in protest against the shameless and impudent antics of Yankee imperialism in Puerto Rico, demanding at the same time the immediate release of Dr. Albizu.

Against American imperialist oppression!
For the right of the Puerto Rican people to their independence!

Turning victim into criminal: the case of Chris King

Christopher King, an activist in the fight for Black rights, went on trial December 6 on charges relating to a shootout with state police in North Attleboro, Massachusetts, in 1982. Police claim King is a member of the "Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson

AS I SEE IT

Unit" which, they allege, is a terrorist group. King has been incarcerated in the House of Corrections in New Bedford, Massachusetts.

The *Militant* recently received the following letter dated November 25 from a prisoner at the New Bedford House of Corrections who is familiar with King's case. The prisoner prefers to remain anonymous. The *Militant* reprints the letter below.

A friend sent me a card the other day. It spoke of strengthening one's faith in humanity. That becomes more and more difficult with each day's passing; especially if you're sitting in one of Amerika's Koncentration camps, watching all constitutional, civil, and human rights being totally disregarded. But, yes, my friend I still believe we should strive to salvage *what's left* that's good.

In the real world they can bomb and bully a tiny island like Grenada, set up and support military dictatorships all over the world — most presently Chile, El Salvador; with eyes on toppling Nicaragua — all in the name of restoring "democracy and freedom." In the same breath they support apartheid in South Africa, where the majority of its people don't have any rights. Not democratic nor human. And here at "home" what kind of rights do we have? What kind of equality is there here in Amerika for Africans born in this country, when their right to vote has to

be renewed every 20 years? Which brings me to the case of Chris King.

Chris King was arrested on Feb. 7, 1982, in a rest area on Interstate 95 South near North Attleboro, Massachusetts. The state trooper who arrested Mr. King testified in court that the only reason he stopped next to the car with Mr. King in it was because "it aroused my suspicions to see people of different races sitting in the same car in that rest area." He further stated, "it was even more uncommon to see Blacks in this rest area."

So he stops his cruiser within a foot of their car at an angle so as to pin their car against the curb. They are illegally seized at this point. No laws have been broken, unless you think, as State Trooper Paul Landry did, that being of different nationalities is a crime. He then asked them what they were doing there, and they said "resting." He then asked them for their license and registration. After checking both out everything came back clean. The trooper's racism and slave-type mentality continues to guide his actions. He radios for a back-up — he wanted to search the African. When the back-up came, they both went to the passenger side of the car and ask/told Mr. King to get out. When Mr. King stepped out of the car, State Trooper Landry began to pat-frisk him. Mr. King pushed the trooper's hands away, telling him to keep his hands off. Both troopers then pulled their guns out and told Mr. King to put his hands on his head.

At this point, the Massachusetts Supreme Court has ruled, it was an illegal stop, illegal seizure, and illegal search of Mr. King; therefore, an illegal arrest. But now watch what happens. The police can provoke you into doing something to make all their illegal actions, legal.

What happened next is kind of confusing. The police say that the driver got out of the car and began shooting at them. Mr. King hasn't said anything. He was under arrest when this happened. The driver got away. The Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled, had the driver not acted as he did, Mr. King would not be incarcerated now. Mr. King is now facing two counts of attempted murder, two

counts of assault with a dangerous weapon, and ten other miscellaneous charges.

What happens next is some of the sleaziest, undermining, and illegal bugging that we know of since Watergate. In a joint venture the Massachusetts State Police, along with the New Jersey State Police, ATF [Treasury Department's Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms], FBI, and an informer orchestrate and put into practice Gestapo tactics, totally disregarding Mr. King's constitutional rights.

Through the use of the informer, Allan Berube, the above mentioned agencies plotted and carried out a plan to make Mr. King lose confidence in his attorneys by telling him that his attorneys weren't working in his best interests. Berube testified that he was told to tell Mr. King that his lawyers weren't working for him and that the people in the community had deserted him.

In April 1982, while in court on a motion to suppress evidence because of the illegal search and seizure, the informer put a bug between Mr. King and his attorneys. This outrageous violation of Mr. King's Sixth Amendment rights came to light only because Berube later was arrested himself. He found himself in the same prison system as Mr. King and decided to confess what he had done. On Feb. 25, 1983, he did so in federal court.

Mr. King goes back to court on Dec. 6, 1983. Before his arrest, Mr. King was active in the Boston community doing grassroots organizing since 1975. He was raising his son alone since 1975 and worked at the Haymarket Peoples Foundation since 1976. At Haymarket he raised money that was later distributed to over 150 community organizations throughout New England. The police are trying to say that Mr. King is part of a terrorist organization.

If the police are allowed to continue to use such tactics as they have here, from the racist illegal arrest, to the bugging of the courtroom, what kind of democratic rights can we be said to have?

LETTERS

500 hear Palestinian

Professor Edward Said, author of *The Question of Palestine* and a member of the Palestine National Council, spoke to an audience of 500 at the University of California at Berkeley on November 16.

On the same day anti-PLO Palestinians and the Syrian army launched a murderous assault on the Beddawi refugee camp, headquarters for Yassir Arafat in Lebanon. Dr. Said said that the Syrian regime is aiming to carry out the same goal started by Israel when it invaded Lebanon last year: the destruction of the Palestine Liberation Organization as an independent fighting force. He pointed to polls that show 95 percent of Palestinians on the West Bank support Arafat's leadership.

Dr. Said also spoke about Israel's occupation of the West Bank and the intensification of its campaign to deny Palestinian Arabs the means of survival. Under a new Israeli decree, Palestinian Arabs are forbidden to plant eggplant or other vegetables on their own property without first securing a permit and paying a fee to the occupation authorities. Vegetables already under cultivation must be registered with these same authorities or face removal by the military. The motive, Dr. Said said, is to increase the dependence of non-Israelis on Israel or face starvation.

The positive reception Said's anti-Zionist talk had is confirmation of one of the themes of his lecture: the changing attitude of the American public which is now more willing to question Israeli motives and think positively about the Palestinian struggle.

B.B.
San Francisco, Ca.

SWP vote totals

In the November 8 elections Socialist Workers Party school board candidate, M.J. Rahn, received 43,079 votes and SWP city council candidate Kathleen Denny received 7,636. Denny, a member of International Association of Machinists Lodge 912, finished ahead of two Libertarian Party

candidates. Rahn, a Teamster and warehouse worker, was the only challenger against three incumbents and got 17 percent of the vote, only 5.4 percent behind the third place finisher.

The socialist campaign distributed 9,500 copies of a six-sided brochure explaining the SWP program, including to many workers at area factories and plants.

The *Cincinnati Enquirer* ran a half-page article on Denny with a picture of her at work at the giant General Electric jet-engine plant. She also appeared on a televised debate.

Rahn was filmed at a public hearing concerning the Zimmer nuclear power plant, stating the SWP's opposition to all such plants. The hearing was shown repeatedly on a public-access cable station.

Two young rebels joined the Young Socialist Alliance during the campaign, including Jim Strýfeler, the ex-marine anti-war activist who recently received an honorable discharge. There is also a group of six campaign supporters who are considering joining the Young Socialist Alliance or Socialist Workers Party.

M.J. Rahn
Cincinnati, Ohio

Prison problems

Overnight, Marion federal prison has been transformed into a political nightmare for its prison population. We are on ultra-punitive lockdown in stripped cells. Following the stabbing of four guards, every cell in the entire prison has been stripped of all furnishings and fixtures. Some of us are locked in cells without lights.

Over a period of years, I have been involved in activities on both the federal and state prison level to bring more Black and other minority employees into the prison system. The reasoning has been that since minorities constitute between 90 and 95 percent of any given prison population, minority employees would be more sensitive to the needs of minority prisoners.

As I sit here in Marion today and see how easily Black and

other minority prison guards are manipulated into Marion's Gestapo-like regime, in support of its authoritarian rule over the prisoner population, I know that my own political consciousness had been compromised by the same racism and discrimination I had sought to modify.

The minority guards who had previously been sympathetic and sensitive toward minority prisoners, have been totally and utterly transformed into a group of snarling SS-type troopers, overnight. This is even to the point of threatening and intimidating defenseless prisoners.

It is the level of political consciousness and not skin pigment that determines the human quality in prisoner-guard interaction.

Please give us your support by sending letters to Sen. Sam Nunn and Sen. Edward Kennedy to ask that they investigate what is happening here at Marion federal prison.

A prisoner
Marion, Illinois

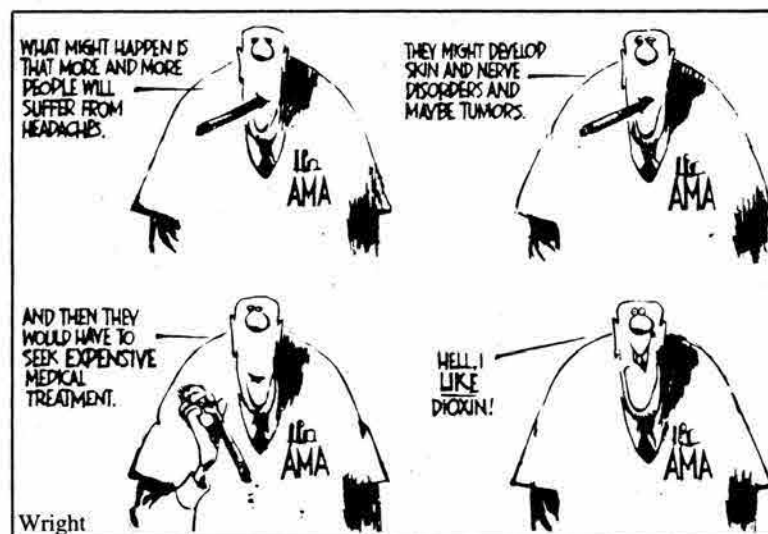
Operation PUSH

On November 12 Operation PUSH sponsored a "Solidarity With Central America Day," here in Chicago. Three hundred people heard Melvin Lewis of the U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society; Dan Dale, Chicago Religious Task Force on Central America; Evon Jackson, a Guyanese national; and Alderman Danny Davis. Operation PUSH leader George Reddick chaired the rally.

Héctor Marroquín, the Mexican socialist fighting deportation by the U.S. government for his political views, also spoke. He called for "unity of the rejected," by "bringing together all victims of racism, sexism, discrimination."

Marroquín explained the connection between U.S. war policy aimed at crushing the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean, and its immigration policies here at home. These policies demonstrate hatred for those people who are escaping persecution from oppressive regimes which are supported by the United States.

Marroquín also spoke at a rally



attended by 60 people at St. Pius church. He was joined by representatives of the local coalition opposing Simpson-Mazzoli legislation and Carlos Aranja, a Mexican national here who is also fighting deportation.

At the University of Chicago 100 people attended a meeting on immigration and U.S. foreign policy. Dennis Brutus, the Black South African poet who recently won his fight for political asylum in the United States, spoke along with Marroquín. A collection was taken for both defense efforts, but Brutus urged that all the funds collected go to Marroquín's case.

John Votava

Chicago, Ill.

Jackson campaign?

I appreciate your reporting of the Greyhound strike but regret your silence on Jesse Jackson's campaign. Socialist or not, his opinions are vital to the presidential contest.

B.R.
Oxford, Ohio

Thanks for free sub

When I learned that the beloved prime minister of Grenada, Maurice Bishop, was killed, it shocked me. The brothers and sisters of Grenada have my greatest sympathy and best wishes.

I've been receiving a free subscription for several years now. On June 25, 1984, you may discontinue it because my incarceration ends then. At that time, with-

out hesitation, I will renew my subscription by sending the cost, plus a reasonable contribution which may help other prisoners who can't afford to buy a subscription.

A prisoner
Angola, Louisiana

Correction

In last week's *Militant*, the article on NATO Euromissiles, which appeared on page 3, contained an error. It said the recent deployment of nuclear missiles in Britain, Italy, and West Germany were "being added to thousands of NATO missiles already in place in Western Europe."

It should have read "being added to thousands of NATO nuclear weapons already in place in Western Europe."

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, N.Y. 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.

N.Y. women firefighters win jobs back

Judge finds 'extraordinary evidence' of sex discrimination



Reinstated firefighters Brenda Berkman (left) and Zaida González

BY CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK — Charging the Fire Department here with "blatant sexual mockery," a federal judge ordered two women firefighters reinstated December 8 to their jobs, with full back pay.

The women — Brenda Berkman and Zaida González — had been fired in September because they were outspoken in demanding their rights as women in the Fire Department.

Department officials dismissed Berkman and González with the claim they were physically unable to handle a power hose. But weeks of testimony in a lawsuit the women filed established a pattern of grotesque sexual harassment against them and a deliberate campaign to drive them out of their jobs.

Federal Judge Charles Sifton, in announcing his ruling, cited the "extraordinary evidence of intentional discrimination" aimed at Berkman and González by Fire Department officials. He said that the two women are entitled to an additional court decree prohibiting anyone in the department from further attacks on their rights.

The victory for Berkman and González marks the latest chapter in a struggle of several years to break down the barriers to women getting jobs in the New York Fire

Department.

It was Berkman — president of the United Women Firefighters Association — who filed a class-action suit challenging the discriminatory testing used to exclude women from jobs in the department. In March 1982 a federal judge ruled the department test was indeed discriminatory and not related to skills needed for the job. The Department was ordered to modify the test, and as a result, 42 women were hired as firefighters, the first in the department's 117-year history.

In September of this year, 22 of the women were promoted from probationary to full status. But Berkman and González were fired. Berkman's commanding officer called her "the weakest firefighter I have ever encountered," claiming she posed a safety threat to other firefighters.

The two women filed suit, naming Fire Department officials and New York mayor Edward Koch as defendants. At their trial, the truth came out about the treatment the two women had endured.

Both said they received a good reception from coworkers when they first began the job. The trouble started when Berkman filed a complaint of discrimination for a number of the women firefighters and González spoke out in a number of media interviews. González also debated former Unifomed Firefighters Association Pres. Nicholas Mancuso on television, defending women's right to be on the force. The harassment began, with a vengeance:

- A giant bra, with Brenda Berkman's initials on it, was hung from the firehouse where she worked.

- González was manhandled by a superior officer and then threatened if she reported the incident.

- Berkman received phone threats that someone would "get her" as soon as the first person died because of her alleged incompetence.

- Both were excluded from the customary communal-style meals in the firehouse, and other workers refused to talk to them. Antiwoman graffiti, photos, and language were used to further harass them.

During the trial, incidents of harassment of other women firefighters also came out:

- The air hose for one woman's breathing apparatus was pulled out, endangering her life.

- Another woman's tires were slashed.

- Men broke into the women's bathroom and made fun of them in notes on bulletin boards.

In his ruling, Judge Sifton rejected the department's claim that physical incompetence was the reason Berkman and González were fired. They were terminated "as a result of discriminatory retaliation against them for their pursuit of their rights," he said.

"Neither Berkman nor González was given a fair opportunity to demonstrate her ability to become a firefighter," he declared. Far from acting to protect their rights and integrate them into the force, the department fostered sexual harassment, he charged. He said it is "only surprising — and testimony to the basic decency of the rank-and-file members of the department — that more incidents of discrimination have not emerged."

In addition to the support Berkman and González received from the women's movement, Black firefighters came to their defense. Lieut. David Floyd, president of the Vulcan Society, the Black firefighters association, testified in the trial that the tests the two women were given were not relevant to their job and that men, too, had been unable to control the power hose on occasion.

Steelworkers presidential election: top officials in power struggle

BY JON HILLSON
AND GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

PITTSBURGH, Pa., Dec. 12 — One candidate has dropped out and another has announced in the campaign for the presidency of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). A special election is set for March 29, 1984, to replace former Pres. Lloyd McBride, who died in early November.

On November 30, international Vice-pres. Joe Odorcich withdrew from the race. Within hours of his announcement, Frank McKee, the union's international treasurer, stated his intention to run. Odorcich quickly announced that he would back McKee and is now listed publicly as chairman of McKee's campaign committee.

These developments signify a widening rift and power struggle among the top officials of the USWA. Following McBride's death the union's International Executive Board divided 16 to 12 in choosing international Secretary Lynn Williams over Odorcich as interim president until the election. At the time he announced he would challenge Williams, Odorcich stated he would raise important issues facing the union "that have not been discussed."

Odorcich returned to that theme in expressing his support for McKee. The *Pittsburgh Post Gazette* reported on December 1:

"For too long, Odorcich said, the five top officers have discussed their problems in private and the minority has given the public appearance of fully supporting all policy."

Odorcich went on to explain, "I am no longer bound by the policy that the minority must keep their mouths shut."

McKee, like Odorcich and Williams, is a longtime union official. After holding local union office and serving on the union's staff, he became a district director in California in 1973. In 1977 he was elected to his current post. He is also the chief negotiator for the 13 unions repre-

sented striking copper workers in Arizona and Texas.

McKee also immediately sought to give the impression that the direction he will propose for the union will be different from that followed by the top officers when they remained united. He said he will offer "leadership that will oppose concession bargaining" and "that will radically change the ratification of contract procedure."

Most rank-and-file steelworkers do not have the right to vote on their contract. This made it easier for the employers to impose a concession contract in the basic steel industry that included big wage and benefit cuts last March 1. All of the top officers, including Williams, Odorcich, and McKee, backed this agreement. Odorcich, in fact, was the union's chief negotiator at the time, as McBride was ill.

Odorcich and McKee also both sounded a backward note in differentiating themselves from Williams, who is Canadian. While still a candidate Odorcich said of Williams, "He is a Canadian. Is he going to

be concerned with the problems of our members here?"

McKee tried to approach this more subtly. "I sincerely believe," he said, "the problems which our union must address require a leader with long experience in major collective bargaining in the United States and protracted familiarity with the United States political structure."

Williams' nationality was not raised as an issue in the past two international union elections when he, Odorcich, and McKee all ran as part of the McBride team, along with Leon Lynch, vice-president for human affairs. At a press conference in Pittsburgh, Lynch announced his support for Williams as did two USWA district directors, Andrew "Lefty" Palm, and Anthony Rainaldi. They are directors of District 15 and 22 respectively and represent 100,000 steelworkers in western Pennsylvania. They are described by the *Pittsburgh Press* as "former Odorcich stalwarts."

For his part Williams, who is believed to

Continued on Page 17

U.S. Steel threatens to close mills

As the USWA election campaign heats up, so too do the attacks on steelworkers and their union by the steel corporations.

U.S. Steel is again threatening to close down several mills and lay off more workers. On December 8 company spokesman David Higie said that its competitive disadvantages on labor costs could result in shut-downs of all or parts of the Cuyahoga Works near Cleveland; South Works in Chicago; Fairfield Works near Birmingham, Alabama; Johnstown Works in Johnstown, Pennsylvania; and Trenton Works in Trenton, New Jersey.

The company has sent letters with this threat to some 4,700 affected workers in a move to pressure them into further local concessions.

This is the latest move in the steel corpo-

rations' ongoing effort to restructure the industry, at the expense of steelworkers. Each corporation is aiming to shut its less profitable operations in order to raise corporate profits and improve its competitive position both at home and abroad.

One component of this effort has been moves to play one USWA local off against another as the companies threaten to close those mills where workers refuse concessions, and keep open those where the union agrees to them.

This relentless assault on wages, benefits, work rules, and union rights is the key challenge facing the union as it heads toward the March 29 presidential election. How it responds will be of importance to the entire labor movement.