

Salvadoran rebels announce peace plan

BY MALIK MIAH

At a Mexico City news conference on February 9, Ana Guadalupe Martínez, Guillermo Ungo, and Rubén Zamora, leading representatives of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR) of El Salvador, outlined a proposal to bring peace and social justice to that country.

The proposal is a political response by the revolutionary forces to the escalating U.S. war in El Salvador and the entire region, and to the U.S.-backed regime's so-called democratic presidential elections set for March 25.

At the news conference, the revolutionary leaders announced their call for the formation of a "Provisional Government of Broad Participation."

"This is not a new proposal in the sense of a change in our position," said Zamora. It is "rather a concrete development of our political position," he said.

The draft program for the Provisional Government of Broad Participation explains that the plan "is the result of the development of the Salvadoran people's democratic and revolutionary forces in the military and political arena."

It "will be a government in which no single sector will have control. It will be the expression of the broad participation of those social and political forces ready to end the oligarchic regime, and to recover national sovereignty and national independence; a government in which the existence of private property and foreign investments will not be against the interests of society."

"We have proposed various alternatives to solve the current crisis," the introduction to the proposed program-platform explains, "believing that the largest number of Salvadorans must share the effort to achieve peace with justice, because only a powerful and broad effort can bring our country out of the destruction in which it has been plunged by the oligarchic regime and the intervention of the United States government. . . ."

The formation of such a government, the proposal continues, "will allow our people to continue their process of social, political, and economic transformations towards a truly just society."

As a broad-based government, the only forces that will not be included are "the oligarchy" and "individuals and sectors that are against the objectives of the provisional government or that advocate maintaining the dictatorship." This specifically excludes the National Republican Alliance Party (ARENA), whose major leader, former Constituent Assembly Pres. Roberto D'Aubuisson, is also a leader of the right-wing death squads.

The government will include: "representatives of the labor movement, peasants, teachers, workers, professional associations, universities, political parties, the private sector, representatives of the FMLN-FDR, and of an already-restructured national army."

The FMLN-FDR explains that the proposal is for a provisional government with clear immediate objectives. It is not to be a "long-term government."

In line with this, five objectives are outlined for the government:

"1. To recover national independence and sovereignty.

"2. To dismantle the repressive apparatus and to lay the basis for a true democracy in which human rights and political freedom are fully respected and where

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U.S.-backed rightists battered in Lebanon



Druse militiamen, part of Lebanese opposition forces fighting Washington-trained rightist troops.

BY CINDY JAQUITH

FEBRUARY 15 — The Reagan administration continues its drive to impose a settlement of the Lebanon conflict that will maximize imperialist control over the workers and peasants there.

But this drive was dealt a new blow February 14 when Druse militias, part of the opposition forces in Lebanon, drove the hated Lebanese army out of strategic positions on a ridge above Beirut. Earlier, on February 7, Muslim and Druse militias forced Lebanese troops out of West Beirut. The army — which is armed and trained by Washington — was reportedly left in control only of areas around East Beirut, which is dominated by the right-wing Phalange forces of Pres. Amin Gemayel.

The U.S. Marines at Beirut airport were thus nearly surrounded by opposition forces.

Late tonight it was announced that Gemayel had signed an eight-point plan for a settlement in Lebanon, sponsored by Saudi Arabia. The plan reportedly tore up the May 1983 agreement Gemayel had made with Israel through the mediation of Secretary of State George Shultz.

That agreement is usually referred to as a pact for withdrawal of Israeli and Syrian troops from Lebanon. What it actually codifies, however, is a permanent police role for the Israeli army in southern Lebanon and an extension of Israeli domination of the economy there.

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Grenada: U.S. targets workers gains

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — The gains of the 1979 Grenada revolution are under attack. The U.S.-installed Advisory Council that rules the country has taken steps to further dismantle social and economic programs benefitting working people — programs that were instituted by the People's

On-the-scene-report

Revolutionary Government (PRG) of Grenada headed by murdered Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

Following the PRG's overthrow last October by a clique led by Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard and the subsequent U.S. invasion of the island, many of the revolution's advances were immediately reversed. The construction of an international airport at Point Salines — 80 percent completed by the PRG — was halted. State-run industries, such as the Agro-Industry plant, which processed and packaged agricultural products, and the Sandino Housing plant, which produced prefabricated homes, have been closed.

Thousands of Grenadians are now jobless. Begging and prostitution — virtually nonexistent under the PRG — are once again prevalent.

Taking the advice of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) team's study of Grenada last fall, Advisory Council officials recently announced plans to turn other state enterprises over to private owners. The interim government said that landlords whose estates were confiscated without compensation would have these lands returned to them.

The PRG expropriated idle and underused land and launched state farms or made land available to farming cooperatives. The PRG's policy led to increased employment and agricultural production.

A worker at the Grenada Bank of Com-

merce (GBC), a nationalized bank, told the *Militant* that U.S. officials had promised the Advisory Council the Reagan administration would deposit \$17 million in the GBC (the U.S. government has already sent \$9 million to help finance Grenada's proimperialist regime). There was only one condition — 51 percent of the bank's shares must be sold to private businessmen.

One of the most impressive social gains of the Grenada revolution was in the field of education. Under the PRG, education became a right. Secondary schools, which were privately owned under the U.S.-backed dictator Eric Gairy, became free and an adult literacy program, the Center for Popular Education (CPE) was started.

Now, free education is threatened as Nicholas Brathwaite, who heads the Ad-

visory Council, claims the government was left an empty treasury by the PRG. And while there are people staffing the CPE offices, there have been no classes since October.

Another project under attack from the U.S. government and its local flunkies is the National Cooperative Development Agency (NACDA). The PRG created this agency in 1980 as a statutory body within the Ministry of Agriculture. The revolutionary government negotiated an EC [East Caribbean] \$1 million [U.S. \$380,000] loan for NACDA, which the agency then used as a revolving loan fund for starting cooperatives.

NACDA provided loans at 8 percent interest to Grenadians seeking to start cooperatives. The agency aided the

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Thousands of union women will meet at March CLUW conference in Chi.

BY CANDACE WAGNER

CHICAGO — In March 1974, 3,200 women unionists gathered here to form the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW).

This year on March 22-25, thousands of women unionists will gather here again, this time to celebrate the 10th anniversary of the founding of CLUW and to discuss the current problems facing all working women, and union women in particular.

This convention occurs as Washington and Wall Street are stepping up their war against the unions and women's rights in this country, and against the peoples of Central America and Lebanon. The convention will be an important place for union women to exchange ideas on how their unions can effectively counter this employer offensive.

The call for the convention states: "Through resolutions and debate, we will be developing strategies and programs to build our organization and achieve the goals in our statement of purpose:

- Participation of women in their unions
- Affirmative action in the workplace
- Political action and legislation
- Organize the unorganized."

The convention will be preceded by a CLUW conference on affirmative action on March 22. That night the Chicago CLUW chapter will host a 10th Anniversary Celebration Rally. Speakers will include CLUW Pres. Joyce Miller; CLUW Executive Vice-president Addie Wyatt; Illinois Federation of Labor Pres. Robert

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BY SANDI SHERMAN

Since the overthrow of the workers and farmers government of Grenada and the subsequent U.S. invasion and occupation of the island, members and active supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have been on a campaign to get out the truth about the Grenada revolution.

This campaign has centered on an effort to reach union members at steel mills, rail yards, auto plants, oil refineries, garment shops, coal mines, and aerospace plants.

The *Militant* and its Spanish-language sister publication *Perspectiva Mundial* have carried extensive coverage of Grenada — both during the revolution and since its overthrow.

This has included eyewitness accounts of the invasion, feature articles describing the achieve-

ments of the Grenada revolution, and reprints of Cuban government statements explaining the events and answering the lies of the U.S. warmakers in Washington.

Thousands of copies of these papers have been sold as part of this get-out-the-truth campaign. This includes more than 850 copies of the initial issue of the *Militant*, whose headline read "U.S. Hands Off Grenada Now," sold at plant gates and on the job right after the invasion.

In addition, hundreds of copies of the Pathfinder Press pamphlet containing the text of a speech given by Grenada's Prime Minister Maurice Bishop in the United States last June, have been sold.

Another weapon socialist workers have used in this campaign is the interview with Don Rojas, former press secretary to Maurice Bishop, which was printed in *Intercontinental Press* and *PM*.

In this interview, Rojas examined the circumstances surrounding the arrest of Bishop, the overthrow of the People's Revolutionary Government of Grenada by a clique led by Bernard Coard, and the assassination of Bishop and other leaders of the ruling party, the New Jewel Movement.

Socialist workers at the FMC Corp. in San Jose, California, found themselves in the middle of big discussions about the Grenada events and the U.S. war drive. FMC is a major supplier of armored vehicles for the military and is organized by the International Association of Machinists.

The day before the invasion of Grenada, the company held a giant pep talk for its employees, ostensibly to celebrate the completion of a new line of armored vehicles. Workers were let off work for two hours to attend the event, so they could hear the company's message

that workers should support the government's foreign policy. This generated a lot of discussion, which was intensified by news the following day of the U.S. invasion.

John Harris, a socialist who works in the plant, reports that there were a lot of questions being raised by his coworkers about the strife within the Grenadian government. He photocopied the Rojas interview from *IP* and sold it to six or seven of his coworkers for 25 cents. Harris reports that "there was a good discussion about Grenada and the role of U.S. imperialism. People generally liked the interview, even a month or two after the invasion."

Socialist transit workers in New York City found a similar response.

A number of their coworkers are from the Caribbean — from Barbados, the Dominican Republic, etc. The events in Grenada had

a big impact on them.

About 15 copies of *IP* were sold and transit worker Dick McBride reports that the discussions around the interview have helped to clear up a lot of questions these workers had.

In Seattle, where 60 copies have been sold so far, a number of *IP*s have been sold to unionists, including Filipino cannery workers and workers laid off from Boeing.

In addition to continuing to distribute the Rojas interview, socialists are now making plans to reach their coworkers with the new Pathfinder Press book, *Maurice Bishops Speaks: The Grenada Revolution 1979-1983*.

The *Militant* is offering this \$6.95 book for \$4 with a subscription renewal or extension as part of the effort to reach U.S. workers with the lessons of the Grenada revolution (see ad below).

Salvador freedom fighters announce peace plan

Continued from front page

broad popular participation to achieve a definite peace becomes a reality.

"3. To respond to the most immediate and pressing needs of the popular majorities and to adopt basic economic and social measures to change these structures.

"4. To establish the practical conditions needed to resolve the current state of war.

"5. To prepare for and hold general elections."

Immediate measures and guidelines

The platform proposes 20 measures for the proposed government to implement immediately.

Among these immediate measures are: "freedom for all political prisoners and disappeared"; "investigation and trial of the military personnel and civilians responsible for the genocide, political crimes, torture, disappearances, and illegal abrogation of individual freedoms"; "repeal the state of siege and all the decrees promulgated since 1980 that restrict social and individual freedoms"; "full guarantees for the exercise of collective and individual rights and freedoms"; "passage of a provisional statute allowing agricultural and state workers to organize themselves"; and "trade unions will be compensated for damages against their property caused by the repression since 1979."

The provisional government will also carry out a series of immediate economic and social reforms: "a moratorium on the debts of small and medium entrepreneurs"; "set and control prices on basic necessities"; "undertaking a massive literacy campaign"; and "establishment of an electoral body, which, by agreement of the participants, will prepare for the holding of general and free elections."

These steps will require measures affecting the Salvadoran army and U.S. military:

"withdrawal of U.S. advisers, a halt to U.S. military aid, as well as that coming from other countries, and the suspension of all arm shipments"; "restructuring of the governmental armed forces, and once it is achieved, the incorporation of its representatives in the structures of the Provisional Government of Broad Participation"; "the dissolution of the security forces, death squads, and their political arm, the ARENA party"; and "popular power organizations that have emerged in different areas of the country during the war will be legitimized."

These democratic emergency measures are to lay the basis for the full achievement of agrarian reform, nationalization of the country's banking and financial system, and for "the full achievement of the foreign-trade reform, including the control of exports of the main products" and lay the basis for the solution to social and economic problems facing El Salvador after decades of U.S. imperialist domination.

On international relations the government would promote peace, self-determination, and nonintervention. In relationship to the U.S. government, the document calls for direct talks to establish relations based on mutual respect and self-determination. This includes not allowing foreign military bases on Salvadoran territory.

Serious proposal

The FMLN-FDR proposal could only be implemented if the Salvadoran regime and its Washington backers agreed to join a process of dialogue and negotiation.

To advance this objective — one the revolutionary forces have proposed for several years — the FMLN-FDR proposes "direct dialogue, without preconditions, organized by one or several mediators" and "direct negotiations among the parties in conflict"

— including representatives of the U.S. government and the Salvadoran regime.

Once the dialogue "reaches an advanced stage," the FMLN-FDR is prepared to negotiate a cease-fire.

Big step forward

The FMLN-FDR's proposal to establish a Provisional Government of Broad Participation reflects the growing confidence, strength, and unity of the revolutionary forces. The FMLN-FDR has called for a negotiated settlement in the past. The new peace proposal presented by the FMLN-FDR is more comprehensive than previous proposals.

The decision by the FMLN leadership to make this proposal reflects the increasing unity of the revolutionary currents that

make up the FMLN — both politically and militarily. It also reflects the increasing weakness of the U.S.-backed regime — now more internally divided and weaker militarily.

U.S. response

It is no surprise that Washington has studiously ignored this latest peace proposal. To date, Washington has rebuffed every effort by the popular forces to negotiate a settlement of the war. And the U.S. rulers do not want to give any credence to the reality that the FMLN-FDR really do represent the masses of El Salvador.

But the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times* — leading liberal capitalist publications — consciously downplayed

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AVAILABLE NOW

"Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again"

Videotape of interview with Don Rojas, former press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

In this film, which was produced by the National Black United Front, Rojas describes the events that took place between Oct. 12, 1983 — when Bishop was placed under house arrest by Deputy Prime Minister Coard — and Oct. 19, 1983 — when thousands of Grenadians freed Bishop and marched to Fort Rupert, where he was killed.

Rojas explains the accomplishments of the Grenada revolution, the developments inside the ruling party, the New Jewel Movement, and Cuba's aid to the revolution.

Length: 120 minutes, standard speed 1/2" VHS videotape. Price: \$35. Order from: *The Militant*, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014; (212) 929-3486.

SPECIAL OFFER TO MILITANT SUBSCRIBERS

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This collection of interviews with and speeches by the slain prime minister of Grenada also includes an introduction explaining the events that led to the overthrow of the revolution, Bishop's assassination, and the invasion by U.S. troops.

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MAURICE BISHOP SPEAKS

THE GRENADA REVOLUTION 1979-83



The Militant

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Mason meets with striking copper miners



Mel Mason, socialist presidential candidate, with copper strike leaders.

BY KAREN KOPPERUD

CLIFTON-MORENCI, Ariz. — Socialist Workers presidential candidate Mel Mason began his first nationwide campaign tour here in the copper towns that are the center of the seven-month long strike of 13 unions against the Phelps Dodge Corp.

Mason told strikers and their supporters here and in Safford and Ajo, Arizona, that their battle against overwhelming odds has set an inspiring example for working people across the country. Mason termed his visit a fact-finding tour aimed at gathering as much first-hand information as possible. He pledged to tell the truth about the strike and the vicious union-busting by Phelps Dodge and the state government to audiences wherever he campaigns.

The warm response Mason received indicated both the serious way in which

working-class fighters here view the socialist campaign, and the respect they have for the work that Mason and his supporters have done in support of the strike.

In Morenci and Ajo Mason walked the picket lines with striking miners. He heard from them about the violence and harassment they have been subjected to at the hands of state troopers and the National Guard, which was mobilized in August by Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt to escort scabs into the mines.

Mason attended meetings of the women's auxiliaries, which have played a key role in the strike, and met individually with many rank-and-file strike leaders. He learned of the hardships inflicted on workers and their families, including evictions from company housing, the devastating effects of floods last October, and even com-

pany-inspired threats against the young children of strikers.

In Safford Mason was invited to address a women's auxiliary meeting. In Clifton he was invited to a meeting of the city council, a majority of whose members are workers who support the strike. He also attended a dance to raise money for the strike in Clifton.

Mason spent hours in strikers' homes learning the history of Phelps Dodge union-busting. The predominantly Chicano, Mexican, and Native American unionists related the decades of racist discrimination practiced by the company.

On February 10 Mason spoke to workers at a campaign meeting held at the Clifton Social Club. "Any candidate who says he or she is for the working person should come here and support this strike," Mason told the audience. He went on to explain why the socialist campaign believes working people and the union movement should organize their power independently and form a labor party to represent them politically.

All unions should come to the aid of the strike said Mason. A labor party would be a powerful tool that could help working people win battles like the copper strike and others that are opposed by the two employer parties, the Democrats and Republicans.

In the discussion period, workers discussed a wide range of issues with Mason, from what causes war, to the Jesse Jackson campaign, to what Mason would do differently if elected president.

Mason spent a great deal of time discussing U.S. foreign policy with these workers,

including what's behind Washington's aggression in Central America and Lebanon. He said that as president, he would dismantle the \$305 billion war budget and use the money for workers needs, beginning with jobs.

Rather than fighting against workers in other countries, Mason said, he would use the power of the presidency to back up the demands of workers like those on strike in Arizona.

Mason told the *Militant* he was deeply impressed by the strikers' determination and by the political thinking they are doing based on their experiences. As one woman told him after they had discussed the meaning of socialism, "I guess that means I'm a socialist and a militant at heart. There must be a lot of us out there."

Next week's *Militant* will include further reporting on Mason's exciting Arizona tour.

Marvel Scholl: 50 years of struggle



Marvel Scholl, a 50-year veteran of the revolutionary socialist movement, died in California February 13. She was 76 years old.

In 1934, Scholl and her husband, Farrell Dobbs, joined the Communist League of America, a predecessor of the Socialist Workers Party, in Minneapolis. Dobbs, who died last year, later served as national secretary of the SWP for 19 years.

A future issue of the *Militant* will carry an article on Scholl's half-century in the fight for socialism.

Mason, Gonzalez begin campaign tours

BY DON DAVIS

The first stops on the nationwide tours of Socialist Workers presidential candidate Mel Mason and his running mate, Andrea González, have been announced.

Mason, who recently completed a fact-finding and solidarity tour among striking copper miners in Arizona (see story on this page), will next make a swing through Florida, Georgia, and Alabama. Mason will arrive in Miami on February 29, stop in Atlanta March 3-6, and spend March 8-13 in Alabama helping to kick off a big petitioning effort aimed at putting the socialist ticket on the Alabama ballot.

Mason then moves on to Dallas, Indianapolis, Minnesota, and into Detroit on March 29, where supporters will have just launched a statewide ballot drive.

González, a former member of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA), will devote the first part of her tour to steel industry centers where steelworkers are discussing how to stop plant closings and layoffs and the upcoming election for president of the USWA. Starting in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, on February 24, González will move on to Pittsburgh; the Baltimore-Washington, D.C., area; and then to Texas on March 7.

A highlight of her Texas tour will be a

swing through the Rio Grande Valley, a predominantly Mexican and Chicano area where unemployment is at 40 percent. A team of socialist campaigners will spend a total of three weeks there. González will arrive in the Chicago-Gary area March 16 and stay for the national convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women which takes place March 22-25.

The socialist candidates bring a unique perspective to the 1984 elections: they are the only candidates explaining that the problems facing working people stem from capitalism, a system where a tiny handful of capitalists control the decision-making power.

Mason and González say working people need a government that represents the majority — workers and farmers — that would take wealth and power out of the hands of the capitalists and begin building a socialist society, which would be truly democratic and free from racism and sexism. As a step in this direction, they advocate a break from the two capitalist parties — the Democrats and Republicans — and the formation of a labor party based on a fighting trade union movement.

González told the *Militant* that these ideas have sparked many discussions on her initial campaign trips.

She recalled a woman from rural Illinois — a striking meatpacker — that she met at the recent national lesbian rights conference sponsored by the National Organization for Women. The woman wore a Walter Mondale button. She came back to talk to González four times during the course of the conference. "Everything we said made so much sense to her," González said. "But she had to decide whether working for Mondale would be better."

González said people like the idea of a labor party based on an alliance of labor, Blacks, and women, and they want to take some time to talk about it.

To help publicize the socialist alternative in the 1984 elections, two campaign posters — one in English and one in Spanish — will be out soon. More materials are in the works, and there is an ambitious schedule of candidates' tours and ballot drives being mapped out for the spring.

All of this, of course, costs money. As the thermometer on this page shows, progress is being made on raising an initial socialist campaign fund of \$84,000. But we still have a long way to go, and our March 15 target date is less than a month

away.

This means that as we increase our efforts to publicize the socialist campaign, we must also increase our efforts to raise the necessary money.

To make our goal, every area will need to decide right away on special measures to finish getting pledges from campaign supporters, and then collecting them as soon as possible.

Militant readers can help increase the visibility of the socialist campaign by clipping the coupon below and sending in a check made out to "Mason for President."

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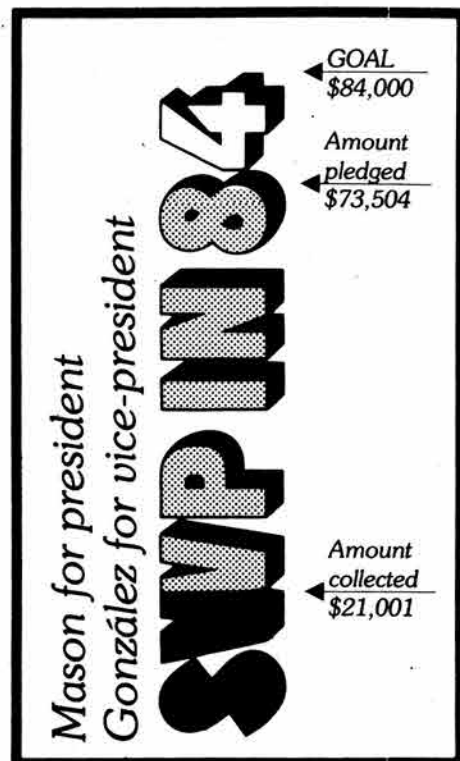
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SOCIALIST WORKERS '84 CAMPAIGN



SCLC, unions back Marroquin in fight against deportation

Within the next several weeks the U.S. Supreme Court is expected to rule on the case of Mexican-born socialist, Héctor Marroquin, who is fighting Washington's six-year attempt to deport him because of his political ideas.

Marroquin is demanding that the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) grant him political asylum. He is also demanding that his application for permanent residence based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen be granted. The INS refuses to grant permanent residency in the hopes that the Supreme Court will issue an adverse decision that will force Marroquin to leave the United States before any action on his application for permanent residence is taken.

Marroquin is currently on a nationwide tour sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). On his tour, Marroquin is meeting with and asking support from the union movement, Black and Latino organizations, women's rights groups, and all other supporters of democratic rights.

In last week's *Militant* we reported on a very successful February 4 rally in defense of Marroquin in Washington, D.C. Excerpts from messages sent to that rally and a letter recently sent to the INS in support of Marroquin's fight are reprinted below.

In addition, the entire resolution adopted by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's 26th annual convention in support of Marroquin's case is reprinted.

PRDF is asking Marroquin's supporters to step up efforts to get messages sent demanding that the INS grant him permanent residence and stop the attempt to deport him.

Letters and telegrams should be directed to Alan Nelson, Commissioner, INS, Washington, D.C. 20536. Please send copies to PRDF, P.O. Box 649, New York, N.Y. 10003. Phone calls to the INS should be directed to (202) 633-1900.

SCLC

Resolution adopted at 26th annual convention

We recognize that present U.S. immigration policy is discriminatory to refugees from repressive governments friendly to the U.S. as well as refugees of color. These immigrants are routinely denied asylum under the guise that they are "economic refugees" and not "political refugees." This policy has particularly heinous effects on the Haitian immigrants who are imprisoned in concentration camps and denied their basic human rights.

Georgia socialists field candidates

BY ALISON BECKLEY

ATLANTA — The Socialist Workers Party has announced its candidates for the U.S. Senate seat currently held by Democrat Sam Nunn and for the 5th Congressional District seat held by Democrat Wyche Fowler.

Susan Winsten, a member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 365 is the socialist senatorial candidate, and Maurice Williams, member of Local 2127 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, is running for Congress.

At a February 2 news conference that was covered by an Atlanta television station, the *Atlanta Journal*, and five area radio stations, the candidates spoke out in opposition to Washington's wars in Central America and Lebanon, and against the U.S. invasion and occupation of Grenada. Both candidates announced their plans to travel to Nicaragua later this month to participate in volunteer work brigades organized by supporters of the Nicaraguan government. "In Nicaragua," said Williams, "we will witness how our tax dollars are financing murderous attacks by the CIA."

Williams said his campaign will explain that both the Democratic and Republican

In this spirit we support Héctor Marroquin's appeal for political asylum currently being heard in the Supreme Court as it has implications for all Caribbean and Central American immigrants. We also urge quick and fundamental changes in current immigration and naturalization policies so that they are sensitive and fair to all people.

We also oppose the Simpson-Mazzoli Bill because of its discriminatory implications and that it would create a sub-class of citizens.

In its attempt to grant legal status to the undocumented, this bill would set up a national identification system which would potentially deprive citizens of their constitutional guarantees of privacy, due process and equal protection.

John De Mars

Special Assistant, Peace Programs and International Relations, National Education Association

For Héctor and for many of his supporters, the usefulness of this long and trying process is found in the belief that this has been, above all, a struggle for fairness and equity. It has been clear since the outset that Héctor's case was an irritant to U.S. immigration; a review of the record makes plain that an element of arbitrariness has held sway in the government's decisions.

It is my hope that we may soon hear the good news... the news that our citizenry has been expanded to include a courageous and persistent fighter.

David Fontaine

Assistant to the Director, Upper South Department, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

It is obvious that the Immigration and Naturalization Service is determined to insult the very meaning, that America is a land of refuge.

Héctor Marroquin is an outspoken leader for freedom and a courageous voice

Hector Marroquin tour schedule

The following is the February and March itinerary of Héctor Marroquin's national speaking tour:

Charleston, W. Va.	Feb. 15-17
Louisville, Ky.	18-21
Greensboro, N.C.	25-28
Newport News, Va.	Feb. 29-March 3
Los Angeles	6-9
San Diego	10-12
Seaside and San Jose, Calif.	13-18
Northern California	March 28-April 3

parties are responsible for war, unemployment, union-busting, and racist and sexist oppression. He assailed Georgia leaders of these two capitalist parties for failing to come to the defense of Mary Cater, a Black from Cobb County whose home has been shot into by racists.

Williams hit attempts by the wealthy families who run this country to prevent working people from running for public office. "Barriers are continually raised by the government and the corporations it represents to prevent workers from pursuing an independent political course, separate from the Democrats and Republicans," said Williams. He explained that his union won him the right to distribute campaign materials to his coworkers and a 2-week leave of absence to make his trip to Nicaragua.

He stated his campaign's support for the right of Blacks to representation in government, adding "in 1982 I saw a real example of Black political power when I visited revolutionary free Grenada. Under the leadership of then Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, the government represented workers and farmers, not big business. That's why the U.S. government invaded and occupied the island. We must resist Washington's attempts to drag us into another Vietnam in the Caribbean and Central America."

for liberty.

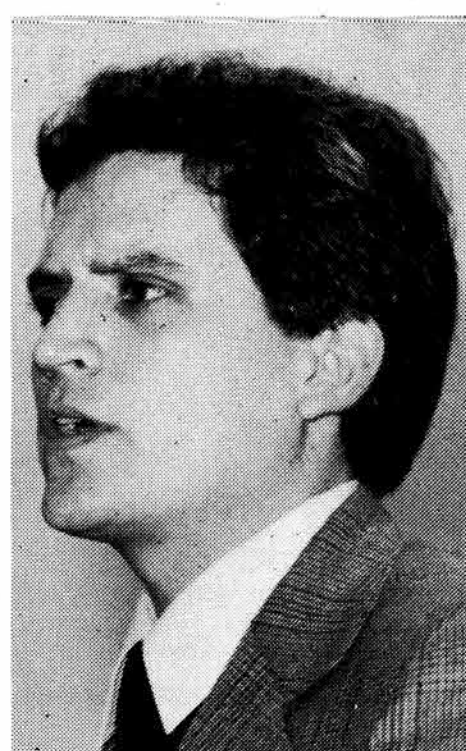
Because of this, he is being persecuted. We all must be compelled to rally around Brother Marroquin in his struggle.

I join my brothers and sisters in the labor movement, who believe in the basic cause of freedom and wish Brother Marroquin continued strength in his struggle.

Lou Montenegro

Midwest Regional Director, International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; letter to INS Commissioner Nelson

I am writing to demand that the deportation proceedings against Héctor Marroquin be ended. His appeal for political asylum should be granted.



Héctor Marroquin

Militant/Lou Howort

Irish freedom fighter battles attempt to deport him from U.S.

BY WILL REISSNER

NEW YORK — A three-judge panel of the federal court of appeals here heard final arguments on February 8 in former Irish Republican Army member Michael O'Rourke's appeal to overturn a deportation order against him.

O'Rourke, who has been held in prison without bail since October 31, 1979, is charged with overstaying his visitor's visa. He is the longest imprisoned person in the history of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

O'Rourke is fighting deportation to Ireland, where he would face a return to prison for his involvement in the struggle to end British rule in Northern Ireland. He is seeking permanent resident status in the United States, based on his marriage to a U.S. citizen and his compliance with U.S. laws between his arrival in the United States on February 16, 1978, and his arrest on October 31, 1979.

A native of Dublin, O'Rourke joined the IRA following a visit to Northern Ireland in 1971, where he was shocked by the treatment of the nationalist population in that British-ruled enclave.

Trained as an engineer, he ran a factory that produced weapons for IRA use against the British Army in Northern Ireland.

In 1975 O'Rourke was arrested in the formally independent south of Ireland, and was sentenced to six years' imprisonment for possession of explosives. After a year in a maximum security jail, O'Rourke escaped and lived underground in Ireland until February 1978.

With the Irish police closing in on him, O'Rourke came to the United States, where he settled in Philadelphia and lived quietly until his arrest.

As part of a broader campaign against supporters of the Irish freedom struggle, the U.S. government has gone to extraordinary lengths to secure O'Rourke's deportation. U.S. Attorney Thomas Moseley ac-

knowledgeed at the February 8 hearing that Washington's diplomatic relations with the British and Irish governments have a major bearing on the government's determination to pursue this case.

In 1981, when O'Rourke had his first trial in an INS court, the presiding judge gave strong indications that he would rule positively on O'Rourke's petition for permanent resident status. But as the judge left the court on May 22, 1981, he discovered he was being followed by a car, which pursued him for 120 miles along country roads.

Stating that he had been "unjustly harassed and intimidated," the judge removed himself from the case. It was discovered that the drivers of the car were INS agents.

The next judge assigned to the case ruled against O'Rourke, setting the stage for the appeal and the February 8 hearing.

Before a courtroom filled with supporters of O'Rourke's petition to remain in the United States, O'Rourke's attorney argued that his activities in Ireland were politically motivated and were part of a long tradition of struggle for Irish independence. U.S. immigration law provides an exclusion for deportation for people who would suffer persecution for their political activities in their native countries.

Ironically, by holding O'Rourke in jail for four years and three months already, the INS has insured that O'Rourke has already spent more time behind bars than he would have had he served his entire sentence in Ireland.

O'Rourke's case is an important one for every victim of the INS's political harassment. Among those on hand to show their solidarity was Héctor Marroquin, a Mexican-born socialist who is also fighting attempts by the INS to deport him for his political ideas.

Andrea González, the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. vice-president, was also there to lend her campaign's support.

Spring anti-apartheid actions set

Continued from back page
South Africa.

- Opposition to the Reagan administration's policy of forging closer political, military, and economic ties with South Africa.

- Linking the struggles against apartheid and racism in the United States, emphasizing April 4 commemorations of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

- Support for all victims of apartheid and a call for the release of South African and Namibian political prisoners.

- Support for a cultural and sports boycott of South Africa.

Activities will include rallies and teach-ins on March 21 to mark the anniversary of the 1960 Sharpeville massacre, when unarmed Black protesters against the racist Pass Laws were gunned down by the South African regime.

On April 4, participants intend to distri-

bute black armbands symbolizing solidarity with those who have died in the struggles against apartheid and U.S. racism.

Conference participants also voted to make April 6 a day of protests against executions by the apartheid regime. The South African liberation organization, the African National Congress (ANC), has called on supporters to protest the scheduled execution of Benjamin Moloise, an ANC supporter who was framed up for the murder of a cop in South Africa.

The conference agreed to also support the call by the Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa to observe April 6 as the 25th anniversary of its founding.

Among those who addressed the conference was David Ndaba, representative of the ANC observer mission to the UN.

Activists plan to hold another meeting in May to assess the weeks of action and to plan for further activities.

'Mondale is enemy of independence for Puerto Rico'

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

On February 5 Walter Mondale, the front-runner for the Democratic Party presidential nomination, visited Puerto Rico. Mondale was there to hustle votes for the Democratic Party nominating convention.

His staff hailed the visit as a major success, since Mondale, they said, had managed to sidestep the central question of the political status of Puerto Rico.

But did he?

Mondale talked a great deal about letting Puerto Ricans decide for themselves, but he made clear that the only "choice" the Puerto Rican people have is the "right" to decide between statehood and the current commonwealth status. Mondale believes that Puerto Ricans should determine no more than the *form* in which they remain subjugated to the United States.

At a rally in Bayamon, Mondale talked about "our country." But Puerto Rico is not part of Mondale's nation, nor is it a sovereign country. Puerto Rico is a colony of the United States, and has been since 1898. Today it remains economically, politically, and militarily dominated by U.S. imperialism.

While Puerto Ricans elect a government for the island, it has only those powers expressly delegated to it by the U.S. Congress.

All the most important powers — foreign relations, military, printing money,

and regulating commerce, industry, and banking — are directly exercised by Washington.

Puerto Rico is owned lock, stock, and barrel by Wall Street. It is a source of cheap labor and a captive market for the U.S. capitalists who reap superprofits from the labor of Puerto Rican workers.

Businesses in Puerto Rico pay no taxes, while working people are hit with a tax burden that rivals that of U.S. workers.

Unemployment in Puerto Rico is much worse than in the United States. During the recent depression, it peaked at more than 25 percent. In December 1983, it was still more than 20 percent.

The people are so poor that more than half the population participates in the federal food-stamp program, compared to about 10 percent in the United States.

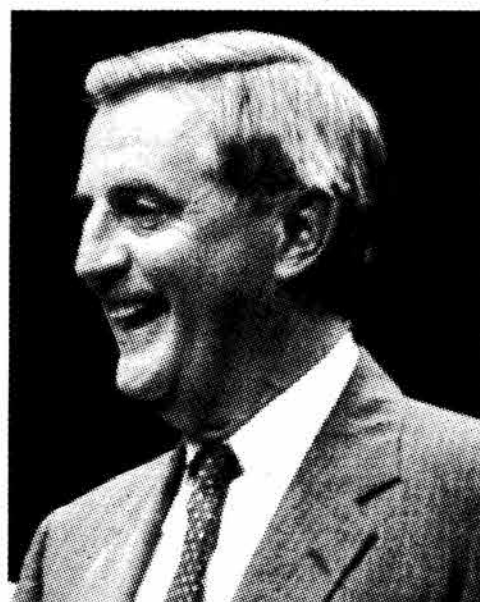
Slum housing in New York would look like luxury villas to thousands in Puerto Rico. Many are forced to live in little shacks made of tin and cardboard, without plumbing or running water, in unsanitary and overcrowded conditions.

The Pentagon uses Puerto Rico as a strategic military outpost aimed against the independence of all the semicolonial nations of the region. U.S. military installations dot the island, covering 13 percent of its territory. There are thousands of U.S. troops on the island, including the U.S. National Guard, which has been used to



Militant/Betsy Soares

SWP vice-presidential candidate Andrea González (left) charges Mondale (right) endorsed colonial status for Puerto Rico in his campaign trip to island.



break strikes and crush pro-independence uprisings.

Puerto Rico was used as a springboard for the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba and the 1965 invasion of the Dominican Republic. In 1981, U.S. forces practiced for the invasion of Grenada on Puerto Rican territory. There have been repeated accusations that National Guard units from Puerto Rico have been part of U.S. maneuvers in Honduras in preparation for an invasion of Nicaragua or El Salvador.

Advocates of Puerto Rican independence are systematically hounded both by the U.S. and the local administration. In recent years, the government has taken to calling them before grand juries — secret star chamber proceedings where you aren't even allowed to have a lawyer — and throwing them in jail for years for the "crime" of exercising their constitutional

right to refuse to testify.

Others have been set up by provocateurs and murdered by cops, as has now been admitted in the case of the 1978 Cerro Maravilla shootings of two young independence fighters.

Mondale's visit did call attention to the impact of U.S. policies on Puerto Rico. Mondale referred to the current U.S. policies as "a dagger in the heart of Puerto Rico." But the U.S. dagger in Puerto Rico's heart did not begin with Reagan. It goes back 86 years and is a result of ruling-class policies carried out by both capitalist parties — the Democrats and Republicans. It's been a bipartisan defense of imperialist profits at the expense of the interests of Puerto Rican workers and farmers.

For the people of Puerto Rico, a choice between statehood and commonwealth status, as Mondale offers, is a choice between a dagger in the heart or a switchblade to the throat. The people of Puerto Rico will *never* be able to escape from the impoverishment and repression they face until they are free from U.S. imperialist domination.

If Mondale were really interested in guaranteeing the people of Puerto Rico control over their own destiny, he would propose a law renouncing all U.S. control over Puerto Rico. He'd call for withdrawing the U.S. cops, courts, military bases, and agencies from Puerto Rico, and for turning over U.S. corporate holdings to the local government. That's what the Socialist Workers campaign stands for.

Only under those conditions would the people of the island be free to determine for themselves what they will do with their country.

Andrea González is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president of the United States. She is Puerto Rican and a member of the editorial board of *Perspectiva Mundial*, a biweekly Spanish-language sister publication of the Militant.

Milw. socialists challenge prowar opponents

BY NANCY COLE

MILWAUKEE — Unionist Dennis Kelln is running as the Socialist Workers Party candidate in the special election to fill the seat of Democratic Congressman Clement Zablocki, who died in December. A total of 12 candidates are in the race for the 4th Congressional District slot. The Democratic and Republican primaries are February 21 and the general election April 3.

Kelln, a member of Allied Industrial Workers Local 232, is a worker at Briggs and Stratton, the scene of a bitter strike for three months last year.

Zablocki was chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee and an outspoken supporter of Washington's bipartisan imperialist policies, including the Vietnam War.

Seeking the vote that returned Zablocki to Congress in every election since 1947, the six Democratic contenders are each claiming they can best fill the late congressman's shoes.

Milwaukee is a starkly segregated city, and the 4th C.D., encompassing the South Side along with several suburban areas, has the image of being white and conservative.

The *New York Times* obituary on Zablocki quoted him on his "hard-working, blue-collar constituents": "They're supportive of a strong national defense, and they are fiercely anti-Communist, and in that respect I reflect their views to a T."

Kelln's campaign is challenging this myth.

He explains that the 4th C.D. — like the rest of the United States — is *divided along class lines*. "The working-class majority of the 4th C.D. shares interests with Black workers on the North Side as well as with workers in the rest of the country and the world," says Kelln. "And those interests are diametrically opposed to the Democrats' prowar policies, which only serve the interests of the corporate bosses that are also waging war against U.S. workers."

Some of the city's big industrial plants are in this district, such as Allen Bradley, which employs 2,500 workers organized by the United Electrical Workers union.

The 4th C.D. also includes the near South Side, which is the city's Latino community, as well as a sizable Latino community in Waukesha.

Kelln visited Nicaragua in December

where he participated in the international coffee brigades. Volunteers from around the world are helping the Nicaraguan people harvest their coffee and cotton crops to compensate for the defense mobilization made necessary by U.S.-backed counter-revolutionary attacks.

Kelln had traveled in Nicaragua in the days of the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza and he lived for several years in other areas of Latin America. He uses every opportunity possible in his campaign to get out the truth about the new revolutionary Nicaragua and the destruction that Washington is organizing and financing there.

The three major Democratic candidates — one of whom is sure to be the next congressman — are state senators Gerald Kleczka and Lynn Adelman and Milwaukee County District Attorney E. Michael McCann. All support a "strong defense," which means less military "waste," and a build-up of non-nuclear arms — like the ones Washington is using to bombard the Lebanese people. At the same time they also support a bilateral, verifiable, nuclear weapons freeze in order to give the appearance of being "peace" candidates.

Kelln was on strike last year with 8,000 of his Briggs coworkers. The strike ended when the company succeeded in ramming a concessions contract down their throats.

"No Democratic or Republican politician said one sympathetic word to us during that difficult strike," says Kelln. "Cops were sent to intimidate and arrest picketers. The big-business news media lied about the real strike issues. And, although many workers in the area realized the stakes in our strike and backed us, labor solidarity rendered by Milwaukee's unions was too little, too late."

Kelln concludes, "Employers are engaged in a united war against workers, from Milwaukee to the copper mines in the Southwest, from the grocery chains in New Jersey to the coffee plantations of Nicaragua. We can't fight back adequately, no matter how hard we fight, if we are not united among ourselves. We need solidarity among all workers and our allies. And we need a political party of our own — a labor party based on a fighting trade union movement — that sides with us in our battles with the employers."

Kelln raised these ideas at two debates he participated in — one in Waukesha

sponsored by La Casa de Esperanza, and the other on the South Side cosponsored by the Allied Council of Senior Citizens and the Coalition of Wisconsin Aging Groups. Several other debates have been undemocratically restricted to only the six Democratic and four Republican candidates.

The 12th candidate is Rick Kissell, a Socialist Party leader running as the Labor and Farm Party candidate.

Kelln was forced to run a write-in campaign because the special election call allowed only three weeks for gathering the 1,000-2,000 signatures required.

During those three weeks, Kelln was on his way to Nicaragua and socialist campaign supporters here were completing a drive to place the name of garment worker Chris Rayson on the February 21 nonpartisan primary ballot for mayor of Milwaukee.

Protests hit racist, sexist judge

BY JOHN OLMSTED

DETROIT — A suburban Detroit judge has made it official and unusually explicit — racism and sexism are legitimate excuses for murder.

Frederick Luna, a 43-year-old white pharmacist, murdered his wife Judy on Feb. 5, 1981. At the recently concluded trial, he admitted he carefully planned out the murder and then proceeded to cut her up with an ax. Why? She had been seeing another man.

The presiding judge, James Daner, explained why he felt that what Luna had done was not murder but a lesser charge, manslaughter:

"Here's the defendant then, for the first time, faced with the horrorfulness of an infidelity. Not only an infidelity — and I do not wish to be called a racist, but we are in a court of law and a spade has to be called a spade — but an infidelity with a Black man."

The judge also sympathetically pointed out that Luna was carrying out his interpretation of god's will. Luna "became an ardent Bible reader who would interpret the Bible literally." Luna is a Jehovah's Witness, a denomination that follows a fundamentalist interpretation of the Bible in which adulterers are stoned to death.

Last year, in the Detroit area, another judge let two murderers off scot free for the

beating death of Vincent Chin, a young Asian-American. That verdict sparked an international storm of protest, which resulted in new indictments against the two. The American Citizens for Justice, who organized around the Chin case, called Judge Daner's ruling "outrageous."

Joseph Madison, national director of the NAACP voter education project, responded to the judge's ruling in the Luna case: "His legal opinion cheapens the life of white women who find themselves associated in an intimate manner with Black men."

Responding to the judge's claim that his racist and antiwoman statements reflected Luna's "sense of values," and not his own, Madison said, "Even though it may not be the judge's own personal opinion, it upholds the sickness in a white-male-dominated society." The NAACP has called for an investigation.

Carol King, director of the Great Lakes region of the National Organization for Women, stated, "I think that Judge Daner's statement is an example of how deep sexism and racism run in our society. It's as if somehow, it's justified to murder your wife if she is having an affair; and that if it's with a Black man, you can take the ax to her a couple more times."

The judge's office has been picketed by protesters demanding Daner's ouster.

Nicaraguan youth demand lower voting age

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "My son Oscar was 12 when he fought in the insurrection in Somotillo. Now he's 17 and a member of the militias. And you're going to tell me he can't vote?" says Panfilo José Orozco, a 71-year-old carpenter in the working-class district of Monseñor Lezcano.

When Juan Ramón Vargas was 16, he was fighting in a reserve battalion with a lot of other 16-year-olds. Today a welder at the IMEP metal fabrication shop, Ramón Vargas says, "if I'd been told then that I couldn't vote, I'd have considered it a brutal injustice."

They are not alone in expressing this sentiment. Little attention is being paid to the right-wing campaign urging that soldiers be prevented from voting or that counterrevolutionary leaders like Edén Pastora (Commander Zero) be invited back to run for office. The hot debate going on in workplaces and neighborhoods is, "how old should you be to vote?"

Preliminary proposals have been announced for the 1985 elections, the first free elections in Nicaragua's history. They include electing a president and vice-president to replace the current National Junta, electing a 90-member parliament to replace the Council of State, and setting the minimum voting age at 18.

Many people, including 16- and 17-year-old soldiers, reservists, and militia members, think the voting age is too high. And they are making their voices heard.

On January 31, when 600 leaders of the Managua Sandinista Defense Committee discussed voting age in a city-wide assembly, they concluded it should be lowered, perhaps as low as 15.

In a public statement explaining this, they said: "young people of 15 and even children have participated in the struggle against the dictatorship, and today they are taking part in the political, military, and economic battle to improve conditions in the country."

The Sandinista Youth has begun to organize demonstrations and a petition campaign to win the right to vote for 16- and 17-year-olds. The petition — headlined "We are building the country. We want to vote!" — is being circulated in buses, marketplaces, and work centers.

Sandinista Youth leaders announced February 7 they intend to gather as many as 200,000 signatures and present them to the Council of State before it makes a final decision on voting age on February 21.

Opinion samples conducted by the Sandinista daily *Barricada* in various parts of the country indicate wide approval for lowering the voting age. Most people are suggesting 16.

Strongest opposition comes from the right-wing parties and their mouthpiece,

the reactionary daily *La Prensa*.

Unswayed by the argument that if people are old enough to fight, they're old enough to vote, *La Prensa* responds: if they are in uniform, all the more reason to exclude them. Members of the army, reserves, and militias shouldn't be allowed to vote because they are just "the armed wing" of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

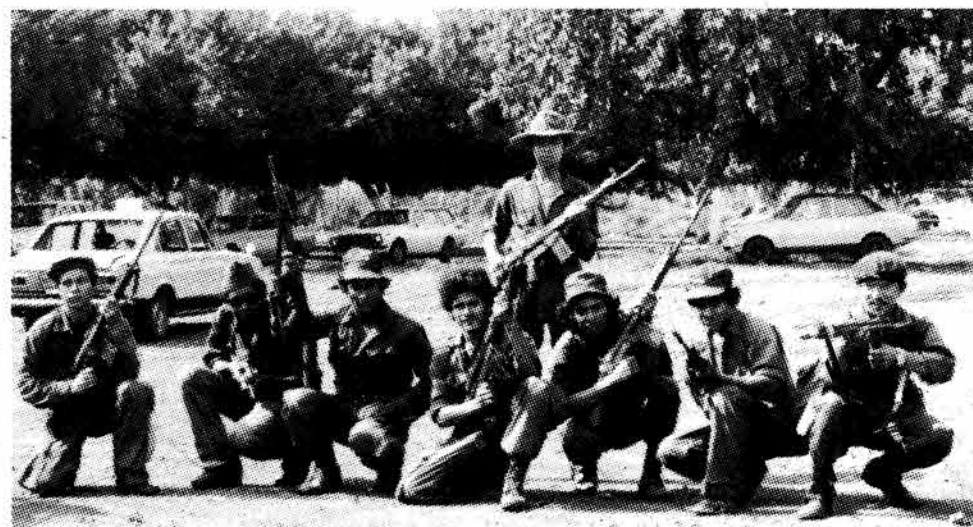
"Citizens to the polling booths, soldiers to the barracks" is their slogan for the elections.

Commander Hugo Torres, political director of the Sandinista army, answered this argument February 7. It is interesting to note, he said, that those who call the loudest for denying the vote to the army "are precisely those who do not participate in the defense of our country."

We are not an army of the rich, he said. We are an army "made up almost entirely of students, workers, and peasants," an army whose origin was not forced recruitment but volunteers who joined to fight the dictatorship. We fight today "not for pay or bonuses but because of a clear consciousness of the need to fight for freedom."

How can anybody say we're the armed wing of a particular party?, Torres asked.

"When peasants are kidnapped, workers are murdered, women raped, and towns



Militant/Fred Murphy

High-school students like these fought in 1979 insurrection in Nicaragua. Youth are asking that voting age for upcoming national elections be lowered to include them.

shelled, we head to the front lines without asking about the victims' political point of view, or for a card showing what party they belong to."

Conservative Party member Rafael Córdova Rivas, who is a member of the three-person National Junta and considered something of a maverick in his party,

explained bluntly why the right-wing didn't want the voting age lowered any further.

"Given the political reality," he said in a January 30 interview with *La Prensa*, "somewhere between 90, 92, 95, or 96 percent of the young people are with the Sandinistas."

Marchers call for 16-year-old vote

BY JON HILLSON

ESTELÍ, Nicaragua — Led by chanting groups of young people, hundreds demonstrated here January 28 to demand the voting age for Nicaragua's upcoming elections be set at 16.

The march was organized by the Sandinista Youth, the committee of mothers of heroes and martyrs, and the Nicaraguan

Women's Association (AMNLAE).

The march wound its way through Estelí's *barrios*, where thousands of teenagers fought bloody battles with the hated National Guard of defeated dictator Anastasio Somoza in nearly a year of pitched battles during the civil war preceding the July 1979 victory of the revolution.

Most barrio dwellers stood at the doors

of their houses, smiling, waving, and clapping. On the main street of the town, in front of the stores, several well-dressed merchants and their friends glared stone-faced at the spirited demonstrators.

Today, Estelí has three Infantry Reserve Battalions defending the country's borders. Many members of the reserves are under 18, as are thousands of students involved in coffee and cotton harvests during their vacations. Participation in such activities is the main reason behind the demand for a voting age of 16.

Region Gov. Carlos Manuel Morales listened to the speeches and received the petitions of the Sandinista Youth, women, and mothers' committee leaders on the steps of the government building.

"We agree with your request," he told the cheering crowd.

"The right of a citizen in Nicaragua today means more than putting a little piece of paper in a box to vote," he said. "It means working, building a new society, making sacrifices to ensure our future, defending our homeland in production and defense. You have won this right with your blood and sacrifice."

Morales, a member of the Sandinista National Liberation Front since 1969, said the upcoming elections would "institutionalize our revolution. They are an example of popular democracy."

Gov't pushes restart of TMI Unit 1

BY NEWTON BROWN

HARRISBURG, Pa. — The restart of the Three Mile Island (TMI) nuclear power plant as early as June is now possible following a January 27 decision by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) in Washington, D.C.

The NRC voted 3-2 to make its decision on restarting TMI prior to the outcome of a criminal trial of TMI's operators.

As the two dissenting NRC commissioners noted, this amounted to authorizing a restart of the power plant.

The president of the corporation that operates TMI welcomed the NRC's decision and said he "would have preferred April as the possible restarting date."

An April restart would have come on the heels of the fifth anniversary of the near-meltdown of TMI's Unit 2, a catastrophe that exposed before millions the coverup and lies about the dangers of nuclear power by the government and the industry.

When the near-meltdown of Unit 2 occurred in late March 1979, hundreds of thousands of nearby residents received huge dosages of radiation.

The other reactor at TMI, Unit 1, was closed for refueling when the catastrophe at Unit 2 took place. Since then, because of continuing public opposition, officials have not permitted Unit 1 to be restarted.

But the nuclear power industry, and with it the government, are pressing forward on their goals: first, to restart the undamaged Unit 1 as soon as possible, and second, to spend as little as possible on the cleanup of Unit 2.

On the second goal, the NRC has before it a request to study the "feasibility" of a partial cleanup of Unit 2. Prior to this, the Harrisburg *Patriot* reported, the NRC increased the allowable radiation dosage of cleanup workers. This would allow General Public Utilities (GPU), which operates the plant, to save a lot of money at the expense of safety and of workers' health.

On the drive to restart Unit 1, Dauphin County Commissioner Larry Hochedonker told the *Patriot* the NRC was "removing the last obstacle to ... a restart date" by separating its restart decision from the trial of GPU's subsidiary at the time of

the 1979 catastrophe — Metropolitan Edison Co.

GPU-Met Ed has been charged with falsifying safety records from Unit 2 before and after the accident.

Across the country, from Shoreham on Long Island, Zimmer outside Cincinnati, Byron in Illinois, to Diablo Canyon in California, the nuclear power industry is in deep trouble.

"The litany of troubles," the *New York Times* said, "includes ever more stringent regulations, rising construction costs, public apprehension over safety and a slackening demand for electric power in general."

Nuclear power plants threaten the safety and lives of millions. They should be closed down and converted to coal, which can be burned cleanly and safely.

Unions' antibankruptcy suit voided

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

A suit by three unions to stop Continental Airlines' use of the bankruptcy laws to void union contracts has been turned down by a federal judge.

The ruling, a bad precedent for the labor movement, is sure to encourage other corporations to use the bankruptcy laws as a pretext for breaking union contracts.

The three unions — the International Association of Machinists (IAM), Air Line Pilots Association, and Union of Flight Attendants — have been on strike against Continental for months. The IAM struck in August, and the other two unions went out in October.

Continental filed for reorganization under Chapter 11 of the bankruptcy code on September 24. The unions petitioned to void the bankruptcy suit, and the federal judge — ruling in Houston, where Continental's main corporate headquarters are located — denied the unions' petition January 17.

The unions charged that Continental's sole purpose in filing under Chapter 11 was to void its labor contracts. But the judge cited the company's obligations "to its

shareholders and creditors" in dismissing the unions' challenge.

When Continental filed under Chapter 11, it fired two-thirds of its 12,000 workers and cut pay by half. The company cut service to a number of cities, but now claims it is flying about 64 percent of its pre-September passenger-miles.

Talks between the company and the pilots' union have been broken off twice by Continental, which refuses to fire strikebreakers hired since September.

On January 28, about 400 unionists joined picket lines at Continental's facilities in Los Angeles. Participating were many United Auto Workers members who were on strike at McDonnell-Douglas, plus contingents from the IAM; Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; Boilermakers; and other unions.

Teamsters in California are refusing to service Continental planes.

In late January, Continental launched yet another antiunion attack, filing a \$250-million suit against the IAM for allegedly stuffing ballot boxes in a strike vote. The IAM struck Continental August 13, before the company filed under Chapter 11.

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McDonnell Douglas imposes concession contract on workers

BY OLLIE BIVINS

LOS ANGELES — By a more than 95 to 5 ratio, striking aerospace workers at McDonnell Douglas agreed February 9 to accept a concession contract and return to work on February 13. Almost the exact same contract had been rejected by large percentages in two previous votes.

The contract imposes a series of concessions on the union. The most serious and far-reaching is the establishment of a two-tier wage structure. There are now two categories of employees. Those hired in the future will never reach the same wage level as workers employed by the aerospace company before the strike began. This is a dangerous move that the aerospace bosses would like to generalize throughout the industry.

The contract also calls for a 3 percent lump-sum bonus payment for each year of the three-year contract rather than the previous yearly wage increase computed on a percentage basis. Also, highly skilled workers will receive wage increases of 8-72 cents per hour, while lower skilled categories may have their basic wage rate reduced. Wages of most workers will in fact be frozen at the prestrike level.

The strike, the longest in McDonnell Douglas history, was a hard-fought battle between the United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 148 and a company ready to go to any length to get a concession contract.

In Local 148's attempt to break the pattern of givebacks imposed on aerospace workers, they stayed out 115 days and only went back when they thought it was a choice of either accepting the contract or losing their jobs and union.

Like Greyhound, Continental Airlines, and many other companies, McDonnell Douglas turned to union-busting to break the strike. They began hiring scabs in large numbers and told strikers they would lose their jobs if they did not return to work by January 27. Under the threat of losing their jobs, hundreds of workers went back to work. When the strike began last October there were 4,600 members of the local. By the time of the February vote, there were fewer than 2,500 on strike.

Under the settlement all the strikers will get their jobs back and not lose any seniority. It is also expected that many workers

will be recalled.

Aerospace business analysts predict that because of the strike McDonnell Douglas will be able to produce only 40 of its MD-80 jets this year rather than the 60 it had hoped for. Each MD-80 sells for about \$25 million.

The strike vote was preceded by a march and rally February 7 of thousands of McDonnell Douglas strikers and their supporters. Other unionists represented in the demonstration included auto workers, teachers, farm workers, retail clerks, longshoremen, Continental Airlines workers, and transit workers.

The demonstrators were militant and disciplined as they marched three miles past the plant to a rally and picnic. On the march, demonstrators stopped in front of the executives' office building and chanted, "We want a contract," and waved banners and signs as they jeered those watching from the windows and rooftops of the plant.

The featured speaker at the rally was César Chávez, United Farm Workers union president, who congratulated Local 148 for standing up to the bosses. Chávez told the crowd, "Brothers and sisters, as we stand here with you today we cannot but admire your courage."

One striker said, "The people here are going to go back with their heads up."

Workers are ready to continue the fight. At the vote meeting, Local 148 President Bob Berghoff announced to loud cheers that first-shift workers would march together into the plant February 13 to begin work.

With the end of the strike, workers are beginning to discuss some of its lessons.



February 7 march by UAW members and supporters in Long Beach. Despite hard-fought battle by ranks and local leadership, aerospace giant imposed takeaway contract.

Most workers now have a better appreciation of the antiunion aims of the McDonnell Douglas bosses. Their objective is to qualitatively weaken the union. That's the significance of the company's firm demand for a two-tier contract. Such a contract not only lowers the bosses' labor costs but it divides and weakens solidarity among all workers.

Many workers are also discussing the role the international UAW leadership played in the strike. As the going got tough, the top officials in Detroit placed pressure on the local leadership to sell the original concession contract.

In addition, although the strike had official authorization, little national solidarity work was done by the international. The lack of effective solidarity is a reason why so many strikers eventually crossed the picket line.

By holding out against the company's giveback demands as long as the union members did, Local 148 began to focus attention in the entire labor movement on some of these important questions.

At the same time, Local 148 set an example in its effort to reach out for solidarity from other unions during the strike. Two rallies were held in the course of the strike that brought together Continental Airlines pilots and flight attendants, strikers from the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, Greyhound strikers, and others.

Local 148 members also went to the airport to join a demonstration sponsored by the Continental workers.

Solidarity of this kind can and must be multiplied in future strikes as more workers begin to see the need to stand together against concession contracts.

Weisen fights for USWA ballot spot

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

In an effort to deny a democratic election and derail the development of fightback sentiment, the "official family" leadership of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) has denied reform candidate Ron Weisen a ballot spot in the March 29 special election for international union president.

To appear on the ballot a candidate must receive the nominations of 111 USWA locals. On February 8 USWA international tellers reported the following vote totals: acting Pres. Lynn Williams, 2,001; Treasurer Frank McKee, 985; and Weisen, 75.

Weisen, president of USWA Local 1397 at U.S. Steel Homestead Works, filed a formal challenge to the tellers' report at USWA headquarters in Pittsburgh on February 13.

Mike Stoudt, a Local 1397 grievance committee member and Weisen supporter, told the *Militant*, "We never go down without a fight." He asserted that international union officials have never concealed their intention to keep Weisen off the ballot.

Prior to the release of the tellers' report, Weisen supporters claimed 135 local nominations. According to Stoudt the discrepancy in vote totals is the result of simple ballot theft.

The Weisen forces are still going through the voluminous data included in the tellers' report. However, they already know of locals where Weisen won the nomination that the tellers' report lists as having voted for Williams.

Local 1566 in District 27 voted for Weisen over Williams by a vote of 41 to 4. The international records Williams as the winner.

At Allegheny Label Local 14714 in District 20, Weisen was the only name put in nomination. However, the tellers' report states this local's nomination was improper, and it wasn't counted.

What explains these undemocratic moves? Both Williams and McKee are long-time members of the official family leadership team, elected to top international office twice on a joint slate headed

by former USWA Pres. Lloyd McBride. McBride died in November and a sharp power struggle developed among the top officers and staff over who should replace him.

McKee puts himself forward as an opponent of contract concessions to the companies. However, he and Williams supported the concession contract imposed on rank-and-file workers in the basic steel industry last March. Today Williams too says he opposes further concessions — while justifying those already made.

McKee also affirms that he now supports the right of all steelworkers to vote on their contract — a right basic steelworkers do not have. McKee and Williams joined McBride in opposing that elementary right in the past. Williams maintains steadfast opposition to it today.

While attempting to put a more progressive face on his candidacy, McKee has not made these issues the key themes of his campaign, nor has he aggressively appealed to the union ranks. Rather McKee's campaign has been characterized by a backward U.S. chauvinism.

In a union with over 100,000 members in Canada and Quebec, McKee has challenged Williams' qualifications because he is not a U.S. citizen! He and his supporters stress the need for more restrictive steel import quotas, including against steel made by USWA members in Canada.

Williams too lays the blame for steelworkers' problems on "foreign" steel. He recently led the union into a joint petition with Bethlehem Steel Corp. calling on the U.S. government to further restrict imports. He puts himself forward as the natural successor to McBride and defends the policy of cooperating with the employers that characterized McBride's term in office (and that of all previous USWA international presidents).

Weisen proposes a change. He is a local leader, closer to the ranks, who has consistently voted against concessions when they were put to a vote among local presidents. He says the union should return to the militant tradition of the 1930s and begin to fight back against the corporations. He fa-

vors greater rank-and-file control of union affairs.

The USWA officialdom does not want these ideas expressed in the election. They are aware that dissatisfaction with the union's course is growing in the ranks and that a discussion is taking shape. They hope to cut it off. This is one reason they center debate on who best opposes imports — rather than what strategy can defeat the owners' takeback drive.

Some of the dissatisfaction in the union ranks was beginning to be expressed through Weisen's campaign. Regardless of the outcome of the March 29 election, the Weisen campaign is contributing to the development of an organized fightback current in the ranks.

Stoudt says that one of the key accomplishments of the campaign is that "we have set up rank-and-file committees all over the country." This development, while still initial, is the first move in this direction since the 1981 election campaigns for USWA district directors when opposition forces in several districts worked together to challenge the policies of the official family leadership.

Today these opposition forces are divided and some, including many in Chicago-Gary District 31, the union's largest, are supporting McKee. However if the Weisen forces continue to organize and look beyond the March 29 election, to the more long-term fight to change the union, progress can be made.

Top USWA officials are well aware that the special March 29 election will be followed by a regular union presidential election a year and a half later in November 1985. They seek to keep Weisen off the ballot today to prevent the development of any opposition momentum toward the 1985 election. Fighting this undemocratic exclusion is also part of preparing for 1985.

Meanwhile, all those who consider themselves supporters of democracy in the USWA, regardless of which candidate they favor, have an obligation to speak out against this latest attack on the rights of the union membership.

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Why SWP candidates say: 'Nationalize the steel industry'

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

The big-business press is filled with news about the "restructuring" of U.S. industry. This is a codeword for the radical measures taken by the wealthy owners of the factories, mines, and mills to improve their competitive position and raise the rate of profit.

Nowhere is this clearer today than in the steel industry. The owners of the giant steel corporations face big difficulties in maintaining their profit levels in the face of intense competition from steelmakers overseas and "minimill" steel owners at home.

The steel barons have unleashed a new round of plant closings, dumping over 15,000 U.S. Steel employees onto the street last December. A short six weeks later Big Steel's owners announced a record loss of over \$1 billion in 1983.

The old saying, "Figures don't lie but liars sure can figure," applies here. While steel profits are down, much of U.S. Steel's "losses" are the result of figure juggling and paper shuffling. This was evidenced the very next day when Big Steel announced it would buy National Steel — for almost a cool \$1 billion.

The move foretells new attacks on the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). More mines and mills will be shut down. New demands will be made to slash wages and benefits, impose new job combinations and eliminations resulting in harsher and more unsafe working conditions, and further weaken union power on the job.

What should be done?

A discussion has started in the USWA about what to do about this. This is part of a larger discussion among all working people who feel the effects of capitalism's economic crisis and profit drive.

This is an issue in the 1984 U.S. presidential election. USWA and AFL-CIO officials demand that the government act in response to the crisis. They propose a "national industrial policy," that includes government loans and tax breaks to industry and new restrictions on imports.

Not surprisingly, all Democratic Party presidential contenders, in order to woo union support, subscribe to one or another of these proposals. They argue that such measures can help improve the competitive position and profits of U.S. big business.

This is the same reason top labor officials echo these ideas. They firmly believe the capitalist economic system is *not* the problem facing workers. They support capitalism and think it can be made to work "more equitably." They agree that workers interests are tied to employer profits. They aim to convince workers to make sacrifices to help improve profits and promise that some benefits will trickle down — although they caution workers not to have great expectations, as U.S. capitalism is having a tougher time than in the past. (The officials themselves are not doing much belt tightening, however, and maintain a standard of living well above the average worker.)

'Nationalize U.S. Steel'

Mel Mason and Andrea González, presidential and vice-presidential candidates of the Socialist Workers Party, agree that government action is urgently needed. However, they propose a radically differ-

ent kind of action: measures in the interests of the majority of society — working people.

"Nationalize U.S. Steel and the entire steel industry!" said Mason and González when Big Steel announced its intention to acquire National. U.S. Steel's merger is part of the very same program as its December plant shutdowns, the socialists explained. Other giant steelmakers, such as the owners of Republic Steel and the LTV Corp., have identical plans.

They aim to force steelworkers and working-class communities to pay the price for their relentless profit drive. The *Militant* made the same point in a January 20 front page editorial titled "Nationalize U.S. Steel; fight to stop concessions."

The socialist candidates are campaigning for this idea. They are raising it and other proposals the labor movement can fight for to protect workers from the effects of unemployment. These include a shorter work week with no cut in pay to spread available work around; a broad and bold public works campaign to build housing, schools, roads, hospitals, mass transit, and other socially useful projects at home and abroad; and emergency relief for the jobless at union wages, as well as a serious job retraining program.

Mason began his national campaign tour in the copper towns of Arizona, where the USWA is engaged in an important strike. González is beginning a tour that will take her to Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Gary, Chicago, and other USWA strongholds where workers will be especially interested in the nationalization demand. Special sales of the *Militant* have been organized by campaign supporters at steel mills and other plant gates.

Why nationalization?

Socialist workers, including USWA members, propose that the government take the property away from the enormously wealthy steel barons and run the mills as a public service. The industry's private owners have demonstrated that they will consistently sacrifice the interests of society, which certainly require more steel than is being produced today, to their need for higher profits.

This is inevitable under capitalism. It is the only way any privately owned company can do business. But the social cost of these actions by the steel bosses is intolerable to working people. That is why the labor movement should demand that the government act to nationalize the steel corporations.

This demand was discussed in the Socialist Workers Party in 1979 at a time of acute crisis in two other vital industries: energy and rail. The mammoth energy monopoly had created an artificial oil shortage to force the price of gasoline and home heating oil up and further fuel its already sky-high profits. The owners of the giant railroads were gutting passenger service (just as the oil crisis made it even more necessary), cutting back freight service to farmers and rural areas, and blackmailing rail workers into job cuts, and other concessions.

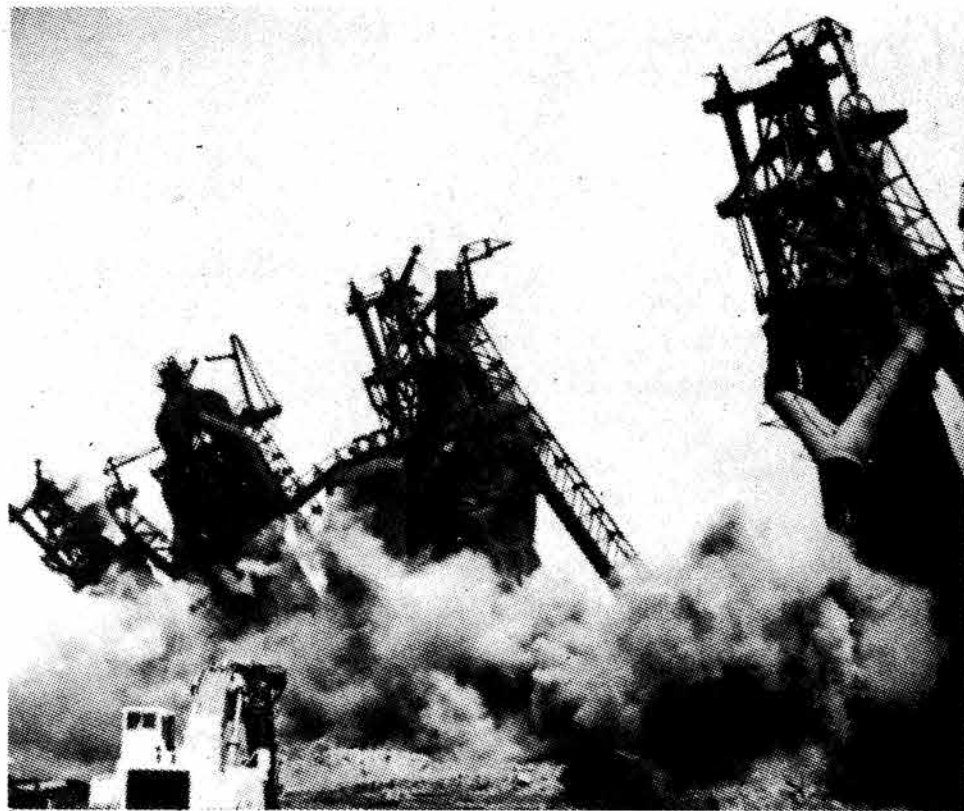
In response, SWP 1980 presidential candidate Andrew Pulley demanded, "Nationalize the oil monopoly and the railroads." This, too, was part of a discussion in the labor movement. Many local unions and officials took a stand favoring the nationalization of the oil industry.

SWP 1979 resolution

In 1979 the SWP adopted a political resolution that explained:

"Each rigged shortage, price explosion, breakdown, or calamity poses the need for public ownership of and workers control over the production and distribution of vital goods and services and the hiring and organization of labor. . . .

"Socialists demand that the energy and rail industries be taken over by the government — nationalized — and converted into public utilities and public services.



U.S. Steel's owners demolish mills (above, Youngstown) and make other decisions with no concern for impact on workers. Socialists say government should take over industry.

"We may also call for public ownership when specific events spotlight the capitalists' social irresponsibility: if a corporation such as Chrysler or the Milwaukee Road claims it cannot afford wage increases, safety and pollution standards, or taxes for public services; when it claims it must close plants, shift production to new locations, and lay off thousands of workers; when it is responsible for environmental catastrophes, on-the-job disasters, or product contamination."

This aptly describes the critical situation in the steel industry today. The USWA and the labor movement should demand that the government demonstrate that the handful of billionaire families who own and dominate most of U.S. industry and finance cannot act with impunity when they make decisions that result in terrible harm to tens of thousands of working people.

As an arsonist sets fires and guts a neighborhood, the steel barons are devastating working-class communities across the country. Nationalization is an immediate, emergency demand on the government to bring this to a halt.

International working-class solidarity

The steel corporations complain that they must close plants and lay off workers because they cannot sell enough steel at a high enough price to suit them. They attempt to enlist steelworkers in a joint campaign to restrict steel imports. If "foreign" steel can be kept out of the country, the U.S. owners will be able to sell more and, they hypocritically claim, keep more workers on the job.

The USWA officialdom has swallowed this argument hook, line, and sinker. But it is a dead end. Import restrictions are just one scheme steel barons use to try to increase profits. Other methods include rigging prices, cutting wages, and driving down working conditions.

All are good for profits. None are good for workers. The protectionist, anti-imports campaign (which the employers push when it suits them — while making whatever import deals are profitable) obscures the common bond workers share all over the world. Japanese, Korean, Brazilian, and European steelworkers are all victims of the very same employer profit drive.

Mason and González offer proposals based on solidarity, a fundamental principle of the union movement, rather than joining with the employers to compete "together" against workers overseas.

The potential market for steel is immense, particularly on a world scale. Consider the many smaller, poorer countries that have been exploited by giant U.S. corporation owners. The owners of U.S. Steel and others have looted them of raw materials and cheap labor for years. These countries need steel for construction projects, consumer goods, etc. The U.S. government has a responsibility to provide it.

It is the private profit drive that restricts the market for steel and denies it to countries that need it. The steel barons will only make and sell as much steel as they can at a sizable profit. While this imposes hardships on workers at home and abroad,

the steel owners are acting in defense of their own class interests — which are completely at odds with those of most of the people of the world.

The USWA should demand that decision-making power be taken out of the hands of the wealthy steel owners. Instead decisions should be based on society's needs. But this can only be done if the mills are taken out of the hands of their private owners and run as a public service. Once that step is taken, the labor movement can press the government to expand steel production.

Cut the price of steel to make essential products, such as farm machinery, more affordable. Rebuild the cities, especially the decaying neighborhoods of Blacks and Latinos. Ship steel abroad — particularly to countries such as Vietnam and Nicaragua, ravaged by U.S. bombs and weapons.

The fight for nationalization can benefit workers and farmers inside and outside the United States. Extending the hand of friendship and solidarity would be a vast improvement over the sorry spectacle of well-paid union officials who blame the super oppressed and exploited workers in South Korea, Brazil, or Mexico, for the job loss created by U.S. big-business decisions.

Nothing won without a fight

The fight to nationalize the steel industry would be just that — a fight. Supporters of Mason and González inside the USWA explain that this will require a break with the current policies of the top USWA officialdom. In place of efforts to conciliate and cooperate with the wealthy steel owners (a policy of endless concessions benefiting the employers) the USWA and other unions should begin to act on the understanding that employers and workers share no common interests. When U.S. Steel Chairman David Roderick says the steel industry should be "saved," he means saving profits. When steelworkers say the industry must be saved, they mean saving jobs. The two ideas are opposite — not identical.

This fight for workers interests is an ongoing one — even if the industry is nationalized — so long as the tiny class of owners of U.S. industry and the banks control political power in this country.

"Nationalizations by a capitalist government do not guarantee that the industry will be run openly and in the interests of the public," the SWP explained in 1979.

"In fact the norm is for nationalized enterprises to be run by boards of experts and commissioners handpicked by the very capitalists who milked them dry to begin with. They operate behind closed doors to guarantee hefty interest payments to their former owners and other wealthy bondholders."

Mason and González propose that the steel corporations' books be opened immediately to complete public inspection. Workers have a right to the truth about the "losses" the corporations claim, where the \$1 billion is coming from to buy National Steel, and all other relevant information about the web of connections between the

Further reading

The Changing Face of U.S. Politics
Reports and Resolutions of the Socialist Workers Party edited by Jack Barnes and Steve Clark, 346 pp., \$7.95.

Transitional Program for Socialist Revolution
By Leon Trotsky, 269 pp., \$5.95.

American Railroads: The Case for Nationalization
By Dick Roberts, 109 pp., \$2.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please enclose 75 cents for postage and handling.

steel companies, other corporations, and the banks.

A nationalized steel industry, say Mason and González, should be managed by boards elected by the public and closely watched over by the unions and environmental and consumer groups. Every single aspect of the industry should be open to public scrutiny.

Mason and González also advocate that steelworkers, and all workers, step up their fight for control over all conditions of work. This is a front on which U.S. Steel is pressing hard.

When it demands smaller crew sizes, less premium pay for overtime, more stringent scheduling practices, more contracting out of work in the mills to non-USWA labor, and the like, it is demanding greater *management control* — and less union power. When steelworkers resist these demands they are, in a partial and limited way, demanding greater control by workers.

That is why the fight for nationalization must be coupled with a complete change in union strategy. Because the top union officials tie workers interests to the bosses' profits they oppose struggle against the employers on any front. Their class collaborationist strategy means foregoing the modest gains that can be won today, as well as the decisive changes workers need.

This approach led the USWA officialdom to support the March 1983 concession contract that slashed wages and benefits and weakened union power in the basic steel industry. In the political arena it leads to support for candidates of the employer parties, the Democrats and Republicans, none of whom, it may be noted, have lifted a finger to challenge U.S. Steel's plant closings.

A change in course

The *Militant* has consistently opposed these policies and explained why they disarm the union movement and prevent it from engaging in effective struggle in the interests of its membership. The fight for nationalization can, under certain conditions, be a part of the fight to get the labor movement on the right course — to challenge the prerogatives of big business when necessary to defend workers rights.

However, a Nov. 18, 1983, *Militant* article titled "Will nationalization of industry save jobs?" gave a different impression. The article may have led some workers to conclude that the *Militant* did not believe the demand for nationalization could be part of labor's program today in the fight against the effects of the capitalist crisis.

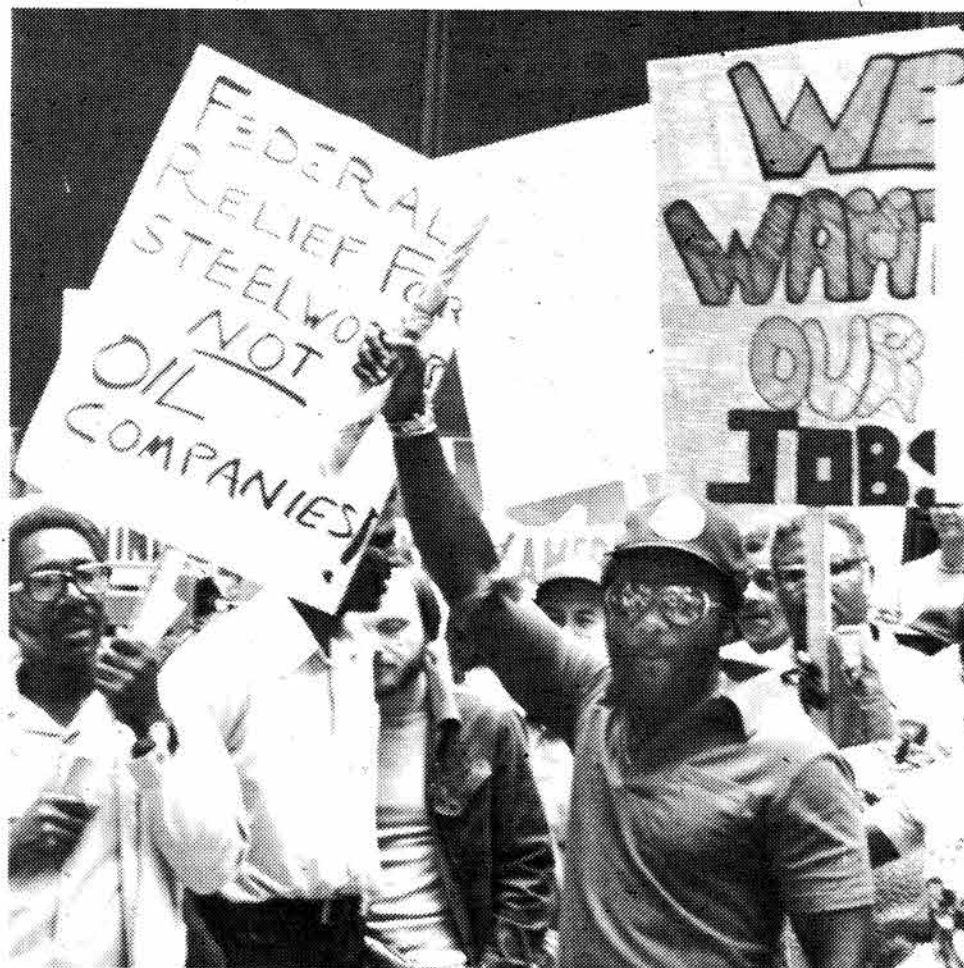
One premise of the article was quite correct: there are no individual plant solutions to the acute crisis facing steelworkers, or any workers. The problems facing workers at aging steel mills left to decay while the owners invested their money in more profitable ventures cannot be solved short of radical action to reorganize the entire industry and economy.

This is precisely what makes the demand for nationalization so timely. In place of the breakdown of steel production and the calamity inflicted on working-class communities, the USWA can demand decisive government action in the interests of working people.

However, the November 18 article focused on the dangers of nationalization as it has been used by capitalist governments in other countries such as Britain. It argued that the government would use nationalization to modernize the industry at workers expense, restore profitability, and put it back in private hands.

The article argued that the advanced capitalist economy is so integrated that the private profit drive cannot be taken out of a key industry, such as steel, without getting rid of capitalism completely.

It is, of course, true that the U.S. economy is highly integrated and that the government defends the private profit system. However, that should not stop the labor movement from fighting for immediate steps to defend workers from the effects of



Workers at U.S. Steel's South Works march for jobs in Chicago in 1980. Socialist candidates urge unions to mobilize power to fight for nationalization.

the employer-government austerity drive.

Uncompromising struggle along these lines is the way in which important reforms have been won. Such struggles can make a vital contribution to raising the level of consciousness and organization of the working class. They can arm it for the broader battle to completely reorganize society by taking political power into its own hands.

But it is likely that, under the blows of the capitalist crisis and the uneven way it affects different industries, many workers will see the need for public ownership of a crisis-ridden industry such as steel, before they come to agree with the need to get rid of capitalism altogether.

Capitalist resistance

The powerful labor struggles of the 1930s forged the industrial unions and forced the government to institute social security and unemployment insurance. Big civil rights battles brought an end to Jim Crow segregation. A massive antiwar movement, and the heroic resistance of the Vietnamese people, forced the U.S. government to get out of Vietnam.

All required a fight. It is this kind of fight that Mason and González propose the labor movement launch today to

nationalize steel. Then the fight must continue to insure an end to industry secrecy, greater workers control, and production and employment levels based on the needs of the majority of society.

In 1979 the SWP explained that nationalizations such as those undertaken by the capitalist government in Britain "are a fraud designed to conceal the subsidization of these capitalist-owned industries, which have been crippled and ruined by their profiteering owners, who drain them of their resources, run them into the ground, and shift their capital to more lucrative sectors."

Nevertheless, the SWP pointed out, "Even in these cases, the capitalists abhor the precedent of government takeover, which raises the idea of production that is not solely for private profit."

This, too, remains true. Both Democrats and Republicans in the White House and Congress have attempted to reinforce the notion that government should not take responsibility for services for the good of society. That is the meaning of the bipartisan cuts in social spending.

Today all Democratic presidential contenders agree with Reagan on the need to cut the budget deficit. What they really mean is that the expense of health care, aid

to the aged and poor, and many other needed social services should be shouldered by individual working people, while our taxes are paid out in the billions to the Pentagon for military hardware, and the banks in interest payments. The Reagan administration has taken the lead in an ideological campaign to reinforce this idea.

However, the labor movement cannot limit its demands to what the employers and their political parties deem "realistic" or "affordable." Instead, the unions must concern themselves solely with the needs of the vast majority and fight for them uncompromisingly.

Labor party needed

Such a fight cannot be carried out primarily on the shop floor or by workers in a single industry — much less a single plant. Another value of the demand for nationalization is that it can win allies for the USWA among other working people who reacted to U.S. Steel's shutdowns with disgust and anger. The idea of *punishing* the owners of Big Steel for their callous actions would be a popular one.

But the fight for nationalization (or any government action) is a political fight. Workers are limited today by the lack of a political tool — a mass, independent workers party based on the union movement. That does not mean the fight must wait until a labor party has been formed.

As the fight to defend workers interests deepens on all fronts, the need for such a party will become clearer. Large numbers of working people will become convinced in struggle that it is not only individual capitalist politicians who stand in the way, but the capitalist political parties themselves.

Mel Mason and Andrea González are urging workers to rely on their own power and that of their independent organizations to form a labor party that will challenge the employers and the government on every issue of concern to working people. This, they say, will point to the need to change the government and replace it with a government of workers and farmers.

Such a government will not hesitate to mobilize the working class to take the mines, mills, and factories out of the hands of the private profiteers and put them at the service of society.

Auto profits soar, workers pay price

Continued from back page

expenses in. Some couples were even split up. One worker at Fairfax said her husband ended up at the new GM plant outside St. Louis.

When they got to Kansas City, even though most of these workers had 10 or more years of seniority, they still had to go through a 30-day probation. The company took advantage of this, firing a number of workers at both plants.

Workers who were receiving Guaranteed Income Stream (GIS) benefits — high seniority workers who were laid off — had no choice about coming to Kansas City: it was either come or lose your benefits.

GM has tried to use these transfers to create divisions among the workers, especially when the company laid off more than 600 new hires, or, as GM calls them, "temporary" workers. The company hypocritically told many of these workers it would like to keep them but had to give their jobs to California workers. This came on top of the divisions created by the last contract, including provisions under which new hires must work a year and a half before getting full pay and benefits.

With the 1984 contract coming up, workers are beginning to discuss the need for unity. Many see how these divisions, along with those created by Quality of Work Life circles, which promote employer-worker collaboration, and competition

between plants, only serve the company's interest. Besides the need to unite, most workers see the 1984 contract as a chance to get back what has been taken away.

Along with this, discussions are taking place on the need to end forced overtime, especially while there are laid-off auto workers, to create more jobs.

Given the upturn in sales, many workers feel confident that we are in a good position going into 1984. But they realize that to get a decent contract, we will more than likely have to fight. While there are no generalized demands being put forth so far, except for getting back what was taken away, the sentiment among most is clear on one thing: No more concessions!

tion going into 1984. But they realize that to get a decent contract, we will more than likely have to fight. While there are no generalized demands being put forth so far, except for getting back what was taken away, the sentiment among most is clear on one thing: No more concessions!

Dick Geyer is a member of UAW Local 31 at Fairfax.

Union women meet at CLUW conference

Continued from front page

Gibson; Lupe Lazano, widow of murdered 'International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union organizer Rudy Lazano; and others. There will also be a skit dramatizing CLUW's history.

The Chicago chapter is mobilizing to build and organize the convention. It has taken on the goal of selling 5,000 tickets to the rally and individual CLUW members are asking their union to have speakers at the local meetings to encourage participation in the rally and convention.

The Chicago chapter has also gone through the same preparations for the convention that other CLUW chapters have. In November, the chapter discussed resolutions for consideration by the national convention. Resolution topics include child

care, the war budget and the war in Central America, affirmative action, and proposed changes in CLUW's constitution.

Chapter delegates to the convention include members of a number of different unions — from teachers and garment workers to carpenters and auto workers — reflecting the breadth of CLUW's membership. Other CLUW members will be delegates from their unions.

Those interested in attending the convention should contact their local CLUW chapter, local union, or national CLUW through: Gloria Johnson, IUE, 1126 Sixteenth St. NW, Washington, D.C., 20036.

Candace Wagner is a member of Chicago CLUW and of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

U.S.-backed rightists battered in 1

Continued from front page

In Washington, Shultz strongly indicated his opposition to canceling the pact "We continue to support the May 17 agreement," he said.

In Damascus, Syria, Walid Jumblat, head of the Druze Socialist Progressive Party of Lebanon, said it was not enough to abrogate the May 17 agreement. "Amin Gemayel has to step down. He must be tried — he and the other officers — for all the crimes they committed."

Druze leaders and Shi'ite and Sunni Muslim figures have been meeting with Syrian officials to discuss what demands to make regarding the character of a new Lebanese government in light of their recent victories. To put maximum pressure on Syria and the opposition, Washington launched the most massive bombing since the Vietnam War February 8. U.S. bombing of Lebanon was renewed on February 14 by the guided missile destroyer *Eugene U. Ricketts*.

Meanwhile, Washington moved 150 marines, mostly office personnel, out of Beirut and onto ships offshore. That left 1,200 in Beirut and over 2,000 on warships offshore. On February 15 Reagan reported to Congress that, tentatively, the majority of the remaining troops would be moved offshore "within 30 days," but that some troops would "remain on the ground for the protection of our remaining personnel."

The French government has announced no plans for removing its nearly 1,300 troops in Beirut. The Italian government

said it would begin redeploying the 1,400 soldiers it has stationed there. Britain has already put its 115 troops on a ship offshore.

The French, Italian, and Syrian governments have proposed replacing the present multinational force with a United Nations "peacekeeping force."

Dilemma for Washington

Two hundred sixty-four GIs have now died in Washington's war against Lebanon. Reagan faces the dilemma of escalating the war further — at least through bombing, if not sending U.S. troops into combat — or working out a settlement that might involve concessions to the Syrians and Lebanese opposition forces.

Washington would prefer a settlement that maintains intact the discriminatory government set-up in Lebanon whereby Christians, a minority, have disproportionate weight in the government and are guaranteed the post of president and head of the army. Through this arrangement, the imperialists have maintained domination over the Muslim majority in Lebanon and countered nationalist upsurges for decades.

This is also what Israel wants, and it is particularly unwilling to give up its occupation of southern Lebanon.

The Syrian regime, which is the main source of military support for the Lebanese rebels, has long demanded the Israeli troops get out. Syria feels in a stronger position to negotiate a settlement with the imperialists

now that the rebels have altered the relationship of forces in Lebanon. The Syrian regime is looking for a way to strengthen its position in relation to Israel — through the establishment of a government in Lebanon friendly to Syria, by getting back the Golan Heights annexed by Israel in 1981, and by removing the threat of Israeli troops in southern Lebanon.

To accomplish this, the Syrian government has shown willingness to negotiate on the nature of the government in Lebanon at the expense of the Lebanese and Palestinian refugees there.

Lebanese opposition forces have also demanded the withdrawal of Israel from southern Lebanon. They call for reforms in the Lebanese government and army apparatus, giving more power to Muslim and Druze officials.

Israel worried

The Israeli government has criticized Washington's actions so far. When Muslim and Druze militias began the rout of the Lebanese army, Israel demanded that Washington use whatever force necessary to crush the rebels. It insists on its "right" to continue occupying southern Lebanon and is worried that Reagan will try to arrange a deal with Arab regimes behind its back.

The conflict in Lebanon is part of the broader conflict throughout the Mideast between oppressed nations and the various imperialist powers that seek to maintain

their domination of the region's rich oil reserves. The irrepressible drive of the Arab masses to liberate themselves from this oppression has made it impossible for the imperialists to achieve their version of stability, although they have inflicted severe defeats on the Arab nationalist struggle in the past two years.

France and Britain joined hands after World War I to divide up the Arab world in order to undercut the nationalist struggle and better rob the region of its oil resources (see story below).

Then in 1948, Britain and the United States set up the state of Israel in what had been Palestine. Some 700,000 Palestinians were forcibly expelled by Jewish settlers organized by the Zionist movement. The imperialists presented this as a humanitarian measure to provide refuge for victims of Hitler's genocidal drive against Jews. In reality, it was a move to set up a colonial settler state that could function as a watchdog for the imperialists over the entire region.

Israel eventually developed into an imperialist country in its own right, although it continues to depend on massive U.S. military and economic aid.

Rise of Arab nationalism

Israel's expulsion of Palestinians helped fuel a rise in the Arab nationalist movement in the 1950s. Some Arab regimes began to take anti-imperialist measures under pressure from the workers and peasants in their countries.

In 1967, Israel launched a war against Jordan, Syria, and Egypt, hoping to push back the more radical Arab regimes and bring more territory under Israeli control. The war was a smashing defeat for the Arab governments.

The inability of the Arab regimes to effectively defend their countries led many Arabs to seek a more radical alternative leadership. It was out of the 1967 defeat that an independent Palestinian nationalist movement arose — the PLO. Originally set up in 1964 under the control of Nasser, the PLO was transformed.

After 1967, various Palestinian guerrilla groups began waging struggle against the Israeli regime on their own. They gained the support of the Palestinian masses and established a base in the refugee camps. After a battle with King Hussein's troops in 1968, they won the right to function openly in Jordan.

In 1969 these guerrilla organizations established control of the PLO, electing Yasser Arafat, head of the Fatah guerrilla group, as their chairman.

Revolutionary dynamic

The transformed PLO had a revolutionary dynamic, although it was a coalition of various Palestinian forces, some favoring capitalism, and others, socialism. What set it apart from the bourgeois Arab governments was its unconditional demand for the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland and a willingness to struggle for this goal regardless of the consequences.

The PLO also put forward a solution to the problem of Israel that united working people across the religious and national lines. It adopted a stand for a democratic, secular Palestine, in which Arabs and Jews would have full democratic rights. Adopting this stand meant a fight against conservative Arab forces who demanded that the Jews be driven into the sea. It also runs counter to the line put forward today by the Iranian government, which argues for establishing Muslim theocratic states throughout the Mideast.

The Arab governments, while threatened by Israeli aggression, remained fearful of mobilizing the Arab masses in an uncompromising battle against Israel and its imperialist allies. The growing attractiveness and intransigence of the PLO was thus a big thorn in their side.

Israel also feared the rise of the PLO and began taking military action to try to crush it. Its army began bombing Lebanon, where the PLO had forces, in the late 1960s. The Lebanese government refused to counter these attacks, which victimized

How imperialist powers carved up Mideast

The conflict in Lebanon is frequently described as senseless warring between religious factions. But the roots of the conflict lie in the way the colonial powers carved up the Mideast during World War I and the continued imperialist domination and class divisions that persist in Lebanon today.

Lebanon used to be part of greater Syria, ruled by the Turkish Ottoman Empire. During World War I, Arab leaders in Syria made an agreement with Britain that they would fight the Turkish government if Syria would get its independence after the war.

Instead, Britain, France, and tsarist Russia secretly decided to divide up the Mideast before the war was over.

Britain got the southern part of Syria, which was called Palestine, and soon created the state of Jordan out of part of the territory. France took northern Syria, and carved the state of Lebanon out of the western part. In this manner four colonial countries were created out of greater Syria. This was in spite of overwhelming Arab sentiment favoring independence and national unity of the whole of Syria.

To help preserve its colonial rule, France drew the Lebanese boundary in such a way as to guarantee that Christians would be a majority, while including a large minority of Muslims in the population. The largest

Christian grouping was the Maronites. By extending special privileges to Christians, the French hoped to use them to suppress the nationalist aspirations of the Sunni and Shi'ite Muslims, who were the poorest workers and peasants, as well as the Druze, whose religion is a mixture of Christianity and Islam.

The object was to maintain French control of Lebanon, an important financial and shipping center, by keeping the Lebanese working people divided along religious lines. Wealthy Christian merchants and landowners, as well as bourgeois figures in the Muslim and Druze communities, went along with this.

But the Lebanese masses chafed at French domination, and in 1943 the Lebanese government was forced to alter the constitution to lift French control over its sovereignty. The French suspended the constitution, arrested the government, and installed a puppet regime. The Lebanese workers staged a general strike in protest. Shortly after World War II, France was forced to grant Lebanon its independence.

Representation in the new government after independence was based on a "national pact" agreed to in 1943 by the heads of the main political parties and religious groups in Lebanon. Under it, federal and local government positions were divided up by a ratio of six posts for Christians to

five for Muslims. The president and the head of the army had to be Maronite Christians by law. The premier had to be a Sunni Muslim, and the speaker of the parliament a Shi'ite Muslim.

This system — which remains in force today — was based on a dubious 1932 census that France claimed gave Christians a majority of the population. Today there is no question that Muslims outnumber Christians.

Yet the discriminatory system prevails. No Lebanese government has dared take a census since 1932, for fear of the explosive results.

Muslim and other opposition forces have rebelled continuously against the inequality they suffer under this system. In 1958, Pres. Dwight Eisenhower sent 14,300 marines to invade Lebanon and put down an upsurge against the government by opposition forces.

Lebanese peasants have also suffered exploitation under the imperialist-devised system. At one time, many peasants had small landholdings, although Maronite Christians owned most of the country's land.

But in the 1950s and 1960s, the Shi'ite Muslim peasants in the south were thrown off their land by big capitalist landowners who wanted to set up larger, more profitable farms. Sharecroppers declined from 25 percent in the 1950s to 5 percent in the 1970s. Many became agricultural laborers or moved to the large cities, especially Beirut. In 1970 it was established that 18 percent of the rural population was migrating to Beirut each year.

Many of those flocking to the cities were Shi'ite Muslims. When Israel began its bombing attacks on southern Lebanon in the late 1960s, even more moved to Beirut. By 1975, 40 percent of the southern peasants had been driven off their land.

The influx of Palestinian refugees into Lebanon added another important component to the population. The first wave arrived after 1948, when they were expelled from their homeland of Palestine by the Zionists. Hundreds of thousands more arrived after the 1967 Israeli war and the growth of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). These Palestinian refugees, especially the PLO fighters, have played a vital role in the class struggle in Lebanon, as the article above describes.

From Pathfinder

Israel's War Against the Palestinian People

By David Frankel and Will Reissner. The articles in this pamphlet explain the nature of Israel as a colonial-settler state, the character and history of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, and the Marxist attitude toward the Palestine Liberation Organization. 46 pages, \$1.25.

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Lebanon

Lebanese as well. In 1969, mass demonstrations erupted in Lebanon to protest the government's failure to defend the country and its refusal to give the PLO full freedom to function.

Jordan attacks PLO

In 1970, under pressure from Washington, King Hussein began to move against the PLO troops in Jordan. The PLO called a general strike of Palestinian refugees, who were a majority of the population of Jordan. But the PLO was unable to match the firepower of Hussein's troops. Some 8,000 Palestinians died in the war. In July 1971, the PLO forces were expelled altogether from Jordan. Many went to Lebanon.

Israel escalated its raids and bombings against Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. The Christian-dominated Lebanese government continued to refuse to take any action. This, combined with the exploitation suffered by the Muslim majority in Lebanon, led to the 1975-76 civil war in Lebanon.

The war was sparked by an uprising of Lebanese and Palestinians in the city of Saida against the granting of a monopoly on fishing rights to two Christian capitalists. When Phalangist troops gunned down a busload of Palestinian demonstrators, the war was on.

The majority of Lebanese supported the Palestinian liberation struggle and opposed the discriminatory political system in Lebanon. A coalition of forces — including Muslim groups, the PLO, the Druse community, Communist Party, and various Arab nationalist parties — fought against the right-wing government.

Syria backs rightists

The Syrian government decided to enter the battle on the side of the rightists, hoping to prove to Washington their ability to restore order and their right to be included in a broader Mideast deal. The Syrian role, approved by Washington, tipped the scales against the PLO, which decided to accept the best settlement of the war it could get.

The civil war was ended under an arrangement that maintained PLO freedom of functioning in southern Lebanon and the refugee camps. The rest of the country was divided between the Muslim-Palestinian-leftist coalition, the Syrian troops, and the Phalange forces. This de facto partition remained until the 1982 invasion by Israel.

The PLO championed the cause of the workers and peasants in Lebanon. In areas under its control it fought for better conditions for farm workers, and set up hospitals, schools, and other social services. Its prestige rose in the eyes of the masses.

Washington stepped up the pressure on the Arab regimes to rein in the PLO and to recognize the state of Israel, something none of them had done.

In spite of Syria's overtures, Washington turned instead to Egyptian Pres. Anwar el-Sadat and made a separate deal with him to stab the Palestinian struggle in the back. In 1977, Sadat went to Jerusalem and recognized Israel as part of the Camp David accords. This was a major victory for Israel and the U.S. government. All they relinquished was some Egyptian territory that Israel had seized during the 1967 war.

Iranian revolution

But the imperialists' plans to force more Arab governments to recognize Israel were slowed down by the 1979 revolution in Iran. The overthrow of the U.S.-backed shah, Washington's most reliable Mideast ally next to Israel, sent shock waves throughout the Mideast. The Arab national struggle received a big boost.

The impact of the Iranian revolution made it difficult for other Arab regimes to immediately take steps to undercut the PLO or recognize Israel.

The Israeli rulers, however, continued to launch military attacks on the PLO in Lebanon. Finally, in June 1982, Israel invaded Lebanon.

Its purpose was to destroy the PLO once and for all. Toward that end, it unleashed savage bombing, reducing whole cities to



Israeli soldiers march captured Palestinian fighters off to prison camp during 1982 war in Lebanon

rubble. Thousands were killed and an estimated one million people left homeless. Washington backed the aggression all the way.

In their last stronghold, West Beirut, the PLO fighters put up a magnificent fight against insuperable odds. The Arab regimes stood aside while the PLO and its Lebanese allies did battle.

After fighting the Israelis for 88 days, the PLO decided to withdraw from West Beirut, explaining that further battles would mean vast casualties among the area's residents. Several thousand PLO fighters departed from Beirut for other Arab countries, while PLO troops remained in other portions of Lebanon.

Washington and Israel put together a Lebanese government headed by Gemayel, hated leader of the right-wing Phalange.

Political price

The imperialists had inflicted a major defeat on the Palestinian struggle and the Arab revolution as a whole. But they paid an enormous political price in doing so. The Palestinian fighters won international support among working people. The criminal role of Israel, and Washington's complicity with it, was exposed to U.S. working people. Within Israel itself, opposition to the war reached qualitatively new levels.

In the wake of the defeat of the PLO, Reagan increased pressure on the Arab regimes to recognize Israel and convince the PLO to do likewise. Reagan dressed his proposal up as a "peace plan." He said he favored talks between Israel and Jordan on setting up a Palestinian area associated with Jordan. (Israel opposed the idea, fearing such an arrangement could eventually lead to an independent Palestinian state and the ouster of Israeli forces from the occupied West Bank.)

The imperialist press began running stories predicting that Arafat would make a deal with the imperialists, despite the fact that he and the entire Palestine National Council had rejected Reagan's proposal. The Syrian, Libyan, and Iranian governments echoed the "sellout" charge in an effort to undermine Arafat's popularity.

Arab governments also sought to sow divisions within the PLO. The Syrian regime took advantage of disagreements among the various forces in the PLO to foment a mutiny against Arafat. Syrian troops and anti-Arafat PLO factions began launching military attacks on Arafat loyalists, driving them out of Lebanon's Bekaa Valley in September 1983.

This dealt another big blow to the Palestinian struggle. Whatever legitimate differences existed within the PLO, none of



them justified taking up arms against fellow fighters and breaking up the one united, secular liberation movement in the Mideast.

The Syrian-backed assault on the Arafat forces ended in a bloody battle against the last of his troops in Lebanon, stationed in Tripoli. Hundreds were killed. Arafat and his supporters were finally forced to evacuate the city in December 1983.

These defeats have taken a devastating toll on the PLO, which played the role of galvanizing the Arab masses in an independent struggle for their liberation.

Taking advantage of the disunited and weakened state of the Palestinian resistance, Reagan met February 14 with Egyptian Pres. Hosni Mubarak and King Hussein to demand again that they work out a settlement of the Palestinian question with Israel.

The events in Lebanon today are unfolding both in the context of the failure of the imperialists to maintain the type of regime they wanted there, and in the broader framework of their strategy to contain the Arab nationalist struggle throughout the entire Mideast. The blows dealt to the PLO — the most advanced expression of that struggle — will be an important factor in the fate of the settlement that ultimately gets resolved in Lebanon.

Fighting steps up in Iraqi war against Iran

The imperialist offensive against the workers and peasants in the Mideast has targeted not only the Arab peoples, but the Iranian masses, whose 1979 revolution toppling the U.S.-backed shah won deep support among Arabs. The imperialist powers have waged an ongoing military, economic, and political campaign against the Iranian revolution ever since and have encouraged the Iraqi war against Iran, now in its 40th month.

Fighting intensified in this war on February 10, when the Iraqi regime shelled the Iranian city of Dezful, killing eight people

and wounding 70. Dezful has been repeatedly bombed ever since Iraq first invaded Iran in September 1980, in an attempt to turn back the revolution and overthrow the government.

The Iranian government responded to the attack on Dezful by shelling several Iraqi border cities on February 12. It said that thousands of Iranian volunteers are mobilizing for a new offensive to defeat Iraqi aggression.

In response, Iraqi forces shelled the Iranian cities of Abadan, Khorramshahr, and

Bandar Khomeini, where a major port and petrochemical complex is located.

According to radio reports, the Iranian government reported it carried out air strikes February 14 on the outskirts of Baghdad, the capital of Iraq.

The Iraqi regime, which has received powerful Exocet missiles from France, is threatening to destroy Iran's oil export facility, located on Kharg Island. The Iranian government has warned it will close the Strait of Hormoz, the only entrance to the Persian Gulf, if this happens.

Thus far in the war, over 150,000 Iranians and 50,000 Iraqis have been killed. Some 200,000 Iranians have been wounded. One and a half million Iranians have lost their homes.

But because Iraq has been unable to win the war, despite this massive destruction, the imperialist powers have recently given Iraq more support. France has openly armed the regime, and Washington has stepped up political and military pressure on Iran, putting it on the list of nations that have "repeatedly provided support for acts of international terrorism" on January 23.

Washington has also encouraged reactionary opponents of the Iranian revolution organizing in exile. Riza Pahlevi, the son of the despised shah, overthrown in 1979, met with Reagan administration officials and members of Congress last October. Shahpour Bakhtiar, the last prime minister under the shah, held meetings with the State Department and White House in January of this year.

Iranian gov't to ban Fedayeen group

Widening its assault on the democratic rights of the workers movement, the Iranian government has announced it will ban the Organization of Fedayeen (Majority), a group that shares the political views of the Tudeh (Communist) Party.

The Tudeh Party was banned last May and thousands of its members jailed. Some 100 Tudeh supporters in the military have already been tried and convicted on frame-up charges of espionage and treason. The persecution of Tudeh members has been accompanied by stepped-up anticommunist and anti-Soviet propaganda by the regime. It is aimed not only at dismantling the Tudeh Party, but at intimidating and breaking up all organizations in the Iranian workers movement.

Hojatolislam Mohammadi Reyshahri,

head of the military tribunal trying Tudeh defendants, said that collaboration with the Tudeh Party was sufficient reason to ban the Organization of Fedayeen (Majority). Members of the group, he said, would be required to report to government offices.

Some 30 members of the Fedayeen group have already been charged with membership in a "secret military wing" of the Tudeh Party. They face trial in the future.

Hundreds more Tudeh Party members also face trial. Of the 100 party members and supporters already tried, three have received the death penalty. Another 6 have been sentenced to life imprisonment; 1 to 30 years; 5 to 20 years; 6 to 15 years; and over 60 to lesser terms.

Shultz pushes for pro-U.S. armed force to police Caribbean

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz spent the day here on February 7, and held talks with Grenada's Governor-General, Paul Scoon, and Nicholas Brathwaite, head of the island's interim government.

Central to the talks were plans to establish a regional combat force in the Caribbean that would be used to crush any struggles that threatened the rule of U.S.-backed regimes.

The U.S. government has already taken steps in this direction. Six Caribbean governments joined in the U.S. invasion of Grenada last October. Grenada is still occupied by a so-called Caribbean Peacekeeping Force, consisting of 300 U.S. troops and another 300 Caribbean troops. The Reagan administration wants to institutionalize this reactionary strike force.

"It is clear," Shultz said at a news conference here, "that it is difficult for small islands to form their own security forces, and it makes sense, what you can't do alone, you can do on a collective basis."

Shultz said U.S. troops would be withdrawn as soon as "we can be replaced by people from other islands nearby and, as time goes on, by Grenadians trained for police work." The White House official added, "I don't have an estimate on when that would be."

On another topic, Shultz said that after traveling to Grenada, it was clear that the country needed an international airport. Shultz said that "in one way or another" the airport at Point Salines will be finished.

Construction of the Point Salines airport was the centerpiece of the economic development plan of Grenada's People's Revolutionary Government (PRG). The PRG, headed by slain Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, had completed 80 percent of the airport construction before the revolutionary government was overthrown and the country invaded by U.S. troops.

The airport was also the centerpiece of Washington's propaganda against the Grenada revolution, claiming it was part of the PRG's plan to turn Grenada into a Soviet-Cuban military base.

The PRG had planned to open the airport this March 13, which would have been the fifth anniversary of the 1979 Grenada revolution. Completion of the airport project has virtually unanimous support here.

While here, Shultz also attended part of the 10th anniversary celebration of Grenada's independence from Britain. A crowd of about 3,000 gathered at Queen's Park in St. George's to listen to a U.S. military band, Grenadian Police Department Band, and watch a parachuting exhibition by crack paratroopers of the 82nd Airborne Division of the U.S. Army.

Several people commented on the fact that the independence day activities were much smaller than the celebrations held the last several years on March 13, to commemorate the Grenada revolution.

The lack of enthusiasm for the independence day events was evident when walking about town. Only Young Street, where many businesses are located, and the Yacht Club were decorated for the occasion. During the evening the Seamen's and Waterfront Workers Union (see article on this page for this union's role in Grenada) held a big bash, but otherwise St. George's was quiet.

Grenada: U.S. targets workers gains

Continued from front page

cooperatives' members in managing their enterprise and in marketing their products. The NACDA-supported cooperatives were an essential part of the PRG's fight against unemployment, which plummeted from 50 percent to 14 percent in the four and a half years of the revolution.

According to Melvin Mitchell, NACDA's chief official, the agency's work is threatened. NACDA has managed to keep up the interest payments on its EC\$1 million loan, but has made no dent in the principle.

In January, Mitchell met with the interim government's minister of agriculture, Arnold Cruickshank. Mitchell was told to submit to the Advisory Council a report on NACDA's performance and needs. After considering this report, the council would decide whether NACDA will continue and in what form, said Cruickshank.

Many within NACDA fear that the council will either change the law that created the agency or restructure NACDA to make it ineffective.

This fear isn't ungrounded. The U.S.-imposed regime has already taken such steps in trying to tear apart another important conquest of the Grenada revolution — the Marketing and National Importing Board (MNIB).

The PRG established the MNIB to seek new export markets for Grenada's agricultural products and, through import controls, insure necessary foodstuffs for the island's population.

Emboldened by the PRG's overthrow and U.S. occupation of Grenada, merchants here have launched a campaign to smash the MNIB. A MNIB employee and union activist in the Commercial and Industrial Workers Union (CIWU) described this campaign to the *Militant*.

"The first attempt at mashing up the MNIB," he said, "came when several businessmen published a pamphlet (immediately after the October crisis and invasion) called 'The Conscious Grenadian.' The pamphlet attacked the MNIB, and these businessmen pledged they would do all in their power to make sure the MNIB doesn't exist."

"Just a few days later," reports the CIWU activist, "we learned from the Ministry of Trade that four firms — Hubbard, Ross Foodstuffs, Star Agency, and Independence Agency — had received licenses to import goods that the MNIB had a monopoly on according to People's Law 69."

The MNIB workers responded quickly to this attack. The union demanded that the government clarify its policy regarding the board. Other Grenadian working people protested the moves against the MNIB.

The Advisory Council was forced to make a public announcement that the MNIB would remain intact. Two of the import licenses were revoked, but the other two had already been taken advantage of. Milk and sugar had been imported by agencies other than the MNIB.

Currently, negotiations are under way between the MNIB and the merchants to allow the board to buy the milk and sugar before it reaches the market.

New stage in battle

Meanwhile, the attack on the MNIB continued apace. A new board of directors was appointed, which the MNIB workers



Militant/Pat Kane

1982 meeting of Grenada Allied and Technical Workers Union. U.S.-backed government in Grenada is meeting resistance in unions to attempts to crush all vestiges of 1979 revolution.

feel is determined to dismantle the agency.

"First of all," said the CIWU activist, "the new board changed the MNIB's pricing policies. From February 6 prices on some items are fixed at lower levels than before. This is to give the people the impression that the PRG was thieving the people's money."

"But," he continued, "profits made by the MNIB from the sale of things like sugar, which was purchased from Cuba below world-market prices, were funneled back into government programs. They're trying to hide this fact! The MNIB's profits helped to provide the free medical care, CPE, and so on."

Attacks on unions

"However," the CIWU activist said, "the most significant struggle since October 25 involved the Seamen's and Waterfront Workers Union (SWWU), Bank and General Workers Union (BGWU), and the MNIB." The docks — and therefore, dockworkers — are central to the economy of this tiny island.

The SWWU organizes about 300 workers on Grenada's docks. They are among the highest-paid workers in Grenada. The SWWU leadership opposed the Grenada revolution and carried out attempts to destabilize the PRG when it was in power.

The BGWU membership includes unskilled dockworkers. The union is led by supporters of the revolution. During the revolution, it played an important role in countering the activities of the SWWU leadership.

"With the changed situation," he said, "the SWWU feels it can do as it pleases. In January, the SWWU blocked the off-loading of cargo imported by the MNIB, saying the Seamen's union is the sole union on the docks. They crushed the BGWU branch on the waterfront, and the MNIB signed a new contract with the SWWU."

This report on the SWWU's raiding operation against the BGWU was backed up in interviews with central activists in the BGWU. They also reported that the SWWU was raiding hotels where the workers are organized by the BGWU.

"Apparently," commented one BGWU activist, "the SWWU leadership thinks we're an easy target because we organize so many different types of workers. They think they can pick us off workplace by workplace."

"But," he said, "we will have a meeting of our general council soon, and there's a meeting of the Trade Union Council (TUC) scheduled for the last week of March. At these meetings we will take up the SWWU's poaching [raids] and the disruption by AIFLD [American Institute for Free Labor Development]."

AIFLD

AIFLD is a CIA outfit that includes AFL-CIO bureaucrats on its board of directors. The agency's main purpose is to disrupt and hamper the work of unions whose leadership they deem "subversive." During the revolution, AIFLD's work was largely checked.

Now, AIFLD has been given the green light to disrupt trade unions here and try to oust their current leaderships, which Washington considers too "radical." This antiunion campaign is essential to the U.S.

rulers' plans to stabilize imperialist domination over the country. Docile unions that refuse to militantly struggle for working people's rights are necessary if Washington hopes to crush the remaining vestiges of the Grenada revolution.

The chief AIFLD operative here is Osborne Baptiste. His office is in the SWWU headquarters. Baptiste, a Grenadian who returned to the country after the U.S. invasion, has been through several AIFLD training programs in the United States. So have several SWWU leaders.

One such "training" session was held here January 16-27. The topic of the anti-communist seminar was "Political Theories and Systems and Trade Unions." One of the lecturers was right-wing Social Democrat Bayard Rustin of the A. Philip Randolph Institute in the United States.

Baptiste has been on the radio here slandering and lying about the leaderships of the BGWU and the CIWU. The AIFLD agent claims that the current leaderships are stealing union funds to buy homes, cars, and make trips abroad. Baptiste also charges that they are "communists" just like Bernard Coard, who, as deputy prime minister, organized the overthrow of the Bishop-led PRG.

He is attempting to smear these union leaders through identifying them with Coard, who is justifiably hated by the masses of Grenadians.

Out of the SWWU hall, Baptiste also organized truck loads of volunteers to go around the island and paint over revolutionary slogans. Riding in AIFLD-donated vehicles, these brigades have obliterated every revolutionary billboard or mural.

'CIA! CIA! CIA!'

The AIFLD campaign ran into trouble with the CIWU ranks. Baptiste had been going from workplace to workplace saying the workers had to "rid themselves of the communists." He called a general meeting of the CIWU for January 10 to discuss "union finances, long trips of union officials, and the leadership crisis in the union." Baptiste went on the radio to build this meeting. Only 15 workers attended.

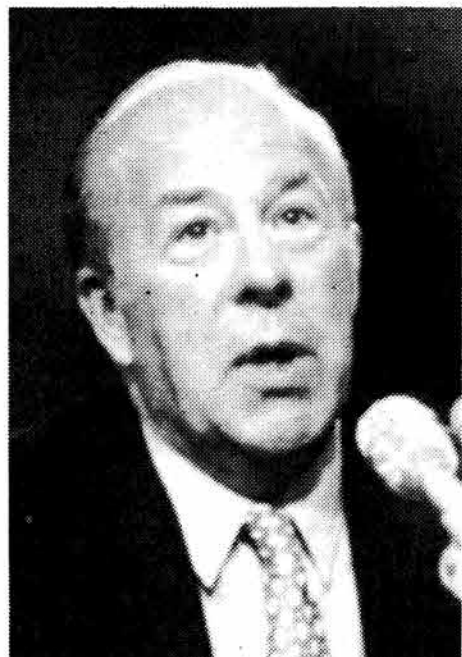
Meanwhile, the CIWU leadership had called a general membership meeting for January 11. Before the meeting could begin, however, a Jamaican member of the combat force now occupying the island was told to leave. He had a tape recorder to record the meeting. The union leaders then answered all of Baptiste's charges before the 150 workers in attendance.

"The workers demanded to know who Baptiste worked for," one CIWU activist told the *Militant*. "Baptiste, who used to work at a place organized by the CIWU, said he worked for AIFLD."

"One of the workers got up and said to Baptiste, 'Are you aware that that organization you're working for is responsible for overturning progressive governments like that of Allende's in Chile?'"

"Well," continued the CIWU activist, "Baptiste got hot and started cussing the workers, who drowned him out by chanting, 'CIA! CIA! CIA!'"

In a unanimous decision, the union expelled Baptiste from membership because 1) he wasn't a worker at any enterprise organized by CIWU; 2) he was working for AIFLD; and 3) AIFLD is a known CIA front.



U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz



Jacqui Chagnon

Ex-CIA mercenary (right) claims sores on hands were caused by Vietnamese-Soviet "yellow rain." His wife (left) contradicts his testimony. Sores turned out to be ordinary ringworm.

U.S. chemical journal shreds Washington's tale about 'yellow rain'

'Science distorted to fit policy'

BY STEPHEN BRIDE

The U.S. story that the Vietnamese are dropping poison gas ("yellow rain") on their neighbors in Southeast Asia tends to arise more-or-less regularly.

Just as regularly, scientists examine such evidence as exists for the charge, and find it has no scientific basis. It does, however, have a serious political purpose.

It's designed to provide political justification for U.S. aggression against Vietnam and Kampuchea; to dull the attractive power of the Vietnamese revolution for workers and peasants in other countries; and to bolster the charge that the Soviet Union, other workers states, and national liberation movements — not U.S. imperialism — are the source of violence and terror in the world.

The January 9 issue of *Chemical & Engineering News* (C&EN), journal of the 126,000-member American Chemistry Society, deals a serious blow to this story. It bluntly states that science "appears to have become captive to Administration policy. No matter how contorted the science has had to become."

The 'evidence'-I

The yellow rain charge first came to the fore on Sept. 13, 1981, when then Secretary of State Alexander Haig announced Washington had "physical evidence" that "the Soviet Union and its allies have been using lethal chemical weapons in Laos, Kampuchea, and Afghanistan."

Since then, admits a U.S. spokesman, the government has been "starting essentially from a zero science base," meaning it can't prove anything Haig said. This is apparent after C&EN subjects Washington's few scraps of evidence to independent scrutiny.

Emery Sarver of the army's Chemical Systems Laboratory tested about 60 Southeast Asian environmental samples for yellow rain — mycotoxins produced by the fusarium fungus. He couldn't find any. Chester Mirocha at the University of Minnesota, meanwhile, found mycotoxins in five of the six samples he tested.

"Why Mirocha... is batting five-for-six... whereas Sarver is batting about zero-for-60 is yet to be explained," C&EN comments. But it notes Mirocha got all his samples from Sharon Watson, a researcher at the Armed Forces Medical Intelligence Center, who is generally credited with having thought up the yellow rain story in the first place.

Be that as it may, the journal also points

out that most of the levels of mycotoxins found by Mirocha are well within the limits that occur naturally.

(For awhile, Washington contended fusarium fungi don't even occur in Southeast Asia. In fact, it has been known since 1939 that they do. The government subsequently abandoned this line of defense.)

As for the tests on Mirocha's samples, C&EN finds "results very hard to explain."

Testing a leaf-and-stem sample from Kampuchea (the "physical evidence" that sent Haig running for the microphones), Mirocha found two halves of a single leaf contained wildly different amounts of three mycotoxins. Testing a water sample from Kampuchea, he uncovered only one of the three. "This is odd," remarks C&EN, since both samples were allegedly from the same March 1981 gas attack.

Turning to a rock scraping from Laos on which Mirocha reported finding mycotoxins, C&EN compares it with a sample given to ABC News, which Sharon Watson said was from the same attack. The types of mycotoxins in each sample are again quite different. And when another part of the scraping was tested a year later by Sarver, he found no mycotoxins at all. Experts queried by C&EN said the chances of the mycotoxins disappearing by themselves were nil.

The 'victims'

The State Department has so far collected 150 to 200 gassing stories. All come from Ban Vinai refugee camp in Thailand, mostly from members of the Hmong tribe of Laos. "The leadership of Ban Vinai," observes C&EN, "is composed of former members of the old CIA-backed secret army in Laos.* And the more military-oriented [yellow rain] stories come from these former U.S. allies, not from Hmong male farmers, and not from Hmong women."

Sociologists who have been independently researching the yellow rain tale add that "because the camp leadership sets up all camp interviews there is a preselection of both respondents — only refugees with chemical warfare stories — and of acceptable translators."

On top of this, "the questions asked of refugees appear to have assumed chemical warfare and were, therefore, leading."

Many "witnesses" are more than willing to be led. "The Hmong with a yellow rain story," C&EN continues, "find their entry into Thailand eased. And once they have emigrated to the U.S., chemical warfare, they seem to feel, preserves their status as political refugees."

Even with the deck thus stacked, the State Department and its "victims" seem to have trouble getting together on their story. Take Washington's prize witness, Hmong tribesman Ger Pao Pha. Ger has been interviewed over 13 times. Sometimes Ger says the gas was shot from rockets; other times it was sprayed from planes. His body count has ranged from 13 dead to 230. At some interviews he shows up with a son he says is his sole surviving relative; other times the relative is his daughter.

One Hmong couple interviewed separately had similar difficulties. The wife said she had seen some yellow spots on leaves. Then some people got sick, but nobody died. Her husband, an ex-CIA soldier, saw "a lot of yellow rain" and people dying like flies. He said it came from

Soviet planes, which was news to the wife. They also couldn't agree on where they were living while all this was going on. Finally, the husband displayed some sores, which he said were from the gas. Camp physicians diagnosed them as ringworm.

It is not surprising, then, that not a single shell, cannister, or grenade has tested positive for mycotoxins.

The 'evidence'-II

About 100 biological samples have been taken from alleged victims of gas attacks; 18 of those showed some exposure to mycotoxins, most at the low end of the range that occurs naturally. And even these 18 are doubtful, cautions C&EN.

"Positive samples often have been collected one to 10 weeks after an alleged attack, yet animal studies indicate that these toxins are almost entirely flushed from the body within 48 hours of exposure." Their half-life in the blood, adds Harvard biochemist and chemical warfare expert Matthew Meselson, is 15 minutes.

Which gets at yet another baffler about mycotoxins. If the Vietnamese are indeed waging chemical war, they have made a remarkably poor choice of weapons.

According to a National Academy of Sciences study, for mycotoxins at the reported levels to prove fatal a person would have to eat at least 200 grams (almost half a pound) of them. Put another way by Saul Hormats, former director of the army chemical weapons program, "3,000 tons of light fluffy toxin-containing material would have to be sprayed over a one-square block target to kill most — and make the rest ill — of the people in the typical Hmong village."

"Every time you look at any of the data," concludes Meselson, "you find you have to spin out lots of very peculiar assumptions to preserve the State Department's point of view."

Meselson's explanation for the presence of mycotoxins in the biological samples is much more straightforward: "ingestion of moldy food within the previous day or two."

'Serious health problem'

More recently, it was discovered that so-called yellow rain samples are actually bee feces. Every single yellow rain sample the government has tested for pollen (and at least 16 other samples) has been found to contain it. At a 1983 meeting at Cambridge University, experts identified some of the plants this pollen came from. Hearing the list, Peter Ashton, director of the Harvard botanic garden, declared, "The plant families are all common to Southeast Asia, and the pollen is gathered by bees."

Ashton checked with Thomas Seeley, a Southeast Asian bee expert at Yale, who asserted, "I have no doubt that the yellow rain samples that people have turned in, and that I have seen, are bee feces."

Research at the University of Maryland had already shown pollen is a good culture medium for the natural production of fusarium and toxins. To try to reconcile this finding, Sharon Watson from the Armed Forces Medical Intelligence Center began suggesting the Soviets were using pollen in their weapons as a carrier for the mycotoxins. She described it as a "very clever mixture." Scientists were not impressed with this new wrinkle. "Outlandish," exclaimed Meselson.

Washington tried again. It sent its man in Thailand, Amos Townshend, looking for bee experts. These experts told Townshend, he later reported, "there was too much pollen for bee feces" in yellow rain samples.

Seeley, who knows most of the bee experts in Thailand, was puzzled by Townshend's experts, mainly because he'd never heard of any of them. Further, Townshend had somehow overlooked Pongthep Akranakul, the foremost bee expert in the area.

Meselson, meanwhile, has developed a plausible explanation for the evidence. Summarized by C&EN, it is this:

It is known that the yellow rain samples were collected at the end of the dry season in Laos and Kampuchea. Evidence indicates this is when bees swarm, and it is also when fusarium fungus blooms. Coincidentally, that is also when hill tribes in the region — traditional rice eaters — run out of rice and switch to corn, a good carrier for fusaria.

"Integrating all these pieces," the journal goes on, "Meselson speculates that at the same time people are eating moldy food and getting sick, the bees swarm and defecate." Both happen simultaneously, but are unconnected.

C&EN points out that this theory of a natural cause could be easily checked by comparing blood and tissue samples from people who claim to have suffered a yellow rain attack and people who are sick but make no yellow rain claims. But Washington's researchers have never taken this elementary step.

The conspiracy

What does interest the Reagan administration is apparent from the roster of contributors to its yellow rain anthology.

Haig's leaf-and-stem sample was turned over by U.S.-backed guerrillas of the Khmer Rouge. These are the ones who brought death and destruction to Kampuchea during their four-year reign.

"What company is the [State] department keeping?" sputtered the *New York Times* after it learned of this.

Then there is Amos Townshend, whose refugee reports are a mainstay of the U.S. case. Townshend parades about Thailand as some sort of humanitarian. He is, in fact, a retired Air Force colonel who worked on chemical warfare at Fort Detrick, Maryland, and is now with the International Rescue Committee (IRC).

The IRC was set up with CIA support after World War II. It collaborated with the CIA on projects to sanitize the image of the South Vietnamese government in the early years of the Vietnam War. In 1980, the IRC was condemned by other relief agencies for diverting to the Khmer Rouge food and medical aid intended for Kampuchea.

Townshend has been on the State Department payroll for the last year, assigned to dig up yellow rain stories.

The Khmer Rouge, Hmong mercenaries, CIA fronts? What company is the department keeping? Precisely the gang that has labored for eight years to harass, isolate — and they hope overthrow — the Vietnamese revolution. Such is the nature of the conspiracy behind the yellow rain fiction.

A second target is the Soviet Union.

The charge that the Soviet Union has dropped yellow rain on Afghanistan has been widely publicized. Less commonly known is the fact that this entire story rests on the possession of one Afghan gas mask, believed to have been purchased in Kabul in September 1981. This single mask, which is reported to have toxin on the outer surface but not on the filter, is the only piece of "evidence" for the accusation.

Thanks to the efforts of C&EN and other scientists, the yellow rain charge has been exposed for what it is: crude anticommunist propaganda dressed in a suit of pseudo-science.



Monique McClellan

Long Cheng CIA base in Laos, 1975. This was headquarters for U.S.-backed counterrevolutionaries who today control refugee camps from which come claims of "yellow rain."

*And of former CIA partners in the drug trade. Many Hmong traditionally have grown poppies. During the Indochina War these were processed into heroin at CIA headquarters in Long Cheng, northern Laos.

Canadian socialist steelworkers discuss strengthening union, need for solidarity

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

TORONTO — Like their fellow unionists in the United States, Canadian members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) face a relentless takeback drive by the employers; discrimination on the basis of race, nationality, and sex; and a Vietnam-style war in Central America supported by their government.

North of the border, radical-minded steelworkers are discussing what kind of leadership can solve these problems and what sort of union and political action will be required. These discussions are of importance to U.S. workers, and U.S. members of the USWA in particular.

Socialist steelworkers meet

On January 28 steelworkers who are members and supporters of the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire and active in USWA District 5 in Quebec and District 6 in Ontario met to discuss their perspectives and participation in the union. The meeting brought together basic steelworkers from the giant Stelco mill in Hamilton, from smaller plants in Toronto, and from the Coleco toy company in Quebec. The president of a small USWA local in Owen Sound, Ontario, also participated.

Many at the meeting were women, including most from Coleco, where the predominantly female work force makes "cabbage patch dolls." (The USWA organizes many plants that have no direct connection to steelmaking, such as Radio Shack, which employ women at low wages.) Several of these women had lost better-paying jobs at Stelco and other companies due to discriminatory layoffs.

Opening the meeting, Coleco worker Katy LeRougetel explained, "Today as steelworkers we are going to discuss how to better use our union in the fight against the employers."

What followed was a rich exchange of experiences and views on how to strengthen the union. The socialist workers talked out how to move forward in establishing a revolutionary Marxist current in the USWA, made up of those workers who see the situation facing the union in class terms, as part of the fight by working people against the employers and the governments that back them on a world scale.

Quebec: an oppressed nation

Annette Kouri, a member of USWA Local 7895 at Coleco, presented a report on the situation facing the USWA in District 5, centered in the province of Quebec.

Like Blacks and Latinos in the United States, the French-speaking majority of Quebec suffers discrimination based on nationality. Quebec is an oppressed nation within the Canadian state. Important battles have been waged there for the right to use the French language and for an end to the discrimination Québécois face in employment, housing, and social services.

Kouri reported that District 5 includes 40,000 steelworkers, primarily in Quebec. About 10,000 are on Quebec's North Shore, an important mining center. In important Quebec cities the USWA is the dominant union, she noted.

Like Blacks in the United States, Québécois workers are the most militant section of the working class. This is a result of their double oppression as workers and as members of an oppressed nation. "Look at the names of the big companies organized by the USWA," Kouri said. Many are giant corporations "that speak English."

All big struggles by the USWA, she said, objectively "threaten to mobilize the strength of the entire oppressed nation." Such struggles can pose the question of Quebec's special exploitation and how Québécois can fight against it.

This possibility is not abstract. Kouri

pointed to a general strike in Quebec in 1972. In Sept 1972 on the North Shore, USWA members shut down the entire town in protest against the jailing of leaders of the three major labor federations in Quebec. Massive assemblies of working people were held. The working-class struggle and the fight for national rights merged.

It was not accidental, Kouri observed, that the USWA's Quebec national assembly was the first union to adopt a resolution supporting self-determination for Quebec.

Capitalist offensive against Quebec

Today Quebec is under attack from the big corporations whose owners are primarily English Canadian and U.S. capitalists. Workers are bearing the brunt of the assault. During the economic recession, Kouri observed, more jobs were lost in Quebec than in all other Canadian provinces put together.

Many corporations are moving out of Quebec, in part due to the recession, but also in response to the rise of nationalist aspirations and struggles. Many big-business owners opposed Quebec's Law 101, which mandates French as the language of work, education, and public life, and use that as an excuse to move their plants.

These attacks pose two choices for the USWA and other unions in Quebec, said Kouri. They can mobilize the ranks and put the union in the vanguard of the struggle to defend national rights — or they can attempt to conciliate with the employers.

The Quebec USWA leadership chooses the second road. It claims to support the nationalist aspirations of Quebec workers but seeks to channel them into support to the Parti Québécois (PQ).

The PQ attempts to identify with and base itself on these nationalist aspirations. But it is not a workers party and does not challenge the fundamental source of the exploitation of the Québécois: the capitalist economic domination of Quebec. It is a procapitalist party.

At one time the PQ placed itself in the leadership of nationalist struggles. But under the blows of the economic offensive it has largely abandoned these battles in an effort to make deals with the imperialists at workers expense. A key example was the attack by Quebec's PQ government on the wages and working conditions of the public sector workers last year.

In a report on District 6, Gary Watson, a member of USWA Local 8341, explained that the USWA is a key union in the province of Ontario. Hit hard by layoffs, it still has 70,000 working members and plays a large role in the New Democratic Party (NDP), the mass labor party in English Canada.

1984: a contract year

Most basic steel contracts in Canada expire in 1984, including those of 9,500 workers at Stelco's Hamilton mill, other Stelco operations, and Algoma Steel. The last contract year, 1981, was marked by two developments, Watson said.

One was the election victory of rank-and-file steelworkers who ousted conservative District Director Stu Cooke — the hand-picked successor to Lynn Williams, who moved up to become USWA international secretary in 1977.

Cooke was replaced by Dave Patterson, a young union president who led a militant strike at Inco's Sudbury mining operation in 1978. He associated himself with other USWA reform forces in Canada and the United States who took a more militant stand against employer demands and favored increased union democracy.

Following Patterson's election victory in May 1981, Stelco workers marched out on strike that August. USWA Local 1005 at Stelco has a militant tradition and had at the time, a more militant and progressive



Montreal steelworkers in 1982 strike. Meeting stressed importance of steelworkers union in Quebec fighting for national rights of Québécois.

leadership team headed by Pres. Cec Taylor.

Both paid off in the Stelco strike. Strengthened by a leadership that was willing to fight, the ranks of the union came forward. A regular bulletin kept the membership informed of negotiations, a Wives Support Committee played a prominent role, a strike support rally of 10,000 was held in Hamilton in November, and a large contingent of strikers participated in a big November 21 labor demonstration in Ottawa, the Canadian capital.

A vital challenge facing the Canadian labor movement is the need for an alliance between workers in English Canada and Quebec. Local 1005 set an important example by refusing to sign a contract until Stelco backed down on procompany changes in contract language it was trying to impose on smaller USWA locals in Quebec. At the November 21 demonstration Local 1005 distributed an appeal for strike solidarity in English and French.

The final contract was only approved after strikers had the opportunity to read, study, and discuss it for 48 hours. It was a better deal than other locals had settled for.

The 1981 experiences proved, said Watson, that gains can be made today when the unions mobilize and fight.

Changed situation

However, the USWA has been weakened considerably over the past three years. Layoffs have resulted in forcing younger members out of the union. As in the United States, employer demands for concessions have become the norm.

A conclusion of the January 28 meeting is that no one in the USWA leadership has adequately met these challenges. Top USWA international officers have promoted concessions as part of their overall view that workers' interests are tied to the profits and well-being of their employers.

Patterson, too, has disappointed many who voted for him with high hopes. He has abandoned many of his campaign promises, such as his pledge to lead an organizing drive at Dofasco Steel, a major nonunion operation. He has also joined in a reprehensible attack on Cec Taylor and the elected leadership at Local 1005.

The militant example of the 1981 Stelco strike was feared by top bureaucrats at international union headquarters in Pittsburgh. The employer offensive makes it more difficult for these officials to carry out their job of keeping the lid on things and persuading workers to accept concessions without a fight. The example of a more militant leadership that did lead a fight had to be removed — especially before another contract battle loomed.

The international leadership urged on conservative forces within Local 1005 and then agreed to carry out a Kangaroo-court-style investigation of Taylor based on trumped-up charges of "financial mismanagement." As a result Taylor has been removed from office and suspended from the union for two years.

A consequence of this, explained Local 1005 member Dan Grant, is that Stelco is pressing for early negotiations in order to impose a wage freeze and phony "profit-sharing" plan. The new conservative Local 1005 leadership is lending support to these ideas.

Socialists and other radical-minded workers, said Watson, should defend the Taylor leadership from these attacks. However, Taylor's own weaknesses make this more difficult. Many members of his caucus boycott local union meetings in

favor of their own caucus meetings. They are not effectively taking this fight to the union ranks.

Patterson has supported this attack on Taylor. This and his retreat from his more radical positions is an attempt to establish a working relationship with the union's top officials at the expense of the ranks.

Ironically, Patterson remains under attack from the very same conservative international union officials who oppose Taylor. These officials are caught between the pressure of deepening employer attacks, and growing sentiment from workers who want the union to fight back. In the view of these officials, and the employers, Watson explained, both Taylor and Patterson "are simply not reliable enough," for the task of keeping the lid on.

New leadership needed

The meeting concluded that one of the lessons of this experience is the key importance of developing a leadership with a revolutionary program that unequivocally defends workers interests and is fully accountable to the union ranks. Such leaders will not seek elected union office as a career, but as a tool to lead union struggles.

This discussion continued following a report by USWA Local 2900 member Grant Elgaard on the March 29 USWA presidential election. Like socialist steelworkers in the United States, Canadian socialists see this election as an opportunity to deepen a discussion with other steelworkers about changing the class collaborationist course the top USWA leadership is on and beginning a fightback against the employers.

Socialists do not see this as limited to the issues of narrow union politics — as many USWA officials do. Rather the socialists intend to raise all the big political challenges facing working people — the fight against employer takebacks, combatting unemployment and layoffs, the fight against Washington's war in Central America and Ottawa's support for it, and others.

The meeting agreed that reform candidate Ron Weisen offered the best alternative for steelworkers in the March 29 election. Unfortunately Weisen's campaign is not organized or visible in Canada. Patterson is supporting international union Treasurer Frank McKee as a reform candidate. Most other USWA officials in Canada and Quebec support Lynn Williams.

Socialist steelworkers from the United States who participated in the January 28 meeting as observers explained that in the United States McKee is running on a platform that supports measures to limit Canadian imports into the United States and questions Williams' qualifications because he is not a U.S. citizen. Such an approach only breaks down solidarity among USWA members. "The 'U.S.' in USWA," said one U.S. participant "stands for United Steelworkers, not United States."

Steelworkers should reject Williams' candidacy, the meeting agreed — but because of his defense of the top leadership's cooperation with the employers, not his nationality.

The January 28 meeting, the first common meeting of socialist steelworkers from Quebec and English Canada, deepened the understanding of the strategy necessary to transform the USWA into a tool for effective struggle. It was a step forward for socialist workers on both sides of the border who share this task.

Farmers discuss strategy for '84 elections



Bates family, Black farmers from Kansas, lead October 1983 demonstration protesting attempts at foreclosing a section of their farm. Struggles like these are part of forging a fighting alliance among Blacks, unionists, and farmers.

BY D.M. WILLIAMS

DES MOINES — The North American Farm Alliance (NAFA) held a meeting here January 20 and 21 to discuss electoral perspectives in 1984.

The meeting was attended by farmers from eight states, as well as representatives of the United Auto Workers from the John Deere plant in Waterloo, Iowa, and District 70 of the International Association of Machinists, which organizes aerospace workers in Wichita and other cities in Kan-

sas.

One session heard representatives of several presidential candidates. Those that appeared included Joe Swanson representing the Socialist Workers Party ticket and representatives of Democratic Party candidates Jesse Jackson, George McGovern, Gary Hart, Alan Cranston, and Walter Mondale.

Swanson, speaking for Mel Mason and Andrea González, SWP candidates for president and vice-president, said, "What

is really needed is to turn the labor movement into a fighting instrument. Mason and González believe it must be a fighting movement to ally with farmers, Blacks, Latinos, and women."

Swanson, a Nebraska rail worker and member of United Transportation Union Local 305, noted that "the discussions here have dealt with an important issue — how to get political power." What is needed, he explained, "is a break from the capitalist two-party system, an independent political organization based on the unions."

Working people also need "a new form of government," Swanson said, "to act in our interests, to defend us from the banks and corporations. We need a government of workers and farmers to represent the majority, instead of the present government, which represents a minority."

Mason and González are fighters, Swanson pointed out, noting that Mason supported farm workers in California against agribusiness as a city councilman in Seaside, California.

Swanson concluded by noting that the socialist perspective was "a longer road, but the only realistic road" to solving the problems of working people, ending the U.S. government's wars, and ending racism and sexism. "We should have confidence in ourselves. We do all the work, and farmers raise the food and fiber we all consume."

In opening the Des Moines gathering, Merle Hansen, chairman of NAFA, stated: "Farm prices are set in Washington, D.C. . . . One of the things we need to do is make a major change in Washington, and make it fast."

The discussions mostly centered on particular congressional and senatorial races in farm states and on supporting or opposing particular Democratic or Republican candidates. The participants also discussed ways to "impact national political thinking" on farm issues. These included a call for a national farm congress to influence the Democratic Party platform and an agricultural caucus of delegates at the Democratic Party national convention.

Some of the key points taken up were demands for 90 percent parity, a moratorium on farm foreclosures, low-interest loans for farmers, and investigation of the Farm Credit Association, making foreclosed land held by the Farmers' Home Administration available for cultivation, restrictions on imports and land ownership by noncitizens, a revision of inheritance tax laws, an end to grain trade embargoes and Washington's use of food as a foreign policy weapon, and reduction in military spending.

Those at the NAFA meeting also participated in a forum for Democratic candidates in Ames, Iowa, on January 21. A month earlier 900 people heard Jesse Jackson in Great Bend, Kansas, at a meeting chaired by Kansas American Agriculture Movement spokesman Darrel Ringer.

The NAFA gathering took up a special point on the influence of right-wing organizations in the farm movement, particularly Lyndon LaRouche's National Democratic Policy Committee.

The history of this grouping is one of violence against left-wing and progressive organizations, hostility to the labor movement and Black rights, support for imperialism's war policies, and fascist-like demagoguery. (During the NAFA meeting, LaRouche's supporters held a news conference in the same hotel. One explained that she ran for the Democratic nomination for governor of North Dakota under the reactionary slogan: "You don't have to be gay and kill babies and speak Russian to be a Democrat.")

It was pointed out that, while LaRouche and others echo farmers' demands for parity, an end to foreclosures, and low-interest loans, their real aim is to destroy unity among farmers and between farmers and their allies in the union movement, the Black community, and among women.

The two-day session was marked by lively discussion of the crisis facing farmers and possible political action.

While most of this discussion centered on work in the two capitalist parties, supporters of the Mason/González campaign received a good hearing for the socialist alternative. After Swanson spoke, he was approached by a farmer from southern Illinois who had been a coal miner and member of the United Mine Workers before he bought a farm. After looking at the socialists' campaign literature, he told Swanson: "I didn't have to read too far to see you're right on the mark."

N.Y. tannery workers end 10-day strike

BY GEORGE KING
AND HÉCTOR CARRION

GLOVERSVILLE, N.Y. — On February 11, striking tannery workers here voted to ratify a new contract, thus ending their 10-day-long strike. The contract proposal contained a wage freeze in the first year, a wage reopener in the third year, and some rate adjustments on piece rates.

The contract was ratified 307-105. The workers are organized by Local 1712 United Tannery Workers of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU). A union spokesperson told the *Militant* that while workers were not enthusiastic about the agreement, they felt pressured by the high unemployment in the area to accept it.

The strike began on February 1, when more than 700 workers struck the Glove City tanneries owned by the Feuer Leather Group. Glove City is how the tannery towns of Gloversville and Johnstown, near Albany, are called.

The strike was triggered by workers opposition to the original takeback contract proposal by the Feuer Group that would cut back insurance benefits and some of the piecework rates.

The strike involved the five Feuer Group plants: Karg Brothers, Risedorph, Pan American, Crown Leather Finishings, and Cresendoe. Pan American and Karg Brothers are the largest of the plants. The rejected proposal called for a wage freeze the first year and hourly wage hikes of 20 cents and 30 cents in the second and third years.

The piece rate concessions were the most serious attack on the workers' standard of living.

The sentiment on the picket lines reflected how seriously workers see this attack on piece rates. During the strike, a day worker with 12 years at Karg Brothers commented, "this proposal means we'll be working harder for less. It's like the Greyhound strike. The workers got nothing but when the owners settled they voted themselves a big pay raise."

This was the first strike against Feuer since 1964. But the struggle of Glove City workers against the tannery bosses has a long history. It goes back to the 1933 and 1950 strikes when the tannery owners tried to destroy the unions and beat back the fight of the leather workers for decent contracts. Union spokespeople said other issues involved in the recent negotiations

were safety and environmental concerns and problems related to imports and exports.

The union stressed that this strike is related to the national trend of takeback contracts and attacks on workers' rights. "There was PATCO and Greyhound, and with Reagan wanting four more years, if you are going to bust the union, now is the time to do it."

The union pointed out how the tannery owners had been stockpiling leather hides for several months and now were farming out work to other, nonunion shops like Ultratec, which was set up in the Glove City area. This put the bosses in a stronger position to attack the union at contract time.

The union felt the strike that began at Carvelle on Aug. 29, 1983, set the pattern for the intransigence of the tannery owners. The refusal of the Carvelle owners to recognize the ACTWU local at that plant emboldened the rest of the Glove City tannery owners. On March 12 the National Labor

Relations Board will hear the Carvelle workers' appeal.

These 67 workers have been on strike for nearly six months. The union stressed that in January workers from Buffalo picketed along with the Carvelle workers and that more of this kind of strike solidarity was needed.

The union representatives told us that they weren't getting the changes they wanted on health and safety issues.

They pointed out the dangers of working with formaldehyde and chrome, two very toxic chemicals involved in the tanning process. A union representative pointed out "once you get chrome poisoning you can't work in the tannery again: The tannery owners, like bosses elsewhere, use the threat of plant shutdowns so they won't have to live up to health and safety demands raised by the workers."

The union told us of local solidarity for their strike, including community support in Gloversville and Johnstown.

Interest continues in Don Rojas interview

BY SANDI SHERMAN

The response to the interview with Don Rojas recently published in *Intercontinental Press* and *Perspectiva Mundial* indicates a widespread interest in discussing the lessons of the events in Grenada.

Rojas was the press secretary for murdered Grenada Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. In the interview, he describes the events leading up to the overthrow of the Grenada workers and farmers government and the U.S. invasion.

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party have so far ordered more than four times as many copies of the *IP* with this interview as they usually order.

Los Angeles socialists have sold close to 100 copies. Their biggest single sale was at a Grenada slide show sponsored by the National Black Independent Political Party and the National Conference of Black Lawyers. There they sold every *IP* they brought with them and had to photocopy extra copies to sell.

The U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society in Los Angeles has also photocopied the interview and is starting to get it around. Ollie Bivins of the Los Angeles SWP reports that "people who are concerned about Grenada come to the SWP for information.

People who have heard about the interview have been calling the bookstore and stopping in to buy it."

The more recently published issue of *PM* with the Rojas interview has met with a similar response. Several copies were sold at a meeting of a Central America solidarity coalition in Los Angeles. Socialists are reaching Salvadoran revolutionaries in the United States with the interview, and some of them have indicated a desire to continue discussions about the Grenada events.

In Seattle, where 60 *IP*s have been sold so far, socialists sat down and drew up lists of activists in the solidarity groups, Black movement, women's rights and union movements who they work with and thought would be interested in studying the Grenada events. Every member volunteered to talk to people about it.

Chris Horner recently phoned in a reorder saying, "It's the kind of thing we should continue to have around."

Socialists in Brooklyn and Manhattan have sold some 175 copies of *IP*.

Many of these have been sold at different events on Grenada sponsored by a wide variety of groups, including the National Black United Front, the National Alliance

of Third World Journalists, and the Committee for a Free Grenada.

Twenty-five copies were sold at a report-back meeting of a health commission that recently visited Grenada, after their availability was announced during the discussion.

In addition to taking the interview to political events, Brooklyn socialists have been setting up literature tables in the Caribbean community every Saturday. Sales results after three weeks included \$160 worth of literature and a number of copies of the *IP* with the Rojas interview.

Other areas report a similar response. Chicago socialists ordered 100 copies and have so far sold close to 70, including to revolutionaries from Central America, Africa, and the Middle East. San Francisco reports selling 50; St. Louis has sold close to 25; and Atlanta, Washington, D.C., Detroit, and San Diego recently ordered 10 more copies each.

Copies of the *IP* and *PM* containing this important interview are still available. To order, send \$1.50 to Intercontinental Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014; or 75 cents to *Perspectiva Mundial*, 408 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.

—THE GREAT SOCIETY—

The march of science — A Ford plant in Bridgend, Wales, reportedly has the most advanced engine assembly line in Europe.



Harry Ring

Each day, a worker is assigned to sit by, equipped with a heavy hammer and wearing boots with steel-capped toes. When the line stops rolling, the worker gives it a

whack or a kick. "It's the most effective way of keeping production going," a spokesman explained.

Splitting the atom — The Long Island Lighting Co. in New York is considering giving up completing its Shoreham nuclear plant. With construction a decade behind schedule, the cost is now put at \$4 billion, 15 times the initial estimate. Utility customers will be asked to help assure continuing stockholder dividends. Not perhaps the 56 percent rate hike suggested last year, an official said, but...

Ask a foolish question... — Not meaning to be naive, but we

were wondering, if that Shoreham plant had worked out, and made a bundle, would they be pushing a 56 percent rate reduction?

If Dick mops and dusts — The Nixons have a new home. With four of the 12 tenants voting no, a New York co-op voted to sell them a \$1.8 million apartment. The Nixons decided to give up their New Jersey home because, since her recent illness, it's been hard for Pat to manage a house. The house had 16 rooms, the apartment only 12.

Like they are — AT&T mailed out 4,700 credit cards to wrong

customers. It quickly urged recipients to report the error and not use the cards fraudulently. "We are asking our customers," a spokesperson said, "to be honest."

Victim of underdevelopment? — Investment banker Nicholas Brady — who signed the Kissinger report on Central America, which gives lip service to land reform there — responded indignantly to a *New York Times* report that he lives on a 4,300 acre estate in New Jersey. "The Times exaggerated the size of my estate," Brady declared. "I live on 18 acres and have an interest in a company that owns 2,700 undeveloped

acres adjoining my property."

Couldn't see the forest ... ? — According to an apparently confirmed *Izvestia* report, the CIA planted a cleverly designed fake tree trunk, housing electronic spy equipment, near a Soviet military installation. Unfortunately, it stood out, since it was a pine tree replica placed in an aspen forest.

Thought for the week — "It's really a lovely place. The terrain is more rugged than I imagined, but it certainly is a lovely piece of real estate." — Secretary of State Shultz commenting on his February 7 visit to Grenada.

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

What Strategy in '84? U.S. Left Debates the Elections. Speaker: Andy Rose, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

Who Killed Karen Silkwood? Sat., March 3, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Behind the Tragedy in Grenada. Videotape interview with Don Rojas, press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Presentation by James Harris, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, visited Grenada in 1981. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 3, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico. Donation: \$2. Militant Bookstore/Libreria Perspectiva Mundial Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Diego

Open House for Socialist Workers Party Congressional Campaign. Speakers: Mari Hawkes, candidate for Congress and member of International Association of Machinists; Mary Jo Vogel, candidate for Congress and member of United Auto Workers. Videotape of speech by Mel Mason, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. president, given in Seaside, Calif. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 18; reception, 5 p.m.; program, 6 p.m. 1053 15th St. Ausp: Socialist Workers '84 Campaign. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

Rally for Trade Union Rights. Speakers: Sally Goodman, United Auto Workers member and victim of government harassment in "security" investigation; Merrill Cohen, fired from Tele-dyne-Ryan for her antiwar and trade union activity; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m. 222 Broadway (Golden Hill Community Center). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (619) 234-4630.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Rally to Defend Political Refugees. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born socialist fighting deportation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service; Paul Soreff, executive board, National Lawyers Guild; Mattie Jones, chairperson of Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; George Buchanan, recently returned from Nicaragua. Sat., Feb. 18; reception, 7:30 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. First Unitarian Church, 322 York. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (502) 637-7581, 634-3010.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

War, Racism, and Unemployment: Is This the Future for Young People? A discussion on the 1984 elections. Speakers: Deborah Whitley, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee; Norma Hill, president of Missouri Association of Black Social Workers and member of National Black Independent Political Party; representative of Black United Front. Sun., Feb. 19, 7 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$1. Ausp:

Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

After 50 Years of Struggle ... Sandino Lives! A program of films, videos, slide shows, speakers, and music in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the assassination of Augusto Sandino. Films include *Alsino and the Condor* and *Letter From Morazan*. Sat., Feb. 25, 10 a.m. to 10 p.m. Taller Latinoamericano, 19 W 21 St., 2nd floor. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua, Casa El Salvador, Casa El Salvador — Comité Farabundo Martí, Committee in Solidarity With the Peoples of Guatemala, others. For more information call (212) 243-2678.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

Public Meeting to Stop the Deportation of Héctor Marroquín. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, Mexican-born socialist fighting deportation by the Immigration and Naturalization Service; W.W. Finlator, national board of American Civil Liberties Union; representatives from North Carolina NAACP, North Carolina National Lawyers Guild, and Winston-Salem National Black Independent Political Party. Sat., Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m. Church of the Redeemer, 901 E Friendly Ave. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund, N.C. National Lawyers Guild, Carolina Refugee Fund, Triad Citizens Concerned for Central America. For more information call (919) 272-5996.

OREGON

Portland

Film: With Babies and Banners Sun., Feb.

26, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Socialist Workers Campaign Party. Sat., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 2126 N 41st St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Mel Mason to appear on Miami talk show

Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president Mel Mason will be on the David Gold Talk Show, WGBS 710 AM in Miami, Florida. The program is from 7:00 to 8:00 p.m., Monday, February 20. Call in number for questions is (305) 653-8811.

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Forums commemorating Malcolm X and Black History Month

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Malcolm X: What He Stood For, Why He Was Killed. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Film: Malcolm X. Feature film based on his autobiography. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

COLORADO

Denver

The Legacy of Malcolm X. Speaker: Joe Walters, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 24, 7:30 p.m. 126 W 12th Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Film: Tribute to Malcolm X. Followed by panel discussion. Speakers: Omar Farooq, Muslim Students Association of Indiana University; Joe Buckner, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Feb. 25, 8 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Malcolm X Speaks. Film showing. Sat., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 7146 W McNichols. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 862-7755.

The Ballot or the Bullet: A Malcolm X Commemorative Forum on Electoral Politics. Speakers: Chokwe Lumumba, Republic

of New Africa; Jemadari Kamara, National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP); Andrew Pulley, NBIPP; representative of Jesse Jackson campaign. Sun., Feb. 19, 7 p.m. 8411 E 4th. Ausp: NBIPP. For more information call (313) 921-0200.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Malcolm X: Struggle for Freedom and Tribute to Malcolm X. Two films on Malcolm X's views and perspective for Black liberation. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 508 N Snelling. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

MISSOURI

St. Louis

Young Socialist Educational Conference Honoring Black History Month. Two classes by Mac Warren, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. 1. "Black Reconstruction and the Fight for a Radical Agrarian Reform: 1865-1877." Sun., Feb. 26, 11 a.m. 2. "The Defeat of Radical Reconstruction and the Rise of Jim Crow: 1877-1920." Sun., Feb. 26, 2 p.m. United Black Community Fund Bldg. 1900 Pendleton St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas. Speakers: Alice Windom, leader of National Association of Black Social Workers, met with Malcolm X in Ghana in 1964; Mac Warren, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. United Black Community Fund Bldg. 1900 Pendleton St. Donation: \$2 Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Black History Month Forum Series: El-

Haji Malik El-Shabazz. Film on life of Malcolm X. Fri., Feb. 17; dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey St. (corner of Raymond). Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

Black History Month Forum Series: Black Political Perspectives in 1984 — Which Way Forward? Panel discussion. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 24; dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey (corner of Raymond). Donation: forum, \$2; dinner, \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

Black History Month: A Tribute to Malcolm X and Martin Luther King. 2 Films: *Martin Luther King from Montgomery to Memphis* and *Tribute to Malcolm X*. Discussion to follow. Sat., Feb. 17, 7:30 p.m. 1417 Central Ave. NE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK

Albany

Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas. Speakers: Tim Holmes; Mike Stevens; George Kontanis, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 24, 8 p.m. 23 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

Film: Malcolm X: The Struggle for Freedom. Discussion to follow. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 17; dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (5 blks. south of Canal). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum/Foro de Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

OHIO

Cincinnati

A Tribute to Malcolm X. Film, *Malcolm X Speaks* and discussion to follow. Sun., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. (Bond Hill). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland

Malcolm X and Black Liberation in 1984. A panel discussion. Speakers: Paul Hill, instructor at Cuyahoga Community College; Omari Musa, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress, 21st C.D.; others. Sat., Feb. 25; refreshments, 6 p.m.; program, 7 p.m. 15105 St. Clair Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 451-6150.

PENNSYLVANIA

Harrisburg

Film: Malcolm X: Struggle for Freedom. Sun., Feb. 19, 3 p.m. 803 N 2nd St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (717) 234-5052.

Pittsburgh

Malcolm X: The Man And His Ideas. Speakers: Al Duncan, member of Socialist Workers Party and United Mine Workers of America Local 2350; others. Sat., Feb. 18, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland, 3rd floor (E Liberty). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas. Speaker: Al Duncan, member of Socialist Workers Party and United Mine Workers Local 2350. Sun., Feb. 19, 7 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

San Diego Machinists stand up to Teamster raid

BY RICK REAVES

SAN DIEGO — International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1125, 6,000 members strong, is facing a raid by Los Angeles-based Teamsters Local 2707. This comes just months before Local 1125's contract with General Dynamics Convair expires on April 29.

Right now Teamsters organizers claim to have signed up the 30 percent of the work force needed to file for a decertification election with the National Labor Relations

UNION TALK

Board (NLRB). They've declared they won't file unless they get a majority of workers to sign. The filing date is February 26.

What's behind this decertification drive by the Teamsters?

The Teamsters claim the IAM has failed to properly service the membership. In literature passed out at the plant Teamsters supporters claim they can get the membership a better contract.

For example, one of their tactics is to compare the Teamsters contract for Pacific Southwest Airlines (PSA) mechanics in San Diego with the IAM contract at Convair. But airline mechanics are in a different industry with generally higher wages, whether represented by the IAM or the Teamsters. This is a false and misleading comparison.

Convair workers want the best contract we can get. However, the raid by the Teamsters is not the way to do that. The raid, in fact, is a serious threat to the interests of the workers.

Why?

The Teamsters raiding operation threatens to divide General Dynamics workers at a time when the maximum unity is needed — during contract negotiations. We are facing a company drive to raise their profits, especially as Washington sends millions of dollars of military aid to Central American dictators. This means big bucks for the owners of General Dynamics who have contracts with the Pentagon.

But for the workers this drive for more profits means more attacks on our wages and working conditions. For example, Convair is trying to impose a concession con-

tract, including a dual wage scale — lower wages for new employees.

The raid by the Teamsters weakens our ability to organize and fight the company's attacks.

Even worse, the raid could lead workers at Convair to find ourselves without a union. If the Teamsters get an election scheduled, the door is open for the Engineer's Association, a company union, to get on the ballot by getting just one decertification card signed. In fact, workers would have four choices: vote for the IAM, vote for the Teamsters, vote for the Engineer's Association, or vote for no union.

Of course, if an election is held we can be sure the company will launch a barrage of antiunion propaganda.

In addition, the raid strengthens the company's position by giving them an excuse to stall any serious bargaining for as long as possible.

So where does the IAM stand in responding to this challenge?

Last August members of three previously existing locals at General Dynamics Convair and Electronics Divisions here voted to merge into one local. About 4,500 of the 6,000 workers are employed by Convair. This was a step towards unity between the Convair and Electronics workers. The Electronics workers have a separate contract that expires in August 1985.

And last fall an election for the merged local brought a younger and more responsive leadership into office.

The local and international IAM leadership considers the Teamsters raid as a serious challenge. Several Grand Lodge representatives have been brought in to work with the Local 1125 leadership. This includes Bill Weigand, administrative assistant to IAM Vice-pres. Justin Ostro. Ostro is heading up the negotiating committee for the upcoming contract.

A new office has recently been opened nearer to the main plant with more access to the membership.

Also beginning steps are being taken to move toward coordinated bargaining between IAM organized plants in several cities such as San Diego and Pomona, California, and Fort Worth, Texas.

The new IAM local leadership is also taking steps to improve its relations with the membership. New classes have been held for shop stewards on the contract and how to better enforce it. Two more business representatives, one elected by the local, have been added to help speed up the grievance procedure.

The IAM is making itself more visible to the workers

by handing out more newsletters and handbills.

Local 1125 has set up a revolving fund of \$10,000, not to exceed \$70,000, to fight the raid and defend the IAM.

Support for the IAM has come from other quarters as well. The San Diego-Imperial Counties Central Labor Council passed a resolution against the raid and member unions have pledged aid and resources.

Workers supporting the Teamsters raid are under a lot of illusions and should reconsider their position. Do they think changing the union is going to change the work force? Will it give us a better contract? If workers at General Dynamics want a stronger union we need to get together and fight the company, not ourselves.

Raids such as this one are also a blow to labor solidarity. It is a blow to workers organized by the Teamsters elsewhere who face similar employer attacks.

Some workers supporting the Teamsters no doubt have real and important grievances about past practices of the IAM. And everyone wants a stronger contract both at Convair and Electronics. Given the union-busting atmosphere, most workers are genuinely thinking out how to get a better contract and build a stronger union.

But there is no shortcut to doing this. There is no quick fix like bringing in the Teamsters or any other union that is going to get us big raises and a contract with no holes in it.

Instead of looking for a shortcut, we need to stick with IAM Local 1125 and begin transforming it into a local that educates and mobilizes the membership to take on the company.

We need a union that reaches out to solidarize with other workers' struggles and thereby gets solidarity returned when needed. We need a union that reaches out and solidarizes with Blacks, Latinos, and Asians fighting racist attacks; that supports equal rights for women; that solidarizes with workers and farmers in El Salvador by opposing the government's support to the dictatorship there.

We need a union that can involve the membership in fighting General Dynamics union-busting tactics. Only a mobilized and militant membership can take on General Dynamics in the upcoming contract talks.

Instead of being taken in by the Teamsters officials' hollow promises, Convair workers need to unify and build the strongest possible IAM Local 1125.

Rick Reaves is an electronics assembler at General Dynamics/Electronics and a member of IAM Local 1125.

Salvador freedom fighters announce peace plan

Continued from Page 2

the proposal for a provisional government with a revolutionary-democratic program put forward at the Mexico City news conference.

The coverage instead focused on the rebels' decision not to sabotage or disrupt the March elections.

They imply that the decision not to militarily interfere in the presidential elections is a sign of political weakness, or reflects a lack of support among the masses.

The FMLN-FDR explained, however, that the decision not to "boycott the actions militarily," as Ungo termed it, was made because many people will be forced to par-

ticipate in the elections, since voting has been made obligatory by the regime.

At the same time, Ungo explained, "The [presidential] elections of March 25 are no solution and will further tend to make more complicated the objective of a political solution." That's why, the FMLN explained, the battle against the U.S.-backed regime will continue before, during, and after the elections.

Washington doesn't see the elections as a solution either. They are simply an attempt to give the puppet regime more legitimacy at home and abroad.

Meanwhile, Washington is accelerating preparations for direct U.S. military inter-

vention. The U.S. rulers know that this is what it will take if they are going to have a chance at turning back the advance of the socialist revolution that is unfolding in El Salvador and the entire region.

That's why the Reagan administration is requesting \$376 million in additional military aid for the Salvadoran government in 1984 and 1985.

That's why the Pentagon is building bases in neighboring Honduras and carrying out permanent "war games" there with thousands of U.S. troops.

This latest peace proposal is an important political response by the FMLN to U.S. imperialism's escalation of the war.

It's a sign of the FMLN's growing strength.

In addition, the FMLN-FDR political initiative can aid the building of an international, anti-U.S. intervention movement by making clear that it's the U.S. rulers, not the Salvadoran freedom fighters, who are the source of war in Central America.

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

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McDonnell Douglas strike lessons

Despite a valiant 16-week strike, workers at the McDonnell Douglas Corp.'s Long Beach, California, plant have been forced to accept a concession contract. This is another step forward for the aerospace giants and the entire employing class, which is on a drive to raise its rate of profit by driving down labor costs.

On February 9, 95 percent of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 148 voted to accept a contract that includes a two-tier wage structure, a wage freeze for most current employees, and work-rule concessions that will allow the company to combine and eliminate many jobs. The takeback contract is almost identical to one rejected by workers last October, and again on January 31 — by 72 percent. (See news story on page 7.)

What led to the strike's defeat? Why the 10-day turn-about in the contract votes? What lessons can be drawn for the entire labor movement?

The strike only affected three McDonnell Douglas plants. But the national news media and employers closely followed it. They recognized that if the UAW could beat back this attack, other workers, including aerospace workers with upcoming contracts, would be encouraged to stand firm against company demands.

From the start McDonnell Douglas used hardball tactics. It told workers that without major concessions the company would close up shop. Like the owners of Continental Airlines, Greyhound, and Phelps Dodge, McDonnell Douglas hired scabs to maintain some production.

The Local 148 leadership and membership responded by organizing regular pickets and mass meetings to press their demands and defend the union. The strike was officially authorized by the UAW's international leadership in Detroit.

What was missing, however, was effective national solidarity — beginning inside the UAW itself. Like the Greyhound strikers, the workers were united, militant, and determined to win.

But the solidarity only came in trickles. Neither the top AFL-CIO nor UAW international leadership rallied to their side. This placed the union in a weaker position.

In addition, several aerospace plants organized by the International Association of Machinists (IAM) — the

huge Boeing plant in Seattle and two McDonnell Douglas plants in Los Angeles — had already accepted concession contracts.

Also, under the company's pressures and threats, two other UAW-organized McDonnell Douglas plants that were on strike accepted takeback contracts in mid-January.

It was in this context that the UAW international leadership adopted a "cut and run" policy. This was expressed by Ray Majerus, director of the UAW's aerospace department, who said the strike was "no longer serving a useful purpose."

Under sharp attack by the bosses ready to permanently hire scab replacements, receiving little effective national solidarity, and faced with a top leadership unwilling to fight, the union membership voted February 9 to accept the concession pact.

Douglas Griffith, the local's bargaining committee chairman, explained, "We have to face the reality that 2,500 of our members crossed the line and cost us some advantage. We've got to put this house of labor back together."

That is correct. The house of labor must be put back in order. At the heart of the problem is the current top leadership. Top union officials oppose mobilizing union power whether by strikers or supporters in the labor movement.

A change in strategy is needed — urgently. The labor motto, "an injury to one is an injury to all," must become again the banner of the entire labor movement. If not, workers will suffer more setbacks and defeats.

The UAW faces tough bargaining next fall when its contracts with General Motors and Ford expire. The auto bosses have already announced that their record profits in 1983 will not mean UAW workers will get back what they lost in previous concession contracts. That's why delegates and other auto workers coming to the March UAW national bargaining convention should be especially conscious of one of the main lessons of the McDonnell Douglas strike: the need for effective solidarity to win in the impending showdown with the giant auto barons.

Full rights for Haitian refugees

The proposal of the Reagan administration to grant legal residence to Cuban immigrants here, but deny it to Haitians seeking political asylum, is a blatant example of a reactionary double standard.

The administration plan would give legal residence to some 100,000 Cubans who came here during the 1980 Mariel boatlift.

Meanwhile, some 7,000 Haitians who fled here that same year would be left in the limbo of "status pending." People so classified are ineligible for certain jobs, cannot bring their relatives here, and if they leave cannot return.

The Haitian refugees have been victims of unbridled racism.

Thousands were interned, under inhuman conditions, in an abandoned army facility in the Miami area.

Outraged protests by the Haitian community and their supporters finally brought action. A federal judge ruled in 1982 that the government was guilty of discriminatory conduct and ordered an end to the internment.

The government, first under Carter, then Reagan, has balked at granting political asylum with the phony claim that the Haitians are "economic" refugees, not political ones.

But the world knows that the U.S.-sponsored dictatorship of "Baby Doc" Duvalier is one of the most ruthless in the Americas. It denies all rights and compels the Haitian people to submit to a superexploitation that afflicts them with the lowest living standard in the hemisphere.

The U.S. government opposes political asylum because granting it would be an admission of the rampant violation of human rights by its man, Duvalier.

Meanwhile, Washington pretends that those who came here from Cuba in 1980 really were victims of political repression and are, therefore, entitled to special consideration.

But this is simply fraudulent propaganda designed to fan Washington's anti-Cuba drive.

Cuba's real crime, in the eyes of Washington and Wall Street, is that it achieved independence from U.S. imperialist domination and is constructing a socialist society that puts people before profits.

Despite every U.S. effort to thwart it, Cuba has eliminated hunger, disease, and illiteracy. Impressive progress has been made in developing a democratic structure under which the Cuban people enjoy more freedom than they ever had before. The rights and benefits they have are unknown to the bitterly oppressed people of Haiti.

The United States has proven no haven for those who arrived here from Mariel. Many are homeless, others are employed at miserable, low-paying jobs. They experience the poisonous prejudice directed against Latinos in this country.

Washington's real attitude toward the Mariel emigrés is expressed in the fact that 1,100 of them are being held in the federal penitentiary in Atlanta without any pretense of due process of law.

Certainly all immigrants here, including the Cubans, are entitled to legal residence. The Haitian refugees should be at the top of the list. Those already here should be granted immediate political asylum and U.S. ports should be open to all other victims of repression in Haiti who wish to join them.

Brink's trial: attack on rights

Authorities are using the Brink's holdup trial to the maximum to justify and extend practices designed to ensure that defendants don't get a fair trial — particularly where the defendants are seen as holding dissident political views.

On February 14, Judge David Ritter, in White Plains, New York, denied separate trials to Kathy Boudin and Samuel Brown, who are accused of participation in the 1981 holdup of a Brink's armored car.

Judge Ritter's denial came despite the fact that Brown has served as an FBI informer.

In addition, the judge has permitted a super-elaborate "security" structure to be thrown up around the courthouse area. This is plainly intended to prejudice potential jurors about how "dangerous" the defendants are.

Earlier, an appeals court was compelled to grant a

change of venue from Orange to Westchester County because of the extent to which pretrial publicity had built up prejudice there.

But the same thing is happening in Westchester.

As of February 14, 24 potential jurors had to be excused after declaring they had "already made up their minds" about the case. This was about one-half of those not excused for hardship.

Defense attorney Leonard Weinglass pointed to the "pervasive" prejudice evidenced by this and said he might seek a new change of venue, preferably, he indicated, to New York City.

The government's objective is to use this case to undermine the democratic rights of all working people. That's why all supporters of democratic rights should back Boudin's right to a fair trial.

Malcolm X's views on 1964 elections, two-party system

Malcolm X, one of the major revolutionary figures of our time, was assassinated on Feb. 21, 1965. The U.S. rulers had good reasons to want him dead. Among those reasons was his condemnation of the capitalist system and both capitalist parties — the Democrats and Republicans.

In the 1964 election, the Republicans had nominated Barry Goldwater, the Arizona right-winger, for president. The Democratic nominee was Lyndon Johnson of Texas, who was depicted as an enlightened southern liberal favoring social progress, peace, and Black rights. Malcolm recognized that Johnson and the Democratic Party were no more friends of Black people than Goldwater and the Republicans were.

Militant readers can participate in discussions on Malcolm X and his ideas at the forums listed on page 16.

The following are samplings of his views on the two-party system.

In this country it's impossible for you to be aligned — with either party. Either party that you align yourself with is suicide. Because both parties are criminal. Both

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

parties are responsible for the criminal conditions that exist. [From a Dec. 20, 1964, speech in New York to the Organization of Afro-American Unity, which he founded after leaving the Nation of Islam.]

Politics dominated the American scene while I was traveling abroad this time. . . . The American press wire services reached me with trans-Atlantic calls, asking whom did I favor, Johnson — or Goldwater?

I said I felt that as far as the American Black man was concerned they were both just about the same. I felt that it was for the Black man only a question of Johnson, the fox, or Goldwater, the wolf. . . .

I felt that the American Black man only needed to choose which one to be eaten by, the "liberal" fox or the "conservative" wolf — because both of them would eat him. . . .

Anyway, I didn't feel that Goldwater was any better for Black men than Johnson or vice-versa. I wasn't in the United States at election time, but if I had been I wouldn't have put myself in the position of voting for either candidate for the Presidency, or of recommending to any Black man to do so.

It has turned out that it's Johnson in the White House — and Black votes were a major factor in his winning as decisively as he wanted to. If it had been Goldwater, all I am saying is that the Black people would at least have known they were dealing with an honestly growling wolf, rather than a fox who could have them half-digested before they even knew what was happening. [From *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*.]

The only thing that made [Johnson] acceptable to the world was the shrewd capitalist. The shrewd imperialists knew that the only way that you will voluntarily run to the fox is to show you a wolf.

So they created a ghastly alternative and had the whole world, even the so-called intellectuals who call themselves Marxists and other things, hoping that Johnson would beat Goldwater.

I have to say this. Those who claim to be enemies of the system were on their hands and knees waiting for Johnson to get elected because he's supposed to be a man of peace; and he has troops invading the Congo right now and invading Saigon and places where other countries have pulled their troops out. [From a speech in Paris, Nov. 23, 1964.]

[In answer to the question: "What is your opinion of the Democratic Party?"]

The Democratic Party is responsible for the racism that exists in this country, along with the Republican Party. The leading racists in this country are Democrats. Goldwater isn't the leading racist — he's a racist but not the leading racist. The racists who have influence in Washington, D.C., are Democrats. If you check, whenever any kind of legislation is suggested to mitigate the injustices that Negroes suffer in this country, you will find that the people who line up against it are members of Lyndon B. Johnson's party. The Dixiecrats are Democrats. The Dixiecrats are only a subdivision of the Democratic Party, and the same man over the Democrats is over the Dixiecrats. [From a 1965 interview with the *Young Socialist*.]

Mel King

I want to bring to your attention a factual error in the article, "The Left and Jesse Jackson," by Doug Jenness (February 17 *Militant*). Jenness says that Mel King ran as the Democratic candidate for mayor of Boston last fall. However, King, in fact, broke from the Democratic Party in 1981.

A.B.

New York, New York

(Editor's Reply: Mel King, for a number of years a Democratic state representative in Massachusetts, disaffiliated from the Democratic Party in 1981. However, he didn't break from the framework of Democratic Party politics and he continues to support Democratic Party candidates, including Jesse Jackson.

The 1983 mayoral election was officially "nonpartisan," so the

candidates could avoid running with a party designation. Both Raymond Flynn, the winner and a Democrat, and King presented themselves as opponents of the Democratic Party machine candidate, David Finnegan.

King's campaign did not represent a step toward independent Black or working-class political action. The Socialist Workers Party ran a socialist mayoral campaign that called for a break from capitalist politics and support for independent working-class political action.)

Conn. waitress strike

For the second time since a strike for union recognition began 9 weeks ago, over 200 union activists attended a rally in support of 16 striking waitresses at Leon's restaurant in New Haven.

Members of Teamsters Local

443, American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 34, Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union Local 217, and striking Yale Hospital food workers from the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Employees 1199 were the most vocal at the January 27 rally.

Earlier, on January 27, a scuffle broke out between security guards with their guard dogs and striking food workers from 1199, when strikers leafleted fellow employees in a parking lot. Three union leaders were arrested.

On Dec. 8, 1983, an injunction was issued, limiting the picket line at Leon's to 10 pickets. Despite this and other attempts to weaken the strike, the Varipapa family, which owns Leon's, has admitted to losing a substantial amount of business.

According to a leaflet distributed at the first rally on December 9, veteran waitresses are constantly threatened with replacement for no reason. They are repeatedly being verbally abused in front of fellow workers and customers. The waitresses must kick back 5 percent of the tips received on credit cards as well as pay the full check for walkouts or mistakes. They don't receive wages for time worked before the first customer is waited on, often an hour or more later than the shift begins.

Contributions and letters of support should be sent to: Striking Waitresses at Leon's, c/o Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees Union Local 217, 88 Prospect St., New Haven, Conn. 06511.

Pat Smith

New Haven, Connecticut

Conspicuous consumption

I found an item in the paper that in Paradise Valley, Arizona, where houses start at \$1 million, one man had a door installed that costs \$27,000. Talk about conspicuous consumption. I'd like to see his \$27,000 door. It could start a whole new racket in the robbery business. Why bother with anything in the house when you can just take the door and run!

Angela Remedi

Los Angeles, California

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.

1984 report finds no recovery for Black America

Continued from back page

In Black female-headed households, it is 43 percent!

Such misery prevails in the richest nation on earth. Why?

The basic answer isn't that complicated. Profits. Racism is perpetuated because it's highly profitable for the rich people who run this country.

Because Black people are held in second-class citizenship, because they are discriminated against in every aspect of employment, their take-home pay averages \$58 for every \$100 paid to white workers. The extra \$42 goes right into the pockets of the employers.

And it means even more profits than that, because the low wages paid Black workers help to hold down the wages of white workers as well.

That's why race prejudice is so persistently promoted in this country. It's the old game of divide-and-rule.

In the last year of his life, Malcolm X became convinced that capitalism was responsible for the oppression of Black

people. He came to see capitalism as a futuristic system that could never be satisfied in its need to suck blood.

And, of course, the most blood is sucked from Blacks — along with Latinos, women, and others who are especially oppressed under capitalism.

This is a problem for all working people — including whites who are sometimes conned into believing they are "better off."

Attack on all working people

The present drive by employers and their government to slice away at the living standards of working people is directed with the greatest ferocity against Blacks.

But the entire working class is the target, and all workers have a big stake in fighting back in a united way.

With unions under savage attack today, nothing less than a united fightback can rise to the challenge.

For its own good and welfare, all of organized labor must give its full support to the fight of Black people against their oppression.

That means solidarity in the fight for affirmative action on the job — in hiring, in job advancement, and against discriminatory layoffs.

It means backing the fight of the Black communities for decent education, including busing to get their children to schools that will give them half a chance to get that education.

It means supporting the development of an independent Black political party that can challenge the racist Republicans and Democrats alike.

Such a party should be seen as a big step

toward building an even broader political movement — a union-based labor party embracing all working people and their allies.

Such a party can challenge the employers, and the pro-employer Republican and Democratic parties.

A Black party, a labor party, can defend the interests of working people in this country and extend the hand of peace and solidarity to workers and farmers in other lands. Fighting for peace, jobs, and justice, such a movement will find itself fighting against capitalism and for socialism.

N.J. grocery workers end strike

BY PHIL NORRIS

NEWARK — Negotiators for United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 464A approved a tentative contract February 9 with four large grocery chains in this area.

While the contract is being voted on by mail by the local's membership, the 7,000

meatcutters and delicatessen workers have returned to work, ending a 26-day strike.

The 42-month contract, covering workers at 334 Pathmark, Shop Rite, Grand Union, and Foodtown stores, contains some of the wage and benefit increases the union was seeking. Full-time workers are to get raises of 6.5 percent in each of the contract's first three years and 3.25 percent in the last six months. Insurance, health and welfare, and retirement benefits are improved.

But the contract also contains many provisions that will hurt newly hired and part-time workers. Part-timers are to get a lower percentage wage increase. New hires are to start at a lower wage scale and are to get benefits later.

The companies also won concessions on overtime pay for new hires. Sunday overtime pay was slightly reduced. The former contract ratio of one part-time butcher per full-timer was changed to two part-timers for every full-timer.

The union's bargaining committee approved the contract by a ratio of 3-1 after what was described in the press as a "stormy" 90-minute review of its terms.

The *Militant* contacted several Local 464A members to get their response. It was mixed. One full-time meatcutter said, "Half a loaf is better than none." She thought the strike had been worthwhile since, she said, "the company was out to bust the union."

Another full-timer explained that while she had enough seniority that the two-tier provisions wouldn't affect her that much, part-time and low-seniority workers "really got hurt" by the new contract.

New hires, she said, lost two days bereavement pay and will have to wait two years to get vacation pay. She pointed out that many of the local's members are new hires and part-timers.

She planned on voting against the contract, she said. While the strike had strengthened the union, she felt, the negotiating committee had given in too soon.

Another striker told of company harassment against the strikers and the few clerks who honored the picket lines. She said she knew of one clerk who was fired and two whose hours were switched after they returned to work. The union is grieving the firing, she said.

Vietnamese in New York celebrate Tet

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

NEW YORK — Some 60 friends of Vietnam gathered here February 11 for a celebration of Tet, the Vietnamese New Year, sponsored by the Association of Vietnamese in the United States.

Spokespersons for the association reported on the Vietnamese community in the United States and on the current situation in Vietnam. There was also a slide

show presented by a Vietnamese who recently returned to his country for a visit.

The association reported that there are 600,000 Vietnamese in this country today. Many suffer from the effects of the economic crisis in this country and have been victims of racist attacks.

Only a small number of these 600,000 are engaged in right-wing activities such as trying to break up pro-Vietnam meetings,

engaging in terrorist attacks against supporters of Vietnam, or functioning as "scholars" in the service of U.S. imperialism.

The association, which was formerly known as the Association of Vietnamese Patriots in the United States, has decided to devote more efforts toward reaching the U.S. Vietnamese community "to regain their confidence, help to reunite them with their country, and to engage them in rebuilding Vietnam."

Another association spokesperson reported on the situation in Vietnam. Solid, if modest, gains have been made in the economy despite serious obstacles, he said.


Among the obstacles, he listed continued hostility to Vietnam by Washington and Peking. Washington maintains an economic blockade of Vietnam and continues to try to isolate Vietnam diplomatically.

The reporter described the economic effects of the Chinese invasion of Vietnam in early 1979. Vietnam is still seriously short of fertilizer, he said, because the Chinese destroyed apatite mines at Lao Cai during the invasion.

Also listed as problems that are being combated were poor economic planning, including attempts to carry out too many long-term projects at one time, and capitalist profiteering, a continual problem in southern Vietnam.

Despite these serious problems, the economy in Vietnam, the reporter said, is improving. Foodstuff production, he said, rose from 268 kilograms per person to 300 in 1983 in spite of a population increase.

The association publishes a newspaper, *Vietnam Bulletin*, which can be obtained by writing to the Association of Vietnamese in the United States, P.O. Box 4495, Berkeley Calif. 94704. There is no charge, but a contribution is appreciated.



By and about Malcolm X

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No recovery for Black America

"A retrospective look at 1983 can only conclude that the status of most of Black America was indeed at a low ebb. While there were signals that an economic recovery was under way in the country, little or no impact was felt in Black America." — The National Urban League.

BY HARRY RING

Black people have been fighting for their emancipation ever since they were brought here as slaves more than 300 years ago.

February — Black History Month — is an appropriate time to assess where the fight against racism stands today.

Last year there was a relative upturn in the economy. But it was of little benefit to Black people.

This is proven with facts and figures in a report by the National Urban League, "The State of Black America, 1984."

The report states:

"The bald truth is that not only has movement toward narrowing the socioeconomic gap that separates Black and white America come to a dead halt, retrenchment has set in and Blacks are actually retreating."

In November 1983, "recovery" reduced unemployment to 8.4 percent. Black unemployment dropped slightly too. But it was still 17.3 percent.

That's the figure for Black adults. For Black teen-agers, 18-19, it was 42.7 percent.

For Black female teen-agers, the figure is even more jolting. Last October, 56.1 percent were officially classified as jobless.

And the official figures on unemployment don't include "hidden unemployment."

"What should be understood," the report explains, "is that although the overall unemployment rate went down in 1983, that does not mean there was less unemployment."

"The government's figures measure joblessness among people who are actively in the labor market. As a consequence, it counts as employed the many millions of people who are working part-time when they really want full-time jobs, and fails to count those discouraged workers who, having given up hope of finding jobs, are no longer actively seeking work."

The report notes that obviously there is great hidden unemployment among Blacks. A special Urban League study found that when hidden unemployment is included, the overall Black youth unemployment rate is just under 70 percent.

Further and further behind

All of this underlines an important basic trend:

"Experience has shown that in a recovery, white unemployment goes down fairly rapidly, while Black unemployment ... begins to drift down slowly, never reaching the point from which it began."

"Thus each successive recession and subsequent recovery leaves Blacks further behind than before" (emphasis added).

The result of this growing number of permanently unemployed has been devastating for Blacks. The report declares:

"Within Black America, a third of its people are at or below the poverty level. Half of its children live in poverty. ...

"A third of its adults who want work can't find it, and two out of three of its teenagers are in the same boat."

"Its average income is some 58 percent of that of white America."

And, at a time when the need is greatest, social service cutbacks are being accelerated.

The Urban League is compelled to comment:

"In fairness, the Reagan administration has not been alone in all of this. It has been assisted by a compliant Congress — and

this includes Democrats as well as Republicans."

The report spotlights the plight of Black female-headed households.

In 1980, the median income (half higher and half lower) of such families was \$7,425. For white families with only the man working, the median income was \$19,430.

The report summarizes well what's involved:

"Black female-headed households are vulnerable to poverty because they are Black and suffer the same disadvantages all Blacks suffer. ...

"They are vulnerable because they are women and in addition to the effects of racial prejudice, they suffer from the same disadvantages as all women as a result of sexism."

"Finally, they are vulnerable because they can, and often do, bear children early and the presence of children only adds further complications to their lives."

Hypertension: a Black disease

The oppression of Black people takes a toll beyond that indicated by the jobs and income figures.

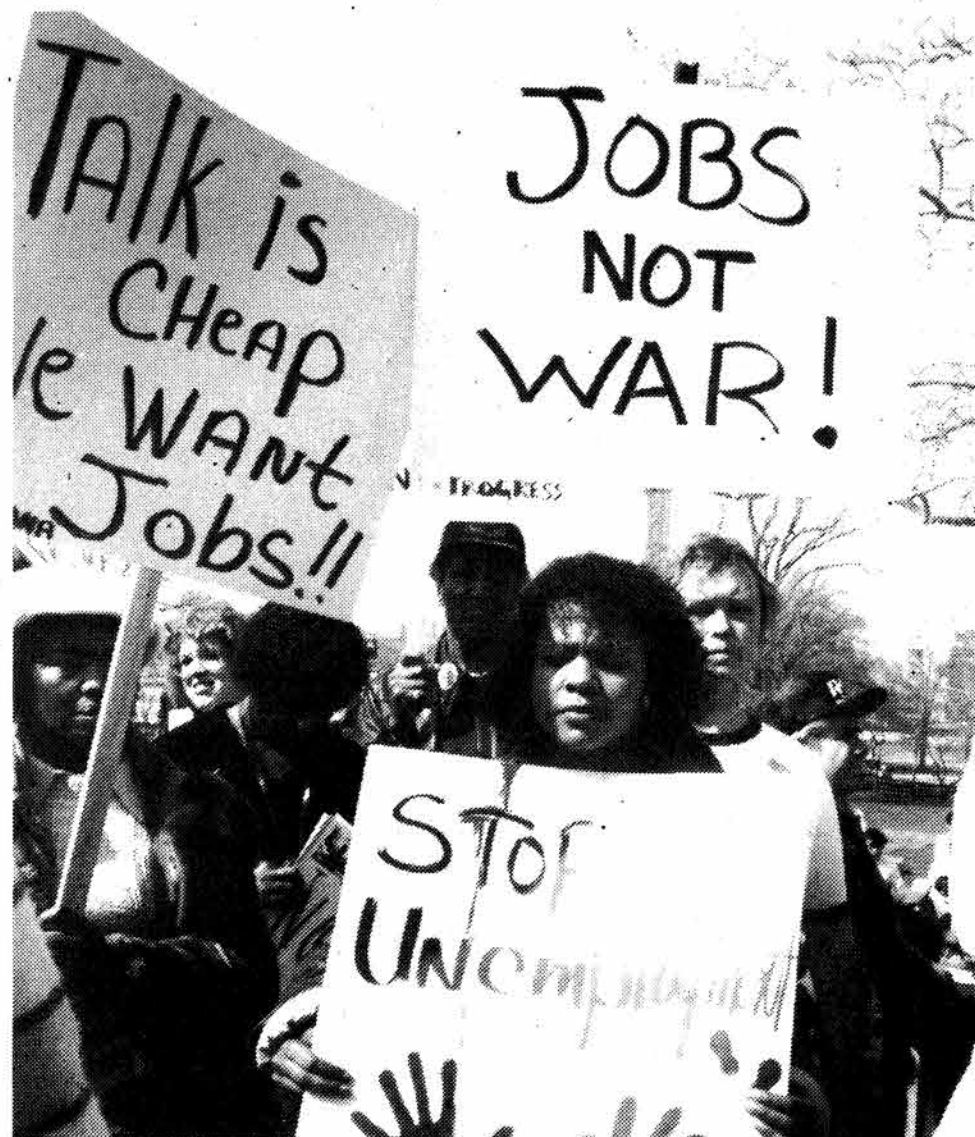
It was recently reported that because of where they are forced to work and live, and because of the medical care they're denied, Black people suffer a higher rate of cancer than whites.

Hypertension is also a disease which hits Blacks disproportionately.

Obviously related to the ever-increasing stress of a brutal, irrational society, hypertension now affects nearly 13 percent of white people in this country.

For Blacks over the age of 25, the figure is 25 percent.

Continued on Page 19



March 1983 protest. Economic upturn since then has done little to lessen Black unemployment.

Auto profits soar, workers pay price

BY DICK GEYER

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — 1983 was a good year for the owners of the auto corporations. Sales of new cars were the highest since 1979.

For the Big Three — General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler — record profits of as much as \$6.5 billion were achieved. With the concessions forced on workers in the last contract with the United Auto Workers (UAW), and the increase in sales, GM's profit alone was \$3.73 billion.

Ford's profit was \$1.87 billion, also a record.

It looks pretty good for company executives, too. GM Pres. Roger Smith is to get \$666,000 as a bonus for last year, according to press estimates.

GM workers, whose contract includes a profit-sharing plan, won't do quite as well — the company says they'll get about \$640 each. The United Auto Workers (UAW), whose contracts at Ford and GM expire this fall, complained about "the great disparity between the bonus being paid to several thousand GM executives and the payout in profit-sharing to UAW-represented GM employees."

The union will ask for a "sweetening of the [profit-sharing] formula" when contract talks begin in July, the UAW said. But Smith said GM "might take a hard stance on guaranteed pay increases," according to the *New York Times*.

The \$640 isn't much compared with the \$3,000 yearly given up by each GM worker in the concessions in the 1982 contract.

This will be an issue at the UAW's special bargaining convention, which takes place in Detroit in early March. Many UAW members and locals have taken up the demand, "Restore [the concessions] and more in '84."

GM's big profits have come at our expense. Smith said they came on a sales

base only 10-percent higher than 1982 sales, a year in which the company lost \$763 million.

GM also made money at the expense of car buyers, by raising prices (possible because import restraints have meant higher prices for imports) and by taking advantage of lower interest rates on money it borrows, while getting high interest on its consumer loans.

For auto workers 1983 was a difficult year. Even with increased production, not all were called back; more than 100,000 are still on layoff. Several GM plants remain closed. A number of them are only working one shift, even though employees at most GM plants are working forced overtime.

Until just recently both GM plants here in Kansas City were working nine-hour shifts and at least two Saturdays a month. At the GM Fairfax plant, this schedule has been in effect since February 1983.

The December issue of the UAW journal

Solidarity reported that eliminating forced overtime in auto in February-July alone could have meant an additional 55,000 jobs. When you add to this the loss of 10,000 jobs from the taking away of Paid Personal Holidays in the last contract, it's clear that it's the corporate owners who have benefited from the increased production.

For many of the workers who have been called back, it's to jobs that are overloaded because so many jobs have been eliminated.

For more than 1,000 workers at the Kansas City Leeds and Fairfax plants, it's meant something else. Just like the migrant farm workers who follow the crops, these workers have had to relocate to follow their jobs. Most have come here from GM plants closed down in California: South Gate and Fremont. Many had to leave families behind.

They now have two cities to pay living

Continued on Page 9

Spring anti-apartheid actions set

BY STUART CROME

NEW HAVEN, Conn. — About 50 people attended a Northeast Regional Anti-Apartheid conference here at Yale University on January 28. The participants were primarily activists in campus organizations from Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Northampton, Massachusetts; Schenectady, New York; New York City; and Montreal, Canada.

In October 1983, a National Student Anti-Apartheid Conference was held in New York. It was sponsored by the American Committee on Africa, the UN Special Committee Against Apartheid, and the UN Council for Namibia, and was attended by

300 activists.

That conference initiated a call for Two Weeks of National Anti-Apartheid Action in Support of Southern African Liberation Movements from March 21 through April 4, 1984.

The focus of the recent northeast conference was planning these weeks of actions. The themes of the activities are:

- Support to southern African liberation movements and to those African countries, such as Mozambique and Angola, that are targets of South African aggression.
- Opposition to U.S. economic ties to

Continued on Page 4