

Protests in Puerto Rico hit U.S.-backed repression

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — July 25 has particular significance for the people of Puerto Rico. In 1898 on that date, U.S. troops invaded and occupied this Caribbean island nation. Since then, Puerto Rico has been maintained as a direct U.S. colony.

Exactly 80 years later, in 1978, two young Puerto Rican independence fighters — Carlos Soto Arriví and Arnaldo Darío Rosado — were ambushed, beaten, and summarily executed by 15 cops at an isolated mountaintop called Cerro Maravilla. These killings and the subsequent cover-up attempt by the U.S. and Puerto Rican governments have been a focal point for growing protests over the past six years.

Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president, participated in two proindependence actions on July 25, which marked these events, during her week-long visit here.

González, who is Puerto Rican, attended a forum the evening before on the Cerro Maravilla case, sponsored by the Puerto Rican Civil Rights Institute. The Puerto Rican Bar Association hall, where the event was held, was packed to capacity. The speakers, including noted civil rights activists, journalists, and lawyers, discussed the importance of the case, which has developed into a major political question in Puerto Rico today.

Since the beginning of this case, the U.S. government and the Puerto Rican colonial administration of Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló described the incident as a shoot-out with "terrorists" who were planning to blow up a communications tower on Cerro Maravilla.

But the official reports have been met with growing skepticism by the Puerto Rican people, especially after the role of a police agent provocateur, Alejandro González Malavé, became known. This agent, it was revealed, entrapped the two youths, leading them to their death at the hands of a group of cops at the Cerro Maravilla site.

A total of four federal and colonial government investigations were carried out, all backing the cops' version of the events.

Under public pressure, the Puerto Rican Senate began a long investigation, leading to televised hearings in 1983. The evidence presented at these hearings, which were watched by the entire nation, began to unravel some of the lies. Three cops withdrew their previous testimony and confessed that high officials in the intelligence division of the police had been involved in planning the shootings as well as the coverup of the whole case.

With mounting evidence of a conspiracy by the highest levels of the colonial government to cover up the affair, the Romero



Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. vice-president, speaking at rally in Puerto Rico against cop killing of independence fighters at Cerro Maravilla.

Barceló administration has become more and more discredited. This led to the resignation of three secretaries of justice last year.

Meanwhile, the question of the U.S. government's complicity has come to the fore. Washington has tried to find an easy scapegoat by indicting 10 local cops on counts of perjury.

However, at the July 24 forum, former Bar Association Pres. Noel Colón Martínez released copies of FBI documents he

had obtained which, he explained, indicated the FBI was involved in the Cerro Maravilla operation. The papers included an official memo, issued six days after the murders, rejecting the possibility of opening "any active investigation."

Colón Martínez mentioned further evidence showing the FBI had been involved in an attempt to fabricate a bomb violation charge against two young independence activists only weeks before the Cerro

Continued on Page 5

Big stakes for labor in auto contract showdown

BY PAT GROGAN

"Ford Profit Jumps 67.7% in Quarter — \$909.1 Million in Earnings Sets Record."

"GM Profit Soars 54.3% in Quarter — \$1.609 Billion Net; Industry Sets Record."

These recent headlines show that the auto giants are continuing their record-breaking profit streak.

In 1983, the Big Three had a banner year. Ford, GM, and Chrysler racked up \$6.5 billion in profits. Already in just the first half of 1984, they have topped their

Postal unions need solidarity!
See editorial on page 22.

profits for 1983. Ford and GM alone are expected to make over \$8 billion this year.

In this context the United Auto Workers (UAW) opened contract negotiations with Ford and GM in late July.

These contracts, covering some 500,000 workers, expire September 14. In late August, the UAW will select its strike target. It is expected to be GM.

Some 3,000 UAW members demonstrated outside the General Motors building in Detroit on July 23 to back up union negotiators in the contract talks. Their slogan, "Restore and more in '84," showed their determination to win back the concessions they gave up in the 1982 contract — and then some.

"Equality of sacrifice was a joke," said a demonstration leaflet. "We gave \$6,000 dollars to receive a \$600 bonus." The union estimates that the average auto worker lost about \$6,000 in wages and benefits as a result of the 1982 concession pact. The so-called profit sharing they got in exchange added up to about \$600 per worker!

Yet Ford and GM executives have received obscene bonuses. Ford Motor Co. Chairman Philip Caldwell said the \$80.6 million paid out in bonuses to its top officials were "rewards for their good work."

Continued on Page 18

British miners vow to continue strike

BY CLIVE TURNBULL

SHEFFIELD, England — "We will continue this fight until we win," National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) Pres. Arthur Scargill told a TV interviewer. "There has been no more indication in the last week or two that people want to return to work than at any time since the beginning of this dispute in March."

The NUM leader summed up the failure

of the campaign by the Conservative government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the National Coal Board (NCB) to achieve a "drift back to work" in the more than four-month-long strike against mine closures.

Over the past week, all the old propaganda tricks have been dragged out to try and create the impression that the strike is weakening — a miner's wife from South Wales calling for an end to the strike; a mysterious Nottinghamshire miner, code named "Silver Birch," who was holding meetings around the country with miners who allegedly wanted to return to work; studies claiming that coal stocks would last well into 1985. But all to no avail.

The NUM leadership continues to mobilize tens of thousands of miners and miners' wives in the fight against mine closures. The miners' Executive met in Sheffield July 26 and took a series of initiatives.

The NUM special Delegate Conference has been recalled to meet on August 10, Scargill explained, to spread the union's case both inside and outside the NUM. The following day a national demonstration will be held in London, organized by Women Against Pit Closures, and the NUM organizers aim to top the 10,000-strong mobilization, mainly of miners' wives, held May 12 in Barnsley.

The fight for solidarity action from other

sections of the trade union movement is to be continued at the Trades Union Congress (TUC) conference in September.

There the NUM will propose a resolution calling for total support for the NUM and its campaign to save mines, jobs, and mining communities. The NUM will ask the conference to condemn "the police-state tactics deployed against striking miners and their families," and demand the immediate repeal of all antiunion legislation.

The NUM will urge the TUC to call upon all unions "to join in the mightiest mobilization of the power and strength of the movement at all levels" and for maximum solidarity and support for workers in struggles for jobs, working conditions, and trade union rights.

Following the NUM Executive meeting, Scargill met with TUC Pres. Ray Buckton and acting General Secretary Norman Willis in Sheffield to discuss further support, including increased financial aid from other unions.

On July 30 the government reopened another front in its war against the miners when a High Court judge ruled that the South Wales Area of the NUM was liable to a £50,000 (£1 = U.S.\$1.30) fine. This resulted from a court order, issued six weeks earlier, instructing the South Wales NUM not to picket the trucks of two scab

Continued on Page 9

Mason sees Nicaragua's gains in Atlantic Coast region



Mel Mason

G.M. Cookson

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

BLUEFIELDS, Nicaragua — It was a holiday in Bluefields when a group of U.S., Canadian, and New Zealand workers arrived in this city on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast. A four-day holiday had been declared by the revolutionary Government of National Reconstruction to ensure that everyone across the country had the opportunity to participate in registering to vote in the November 4 elections.

In the streets of Bluefields many people were on their way to register. They saw this as their patriotic duty. Many also saw

Continued on Page 10

—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY BILL HOVLAND
AND ALYSON KENNEDY

Members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) will face an important fight when their contract expires on Sept. 30, 1984.

The coal operators, like other employers, have already indicated they are serious about trying to force big concessions from the union.

Coal production is at record levels, and that is also where the death rate of miners is headed. So far this year 56 miners have been killed, a 100 percent increase over 1983.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Al-

liance in Morgantown, West Virginia, are right in the middle of discussions going on among miners about these issues. The questions are far-ranging and center on how working people can fight back. An important part of these discussions is the *Militant*, especially sales of the *Militant* at mine portals.

The *Militant's* weekly coverage of the bloody battle between British coal miners — who are now entering the fifth month of their strike — and the Conservative government of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher adds important ideas to these discussions.

The militant example of the British miners, who are fighting massive layoffs and union-bust-

ing, is one that miners here can learn from. U.S. miners have everything to gain from offering the hand of working-class solidarity to their class brothers across the Atlantic — a solidarity which will no doubt be repaid in kind if miners here go on strike.

The *Militant* is literally the only place in West Virginia where miners and other working people can get up-to-date, accurate news on the strike written both by U.S. socialist miners who have gone to Britain to see the strike for themselves and by socialist workers in Britain.

The *Militant* has been distributed at mine portals in the Morgantown area for almost seven

years. It has only been in the last year and a half that socialist workers have regularized this effort.

In 1983, 122 teams sold 353 *Militants* at 16 different UMWA-organized mines. We also sell at plant gates and factories organized by other unions.

In the last year and a half, 41 teams have sold 139 *Militants* at the Martinka and Kitt mines where socialists have had political contact with miners for some time.

Selling the *Militant* and campaigning for socialist candidates for public office in mining communities on Saturdays is an important complement to the weekly portal sales. We meet miners on these sales who remember the *Mil-*

itant from the portals, but didn't get one because they didn't know what it was. Oftentimes, after spending some time talking about the *Militant*, these miners will pick up a copy.

A small but important layer of combative and politically conscious workers are starting to look to the *Militant* and its vital coverage of struggles between the employing class and the exploited and oppressed from Nicaragua to Toledo to Britain.

We want to talk to these and as many other workers as possible about the lessons of the British miners strike and why U.S. workers have a stake in supporting that heroic effort.

Socialists map out 3 week campaign blitz in N.Y.

BY BARRY SHEPPARD

NEW YORK CITY — Supporters of the Socialist Workers Party presidential ticket of Mel Mason and Andrea González are making preparations for three intensive weeks of campaigning in this state, beginning the weekend of August 18.

Rashaad Ali, New York state coordinator of the socialist campaign, explained the ambitious effort to a planning meeting here on July 28. He had just returned from a similar meeting in Albany, the state capital.

The objective, Ali said, was to reach hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers with the socialist program and to put the revolutionary ticket on the ballot by collecting well over the 20,000 signatures required by law.

Central to this effort will be increased sales of the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist*.

The Socialist Workers campaign is also running three people for Congress: Nan Bailey, in the 16th C.D.; Gerry Kerr in the 11th C.D.; and Richard Ariza in the 23rd C.D.

Ali explained that in the past few years, socialist campaign supporters have found that collecting signatures to put their candi-

diate change. Accordingly, petitioning for ballot status has become more of an opportunity for socialists to explain their ideas.

This year, Ali said, socialist workers want to take this a step further.

The three week effort will include campaigning among co-workers on the job, at the plant gates of major industries, in the Black communities, and in other working-class areas.

Along these lines, it is projected to increase contact with the Puerto Rican, Dominican, and other Latino communities in New York City, as well as in the extensive Caribbean community here.

On Labor Day, there will be a parade in

New York City sponsored by the AFL-CIO, to back the Democrats. Socialists will be there with the revolutionary alternative to both bosses' parties.

The same day, there will be a big parade and festival in the Caribbean community in Brooklyn. Interest in the Grenada revolution will be high. Socialists will be there distributing campaign materials and *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, a collection of speeches by the central leader of the Grenada revolution.

Special teams are planned to go to farming areas to talk to farm workers and family farmers about the socialist campaign.

The Young Socialist Alliance in New

York City is sponsoring a series of discussions about the book *Maurice Bishop Speaks* during the three week campaign blitz.

The projected three weeks of intensive campaigning for socialism will help set the tone for the fall. Supporters of the socialist campaign intend to use the period before the election to reach as many new people as possible, and to win them to the socialist movement and the fight against the employers' offensive against working people at home and abroad.

To participate in this effort, call the New York socialist headquarters, which is listed in the directory on page 20.

Other Women Seeking No. 2 Spot Speak Out

By JAMES BROOKE

Andrea Gonzalez and Angela Davis admit to a trace of annoyance sometimes when they hear Representative Geraldine A. Ferraro toasted as the first woman in the nation to be a Vice Presidential candidate.

"Sometimes I feel that people in the U.S. are uninformed," said Mrs. Gonzalez, who is running for the Vice Presidency on the Socialist Workers Party ticket. "Our party first had a woman on the ticket in 1948."

Miss Davis, who is running, as she did in 1980, for the Vice Presidency on the ticket of the Communist Party U.S.A., said: "The people in this country do have the right to know that Gerri Ferraro is not the first female Vice Presidential candidate. But hopefully she will be the first one elected."

She said there had been "virtually an unspoken boycott about information on the Communist Party."

Both parties are Marxist and received about 45,000 votes apiece in the 1980 election.

Representative Ferraro, the Demo-

cratic nominee for Vice President, is the first woman to run on the ticket of a major political party in the United States. However, minor parties have frequently run female candidates for the Vice Presidency and Presidency.

Not Seen as an Advance

Despite their ideological affinity, Mrs. Gonzalez and Miss Davis differed sharply on the significance of Mrs. Ferraro's candidacy.

"I don't believe this is a historical advance for women," Mrs. Gonzalez, said in a telephone interview this week from Puerto Rico where she was campaigning. "The only place where women are advancing in the Americas today is in Nicaragua and Cuba."

In this week's issue of her party's weekly, "The Militant" Mrs. Gonzalez wrote: "The Ferraro candidacy is another attempt to convince women and other victims of capitalist society that progress can indeed be won through the two-party system."

Mrs. Gonzalez, a native of Brooklyn, added that her differences with Mrs.

Ferraro, a resident of Queens, are "more than boroughs."

The Socialist Workers candidate, who is 32 years old, said she has worked most recently in a Texas steel mill and in the maintenance department of the Washington bus system. The party's Presidential candidate is Mel Mason.

'Victory for Women'

In contrast, Miss Davis hailed Mrs. Ferraro's candidacy as "a very important victory for women."

"Revolutionaries must be realists," said Miss Davis in a telephone interview from San Francisco where she was campaigning. She said she hoped that her ticket, shared with Gus Hall, the party's Presidential candidate, will be on the ballot in 30 states this year.

"We know we are not going to defeat Reagan with the election of Gus Hall and Angela Davis," Miss Davis said. She urged radicals to work with the Democratic Party "in a mass movement to defeat Reagan."

Miss Davis, who is 40, teaches women's and ethnic studies at San Francisco State University.

The article reprinted above appeared in the July 29 New York Times

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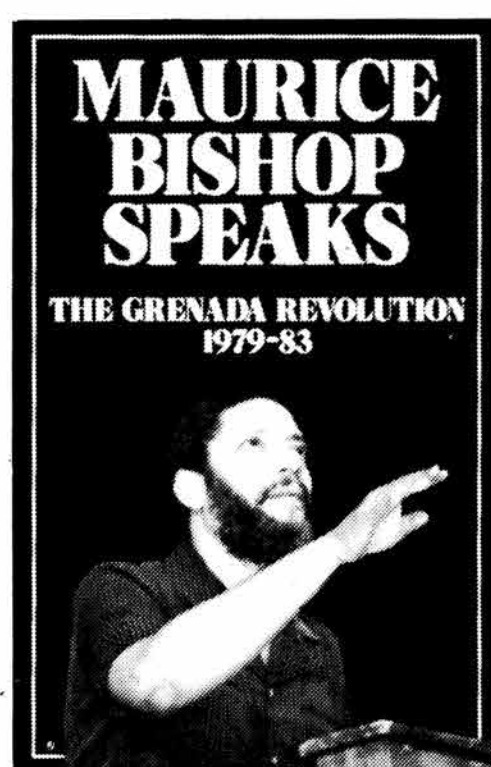
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The Militant

Closing news date: August 1, 1984

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

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

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

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

N.Y. hospital union continues fight for decent contract

BY GERRY KERR

NEW YORK CITY — Fortieth Street beside Bryant Park quickly turned into a sea of union hats, balloons, buttons, and banners here on Wednesday, July 25, as 5,000 members of District 1199 of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union (RWDSU) arrived for a spirited noontime rally and demonstration.

The rally was an important show of unity in the midst of a bitter strike against New York City and Long Island private hospitals and nursing homes.

The strike, involving nearly 50,000 members of District 1199, began July 13 when management made an insulting 11th hour offer of a 4 percent per year wage increase, not to take effect until October. Hospital owners balked at a central demand of 1199 members — every other weekend off, guaranteed by the contract. According to the union, the 4 percent increase is only 2.3 percent if proposed changes in work rules and benefits are included.

The union represents most of the “non-medical” employees — orderlies, laundry workers, maintenance people, clerical workers, X-ray and lab technicians, and others who staff the private hospitals and nursing homes. It is demanding a 9 percent per year wage increase for its members, in addition to every other weekend off.

On July 30, management made a new offer — what they described as a “real” 4 percent wage increase. The new offer, however, still includes some changes in benefits and work rules and rejects guaranteeing every worker alternate weekends off.

The union leadership plans to submit the new proposal to the membership for a vote.

Labor solidarity with the striking hospital workers, a majority of whom are Black, Latino, and women, was a central feature of the July 25 rally as 1199 president Doris Turner introduced a number of union officials who pledged support.

Central Labor Council head Harry van Arsdale pointed out that if the strike drags on, the hospital workers will need financial support. Al Heaps, president of the RWDSU, vowed the strike “will not be lost” and pledged financial support.

Victor Gotbaum, president of District

Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, and a leader of a coalition of New York City public-employee unions representing 250,000 workers who are now in negotiations for new contracts, also spoke.

Gotbaum told the rally, “I just came from the bargaining table with the city. Your fight is our fight. If you take a beating at the picket line, then we’ll take a beating at the bargaining table.”

Perhaps the most moving solidarity message came from a member of the Amalgamated Transit Union, a young white worker who was a picket coordinator during the recent Greyhound strike. He explained, “The Greyhound strike taught ATU members a lot about the need for unity — Black, white, female. People learned what it means to be a union.”

He went on to say that “Greyhound workers are with you 100 percent.” Labor solidarity played an important role in the Greyhound struggle.

After reviewing the issues in the strike, District 1199 president Turner urged the strikers to stay firm and “don’t give up.” She pointed out the bitter irony that after claiming they couldn’t agree to every other weekend off for all hospital and health care workers, management now maintains everything is fine at the struck institutions, despite the fact that nearly 50,000 people are out on strike.

After the rally, the striking hospital workers took to the streets of midtown



Nearly 50,000 members of 1199, many of whom are Blacks, Latinos, and women, are striking New York’s private hospitals and nursing homes.

Manhattan for a noisy and spirited march to the Roosevelt Hotel, site of the contract negotiations. Many office workers came to the windows to wave and show their support. Then the strikers went down 5th Avenue, past the luxury shops and fancy boutiques and back to the starting point of the march, where the workers dispersed to go back to their picket lines.

The attempt of the hospital and nursing home bosses to balance their budget on the backs of the modestly paid hospital workers has the full blessing of Democratic Governor Mario Cuomo. Through its control of insurance rates for Medicaid and Blue Cross, the State Health Commission effectively controls the revenues of the private hospitals and nursing homes. To-

gether with the federal Medicare program, these account for some 95 percent of their income.

Cuomo has said that “the state has no intention of guaranteeing wage increases for striking hospital workers, as it has done in past contract negotiations.” His statement is a green light to the hospital and nursing home bosses to hold out in their attempt to deny workers a decent contract.

The entire labor movement should rally to the support of these brothers and sisters.

Gerry Kerr is a member of the Transport Workers Union Local 100, and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress from the 11th Congressional District.

‘Serious thinking about socialist ideas’

BY PAUL MAILHOT

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Members of the Young Socialist Alliance and other supporters of the Socialist Workers Party campaign have spent two weeks in July campaigning and petitioning throughout the District of Columbia. Our aim was to place the names of Mel Mason, SWP candidate for president, and Andrea González, candidate for vice-president, on the D.C. ballot.

We campaigned in the areas where the tour buses never go — the Black communi-

ty, the Salvadoran neighborhoods, and at the unemployment offices. Areas like Anacostia — called the “capital crisis” — where unemployment stands at 16 percent (45 percent among Black youth and 27 percent among women).

In a shopping center on the border of Anacostia, we talked to scores of Black youth who had voted for Jesse Jackson in the primary election. In a city that is 70 percent Black, Jackson’s campaign had tremendous appeal among Black youth.

One young Black man who signed the socialist petition explained, “I voted for Jackson but there’s no way I’m going to vote for Mondale. I’ve never heard about the Mason campaign but I’d like to do some serious thinking about these socialist ideas.”

He then bought a copy of the *Militant* and asked how to get to the socialist campaign headquarters.

Another young Black who readily signed the petition said that he identified with the sentiment to “dump Reagan.” But he agreed with the socialist candidates that “the whole capitalist system is the problem, not just the Republicans.”

We focused our discussions on the socialist candidates’ campaign platform. We explained that Mason and González call for an immediate withdrawal of all U.S. troops from Central America. They call for providing jobs for all at union wages, stopping racist attacks, and defending affirmative action and abortion rights.

Many people signed the petition because they agreed with Mason and González’ support for the Nicaraguan workers and farmers government, and opposed the U.S. war against the Nicaraguan revolution.

A young Nicaraguan was excited to learn that there were real supporters of the Nicaraguan revolution who were running for office. “I’ve lived in the U.S. for two years but I’m going back to Nicaragua soon. In Nicaragua I see things advancing even though it’s a poor country. Here in the U.S. things don’t seem to be advancing at all. I think it’s important that there’s a campaign like yours helping to stop the war against Nicaragua.”

Campaign supporters met a Black journalist who had just returned from Cuba. He was impressed by the accomplishments of

the Cuban revolution, and had put together a slide show about his trip. After meeting and discussing the campaign with members of the YSA he agreed to give a talk at the Militant Labor Forum on his experiences in Cuba.

We talked to everyone we met about the campaign newspapers — the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist*.

YSA member Greg Rosenberg explained that he asked everyone he talked to if they wanted to buy the campaign newspapers to find out more about the campaign and socialism.

During one of Rosenberg’s petitioning days, more than 60 people signed the socialists’ petition, and 23 people bought copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

The socialists are also publicizing a series of forums on Saturday evenings. On July 21, more than 50 people attended a meeting to see the film *Harlan County, U.S.A.* and hear Dave Ferguson, a YSA National Committee member and SWP candidate for governor of West Virginia, talk about his recent trip to the coalfields of Britain.

Ferguson, a member of the United Mine Workers in West Virginia, explained the need for workers here to defend the striking British coal miners. Ten of the people attending the meeting had heard about it from socialist petitioners.

As of July 27, 5,200 signatures had been collected; 250 copies of the *Militant*, *Young Socialist*, and *Perspectiva Mundial* had been sold; and 45 people had signed campaign interest cards.

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BY LAURA GARZA

I recently traveled to Los Angeles, the San Francisco Bay Area, Houston, Minneapolis, and Newark on a speaking tour sponsored by the Young Socialist Alliance.

In San Francisco, while the Democratic Party nominated Walter Mondale and Geraldine Ferraro, thousands of unionists, women's rights, antiwar, and gay rights activists participated in various demonstrations outside the convention.

I and many other supporters of the Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president — Mel Mason and Andrea González — used the opportunity to discuss socialist ideas with the demonstrators.

In a conversation with one young participant in the "Vote for peace" march, I explained that the socialist campaign is for a government of workers and farmers that would run society in our interests, instead of the government we have now which runs society in the interests of the capitalists. He agreed with most of what I said. But, he asked, since we won't get such a government right away, isn't it better to vote for Mondale?

I pointed out that both parties

are responsible for voting for funds to continue the war in Central America. The Carter-Mondale administration began the intervention and instituted draft registration.

Throughout the war in Vietnam, many Democrats and Republicans ran as "peace" candidates but both parties continued the war. The socialist campaign explains that both parties carry on wars because they both agree that capitalism must be defended. They both administer the government to protect the property of the wealthy families who own both the Democratic and Republican parties.

He agreed this was true, but it seemed as if the only realistic thing to do now, given the choice in the elections, was to vote for Mondale and hope for the best.

I responded saying it's a trap to accept that the only "realistic" way to change things is through participating in elections. This reduces politics to trying to pressure or appeal to candidates who have a chance of winning. But this is the most unrealistic approach because elections, in and of themselves, change nothing. It asks us to forget history and to ignore what is happening today.

I pointed out that civil rights, the right to abortion, affirmative action, and other gains for working people were all won by organizing political movements independent of the two parties. These movements fought for our rights, against the government and employers.

Is it realistic politics to oppose the war by voting for someone whose party helps to carry it out today? Or is it more realistic to organize an independent movement to tell the truth about the war and try to mobilize working people against it? Is it realistic to hope for a change in society by voting for those who have run things this way for decades? Or is it more realistic to begin today to convince others that we need to organize the working class and its allies to fight to change society?

I explained that this is what the socialist campaign is all about. Telling the truth, not explaining it away. Learning from history, not ignoring it.

Supporters of the Mason-González campaign are helping to build a movement against U.S. intervention in Central America. We put special emphasis on telling the truth about the revolutions in Cen-



Militant/Howard Petrick

Banner at demonstration outside Democratic Party convention. Support for bosses' parties is dead end for labor.

tral America to those in the labor movement and the Black and Latino communities.

Finally, I explained that the YSA is an organization that young people who want to fight against war and for socialism should join.

He's thinking about it.

Laura Garza is a national youth coordinator for the Mason-González campaign and a member of

the National Executive Committee of the YSA.

To find out more about the YSA and the Socialist Workers Party 1984 presidential campaign, write to Young Socialist Alliance, 14 Charles Ln., New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions to the Young Socialist, the YSA's bimonthly newspaper, are \$3 for one year.

Albany socialist runs against war-hawk Stratton

BY JUDITH LAMBERT

CAPITAL DISTRICT, N.Y. — "You can be sure this vice presidential candidate is not on Mondale's list as a potential running mate." This from an Albany TV reporter as he introduced Andrea González of the Socialist Workers Party on the evening news.

González was in the Capital District (as the Albany-Schenectady-Troy, N.Y. area is called) in June to help launch the campaign of Richard Ariza, the Socialist Workers Party's candidate for the 23rd Congressional seat. Ariza is a member of

the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU).

Ariza's central opponent in the election is Democrat Sam Stratton.

A well-attended news conference kicking off the Ariza campaign was chaired by Patricia Mayberry, a member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks and the SWP's standard bearer against Stratton in 1980 and 1982.

The Capital District news media has taken an interest in the persistence of the SWP in fielding workers' candidates

against capitalist politicians. They quizzed Ariza and Mayberry about the 1984 campaign against Stratton, who is seeking his 14th consecutive congressional term this year.

"Stratton is a notorious warmonger," said Ariza. "He is a perfect candidate to serve the interests of the ruling class. He supported the racist, genocidal war waged by the U.S. in Vietnam and he steadfastly backs U.S. involvement in the Caribbean and Central America."

"Stratton plays an instrumental role in today's illegal wars," Ariza explained.

"His position on the House Armed Services Committee and his chairmanship of the Procurement and Military Nuclear Systems Subcommittee enable him to ensure our tax dollars will continue to be voted for military funding." But he doesn't represent working people of this district, emphasized Ariza. "Two of the largest unions in the Capital District — the IUE [International Union of Electronic Workers] and my union, ACTWU — have gone on record as being opposed to the U.S. war in El Salvador."

When asked by reporters about the chance of an SWP victory over Stratton, Ariza acknowledged that elections in the United States are not structured to enable working people to compete on an equal footing.

"Take finances," he explained. "Campaigns of socialist workers, like mine, are financed totally by the dollars of supporters who work for a living. Stratton, on the other hand, is plied with megabucks from those who profit from the exploitation of workers here and abroad."

"Even the election laws," added Mayberry, "are intended to discourage independent candidates. To qualify for ballot status in New York State alone, we have to collect 3,500 signatures of registered voters for Rich and 20,000 for our presidential and vice-presidential candidates. Stratton has to file, I think, around 100. He could get that many at a NY Telephone board meeting."

"Unemployment and job instability," said Ariza, "are devastating the standard of living of workers and their families."

"These events are not natural disasters, like floods or tornadoes," said Ariza. "This is the policy of the Democrat/Republican government. Domestic war on the workers and farmers of the United States, just as military war against the workers and peasants in Latin and Central America is its foreign policy."

"Working people and farmers in this country want the same things that the Sandinistas and revolutionaries in El Salvador want. We want peace, not war. We want a piece of land that can't be stolen by the banks. We want jobs at a living wage where our health is not jeopardized."

"The Democratic/Republican party government can't provide this standard of living and is fighting against all attempts to achieve these things, at home and abroad. This quality of life for the majority can only be achieved by the abolition of the profit system which thrives on war, racism, and the oppression of women. The Socialist Workers Party runs election campaigns to explain these ideas."

Working-class campaign popular in Miss.

BY BOB RUST

JACKSON, Miss. — The petitioning drive to place the names of Mel Mason and Andrea González on the ballot in Mississippi was a big success.

Because Mississippi is the poorest state in the union, the idea of a working-class alternative in the elections struck a responsive chord among working people. Despite the fact that the state is 40 percent Black, it has not had a Black representative in Congress since reconstruction.

Over the course of two weekends, campaign supporters collected 2,278 signatures in Jackson and Meridian, the two major cities in the state. This was more than double the 1,000 signatures required.

Seven people, many of whom are leaders in the civil rights movement in the

state, agreed to be electors for Mason and González.

Heading the list is Eddie Carthan, former mayor of Tchula. Carthan was a victim of a racist frame-up that drove him from office. He and six other activists known as the Tchula 7 fought a nationwide defense campaign that got the charges of murder against Carthan dropped.

Sam Calahan, another member of the Tchula 7, is also an elector. Lavern Wiggins, a Black Coalition of Labor Union Women activist, and Ken Lawrence, an editor of *Covert Action Bulletin*, a magazine focusing on the crimes of the CIA, also are electors.

When a group of women GIs in uniform were approached with a petition, one said, "I'll sign. I don't want to go to El Salvador, this is just my job." Her sentiment was

echoed by seven other privates, all of whom signed. "They're just wasting all that money when they could be using it here," said another.

Jesse Jackson's campaign to register voters, which started in Mississippi, generated greater interest in the presidential race. There is widespread discontent with the Republican and Democratic parties.

One reflection of this discontent, Carthan told petitioners, is that the majority of Black mayors elected in the state ran as independents. As another member of the Tchula 7 said: "When you run with the Democrats, you have to play by their rules."

Many petitioners reported going all day without having anyone say that they wouldn't sign because they were supporting Mondale or Jackson.

500 rally for striking Danly steelworkers

BY DAVID TURPIN

CICERO, Ill. — More than 500 unionists participated in a rally here July 22 to support United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 15271, which is in the 12th week of a strike against union-busting by the Danly Machine Corporation. Steelworker international president Lynn Williams was a featured speaker.

The rally occurred in the face of a company ultimatum, sent in a letter to all Local 15271 members, threatening to permanently replace the whole work force if they did not return to work by July 18. The threat has not been carried out. Although a few scabs are working, the union is standing firm.

Danly, a manufacturer of large presses for auto and other industries, was bought in 1981 by Ogden International, a large corporation which also owns the giant non-union Avondale shipyard in Louisiana.

Over the last two years Danly's work force of about 1,400 was reduced to less than 500. The owners have now provoked this strike and are out to break the USWA in this shop.

The main strike issues are the company's demand that the union allow it to make job assignments and layoffs without reference to seniority rights; drastic reductions in union representation on the shop floor; and major changes in work rules. It is also estimated that the company's pay offer would result in a \$50-a-week cut.

A spirit of enthusiastic solidarity was demonstrated at the rally. Notably, two Black figures participated — Cicero is a virtually all white suburb and has been the site of racist attacks — including Chicago Teachers Union (CTU) Pres. Jackie Vaughn. He told the strikers, "You can win the way the teachers did in 1983, with a coalition." In its 1983 contract fight the CTU

was backed by a coalition of municipal unions.

Congressman and former Meatcutters union official Charles Hayes told the workers, "You are fighting to keep what you have already won through years of struggle . . . you are fighting to keep your union."

Writer Studs Terkel added, "The moral of all labor history is that everything you have won through struggle by people like yourselves."

However, all the major speakers also declared their view that the way to fight union-busting is to dump Reagan and elect Democrat Walter Mondale.

Workers' willingness to fight was shown in the enthusiastic response to Lynn Williams' suggestion that, "Every local union in [USWA] District 31 should take a day and send some people to help out with this strike. Help out in the office. Help out on the picket line."

Sandinistas choose candidates for November elections

BY ELLEN KRATKA

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — July 17 is called the "day of rejoicing" in Nicaragua, marking the anniversary of the day in 1979 that former dictator Anastasio Somoza fled the country and columns of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) advanced toward Managua.

This year on July 17, two days before the fifth anniversary of the victory of the revolution, the FSLN announced its candidates for the presidential and legislative elections to be held November 4. The announcement was made at a public session of the Sandinista Assembly, a broader advisory body to the FSLN nine-member National Directorate.

Daniel Ortega and Sergio Ramírez will head the list, running for president and vice-president respectively. They are currently both members of the junta of Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction.

All the governmental posts to be filled by election are new, with the national constituent assembly to become Nicaragua's legislature, replacing the Council of State. The assembly will draft a constitution.

The 90 candidates put forward by the FSLN for this assembly include a broad cross-section of the Nicaraguan people. The slate is composed of people like Daniel Nuñez, formerly a large cattle rancher and now president of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers; Dora María Téllez, longtime fighter against Somoza and political secretary of the FSLN in Managua; Lucio Jiménez, general secretary of the Sandinista Workers Federation; Carlos Carrión, general coordinator of the Sandinista Youth; Santos Buitrago, mother of Julio Buitrago — one of the fallen heroes of the revolution; and Carlos Mejía Godoy, a well-known Nicaraguan singer.

Members of the assembly will represent regions of the country in proportion to their population.

In his speech accepting the nomination and explaining the FSLN's "plan of struggle" for the campaign, Ortega listed 23 points which are a summary of the Sandinista program. These include giving land to those who work it; helping workers to organize unions and fight for a living wage; struggling for the emancipation of women; extending supplies and services to the most remote areas of the country such as the Atlantic Coast; and assuring working people their political and human rights, including the right to a job, education, and health care.

The two most important points, Ortega indicated, are defense of Nicaragua and the gains of the revolution against U.S. aggression, and consolidation of "people's power." This means deepening and further institutionalizing the democracy won by the toilers of the country, who, since July 19, 1979, have a government that rules in their interests instead of those of the rich.

On behalf of the National Directorate of the FSLN, Tomás Borge gave the keynote speech at the public, closing session of the Sandinista Assembly. He stressed that the unity of the FSLN — which had been deeply divided into three tendencies until a few months before the triumph over Somoza — guaranteed the victory of the 1979 revolution.

Borge explained, "The unity of the Sandinistas was the result of a historic necessity, but it was also the consequence of the mature politics of the leaders of this revolution. The unity of the FSLN — both at the hour of combat and when differences arose — began by being a demand of its own militants. Today the unity of the Sandinistas is more than a demand; it is an order without possible rebuttal, an order dictated by all the people of Nicaragua."

In a clear reference to the October 1983 events in Grenada — where a secret faction in the New Jewel Movement overthrew the revolutionary government — Borge affirmed, "The only ones who could achieve the destruction of [Nicaragua's] revolu-

tion, as the assimilated lessons of history show, are ourselves, the revolutionaries ourselves."

Borge said that unity, while based on a clear program, is also a living process which "reflects the contradictions of life and is nourished by them."

"The challenge posed by the dismantling of the apparatus of power of the dictatorship has consolidated Sandinista unity; and the institutionalization of the revolutionary process must fortify it," he said.

In Nicaragua, he continued, "institutionalization is nothing but a contribution to the fundamental task of deepening the revolutionary process."

Speaking as the last surviving founder of the FSLN, Borge said, "These five years of development of the revolutionary power... have converted a group of young leaders, my brothers of the National Directorate, into experienced rulers and skillful political leaders. In their work they give breath to the living hopes of the founders of the Sandinista National Liberation Front."

Puerto Rico protests hit repression

Continued from front page

Maravilla murders. It was also revealed that the federal cops had known of González Malavé's activities as an agent provocateur for a long time.

At the rally on July 25, organized by proindependence forces, hundreds of people gathered at the summit of Cerro Maravilla to demand justice in this case and to honor the memory of the two murdered fighters, Rosado and Soto Arriví.

The demonstrators included members and supporters of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party (PSP), the Puerto Rican Independence Party (PIP), the Internationalist Workers League, the Nationalist Party, and many unaffiliated independentistas.

'Maravilla demands justice'

With a big sign behind her that read "Six years later, Maravilla demands justice," PSP leader Lucía Romero welcomed the crowd. She explained that "this crime will be brought to justice, not in the colonial courts of Puerto Rico nor in the United States courts, but in the consciousness of our people." Only, she said, "by fighting for the independence and liberation of our homeland can we avoid exploitation, colonialism, and political assassinations."

Romero introduced the main speaker, nationalist hero Rafael Cancel Miranda.

"I was in prison when these events [of Cerro Maravilla] took place," said Cancel Miranda, alluding to the 25 years he had spent as a political prisoner. "And even from a U.S. jail you could see who was guilty of these assassinations... beginning with U.S. imperialism, as well as their agents in Puerto Rico, Romero Barceló, and the police."

But, he noted, "Cerro Maravilla goes beyond Romero Barceló" and his ruling New Progressive Party. Although the rival capitalist party, the Popular Democratic Party (PPD) uses the Cerro Maravilla case to attack the government, it limits itself to "beautiful speeches by [PPD leader Rafael] Hernández Colón. How far will the colonial Senate go on this question? It's been six years so far," Cancel Miranda pointed out. "And where are those killer cops? Still out on the street."

However, he said, this case "is not an accident. Look at the history of the Puerto Rican people since the U.S. invasion. When they can't blackmail or pressure us, they use terrorism."

Referring to several murders and attacks carried out by the government against independence supporters over the past 50 years, Cancel Miranda declared: "The Ponce massacre, the Río Piedras massacre, the murder of Toñita Martínez, the murder of Angel Rodríguez Cristóbal, the murder of Adelfina [Villanueva], the assault on Villa



Daniel Ortega (right) and Sergio Ramírez (left) are FSLN candidates for president and vice-president in November 4 Nicaraguan elections.

Sin Miedo — all this wouldn't have happened if they hadn't invaded us, if we weren't a militarily occupied territory."

U.S. grand jury

Right now, he stated, the U.S. federal grand jury has been used to put independence fighters such as "Carlos Noya, Federico Cintrón Fiallo, Alberto de Jesús, and other youths in U.S. jails without any charges."

Puerto Ricans in this struggle, he said, are to be found not only on the island, but "in New York, Chicago, Philadelphia... We are all fighting the same enemy." As an example, he mentioned the presence in the rally of "someone who is here from the United States — the vice-presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, Andrea González."

The colonialist parties, Cancel Miranda declared, have no solutions to these problems. "We know the real solution will have to be for Puerto Rico to be a free and sovereign country where we as a people can carry out justice ourselves."

Cancel Miranda noted the role of Gov. Romero Barceló. The prostatehood governor had gone to the Democratic Party convention in San Francisco to offer Walter Mondale the support of the Puerto Rican delegation in exchange for a Democratic Party stance in favor of Puerto Rican statehood. Romero Barceló's groveling efforts were rewarded with a vaguely worded letter from Mondale.

'Real politics fights for people's dignity'

"There is a big difference between politics and politicking," Cancel Miranda pointed out. In contrast with the politicking of the two capitalist parties, he pointed to the crowd of demonstrators: "This here is real politics, this is the politics that fights for the rights and dignity of the people."

While the rulers try to keep struggles within a framework that they set, "we must learn to struggle outside that framework, to struggle in the way that we decide to struggle." The best way to honor Rosado and Soto Arriví, he declared, "is to fight on a daily basis. Because the enemy attacks us on a daily basis."

"We have to struggle on all fronts," Cancel Miranda concluded. "We have to struggle against the draft, against the looting of our mines, against the use of our youth as cannon fodder in U.S. imperialist wars, against the sending of a single Puerto Rican to El Salvador or Nicaragua, because those are our brothers and sisters."

Carlos Gallisá, general secretary of the PSP, also spoke. "We will not be satisfied with seeing the executioners being put in jail," he declared. "We have to go after those who planned the execution, those

who covered it up."

He explained that the Cerro Maravilla case has had a major impact on the consciousness of the Puerto Rican people, making large numbers of people aware of the extent of the government attacks on the independence and labor movements.

The chair of the rally also introduced Andrea González. She gave a brief message of solidarity to the rally.

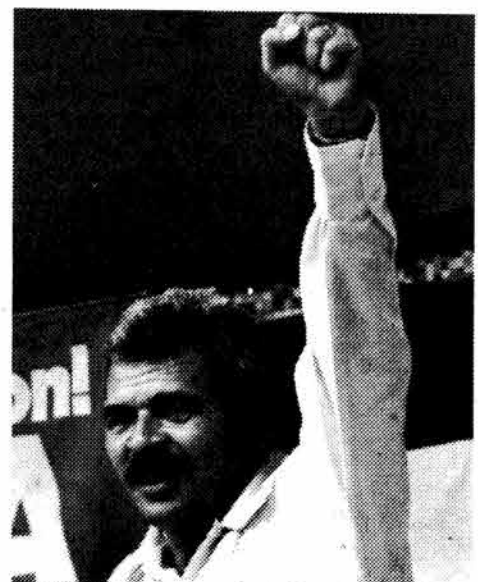
Important case for U.S. workers

"The Cerro Maravilla case is very important for working people in the United States. This is because the U.S. government, through its political police — the FBI — had a hand in the assassination of the two young Puerto Rican patriots."

"The FBI, CIA, and grand juries are tools used by the U.S. imperialists to enforce their colonialism in Puerto Rico and help carry out their war against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean. They use this same political police against U.S. working people and all those who fight for their rights and against U.S. imperialist policies."

She noted that, after so many years of U.S. colonial rule, repression, and propaganda, "the spirit of struggle and patriotism and freedom still lives among the Puerto Rican people. One day, the Puerto Rican people will follow the road to freedom opened up by our revolutionary brothers and sisters of Cuba and Nicaragua."

After the rally at Cerro Maravilla, the organizers urged the participants to join the proindependence action taking place in Guánica, site of the 1898 U.S. invasion. Many demonstrators, including the U.S. socialist candidate, traveled the mountainous road to the other rally, where they joined other independence activists.



Militant/Lou Howort
Rafael Cancel Miranda

Socialist garment workers in California discuss how to strengthen ILGWU

BY RAÚL GONZÁLEZ

LOS ANGELES — Garment manufacturing is big business in California. With more than 100,000 workers in the industry, California is second only to New York in the manufacture of clothing.

Whole sections of the work force have been driven by the owners back to the sweatshop conditions of the early part of the century. Racist laws are used to terrorize the largely immigrant work force.

The miserably inadequate minimum-wage laws are largely unenforced, and homework and the child labor that accompanies it are on the rise.

Fewer than 10,000 workers, under 10 percent of the work force, are union members today — most of them members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. The ILGWU is in a fight for its very existence as the industry continues to expand and the percentage of union shops declines.

On June 30 socialist workers in the California garment industry met in Los Angeles. They discussed challenges facing the union and their role as communists in advancing the struggle for decent working conditions and in fighting against the U.S. war in Central America and the deportation of immigrant workers.

History of militant struggle

The meeting began with a report by Fred Halstead, a long-time cutter in the industry, on the history of the garment and textile unions.

At the turn of the century, as today, the majority of garment workers were immigrants, Halstead explained. In New York City most of these workers were from Russia and Italy. Conditions were bad and wages were low.

A good number of these workers were left-wing radicals. Some were veterans of the 1905 revolution in Russia, and they began to organize to change things.

By the 1930s the garment unions were among the largest and strongest industrial unions in the country. They were part of the movement that led to the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the CIO.

Through militant struggles of the workers, piecework was wiped out in the industry. By World War II the wages of union garment workers were on par with workers in the steel, auto, and coal mining industries.

But with the onset of U.S. imperialism's "cold war" at the close of World War II, the bosses opened a steady offensive against the gains and working conditions garment workers had won through their strikes and picket-line battles.

The top leadership of the garment unions was ill-prepared to lead a fight against the bosses' drive. For years they had guided their unions into the political camp of the Democratic Party and into dependence on its favors. Their policies of cooperation and partnership with the garment bosses tied the hands of the union membership in their attempts to defend their rights and working conditions. The depressed conditions garment workers face today are a result of these policies.

Betsy Farley, a member of the ILGWU from San Francisco, presented a tasks and perspectives report to the meeting. Farley explained that garment workers today are a target of the union-busting capitalist offensive. Wages range from less than the \$3.35 per hour minimum wage in the nonunion shops to an average of \$4-\$6 per hour in the ILGWU-organized sector.

Layoffs, due to the seasonal nature of the industry, drive the wage down even further. Many undocumented immigrant workers cannot even collect unemployment compensation because of a recent state ruling forcing workers to show their green cards [resident permits] to qualify for benefits.

Big companies like Levi Strauss dominate the industry with an elaborate system of subdivisions and contractors set up to squeeze the highest possible rate of profit out of workers.

Levis, the largest clothing manufacturer in the world, recently announced the shut-



Los Angeles garment workers at antiwar march. Banner reads: "Davis Pleating strikers say: U.S. out of El Salvador now!" Socialist ILGWU workers discussed need for union to oppose U.S. war in Central America and organize unorganized garment workers.

down of nine plants in the United States and Canada, which will result in the loss of 3,200 jobs. At the same time, the corporation intends to maintain the same level of production through speed-up and cost-cutting.

Organize the unorganized

The fact that the majority of the industry is unorganized is a powerful weapon in the hands of the manufacturers in driving down the working conditions and wages in the unionized sector.

To mount an effective fight to beat back the bosses' offensive, Farley explained, the ILGWU will have to launch a serious campaign to organize the unorganized majority, reach out for solidarity from the rest of the labor movement and its allies, and reject the current policy of the top leadership of reliance on the Democratic Party.

This will happen only as the class consciousness and combativity of the union ranks increases and the workers themselves demand the right to democratically decide the union's policies.

The report pointed to examples of struggles taking place today like the Davis Pleating strike and organizing drives in Los Angeles, where garment workers are going through the experience of class struggle, trying various strategies and tactics, and learning lessons. Socialist workers are part of these fights, bringing to them a perspective of solidarity, union democracy, and independent political action.

Socialist election campaigns, sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, and weekly forums sponsored by the Socialist Workers Party are an important part of the socialists' political work, Farley explained.

Campaigns like that of Marilee Taylor, a San Francisco ILGWU member running as the SWP candidate in the 16th State Assembly District, are important tools to help explain the truth about the U.S. government's war against the workers and farmers of El Salvador and Nicaragua, and the need to fight for a workers and farmers government in the United States.

Supporters of Taylor's campaign recently published her campaign platform in Chinese to reach out to the large number of Chinese-speaking workers in the Bay Area garment and electronics industries.

Discussion on Farley's report touched on many of the problems and challenges facing garment workers today.

Taylor, who works for Koret of California, a division of Levi Strauss, talked about the evils of the contracting system. During a recent layoff, Taylor got a job at a unionized contract shop. There she worked on the exact same blouses she had been working on a few weeks earlier at Koret. But the pay was less, the work pace faster, and the

conditions deplorable.

"The work rules there are ridiculous," she said. "You can't talk while you're at your machine. One woman was threatened when she was caught singing to herself as she worked. The only time they put toilet paper in the bathroom is when the union rep comes by."

A member of the Young Socialist Alliance, a Nicaraguan from Los Angeles, pointed out that the contracting-out system is used to weaken the union and drive down conditions throughout the industry.

The garment manufacturers and contractors frequently point to competition from foreign imports as a justification for cost-cutting and speedup, as well as layoffs of garment workers in this country. Unfortunately, the ILGWU top leadership goes along with this line, and has joined the bosses' campaign against imports.

Socialist garment workers say that the anti-imports campaign is just a smoke screen for the ruthless profit drive of the manufacturers and big contractors.

"When Levi Strauss, with plants in a dozen different countries, pleads poverty and blames foreign imports for it, most garment workers won't buy that," Fred Halstead explained. "At the same time, hundreds of small garment shops are driven out of business every year because they can't effectively compete against the big manufacturers."

"When companies like Levi's, Jantzen, and Koret get together and cry about foreign imports, it's just another way of confusing the minds of the workers prior to the companies' demanding givebacks."

A program to fight back

The discussion at the meeting aimed to come to grips with a program for fighting layoffs, rotten conditions facing workers, and plant shutdowns. One young Latino worker from Los Angeles pointed out that there are many small fights going on in various shops over conditions, contracting-out, and other abuses.

Socialist garment workers take part in these shop skirmishes today to defend the union. They look for the most class-conscious workers and those who want to fight. The aim of socialists, he said, is to speed along the process of politicization, explain the need for the working class, in alliance with the small farmers, to fight for political power, and to build a current of revolutionary socialist workers in the ILGWU.

At the same time they have much to learn from coworkers, particularly those who bring class-struggle experiences from El Salvador and elsewhere.

The meeting also heard reports from New York and Canada. A socialist ILGWU member from New York City re-

ported on progress in establishing a presence of socialist workers in ILGWU Local 23-25, the largest in the country.

A member of the Revolutionary Workers League in Canada reported on developments in the union there.

Seth Galinsky from Los Angeles gave the final report, which focused on the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill and the fight against deportations.

Galinsky explained that U.S. immigration policy has nothing to do with creating jobs for U.S. citizens. "Simpson-Mazzoli is aimed first at terrorizing the immigrant work force, so they will not organize unions; demand higher wages, protest the U.S. war in Central America, or demand respect for the most basic human rights here," he explained.

"Second, it is aimed at selectively eliminating radicals, 'subversives,' and communists who could 'infect' the rest of the U.S. working class with revolutionary ideas. And third, to divide the working class by convincing U.S.-born workers that 'illegal aliens' are stealing their jobs."

Simpson-Mazzoli was first supported by the executive boards of both the AFL-CIO and the ILGWU. But when the amendment allowing for the creation of a new "Bracero Program" (guest-worker provision) was added, the AFL-CIO and ILGWU officials withdrew their support.

"This bill should never have been supported in any form by labor," Galinsky said. "It was racist and worked against the interests of the unions and the undocumented from the start."

"Rather than seeking to close the doors to immigrant workers, our unions should be in the forefront of the struggle to defend their rights."

In the discussion, it was pointed out that the Simpson-Mazzoli bill was also aimed against organizations in solidarity with the Central American and Caribbean revolutions. Strengthening *la migrá* (immigration cops) will provide the ruling class with a powerful weapon against the anti-intervention activists.

A young Salvadoran garment worker from Los Angeles explained that as socialists fight against attacks like the Simpson-Mazzoli bill, they have to keep explaining the broader political picture.

"As I talk to my friends and other workers, I can see that not all of us really understand the forces that caused us to leave our countries and come here," she said.

"We understand poverty and repression, but not all of us understand imperialism, and that we are now part of the U.S. working class and the struggle here."

"I have a deep confidence in our class," she continued, "and in the Socialist Workers Party — that this party will lead our class to the creation of a new government here."

Twin Cities celebrates Grenada book

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

MINNEAPOLIS — A meeting in the Black community here July 28 celebrated the publication of the Pathfinder Press book *Maurice Bishop Speaks*. The gathering also protested the continuing U.S. military occupation of Grenada.

More than 60 people attended the event, which was publicized by a front-page article in the *Twin Cities Courier*, a Black community weekly newspaper.

"Grenada is not lost," pointed out Janice Dorlaie, coconvener of the Twin Cities National Black Independent Political Party. "It has experienced a nightmarish setback, but the struggle has begun [that will] rid Grenada of the U.S. occupation forces. Our task is to support that struggle."

"In its efforts to enforce worldwide domination," Dorlaie said, "the U.S. government uses us. We were the cannon fodder that made up the infantry that rushed up onto the shores of Grenada."

A representative of El Salvador's Revolutionary Democratic Front, Guillermo DePaz, told the gathering that "The U.S. invasion was calculated to send a message to the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and the revolutionary forces in El Salvador. And that message is that there is no room for peaceful dialogue as far as the U.S. government is concerned."

Mohammed Oliver was the featured speaker. A staff writer for the *Militant*, Oliver traveled to Grenada both during the revolution and since the U.S. invasion of the island nation.

"One lesson the Grenada revolution taught," Oliver said, "was that it takes a revolution to create deepgoing social change. Grenada's People's Revolutionary Government under Prime Minister Maurice Bishop was born not through elections, but by a popular uprising of the Grenadian workers and farmers on March 13, 1979."

Oliver said that the wide circulation of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, a collection of speeches by the murdered prime minister, will help educate a layer of today's combative U.S. working people, winning them to the revolutionary strategy followed by Bishop and the other central leaders of the Grenada revolution. All the speakers pointed to the significance of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*.

Latest issue of 'IP' features manifesto of new Grenada party

U.S. imperialism's occupation and domination of the eastern Caribbean island of Grenada is beginning to be challenged by workers and farmers in that country.

They are beginning to resist measures taken by the U.S.-installed regime, including dismantling programs initiated under the revolutionary government of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop.

One of the most recent examples of the increasing fightback of the Grenadian people was the launching of the Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement (MBPM).

The August 6 issue of *Intercontinental Press* features major excerpts from the MBPM's manifesto, which is a detailed statement that outlines the party's proposals for all sectors of the economy, for education and health care, for the building of mass organizations, and for the attainment of Grenada's full sovereignty and independence.

This issue of *IP* is must reading for all those interested in following revolutionary developments in Grenada.

The latest issue of *IP* also includes the text of a speech by Nicaraguan government leader Humberto Ortega. In his speech, Ortega outlines Nicaragua's strategy to defeat the U.S.-organized aggression.

IP is a biweekly socialist news magazine published in New York.

Copies are available from Intercontinental Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Single issues cost \$1.25 and subscriptions can be purchased for \$12.50 for six months.

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In contrast with the gains Grenada's workers and farmers registered during four and a half years of revolution, the U.S. occupation has guaranteed a declining standard of living for the Grenadian masses, Oliver said. Washington is also planning show trials for Bernard Coard and the other plotters who overthrew the revolutionary government of Bishop.

"Make no mistake," Oliver said, "the U.S. officials will put Maurice Bishop in the docket with Coard. These trials will be part of the U.S. strategy of trying to slander the entire Grenada revolution."

Bud Shulte, a member of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 4-P and a leading activist in the ongoing strike at Iowa Pork Co. here, also spoke.

Shulte quoted a recent speech by Pres. Ronald Reagan declaring that the U.S. government must put down "repressive dictatorships" such as Grenada. "I want to tell Ronald Reagan," Shulte said, "that after 25 weeks on strike I don't look to Grenada to see repression — I look to Washington."

"Reagan did to Grenada exactly what he did to the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization — except this was union-busting on an international level."

Farmers rally against foreclosures

BY DAVID SALNER

HOXIE, Kan. — "Rural people must stand together," Darrell Ringer told a rally at the Hoxie County courthouse in western Kansas. The 100 farmers listening to Ringer were there to support his fight to keep his cattle and machinery against foreclosure moves by Hoxie State Bank.

Ringer stood beside his wife Margaret, also a farm activist, and one of their three children as he continued: "We are all hostages of a misguided farm policy, foreign policy embargoes, and outrageous interest rates."

"We must not, we cannot, we will not lose this battle."

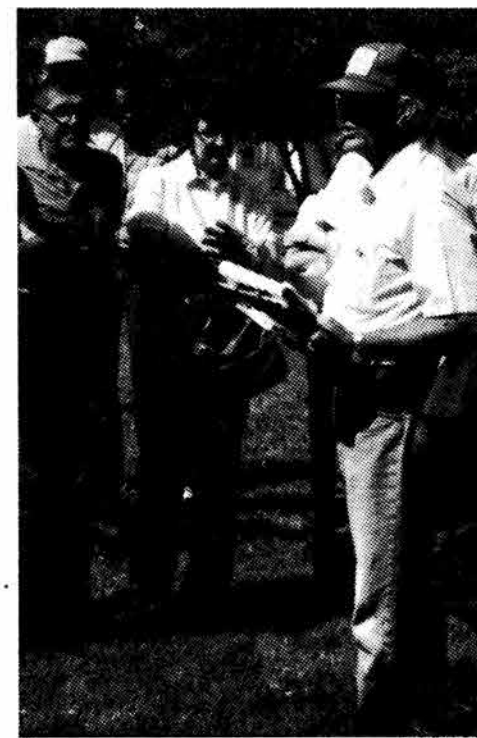
As a leader of the Kansas American Agriculture Movement (AAM), Ringer has helped to organize foreclosure protests for other farmers.

Ringer announced to the June 14 rally that he had been forced to file for a chapter 13 bankruptcy reorganization to forestall foreclosure and continue the fight to save his family farm.

Farmers from Nebraska and Colorado as well as Kansas participated in the rally, despite the perfect weather, which meant that many farmers could not leave their fields.

The North American Farm Alliance (NAFA) was there, and messages of support came from Iowa Farm Unity and Wisconsin Farm Unity.

Support statements were read from labor officials in Kansas and northern Minnesota's Iron Range, as well as a statement from Jesse Jackson. Missouri farmer and AAM activist Roger Allison also spoke at it.



Militant
Farm activist Merle Hansen addressing Kansas protest against foreclosures.



Militant/Jeff Powers
Maurice Bishop Speaks being sold outside recent NAACP convention. Interest in Grenada revolution is especially high among Blacks.

"Farmers are in a depression that is every bit as bad as the 1930s," Allison explained. He pointed out that in 1982 total farm income was less than expenses. Lack of adequate farm prices leaves farmers with a minus net income in exchange for their families' long hours of labor.

"The result is that farmers have been living on debt, not income," Allison pointed out. Furthermore, farm property is being devalued, which means great difficulty in obtaining loans secured against farm assets.

"The reality is that our present situation is the result of conscious government policy," Allison stated. He concluded that farmers need to change the government and pointed to the impact of the rural voters, who are one-third of those who vote.

Allison and Ringer presented a program of emergency demands and a long-range farm bill. The emergency demands included an immediate moratorium on all farm foreclosures and forced liquidations as well as programs to renegotiate debts and extend low-interest loans.

Parity is the keystone of the farm bill supported by Allison, Ringer, and many other farm activists. (Parity is a program for adjusting prices to expenses based on an index derived from the years 1910-14.)

Ava Bates, a Black farmer foreclosed on last fall despite a protest Ringer had helped organize, delivered a statement in support of Ringer that pointed to the need to work with other groups such as labor and op-

pressed minorities.

Representatives of Farmers Union, Catholic Rural Life, and State Representative Dean Shelor also spoke.

Merle Hansen, Nebraska farmer and NAFA leader, gave the featured talk at the rally. "The government knows how to stop bankruptcy and foreclosures when it wants to. Look at how quick they moved to make sure Continental Bank would stay in business," said Hansen.

Hansen pointed out that the reason the government didn't take similar action to save family farmers was that it was a "one-class" government of the rich. He called for political action to change the government through direct action, establishing links with labor and minorities, farmers running for office and continuing to support and pressure politicians like Jesse Jackson, and pushing for a Democratic Party farm program based on parity.

Ringer is the Democratic Party candidate for U.S. Congress in Kansas' 1st C.D.

Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Mel Mason sent a statement of solidarity to the rally. He pointed out that Washington's pro-big business agricultural policies are promoted by both the Republican and Democratic parties.

Mason pointed out that his campaign supports the building of an alliance of workers and farmers that can fight for governmental power. He called for an immediate moratorium on family farm foreclosures and an end to the bipartisan U.S. war in Central America.

Bigots kill gay man in Maine

BY HARRY RING

"I wonder if the young men allegedly involved had heard members of the state legislature as they stood in the House and Senate and described gay men and lesbians as less than human." — John Preston, a Maine novelist, responding to the July 7 murder of Charles Howard, age 23.

A homosexual, Howard was beaten and then thrown over a bridge by three young men even as he pleaded he couldn't swim.

Four times, the Maine legislature has rejected a gay rights ordinance.

The brutal killing evoked significant protest.

In Bangor, a city of 32,000 where the killing occurred, 200 joined in a candlelight protest march.

In Portland, population 63,000, 500 participated in a similar action and held a public meeting at the local community church.

Howard, the victim, had just left a meeting of a Bangor Unitarian gay support group and was walking across a footbridge in the downtown area when he was set upon by three youth who beat and stomped

him and then threw him over the bridge to the stream 20 feet below. A friend accompanying Howard was able to flee.

The three, ages 15, 16, and 17, were arrested and have reportedly confessed.

According to police, the three gave an account of what happened to a friend. There were other witnesses as well.

The police reported that the friend said the three youth told him they had "jumped a fag and kicked the shit out of him, then threw him in the stream."

On July 17, gay rights activists packed a Bangor courtroom and responded with anger as the judge ordered the three released in the custody of their parents.

Authorities said the three were "not a threat to the community."

One of the people attending the courtroom session declared that the judge's response says to every antigay bigot, "this is the time — go out and get them."

The broad range of angry response to the killing moved Gov. Joseph Brennan to publicly deplore the act and give qualified support to the again-pending gay rights statute.

Thatcher's 'boot boys' riot against miners

BY BRIAN LYONS

SHEFFIELD, England — As the government's repression against British coal miners deepens, there is not a single major coalfield that has escaped battles between police and miners. A recent flash point was the conflict at the Rossington mine near Doncaster in Yorkshire.

Directly provoking striking miners, the management of the local mine sent letters to all miners in a futile attempt to bribe them back to work. At the same time management staff from other mines were brought to Rossington in violation of existing agreements.

On July 9 a picket line was mounted around the mine. A battle swiftly developed between miners and specially equipped police. This time the cops got a bloody nose. The miners were well prepared. Along with their wives they had chopped down trees and built a large barricade soaked in gasoline across the main entrance to the mine. The police moved in with their truncheons drawn, hoping to bust open the barricade and maybe a few miners' heads as well.

From behind the smoke, a column of miners and their wives appeared as the police were hit by a storm of bricks, bottles, and an assortment of improvised missiles. The cops dropped everything and beat a hasty retreat.

Gov't determined to crush NUM

Behind battles like these is Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's determination to crush the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) at any cost. In this war on the miners, Thatcher has already spent twice the cost of the 1982 war against Argentina over the Malvinas Islands financing protection for scabs. This massive operation involves thousands of cops, as well as paramilitary exercises.

Although the mass pickets have not succeeded in halting movement of scab coke and coal, Thatcher's boot boys have not openly defeated or demoralized the miners in any of the major confrontations. One of the reasons for the cops' frustration is that the miners' picketing strategy relies on mobile force that can strike unexpectedly at a moment's notice.

Handling these "guerrilla" tactics ties down huge forces at enormous cost to the government, both politically and financially. The paramilitary operation on the picket lines has been supplemented by saturation policing of many of the mining villages.

In Eckington (North Derbyshire), Maltby (South Yorkshire), and Blidworth (Nottinghamshire), mine villages have witnessed unprecedented scenes of cops running riot in a crude attempt to break the historical tradition of community solidarity among miners, their families, friends, and neighbors.

Police intimidation

The government and its media lackeys have mounted a well-orchestrated hullabaloo over the alleged intimidation of scabs by pickets. In reality, large-scale intimidation of miners is perpetrated by police. A graphic example of this was provided by the NUM journal, the *Miner*, describing what happened at Blidworth:

"Miners wives were serving up meals of shepherd's pie and mushy peas to striking miners and their children. Suddenly a police van roared up with around ten policemen inside. Panic stricken men, women and children retreated into the hall and tried to lock the door. At least four constables hurled themselves forward, bursting open the door."

The same pattern of police terror has emerged in mining villages up and down the country. In the village of Maltby, the scope of the police repression was tantamount to a late evening curfew. On Saturday, June 23, the police mounted their most frightening operation yet. As people were leaving the main pub in the village center, a number of police on foot patrol carried out provocative acts, including throwing a 55-year-old woman through a shop window.

As soon as people defended themselves they were surrounded by van loads of cops. From nowhere, hundreds of unknown faces appeared on every corner, truncheons ready. The center was cordoned off as



British cops attacking coal miners (left) and British occupation troops in Ireland (right). Striking coal miners have begun to see similarity between repression against them and London's colonial aggression in Ireland.



people were herded around and prevented from returning home for almost an hour.

The scale and methods of repression against the miners strike are borrowed from the experience gained by repressive forces in the British-occupied six counties of northern Ireland.

This comparison has been drawn by the miners union itself. The *Miner* printed a two-page spread on the events at Blidworth with the bold headline, "Belfast comes to Blidworth." The article noted, "For a period, Blidworth resembled not a mining village in the heart of Notts, but the bloodied, oppressive and fearful streets of Belfast."

Since the massive introduction of British troops in 1969, the nationalist community in the north of Ireland has suffered dawn raids on homes, stop and search actions, and hundreds of deaths at the hands of the army and Ulster Defence Regiment. As with the police saturation of the Notts, South Yorkshire, and North Derbyshire mine villages, the army presence in the north of Ireland is supposed to be "to keep the peace."

In both cases capitalist court procedures have been modified as a "temporary" measure in order to facilitate the repression. In the six counties of Ireland, all British judges chosen to execute sentences against republicans are selected from a small aristocratic group. Similarly, Mansfield in Notts has been taken off the regular circuit, thereby leaving only a select group of judges to adjudicate miners' cases.

Since the strike began, more than 3,000 pickets have been arrested. Some have now been charged under the Riot Act, which carries an unlimited prison sentence. The majority have been arrested on minor offenses such as obstruction and assault. Despite this, the courts have imposed severe and prolonged bail restrictions that prevent miners being active in the strike for lengthy periods before their full court hearings.

Miners themselves understand the purpose of this. It is to knock a large hole in their army of pickets. Consequently, many miners consciously ignore the bail restrictions. Like their brothers and sisters in the republican movement in Ireland, these fighters are "on the run" and rely upon the protection of their local communities for food and shelter from the repressive forces.

Crackdown in Hemsworth

It was for just this reason that Thatcher's boot boys launched their latest crackdown in the village of Hemsworth, bordering on South Yorkshire.

On July 9 police began cruising around the village looking for a particular striker to arrest him "on suspicion." In full riot gear they surrounded his cousin's house.

When word spread through the village, 200 miners and their families laid siege to the local police station until they were given assurances that the miner would get his legal rights. But the police then drove repeatedly past his house taunting his family. So hundreds of people gathered in the Fitzwilliam pub. They were followed by baton-waving police in riot gear, who stormed into the pub, arresting and clubbing all in sight.

The offices and property of the National Coal Board (NCB) at the nearby Kinsley mine then became the target of the commu-

nity's anger. The local paper described what happened:

"The crowd arrived at Kinsley pit soon after and smashed windows with uprooted fences and railway sleepers [ties]."

"They climbed into a compound and smashed their way out of the gates with a forklift truck, which they used to overturn two NCB vans. Three vehicles were set ablaze during the attack."

"Three pit managers and four deputies were forced to lock themselves in the pit's control room, and four security men dived through smashed windows to join them."

"Police dispersed the crowd by 2 a.m., freeing the trapped staff and making eight arrests."

"But two hours later the crowd returned and set a storage depot ablaze. Later they

threw debris on the nearby Leeds-London railway line, disrupting trains."

The response from the police and the capitalist press was predictable. The miners and their wives were described as "gangs," "mobs," and "rioters." The *Sheffield Morning Telegraph* wrote, "Monday night's violence at Kinsley, described by one eye-witness as like a scene from Northern Ireland, followed the storming of a police station and a near riot in a pub."

Many miners and their families are beginning to take a second look at the battles in the north of Ireland, described by the press and capitalist politicians as the work of "mobs" and "terrorists." For they are now involved in a common resistance against Thatcher and her armies of occupation.

'Lesson of this strike is unity'

BY JOE SWANSON

"Britain's rail workers from day one have supported the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) strike," explained Tom Doyle, president of the National Union of Railwaymen (NUR) District Council and secretary of the Tinsley NUR branch in Sheffield.

For the last 12 weeks the Tinsley branch and a few other NUR branches have called for a national rail strike to back the NUM.

Doyle and NUR rail worker Wilfbins explained to me that the coal trains at the Tinsley rail yards have been sitting there for 17 weeks. Wilfbins said they would not move "until the miners strike is over."

Doyle explained that officials of the nationalized rail system, British Rail (BR), "said we did not have official pickets and we said that we are supporting the miners. BR then said they would get an injunction against us. We again explained that we are supporting the miners. The government then threatened to fire us. We said we are supporting the miners and we will stop the passenger trains if any rail workers are dismissed. Since then they have not bothered us."

On July 11, branches of NUR and the Associated Locomotive Engineers and Firemen in Tinsley put on a social for the miners and their families. A check for £5,000 (£1 = US\$1.30) was handed over to the miners to help them during the strike. Rail union leaders announced that more financial aid would be coming and "it would keep coming, until you win this strike."

Doyle pointed out, "We will not haul coal and we will give them financial help until they win."

Once a week the miners and rail workers gather at a joint meeting to talk strike strategy. Doyle, Wilfbins, and other rail workers explained that the British government wants to sell the rail industry to private owners. This would be a real setback for the labor movement and the British working class, Doyle said.

"Six months ago," he explained, "the British government was trying to force a productivity agreement on us that included eliminating almost one-half of the shunters and guards on trains." Shunters and guards are the equivalent of switchmen and brakemen on the U.S. railroads.

"When the miners went on strike,"

Doyle said, "the productivity agreement and the elimination of crews was dropped, because they did not want a national rail strike along with the miners strike."

Doyle explained how "our fathers and grandfathers, who were rail workers, told us about the 1926 miners strike. Miners and rail workers have always fought and struggled together."

"The real lesson of this strike is unity. Otherwise they will pick us off one by one. Together we can beat them and anybody else for that matter, because the power of the workers' movement is the most powerful force in the world."

That was his message to U.S. workers.

Joe Swanson is a longtime member of the United Transportation Union.

Polish miners send solidarity message to British coal strikers

Polish miners who are supporters of the banned trade union federation, Solidarity, have sent a message of support to the striking British coal miners.

On June 17, the clandestine radio station, "We Will Win," which is run by the Provisional Coordinating Committee of the miners of Upper Silesia, Poland's main mining region, broadcast a statement criticizing the government of Polish Prime Minister Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski for its policies regarding sales of Polish coal abroad.

Poland is one of the chief exporters of coal to Britain. The Polish government, despite requests from Britain's National Union of Mineworkers, has refused to stop shipping coal to Britain during the strike.

"To the miners on strike in Britain," the broadcast said, Solidarity "sends you a fraternal salute and an expression of support and solidarity with your struggle for the right to work. From our own experience we know what it means to be without work, which is why we will do everything possible to support your struggle, including with action."

The committee sent a protest to the Polish government as "a first step to support your struggle."

Disaster strikes farm workers

BY ERLING SANNES

BISMARCK, N. Dak. — Heavy rains and flooding of fields in the Red River Valley along the Minnesota-North Dakota border have created a "desperate situation" for thousands of migrant workers who have expected work hoeing and thinning sugar beets, Jesus Saucedo told the *Militant*.

Saucedo is acting director of the North Dakota Rural Development Corp., a Grand Forks, North Dakota-based non-profit corporation that fights for migrant workers.

"The number of migrant workers coming to the Red River Valley has nearly doubled this year," Ben Garcia, chairperson of the Board of Directors of the North Dakota Rural Development Corp., told the *Militant*. Garcia estimates between 10,000 and 12,000 migrants have already arrived. This compares to the 6,000 to 7,000 migrant workers that ordinarily migrate from Texas to the Red River Valley area each year, Garcia said.

Juan Duran, a migrant worker recently arrived from Texas, told the *Militant* the frost in Texas last December caused more than \$100 million in damage to citrus crops and resulted in thousands of migrant laborers being without work.

The frost damage was so severe that some growers expect it will take as long as 10 years for the citrus trees to recover to the pre-frost levels of production, according to Duran.

To make matters even worse for the migrants, some Texas growers have decided to replace their citrus groves with higher-profit vegetables that can be planted, cultivated, and harvested with machines, and which require fewer workers than the citrus orchards, Duran said.

According to Garcia, there is a large influx of migrant workers in the Red River Valley because work is not available for them in Texas — or anywhere else. "Getting a few weeks' work hoeing and thinning sugar beets in the Red River Valley area is their only hope," Garcia said.

The situation has become critical because most have been without work since last December. They arrived in North Dakota hungry and without money during the last two weeks of May. Expecting to find work upon arrival, they found instead rain-soaked, muddy fields that prevent them from working, a lack of housing, and a reluctance on the part of state officials to speed up the processing of applications for food stamps and other emergency assistance.

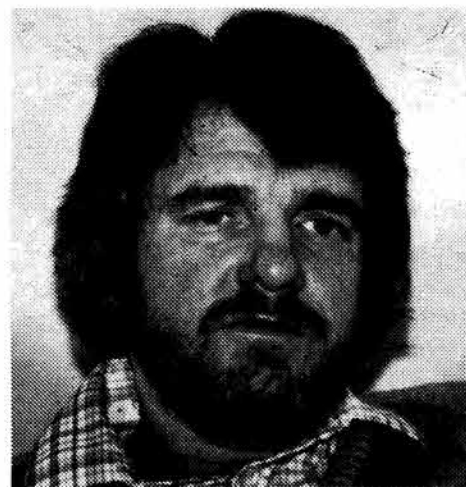
According to Saucedo, some families with as many as 13 young children have no money for food, or gas for their car, and they have no place to stay other than to park their car at a highway rest area or in a city park.

After spending several days on the road

one family was able to get emergency housing for a few nights but it was too late to save their dying baby, Saucedo told the *Militant*.

Earlier this month, Allen I. Olson, governor of North Dakota, refused to leave an \$84-a-plate fund-raising dinner in Grafton, North Dakota, to talk to 75 migrant workers who gathered to ask him for emergency assistance. "I don't like to do business that way," he said.

When reminded of the large number of migrants outside, Olson acknowledged there "must be some type of problem." But he told the Associated Press, "I'm not going to find it out under pressure. They can get a hold of me some other way than causing a demonstration in the streets of Grafton."



Militant/Stu Singer
Joe Swanson, spokesperson for the Socialist Workers Party national campaign, led fact-finding tour to Minnesota-North Dakota farming communities.

SWP on Alabama ballot

BY MARTIN BOYERS

BIRMINGHAM — Democratic rights scored a victory in Alabama when Secretary of State Don Siegelman certified the Socialist Workers Party candidates for the November election ballot.

SWP presidential nominee Mel Mason will be listed on the ballot as an independent candidate. In the Sixth Congressional District, in the Birmingham area, the SWP qualified for ballot status as a party.

Mark Curtis, an aircraft worker at a local war industry plant and member of the United Auto Workers, is SWP candidate for Congress from the Sixth District.

Socialist campaigners had nearly doubled the petition requirements, collecting 9,159 signatures for Mason and 3,193 for Curtis.

The petitions were submitted April 12. For more than two months afterwards, nothing was done with them by the secretary of state.

Then, on June 26, Siegelman held a news conference to announce that voter registration lists are in such disorder that petition signatures cannot be checked. "It is an administrative decision that we will accept petitions for any party as long as it appears there are enough signatures," he said. "We have no way of knowing if there aren't."

Although Siegelman cited technical reasons for being unable to reject the SWP petitions, it seems unlikely his decision was based on merely technical considerations.

Besides collecting the signatures of thousands of Alabamians, the SWP had won broad public support for its ballot rights from many people prominent in fights for social justice.

Among those who sent messages to Siegelman calling for the socialist ticket to be certified were E.D. Nixon, organizer of the 1955 Montgomery bus boycott, Rev. Abraham L. Woods Jr., president of the Birmingham chapter, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Mary Weidler, executive director of the Alabama Civil Liberties Union; Michele Wilson, president of Greater Birmingham National Organization for Women; Grover Smith Jr., national field officer of the NAACP; Georgia Fleming, editor of the *Irish-American Voice*; J.L. Chestnut, noted civil rights attorney from Selma; and Perry Varner, one of several Black deputy voter registrars in Selma fired for their efforts to register Blacks.

In addition, the SWP had retained as attorney Donald Watkins, a former Montgomery city councilman and well known fighter for Black rights.

Right before Siegelman's surprise announcement, the socialist campaign had sent an appeal to ballot rights supporters urging a new round of protests against what appeared to be stalling by the secretary of state's office.

British miners pledge to continue strike

Continued from front page

haulage firms carrying coal from Port Talbot steel works.

The South Wales miners had ignored the court order, in line with the NUM's national policy of not recognizing antiunion laws or use of the courts in the strike. The judge threatened that if the fine was not paid in 48 hours, he would order that all of the assets of the South Wales NUM, worth some £3 million, be seized, so that the £50,000 fine could be paid.

South Wales Miners Vice-pres. Terry Thomas stated before the court hearing: "Whatever decision that court makes, the miners strike will go on and we will win. If any part of the establishment thinks that by imprisoning us or by fining us, or the union, they can defeat us, that is a total misunderstanding of what this fight is all about."

When the Yorkshire area of the NUM was threatened in a similar way by court action at the beginning of the strike, the union leadership mobilized several thousand miners outside its headquarters against any attempts to seize union property. On that occasion the Thatcher government backed off.

In an emergency meeting after the judge's ruling, the South Wales NUM Executive refused to stop the picketing or to pay the fine.

This determination was matched at a 1,000-strong rally in Abertillery, South Wales, last Friday. There Scargill explained, "We have been on strike for 20 weeks, Mr. MacGregor [NCB chairman]. If you think we will go back if you withdraw the closure program, you are wrong. "You will have to resolve the wages question, the four-day week, early retirement, and many other things."

Food chain locks out workers

BY EDWARD JOSEPHSON

DETROIT — Workers at the Kroger supermarket chain overwhelmingly rejected a union-busting concession contract, despite company threats to close 70 of its stores in southeastern Michigan.

Within days of the vote, Kroger made good on its threat, throwing 5,000 members of United Food and Commercial Workers Local 876 out on the street.

Although faced with the loss of their jobs, Kroger workers stood firm against what they saw as a first step toward deunionizing the entire supermarket business. The vote was a resounding 2,204 to 496 against the contract.

"I'm just glad we were able to show Cincinnati [Kroger headquarters] that Michigan Kroger workers have backbone," one worker told the *Detroit Free Press*. "We protected workers at other food stores. We were the last straw," she said.

Voting for the contract would have supposedly saved jobs at 40 of Kroger's stores, at the cost of severely weakening the union.

In addition to slashing wages and benefits by \$6.50 per hour, the contract proposal would have allowed Kroger to increase the proportion of part-time workers from 30 percent to 70 percent, virtually eliminating seniority in the process.

One worker described the contract as "a slow death for three and a half years."

"We'd have cut our own throats if we'd accepted it," said another. "We'd have destroyed things for other unions," he added.

Local media reported cheering and singing at the union hall when the vote was announced. One young worker summed up the sentiment when he said, "There comes a time when you've got to stand up for what's right. Seniority is the backbone of the union, and they want to take it away."

Va. shipyard worker runs for Congress

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — Eli Green is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 1st C.D. here. The 32-year-old Green is a pipefitter at the giant Tenneco-owned Newport News Shipyard, which a major producer of submarines and aircraft carriers for the U.S. war arsenal.

Green's supporters gathered more than

2,000 signatures to place his name on the November ballot.

The 1st C.D. includes the heavily industrial southeast Virginia peninsula town of Newport News, with its shipyard and coal export terminals, as well as the rural farming counties of both the western and eastern shore of the lower Chesapeake Bay. The district is also a commercial fishing and seafood processing center.

Green's opponents are incumbent Republican Herbert Bateman and Democrat John McGlennon.

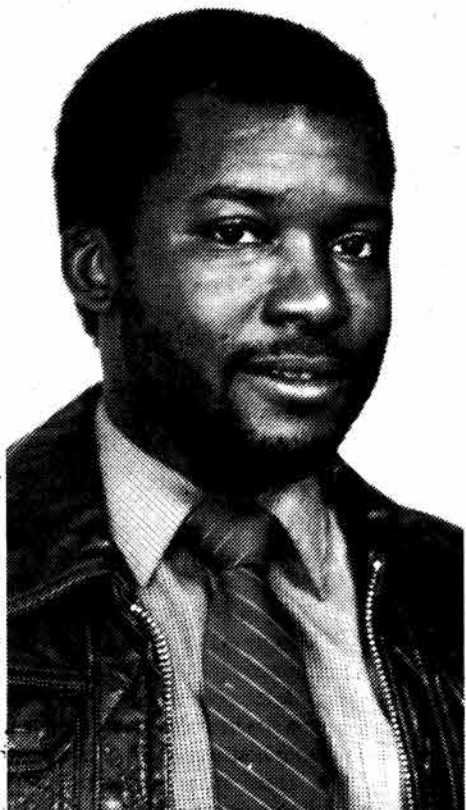
At a June news conference announcing his campaign, Green blasted the bipartisan congressional support for Reagan's war moves in Central America and vowed to make opposition to U.S. intervention central to his campaign.

The socialist candidate calls for the total elimination of the U.S. war budget and the conversion of Tenneco's shipyard to the production of socially useful goods.

Green is an active member of United Steelworkers of America Local 8888.

He calls for the repeal of anti-union "right-to-work" laws. "Workers know that these laws have a real and immediate impact on our lives. Recently, workers at both Tenneco and Bendix voted to accept inadequate contracts in large part motivated by the unfavorable situation that Virginia's right-to-work laws would put them in, in the event of a strike. This lowers the standard of living for workers in the entire area."

Green's candidacy for Congress comes on the heels of his campaign for Newport News City Council which received broad media coverage and a very favorable reception from working people here.



Eli Green

Militant

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Press conference announces Sept. antiwar meeting

BY OMARI MUSA

CLEVELAND — An Emergency National Conference Against U.S. Military Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean was announced here at a July 16 news conference by a coalition of labor officials, peace groups, Central America activists, Blacks, and leaders of the National Organization for Women.

The conference is scheduled to take place here September 14-16 at the Masonic Temple. The conference call states its purpose is to "educate and to plan specific national actions against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean."

Conference Committee Coordinator Jerry Gordon explained, "For the past several years the United States government has been propping up a military dictatorship in El Salvador. For the past two years the CIA has sponsored counterrevolutionaries to overthrow the government of Nicaragua. In October, the Reagan administration carried out the invasion and conquest of Grenada."

"Under the circumstances," Gordon continued, "a genuine emergency exists for the people of Central America and the Caribbean," who "ask only to be left alone to shape their own destiny. The people in the United States are tired of social cutbacks and unemployment. To deal with this emergency, to reverse the present course of U.S. intervention, and to prevent a further dangerous escalation those of us who oppose the government's course must unite and mobilize as never before."

Joe Lindemuth, president of United Steelworkers Local 2265, was among those who joined Gordon. He pointed out that the owners of U.S. corporations move industry out of the United States, in particular to semicolonial countries, where they can make profits by paying slave wages to the workers in those countries.

"This hurts both workers in the United States and those workers who are under those dictatorships that even refuse to allow them to have unions," he said. "As a trade unionist in the United States, I demand that the United States cease its support to the dictatorships in Central America and stop the cutbacks at home."

Eric Friess of the Cleveland

Central America Solidarity Committee reviewed the plans for a July demonstration in Cleveland against U.S. involvement in Central America, particularly the war moves against Nicaragua and the attempt to portray the Duarte regime as on the road to solving the problems in El Salvador.

Detroit march against U.S. war in Central America

BY DAVID FRANKEL

DETROIT — One hundred and fifty people marched through downtown Detroit July 21 to protest the widening U.S. war in Central America.

The featured speaker at a rally following the march was Amilcar Navarro, first secretary of the Nicaraguan embassy to the United States.

Navarro described the long history of U.S. aggression against the peoples of Central America and the devastation and backwardness inherited by the Sandinista National Liberation Front in 1979 after it defeated the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza and conquered political power.

"Nicaragua," Navarro continued, "wants good relations with the United States — relations of equal to equal, of sovereign nation to sovereign nation, not of master to slave." Prior to the rally Navarro spoke at a news conference where he was introduced by Detroit City Councilwoman Maryann Mahaffey.

Other speakers at the rally included Frank Hammer, a vice-president of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 909; Guatemalan activist Emirene Mendoza; and Bill Kellerman of the Detroit Peace Community. A message of support to the rally from James Coakley, president of the 1,800-member UAW Local 1200 at the Warren Tank plant, was also read.

Raul González, a Salvadoran refugee recently arrived in the United States, spoke to the rally in Spanish. "When we Salvadorans are forced to flee and come here," he said, "it is because in our country there is an army that is armed and trained by the administration here to massacre the people."

But, he added, "we know that with the help of people like you, we will be victorious in our struggle."

U.S. artists and writers to tour Nicaragua

Nicaraguan cultural workers have again invited a group of U.S. artists and intellectuals to witness the cultural and social reconstruction of Nicaragua. The invitation comes from the Sandinista Cultural Workers Association (ASTC), a federation of seven cultural unions in Nicaragua, and its corresponding U.S. organization, Ventana, based in New York City.

An earlier delegation met with Nicaraguan government leader Daniel Ortega, as well as ministers of health, education, urban development, agrarian reform, and the Supreme Electoral Council.

The delegation also talked to Nicaraguans at market places, on buses, at a rural cooperative, at the Film Institute, and elsewhere.

The next delegation will begin its nine-day trip to Nicaragua Friday, August 24. Additional participants are welcome by applying to Ventana at (212) 586-3700.

Nicaraguan health workers tour Seattle, Atlanta

BY JANET POST

SEATTLE, Wash. — A Nicaraguan health workers tour opened in the Puget Sound area with a June 16 gathering of over 500 people at the Seattle Labor Temple. Nicaraguan nurses Mercedes Tenorio and Regina Lewis are representing FETSALUD (Health Workers Federation). They also spoke at five area hospitals and medical centers later that week.

The FETSALUD tour is sponsored by the Committee for Health Rights in Central America and co-sponsored by the National Network in Solidarity With the Nicaraguan People.

Seattle endorsers included American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees locals 1488, 843, and 443; Shipscalers Local 451; American Postal Workers Union; Service Employees International Union Local 6; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 37; and United Food and Commercial Workers Local 900.

The Coalition of Labor Union Women also endorsed the tour and sent a message of solidarity from CLUW members representing 30 different unions in the Puget

Sound area.

Mayor Charles Royer sent a proclamation, which set aside June 16-19 as "Nicaraguan Health Workers Days" in Seattle.

Nicaraguan nurse Regina Lewis is a Miskitu Indian who practices health care on the Atlantic coast. She was one of the three medical people kidnapped, raped, and tortured in the December 1981 attack by counterrevolutionaries in the region.

"The contras attack the Atlantic Coast to keep us in poverty and foment an atmosphere of terrorism," she explained. "That way they can accuse the Sandinistas of economic discrimination against Indians."

"But our revolutionary government gave the Indians protective security measures, the freedom of expression, the means to preserve our indigenous culture, and massive economic aid. This aid includes the right of all workers to free medical care."

"Before the revolution the hospital on the coast was an expensive luxury for North Americans who had gold, lumber, and fruit companies in Nicaragua. It was also the hospital where Indians arrived to die. If an Indian went just for medical care, he had to spend the rest of his life to pay the bill."

Lewis announced that the Miskitus have now organized a reserve military battalion to keep the enemy from passing at the border.

Nurse Mercedes Tenorio is the head of international relations for FETSALUD. She organized nurses fighting against the regime of Anastasio Somoza and participated in a 1978 hunger strike by health workers.

Tenorio spoke of the effects of the U.S.-Honduran war against Nicaragua. "Twenty-two health centers have been destroyed, 20 health care workers have been killed, and the Ministry of Health is 500 million *cordobas* [1 cordoba = \$US.10] in debt because of the war and the U.S. blockade of medical supplies and surgical equipment," she said.

"But," Tenorio continued, "still our government provides free medical care in the cities and special priority to the rural areas. We have eradicated polio, and achieved control of malaria, tetanus, diphtheria, tuberculosis, malnutrition, and contaminated water. Infant mortality has been reduced by 34 percent, and medical consultations are up by 270 percent."

There are 20,000 health workers in Nicaragua and 17,900 of them already belong to the union. The two nurses appealed to

U.S. workers for their solidarity: "The closer we get to the Nicaraguan November election, the possibility of intervention increases. As the level of aggression goes higher, the level of solidarity must also be raised. We in Nicaragua are together in a united front to protect our sovereignty and will continue to provide health care to our people regardless of this war."

BY LEA BOCKMAN

ATLANTA — Two members of the Nicaraguan Health Workers Federation (FETSALUD) toured Atlanta June 26-27. Consuelo Ortega is a nursing assistant and FETSALUD representative to the Nicaraguan Council of State. Dr. Ramon Brenes is a psychiatrist and director of FETSALUD in Managua. They were welcomed to the city by an official proclamation from Mayor Andrew Young.

The proclamation stated in part, "Atlantans are grateful to our visitors from Nicaragua for taking time to inform us of the struggles of their country for a more just and humane society. I call upon Atlantans to support them as a means of developing friendship and peace between our two countries."

At a meeting at the Morehouse Medical School, the predominantly Black audience responded with enthusiastic applause when Ortega explained how the union had fought to close the huge wage gap between doctors and other health workers. She said a nurse with seniority might make more than a doctor who is starting to practice.

In response to a question from the audience about whether the Nicaraguans expected a Grenadian-style invasion, Dr. Brenes replied, "the war is already on, but it will be another Vietnam, not another Grenada."

Two public meetings were held for Ortega and Brenes, one at the Martin Luther King, Jr., Community Center and one at the Cliff Valley Unitarian Church. They also met with the staff of the Feminist Women's Health Center and a member of the Committee for International Health of the Center for Disease Control.

Sponsors of the tour included: Georgia Nurses Association District 5; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 579; Service Employees International Union; Black Women's Health Center; Feminist Women's Health Center; and Atlanta Labor Committee for Human Rights in Central America.

Mason sees Nicaragua's gains on Atlantic Coast

Continued from front page

this as another way to participate actively in defense of the gains of their revolution.

For the 20 socialist workers on the Militant/Perspectiva Mundial Tour group, it was one of the many striking signs of the government's progress in integrating the Atlantic Coast's population — made up of Indians, Blacks, and Hispanics — into the revolutionary process. The tour is visiting many areas of Nicaragua to learn about the revolution and to express solidarity.

Mel Mason, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, is on the tour. He met many people in Bluefields who wanted to know more about his campaign and what his opinion was of the U.S. elections. They wanted to tell him what five years of revolution have meant for them. The local radio station — ZINICA — taped an interview with Mason after hearing that he was in town.

Mason said the visit to Bluefields convinced him of the progress the Sandinista government has made here. "The people I met here were either for the revolution or waiting to see what the government would do to help them," said Mason.

Bluefields was kept backward and underdeveloped under the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza. Today the Sandinista government is prioritizing this area for development projects. One project is a hospital with 102 beds. This will be a 400 percent increase in hospital capacity here. All medical care at this hospital will be free.

Some tour members spoke with Linda Gaitan, a woman in the area of town where the government is building the new hospital. She told them, "This is something we feel very proud of. When the hospital opens, everyone in the town will get to go inside to see it. And then we'll have a big party for everyone to celebrate."

Tour members also met with Ray Hooker, a government representative of the Atlantic Coast region.

Hooker explained that because the Atlantic Coast has a different historical development — economically as well as culturally — and has always been forcibly separated from the Pacific side of Nicaragua, the progress of the revolution has been slower here. But, he said, "for the first time in history we have a government that

is willing to devote the great amount of time and investment needed to develop the Atlantic Coast."

"We've made a beginning," explained Hooker. "We can be very proud of our progress. In education, for the first time young people are given full paid scholarships to attend high school. In health care we're doing quite well. There's a scarcity of medicines and trained medical technicians, but where before most people never had access to higher education, now we are training people of both sexes and all generations in school. All of the Atlantic Coast has become one tremendous school."

Hooker also described some long range projects of the government to develop the economy of this area. Over the next five years "27,000 manzanas (1 manzana = 1.7 acres) of African palm trees will be planted. This will produce enough cooking oil for the entire country. We are also planting coconut trees. And we're building a deep-water port."

This deep-water port will be a big advance for the entire country as it will provide, for the first time, a port on the Atlan-

tic side for importing products cheaply and efficiently from other countries. It will dramatically change the distribution of goods to the Atlantic Coast and provide jobs.

"We now have a very good hospital," Hooker continued. "In all of history it is the best building ever built on the Atlantic Coast."

Tour members went over to the new hospital and talked with workers who are completing the access road to it.

As Mason thanked Hooker for meeting with the tour group, he pledged that through his campaign he will "take back this information to the workers and farmers in the United States to build a strong political defense of the Nicaraguan revolution."

"Our visit here represents a statement of solidarity," Mason said. "We see the Nicaraguan revolution as our revolution. We will use Nicaragua as our example. An example of a people that have made a revolution and established a government in their own interest. This kind of government — a workers and farmers government — is exactly what we need in the United States."

Workers will pay price for Conrail sale

BY JOE BROWN

Conrail is hot property. The U.S. Department of Transportation has received 13 offers to buy the giant Northeast railroad.

And why not?

Since Congress formed Conrail out of five bankrupt railroads in 1976 following the Penn Central bankruptcy, it poured over \$7 billion in tax dollars into its modernization. Conrail is now one of the biggest money makers in railroading. Last year profits reached \$313 million. This year they are projected to hit the \$400 million mark.

You might think that after pouring \$7 billion of workers' and small farmers' hard-earned money into Conrail, Conrail's new-found profits would be returned to working people in the form of better railroad wages, public transportation, schools, or health care and lower rates. No way. Instead, Congress and the Reagan administration are going to turn these profits over to a profit-hungry railroad monopoly, banker, holding company, or "individual" investor.

When Congress approves the final purchase offer a lot of loot will change hands and big profits are at stake.

Investors line up

What are the offers for Conrail?

So far four railroad-associated corporations have made offers: the Norfolk Southern railroad, the CSX railroad, Guilford Transportation Industries (headed by Timothy Mellon, who owns the Boston & Maine, Delaware & Hudson, and other small railroads), and Allegheny Corporation. Allegheny is a former chief stockholder of the old Penn Central railroad.

The Rail Labor Executive Association (RLEA), a coordinating committee for the 17 national railroad unions, has made an offer to buy Conrail through an employee stock option plan. There are many other interested buyers among bankers and businessmen.

The value of the offers ranges between \$2 and \$3 billion, \$1 billion cash up front and the rest in unused tax credits.

The Great Train Robbery

Selling Conrail for \$2 to \$3 billion is a virtual gift to the purchaser.

In addition to receiving the \$7 billion to rebuild, Conrail owes the government \$3.28 billion in loans, a debt that most bidders expect to be cancelled. Conrail may be sold for 25 percent of its face value.

This is not all. Not included in these figures is the cost of the disaster inflicted on working people and small businesses by federal stewardship of Conrail.

Rail unionists lost tens of thousands of jobs. Between 1982 and 1983 alone, Conrail eliminated two-thirds of its work force. Since Conrail's formation, more than 3,700 miles of track have been eliminated. This trackage mostly serviced small farmers and small businesses who now must find more expensive ways to ship their goods.

In 1981 Congress and the Reagan administration forced Conrail workers to reduce their wage scale 12 percent below the national railroad wage levels and give up important retirement benefits.

Last year Congress divested Conrail of its passenger routes. They were turned over to local transit authorities in New York,

Political prisoner Nicky Kelly released from Irish jail

After four years in prison on frame-up charges of involvement in a mail-train robbery, the Irish government was forced to release Irish political activist Nicky Kelly from Portlaoise jail near Dublin on July 17.

A member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, Kelly was freed on "humanitarian" grounds by the Irish government. His plight had been the subject of many protests and had received wide publicity in Ireland and abroad.

Kelly intends to continue his civil suit against the Irish police and government for the brutality he suffered during interrogation. He is demanding an independent inquiry into his arrest and incarceration.

New Jersey, and Philadelphia resulting in new wage reductions, layoffs, and benefit cuts.

Restructuring rail

What are the reasons behind the government's active role in Conrail?

The railroads, like many other industries during the 1970s, faced a declining level of profits. Railroad bankruptcies were frequent. The Penn Central bankruptcy was the largest in U.S. history. Because of the central role railroads play in the economy, the government stepped in to help restructure the rail system and raise profits for the carriers and the banks that back them. Setting up and running Conrail was a centerpiece in the government's efforts.

The government was able, over time, to force major concessions from rail labor. Congress passed legislation making it easier for the railroads to merge and to begin to move toward the establishment of a new national rail system with weaker unions.

The long-term aim is to create five or six megarailroads integrated with shipping and trucking companies. The effect is to dramatically raise profits while concentrating more and more of the country's vital transport system in the hands of rail carriers and the bankers who finance them at the expense of jobs, wages, and rail service.

New blows for labor

Many current and former Conrail workers are uneasily watching the prospective sale of Conrail — and for good reasons. There won't be anything in it for rail workers.

Jervis Langdon, Jr., former trustee and president of Penn Central Transportation Co., spelled out his views in the *Wall Street Journal*: "Now that Conrail stock is on the market, the first question prospective purchasers are asking is, does the property at long last have earning power?"

"Only a guarded answer is possible. . . ." He cites two reasons why that is true. "First, the Conrail projections [for the next several years] assume that the 12 percent pay cuts that followed the Northeast Rail Service Act of 1981 will continue in effect. . . ." These wage concessions are valued at nearly \$400 million. If the concessions are continued the new Conrail owners will pocket an additional \$565 million in savings.

"Second, the Conrail projections also assume further important gains in productivity." Productivity gains mean more work from fewer workers and further weakening

Railroad owners out to break unions

An ominous new white paper has been drafted by the National Rail Labor Conference (NRLC), railroad management's bargaining arm. The white paper, based on a study done in 1982, reviews the experiences of railroads that have operated during strikes.

Its publication now is significant because the 17 rail unions began negotiations on new national contracts a couple of months ago. Little progress toward reaching a new settlement has been made. The national rail freight union contracts expire in October 1984.

A copy of the white paper was obtained by *Labor*, a triweekly published by the rail unions. Excerpted below is an article on the white paper in the June 27 *Labor* entitled "Rails plan union-busting."

"During the next round of bargaining the railroad industry faces the very real prospect of strike activity," the NRLC document warns. "Strikes against individual roads, either whipsaw strikes in connection with national handling or those involving local issues, are more likely to occur than the classical national strike."

Then it goes on to outline management strategy. ". . . because of the competitive changes brought about by deregulation," the white paper says, "it might prove to be in the railroads' long-term interest to avoid, or at least to minimize, the impact of congressional intervention in the settle-



Militant/Salm Kolis

More than 20,000 rail workers marched on Washington April 29, 1981, to oppose budget cuts against Conrail and Amtrak. Conrail sale will mean more attacks on unions.

of work rules and safety procedures.

Langdon believes that productivity gains must be made on a "continuing basis and on a scale unprecedented in the railroad industry."

Rail union officials in the RLEA firmly believe that the government will not consider any offers that do not meet the two criteria outlined by Langdon. This is why the unions' offer to buy Conrail does not include repayment of the 12 percent wage concessions and commits the unions to extending the concessions for another three years with the option to negotiate other concessions in work rules.

Rail union officials are so demoralized at the slim prospects of Congress accepting their offer that they are recommending that Congress sell Conrail to either Allegheny Corp. or the Marriott Group if the RLEA offer is rejected.

The Marriott Group, which primarily owns restaurants and hotels, is a union-hater notorious for paying their employees subminimum wages.

ment process by continuing to provide essential service to all segments of the national economy. In any event, it is desirable for each individual railroad to be prepared to operate to the fullest extent possible during a strike."

"No clearer example of the public's tolerance of aggressive management response to unjustified union conduct can be found than in the case of the PATCO-represented air controllers' strike. Here management (i.e. the government) waged an all-out campaign to remain strike-free; . . . and control labor costs. Despite a massive effort by the rest of the labor establishment to enlist public support for the strikers, the public reaction to the government's successful action remained favorable and supportive."

The NRLC also delves into railroad history to back its arguments that railroads can be operated during strikes. First it looks at the 1963 strike by non-operating employees on the Florida East Coast Railway where a decision to operate was made after the strike began and "training and reorganization was accomplished to operate a 2,000-man railroad with less than 500 employees at the start." The result, its analysis shows, was that the number of freight cars handled 15 months into the strike exceeded the number handled before the strike.

[Another] strike focused on by the white paper is the nationwide strike conducted by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in 1982. During that strike, it says, "nine roads reported that they were able to main-

According to Stephen Berger, chairman of the U.S. Railway Association that runs Conrail, Congress is in no hurry to conclude a deal on Conrail this election year.

Rail carriers' white paper

One reason for this stance is the connection between the sale of Conrail and the national rail freight union contracts that expire in October this year. The rail carriers are preparing for hard bargaining. The National Railway Labor Conference, the rail carriers' bargaining organization, has drawn up a secret "white paper" outlining their plans to provoke rail workers into a strike and then operate the railroads with management personnel and scabs. (See article on this page for more details.)

The white paper makes clear that the fight of Conrail workers and other rail workers for a decent contract is tied together. This is why solidarizing with the fight of Conrail workers is in the interest of all rail labor and the entire labor movement.

tain service at more than 75 percent of normal levels and a similar number reported operating levels between 50 percent and 75 percent," although many roads were able to maintain "only token operations."

And planning to operate during a strike is something the railroads should be looking at, the paper indicates. "The commitment to operate during a strike must be supported by a detailed operating plan for the whole system. . . ."

But there are other considerations, in addition to the economic advantages the NRLC thinks management would gain, for keeping the carriers in operation during a strike, the paper says.

"Firms that were able to achieve a high level of output during a strike typically were able to base their final settlement of their last pre-strike offer, but not without some symbolic concessions — 'silver bullets' — most often in the form of dropping charges or rescinding disciplinary action against some individual strikers."

The paper declares that intervention by Congress "can no longer be considered advantageous to the rail industry's bargaining objectives. The continuation of essential transportation service during a strike will help to prevent such intervention if that is desirable or, at least, aid in minimizing its impact."

One union official told *Labor* Newspaper that he expected this round of negotiations could be the toughest ever. The NRLC white paper seems to prove his point.

How can labor fight union-busting a

Postal, auto, coal contract fights coming — independent working-class polit

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

Three national contract fights involving hundreds of thousands of workers are unfolding today.

The postal contract has already expired. The United Auto Workers (UAW) has begun negotiations with General Motors and Ford. The showdown between the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) and the coal operators has a September 30 deadline, but talks began weeks ago.

The employers want to weaken union power and drive down the cost of labor. The federal government announced July 25 that it will unilaterally impose a "two tier" wage plan in the postal system by hiring new workers and paying them 20 percent less than current employees. This is a clear threat to hire scabs and "PATCOize" the postal unions should they decide to strike.

The entire employing class hopes to use all three contract confrontations to further alter the relationship of class forces on a national scale — strengthening the employers and weakening the unions.

Union struggles to resist these moves can become the cause of all working people — as the 111-day coal strike did in 1977-78, and as the current miners strike is for British working people. Successes scored by the unions can encourage others under attack including Blacks, Latinos, women, and farmers. This can spur the fight for the social, economic, and political interests of all working people.

Union-busting on the rise

The capitalist offensive against working people, which has been building since the 1974-75 world economic recession, has escalated sharply. From probes and attacks against individual unions, such as the 1977-78 assault on the miners, which was pushed back; concession demands imposed on Chrysler workers in 1979; and successful government union-busting of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) in 1981, the offensive has deepened into a generalized drive aimed at weakening, crippling, or busting unions on the national and local level.

This is at the center of an even bigger attack aimed at all working people that includes deep cuts in social services, remaining high unemployment, new racist moves against Blacks and Latinos, inroads against women's rights, a growing squeeze on working farmers, blows against immigrant workers, and attacks on democratic rights.

The employers press this war on working people at home in the context of an escalated U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean. The U.S. invasion and continued occupation of Grenada shows how far the employing class will go to try to stop and to roll back the advancing revolutions of workers and farmers.

The U.S. war in Central America is at the center of world politics. The offensive

against U.S. working people is integrally connected to it. What happens in the war directly affects the U.S. class struggle. The U.S. rulers will escalate the war and young U.S. workers and farmers will be sent to die in battle against other working people.

That is why workers must oppose the war abroad as well as the offensive at home. Vanguard workers should take the lead in this.

They can explain that, unlike during much of the Vietnam War, the employers cannot grant significant concessions in wages and social programs to U.S. working people while they wage war abroad. Instead, U.S. workers' standard of living and rights will come under increasingly sharp attack. This will make clearer the fact that workers and farmers here and in Central America face a common enemy.

This is already much better understood in the labor movement than during the Vietnam War. Antiwar sentiment in the union ranks already reflects itself in many ways.

The National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador has been formed by 21 officials of international unions. It has issued a powerful indictment of U.S. policy in the pamphlet *El Salvador: Labor, Terror, and Peace* following a union fact-finding trip to that country.

Union delegations and hundreds of individual U.S. unionists have gone to see the Nicaraguan revolution, and U.S.-sponsored sabotage, first hand. Scores of union meetings across the country have heard presentations by Salvadoran and Nicaraguan trade unionists opposing U.S. intervention.

More trips to Central America should be organized. U.S. unionists can bring back the truth about what they see and spread it widely among working people. Vanguard workers can take the lead in urging action against the U.S. war.

Working class at center stage

The union-busting assault at home has put the industrial working class and its unions at center stage in U.S. politics today.

The class war being waged by the employers is increasingly clear to many workers who have either experienced the union-busting directly or expect their own union to be next. But working-class resistance is often left unorganized and thus ineffective, due to the policy of class collaboration — cooperation with the employers and government — practiced by the top labor officialdom.

Workers know that the bosses have made progress. Under the blows of the offensive, working people have been pushed back.

But the decisive battles in which the employers must aim at busting the industrial unions — potentially the most powerful organizations of the working class — have not yet been fought. Important struggles have occurred and others are going on right now. Most have resulted in setbacks or defeats for labor, but all hold valuable lessons, especially for the most conscious, vanguard workers who are searching for a strategy that can rearm the union movement for the bigger struggles that are coming.

The lessons revolve around three questions that will be decisive in this process: class solidarity, independent working-class political action, and union democracy. All are directly related to discussions that go on every day among workers who are thinking about fighting back — and beginning to act.

Who are the allies of the labor movement? How can labor appeal for, and extend solidarity to, other fighters? What is the role of the government in disputes between working people and the exploiters? How can the labor movement be strengthened and changed? Is the U.S. war abroad an issue for union action? What about racist and sexist attacks at home?

These questions and others challenge the labor movement and all working people today.

Three important strikes

Encouraged by the government's success in busting PATCO, a wave of strike breaking and union-busting has occurred. Many of these strikes are provoked by the employers who force workers onto the picket lines with outrageous concession demands, confident that the strike can be broken and the union crippled.

More frequently the employers hire scabs and professional private strikebreakers, such as the Nuckols private cop outfit brought in by AP Parts Co. in Toledo.

Across the country, in fights that often receive little national notice, workers are resisting the employer offensive. Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers locked out by Merck in New Jersey, striking Steelworkers at Danley Machine Tool in Cicero, Illinois, hospital unionists in New York, and Sun Oil refinery workers in Toledo and Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania, are a few examples.

Three strikes over the past year have drawn national attention. The Arizona copper miners strike, last year's Greyhound Bus Lines strike, and the UAW's strike against AP Parts all hold useful lessons for vanguard workers and others.

Class war in copper towns

The copper strike, centered in Arizona, is a microcosm of central problems and challenges facing the labor movement today.

The members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and 12 other unions on strike against Phelps Dodge Corp. — chiefly Chicano, Mexican, and Native American miners — and their key supporters in the women's auxiliaries, have demonstrated enormous tenacity and combativity.

Phelps Dodge provoked the strike on July 1, 1983, when it broke with traditional pattern bargaining in the copper industry and rejected a contract modeled on an earlier union agreement with the Kennecott Corp.

In August the company announced it would hire large numbers of scabs. Striking workers took matters into their own hands and confronted Phelps Dodge and its strikebreakers with a militant mass picket line.

This scored a partial victory, forcing the company to shut its operations for 10 days. Pictures in newspapers across the country of workers massed in front of the mine gates prepared to stop the scabs inspired other working people. It could have been the turning point in the strike.

The government in the "right to work" state quickly intervened. Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt — formerly viewed by many workers as a "friend of labor" — mobilized the National Guard to reopen the mines and escort the scabs.

Top union officials, led by the USWA international, clamped down on the independent initiative taken by the ranks and local union leaders. An opportunity to call on other working people to aid the fight against union-busting was lost because the top officials continued to appeal to capitalist politicians and institutions instead.

Can't win alone

The militant, embattled copper miners could not win this strike alone. Active solidarity by the entire union movement and its allies could have opened the possibility of defeating Phelps Dodge and its powerful backers including the government, courts, and the big-business media.

Instead, top labor officials urged workers to rely on the very government that had mobilized the National Guard to break the strike. They counseled workers that the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) and the courts would intervene and dispense justice.

However, the only significant government intervention has been on behalf of Phelps Dodge. Despite this, top labor officials have refused to mobilize national union power behind the miners through a campaign of mass action by strike supporters. This has left the strikers alone and isolated, paving the way for a bitter defeat.

The relationship of class forces today makes this a difficult strike to win. Powerful interests are lined up against the unions. This might have compelled the miners to make some concessions.

However concessions *per se* are not the problem. In a real fight it is sometimes necessary to make concessions when the relationship of class forces is weighted against labor.

Every contract, for instance, includes concessions of some kind. Under capitalism no contract wins workers the fair share of the wealth they produce. What can be won is decided in struggle as workers strive for the best contract possible — as the copper miners have been doing.

The difference at Greyhound

Last fall's Greyhound strike resulted in a bad concession contract for the members of the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU). This was a setback, but it was not the defeat the employers hoped to score, nor the outcome the copper strike appears headed for.

The offensive by Greyhound's owner was slowed by the determination of the striking bus drivers. However, as in Arizona, this alone would not have been enough. Like Phelps Dodge, Greyhound hired scabs and the government stood prepared to help break the ATU.

What helped prevent an out-and-out defeat was the mobilization of some solidarity by other unionists. Militant mass actions hit Greyhound terminals across the country. While held in check by top labor officials who feared a real showdown over the use of scabs, these actions increased the strikers' confidence and slowed the employer drive.

This solidarity did not stop Greyhound's owners. Workers voted to accept the concession pact because they decided it was the best they could get under the circumstances. But they returned to work knowing they had put up a fight. This strengthened the union.

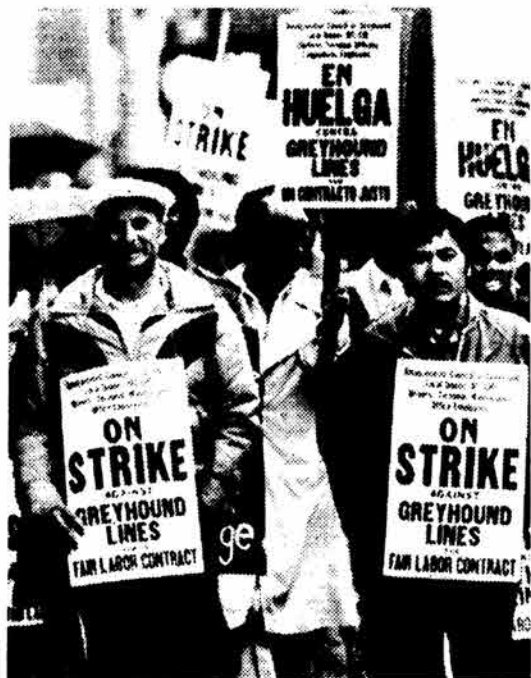
Greyhound workers recognized that they had gone as far as they could with the leadership they had. In an unusually candid moment ATU Pres. Harry Rosenblum admitted: "It was a game of hardball, and they [the employers] played harder than we did."

Greyhound workers and many supporters were more prepared to play hardball. Top union officials were not.

Battle at AP Parts

In Toledo, where the capitalist offensive led by the wealthy auto company owner resulted in massive layoffs, plant closings and antiunion attacks, rank-and-file workers were also ready to play hardball — and they showed it on May 21, 1984.

More than 3,000 UAW members and supporters participated in a union-organized, militant direct action aimed at



Greyhound strikers were aided by active solidarity of other unionists.

Special Labor history —

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In the 1930s Midwest Teachers built a powerful union based on class solidarity and rank-and-file control of union affairs. Farrell Dobbs, one of the central union leaders and longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, wrote these books to tell how they did it.

nd war?

cal action needed

stopping strike breaking at the AP Parts Co. The unionists defended themselves from an assault by city cops and company goons. Today 37 workers are under grand jury indictment for their role in this action.

Like the copper miners' mass picket and the Greyhound solidarity actions, the May 21 demonstration inspired workers across the country who want to use union power to start fighting back. The action itself was the result of pressure that built in the UAW ranks throughout Toledo, in the face of the deepgoing union-busting.

Workers in Toledo are learning that the employers want more than the wage and benefit concessions already imposed on millions of auto, steel, trucking, meatpacking, and other workers in basic industry — not to mention those forced on less powerful sections of the working class in weaker unions and others with no union protection at all.

As the UAW's contract at AP Parts ran out, the owners demanded sweeping concessions. When the contract expired the company unilaterally imposed its final contract offer over union objections. This included a \$5.84 an hour wage cut, reductions in other benefits, and gutting union seniority rights.

The UAW did not strike immediately. The workers who labored under the new contract for eight weeks got a taste of what AP Parts was really after.

Harsh new work rules were imposed. Unprecedented speedup became the norm. The company conducted a "discipline" crackdown. Some 175 workers were laid off.

Put simply, the company began to operate as if there was no longer a union in the plant. This remains its goal: to operate with no union, or with a union that has been cowed, weakened, intimidated, and rendered powerless to defend working conditions and wages.

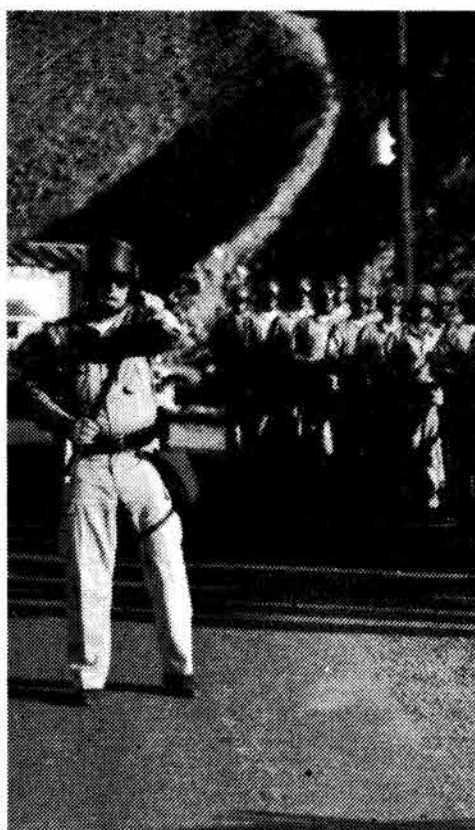
What AP Parts is trying to accomplish in Toledo is an example in life of what changing the relationship of class forces between capital and labor means. It is more than deep cuts in wages and living standards. It also includes big changes in the conditions of work and even more inroads on the limited union control that exists, in varying degrees, in unionized U.S. factories, mines, and mills.

Union weakness

Under the blows of these attacks, workers in all three strikes offered resistance. In the ranks the impulse to respond through mass labor action came about because the workers felt they had no other way out. While most had no thought-through strategy for mounting a fightback, they sought to use their unions as tools for struggle.

Like workers across the country, the strikers and their supporters began to learn about some of the real weaknesses of the unions today.

Most U.S. unions today are simply not effective combat instruments. This is the result of the policies imposed by the labor officialdom and the fact that under its leadership the union movement has sought to avoid combat with the employers whenever possible over the past 35 years or more. This weakness can only be corrected



Militant/Rich Stuart

Last August, workers mass action (right) confronted cop strikebreaking (left) in Arizona copper strike. Even sharper assaults on workers are coming. A strategy of independent labor political action, including more mass working-class action, is needed in response.



in the course of struggles such as those in Toledo and Arizona, in which the ranks will push forward new leadership with a different strategy.

For decades the official policy of the labor movement has been class collaboration. This is reflected today in the union officialdom's acceptance of the *concession framework* put forward by the employers. While top union officials oppose some employer demands, they accept the idea that workers and employers share common interests. USWA International Vice-pres. Joe Odorcich explained this view in 1980 when asked why the union moderated its demands in contract negotiations with the giant steelmakers. "To have a union," opined Odorcich, "you have to have a company, and that company has to make bucks."

This leads union officials to promote the idea that workers must sacrifice to help "our" plant, "our" company, "our" industry and — increasingly — "our" country. The logic of this view leads to sacrificing workers' interests for the sake of protecting employer profits and political interests.

Thus "equality of sacrifice" in the auto industry has led to record profits for the enormously wealthy families who own GM, Ford, and Chrysler, and lower wages, unsafe working conditions, remaining high unemployment, and enormous amounts of forced overtime for UAW members.

Nevertheless, the union officialdom promotes class collaborationist agreements such as "employee stock ownership" at Eastern Airlines, "profit sharing" at GM and Ford, and "Quality of Work Life (QWL)" circles and similar schemes in many industries.

Against imports, for war

Top AFL-CIO officials operate as the mouthpieces for the employers in demanding import barriers, "domestic content" laws, and other protectionist measures. These promote the false idea that U.S. workers have more in common with the bosses who exploit them than with fellow workers abroad who are also exploited by the U.S. capitalist class and their own domestic capitalists.

The labor officialdom seeks to make use of the fact that competition among individual workers is a basic condition of life affecting all workers. This begins with the very competition to get a job because capitalism cannot provide jobs for all and requires a reserve army of labor — the unemployed.

The officialdom's policies run counter to the union movement's historic purpose of seeking to combat the effects of such competition among workers and unify them on the basis of common class interests. This goal explains why unions in steel, auto, meatpacking, and other industries fought for industry-wide contracts, to limit the employers' ability to pit one group of workers against another. But the officials' protectionist campaign helps the bosses do exactly that — pit U.S. workers against those abroad.

This policy of seeking common interests with the employing class in "our" country is part of the ideological preparation for more open support to U.S. war aims.

The top union bureaucracy is pro-imperialist. It supports economic and political domination of the peoples of the world by the U.S. government, corporations, and banks. That is why it has long been among the biggest supporters of U.S. war spending and military intervention — from Vietnam to Grenada.

AFL-CIO Pres. Lane Kirkland played a prominent role on the Kissinger Central America war commission as a way to try to encourage workers to support the U.S. war. The AFL-CIO-sponsored (and misnamed) American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) helps the CIA subvert trade unions abroad and generally mouths U.S. government foreign policy.

However, divisions over U.S. policy in Central America do exist in the union officialdom. This is reflected in positions taken by international conventions of unions such as the UAW, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, and others opposing U.S. intervention.

Antiwar fighters in the union ranks can take advantage of these divisions to press for more discussion on the war in the unions. They can work to get out the truth about U.S. intervention and the real accomplishments of the Nicaraguan workers and farmers government and push for union action against the war.

Union officials: bureaucrats, not workers

Top labor officials are far more than a group of individuals who hold wrong ideas and are unable to fight effectively. The officialdom does not "play hardball" with the employers because its policies are based on a strategy of class collaboration.

While some in top international union positions may have worked on an assembly line or operated machinery in the distant past, *they are no longer workers today*. They enjoy salaries and benefits far above those of the ranks. For the most part they are insulated from layoffs and unemployment; work in air-conditioned offices rather than unsafe factories or mines; and look forward to a secure, well-paid retirement.

Taken together this substantial-sized group of full-time union office holders and functionaries makes up a distinct bureaucratic layer — a caste — within the labor movement whose interests are fundamentally different from those of workers.

This bureaucracy established its base in the unions because its methods of class collaboration and accommodation with the employers *appeared* to be working in the decades following the U.S. victory in World War II. The U.S. employers who were reaping super profits as a result of their competitive edge over capitalists abroad could more easily agree to wage and benefit gains for U.S. workers, especially for those in the strongest, most powerful unions.

Even these modest advances did not come without some struggle, including strikes. But at the same time the bureaucracy abandoned the fight for the *class-wide* interests of working people. It conducted no real struggle for national health insurance, yielded more and more union control of on-the-job conditions, and often opposed outright any independent struggles for the interests of the most oppressed and exploited: Blacks, Latinos, and women.

It refused to oppose — in fact supported — imperialist wars in Korea and Vietnam. Tens of thousands of working class youth, including disproportionate numbers of Blacks and Latinos, paid the price of their lives for this policy.

The bureaucracy established a base among those workers who benefited most from the concessions granted by the employers — older, white, male workers, especially skilled tradesmen in basic industry. This included turning some unions — like those in the construction trades — into out-and-out job trusts that collaborated with the employers to bar nonwhite workers and women.

A class-splitting policy

The bureaucracy's policies split the working class and weakened it against the employers. A current example is the willingness of many top union officials to accept one or another version of the "two-tier" wage scheme, such as the Postal Service seeks to impose, and has recently been agreed to at the Boeing Corp., McDonnell Douglas, other aerospace manufacturers, and many airlines.

These schemes introduce even bigger differentials between workers on the basis of seniority, and sharply cut wages, benefits, and union protection for new hires. They also deepen differences among skilled and less skilled workers and intensify race, sex, and nationality divisions.

Through these agreements the employers cut the cost of labor, weaken and divide the union movement, and set the stage for future takebacks.

Independent political action

The union bureaucracy's policy is not simply one of "no struggle." It is consciously counterposed to a strategy of independent working-class political action, which labor needs today if it is to effectively oppose imperialist war and the employer offensive at home.

This perspective is not an *electoral* strategy, although the bureaucracy's opposition to it is reflected in its subordination of all struggles by working people to the need to "Dump Reagan," and elect Walter Mondale and other "friends of labor" in the two capitalist parties.

The bureaucracy's line attempts to disguise the reality that the antilabor offensive at home and U.S. war abroad are bipartisan policies supported by both capitalist parties. Union-busting moves did not begin with the destruction of PATCO after

Continued on Page 14

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Strategy for labor

Continued from Page 13

Reagan entered the White House. The Carter-Mondale administration invoked the antilabor Taft Hartley Act against striking coal miners in 1978. More recently it was Democratic administrations in Arizona and Toledo that sent the National Guard and cops against striking workers.

But voting for Democrats is only one feature of class collaboration. The bureaucracy starts by promoting the false notion that the relations between employers and workers are determined by what happens in elections.

This is wrong. Class relations are determined by the day-to-day struggle between the opposing classes in society in the factories, mines, mills, fields, streets, and other arenas. Elections simply reflect, and in a distorted way, what occurs in the class struggle.

The consequences of the bureaucracy's policy can be seen clearly on the picket lines at Phelps Dodge and AP Parts. When workers organized to fight, the labor officials stepped in to derail the fight. They counseled workers to rely on negotiations, on the good graces of capitalist politicians and institutions (like the courts and NLRB), and opposed any further direct working-class action.

AFL-CIO leaders proposed the same course when Wilson Foods and Continental Airlines used phony bankruptcies to try to bust the unions.

Another example of this approach was offered by Pete Kelly, president of UAW Local 160 at the GM Technical Center in Warren, Michigan, and a leader of the national "Restore and More" committee in the UAW. Kelly assured the Detroit media recently that "If there's a problem" in UAW national contract negotiations with GM, "we can [dissolve] negotiations until after the [U.S. presidential] election and just keep the current contract."

Kelly is a long time opponent of the top UAW international officialdom, but this view is completely consistent with international UAW Pres. Owen Bieber's class collaborationist policy. The example illustrates the fact that within the labor officialdom there is no motion toward a break with electoralism and class collaboration and for a strategy of independent working-class political action.

This reflects the low level of organized resistance to the employer offensive in the labor movement today. This is the case despite the fact that even those workers who enjoy relatively better wages and conditions and form the bureaucracy's base in the labor movement are feeling the impact of the assault.

Polarization in the working class

The sharp blows against the unions, which are the result of intensifying international capitalist competition and the U.S. government's war policy, result in shakeups and divisions within the working class itself. Many relatively better off workers who at one time considered themselves "middle class" are being jarred and are shedding such illusions.

However, others respond by identifying more firmly with the employers in the hopes this can shield them from the attacks. An example is those workers who have voted for two-tier contracts because the believe (mistakenly) it will not hurt them.

Conservative and right-wing layers in the unions are also emboldened to speak up more loudly for "our" industry and "our" country. Many of these workers oppose a fightback strategy including union solidarity against attacks on Black and women's rights, and against the U.S. war.

Many other workers however, especially younger workers, Blacks, Latinos, and women, respond differently — as demonstrated by the copper, Greyhound, and AP Parts strikes. They are inspired by efforts to fight back and see more clearly the need for solidarity among all those under attack today. Many are more open to supporting the Central American revolutions and acting to oppose the U.S. war.

This is best understood by Black and Latino workers whose experience as members of an oppressed nationality, as well as exploited wage workers, has taught them further lessons about the real nature of U.S. class society. That is why these work-

ers form a social vanguard of the entire working class.

Workers who seek to advance a strategy of independent working-class political action can explain this means fighting in the unions for a consistent struggle for the class interests of workers and their allies.

Advances in the fight for such a strategy — reflected in strike victories and successes in other struggles to defend the interests of working people — will lead to more discussion and real motion toward the establishment of necessary new tools for working-class struggle: independent labor or Black political parties. The fact that such instruments do not exist today is a reflection of the current state of consciousness, leadership, and struggle in the working class and its most combative section, the Black nationality.

Fight for solidarity

The fight for independent working-class political action is tied to the fight for class solidarity. Vanguard workers can win broad support in the ranks for proposals to extend such solidarity today — for instance, to Nicaraguan and Salvadoran workers and farmers and striking British miners, as well as U.S. postal, coal, and auto workers. This can help to mobilize workers in action against the government and employers despite opposition to this course by the union officialdom. This perspective means fighting for solidarity in the broadest sense.

Bob King, president of UAW Local 600 at Ford's huge River Rouge assembly plant, put this well at a recent meeting sponsored by the union in opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America:

"Sometimes we get so wrapped up in our own problems that we fail to look at the bigger picture," said King. "But what is happening in Central America, Latin America, and Asia has a direct impact on us. The strength of the unions is our care and concern for one another — and that goes beyond the borders of the United States."

At a June 3 Toledo rally against union-busting, OCAW Local 7-912 Pres. Ron Rinna explained: "Solidarity must not be just a word. We must live it."

"No longer can one union stand alone. No longer can one international union stand alone. . . . No longer can one individual stand alone," he asserted.

These ideas offer a valuable starting point for the labor movement as it heads into coming contract battles and escalating U.S. war. Fighting to give these ideas life in the unions belongs at the center of activity of all union militants.

Even most vanguard workers today do not yet see a clear road forward to transform the unions into combat instruments. A gap exists between current conditions in the class struggle and the experiences and level of understanding of working-class



Militant/Morrie Dietrich

AP Parts strikers at July 23 UAW action in Detroit for "Restore and more"

fighters and the qualitatively different conditions that will develop as a full-scale Vietnam-style war in Central America explodes, accompanied by even sharper economic and social crises than have occurred so far in the United States.

This will bring about major class battles. Many more working people will consider and turn to proletarian methods of struggle, including militant, consistent mass action in place of class collaboration. This was the case in the 1930s when the CIO burst onto the scene and mass sit-down strikes and other new methods of working-class struggle emerged and were generalized.

It is through such battles that the unions will be changed and union democracy reestablished. As growing numbers of workers begin to fight back and carry out militant actions — in practice applying a strategy of independent working-class political action and class solidarity — they will oust the bureaucratic misleaders, bring forward new leaders tested in the heat of battle and establish full-rank-and-file control.

In the course of genuine battles, large numbers of workers will see changing union leadership and methods not as a case of the "ins" versus the "outs," but as a political challenge tied to arming the union with effective policies.

Revolution in the UMWA

The initial experiences of coal miners who have transformed their union in some fundamental ways confirms this.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, as many young workers returned from Vietnam and entered the mines, real struggles developed in the coalfields primarily over issues of health and safety. As militant miners sought to make the union a more effective tool to wage this fight, the bureaucratic caste that sat atop the union, headed by UMWA Pres. Tony Boyle, was ousted.

Following this revolution in the union, other changes in leadership have been made by the ranks. Since the 1972 victory of the Miners for Democracy slate led by Arnold Miller, new leaders have come forward and been tested.

Contract battles like the upcoming one have been a key test of union leadership. Today, at all levels of the UMWA, newer, younger leaders who demonstrate a greater

willingness to fight the coal operators have come forward and the process continues.

The UMWA has been in a stronger position than other unions precisely because the gains in union democracy are still exercised by the ranks today. Democratic union elections and the right to vote on the contract have strengthened the union.

Union democracy is more than the formal right to vote on these or other matters. The miners are also strengthened by their right to read and discuss the contract for 48 hours before they vote.

It is also not accidental that it is in the UMWA that real advances are being made in the fight for women's rights, and that women miners are winning respect and leadership authority as fighters in the union.

Genuine union democracy includes a consistent fight against any discrimination against women, Blacks, Latinos, or immigrant workers. There can be no real union democracy so long as any workers are second-class citizens on the job or in the union.

The course that has been set by the employers determines that decisive class battles are on the horizon. Big blows against the unions will keep raining down as the war in Central America escalates. Over time this will push more workers to oppose the war abroad and at home and take militant action as copper miners and Toledo auto workers have done.

Vanguard workers who see themselves as internationalists and support a strategy of independent class political action will go through these experiences alongside the rest of the working class. Through setbacks and advances, victories and defeats, lessons can be drawn and a broader vanguard of fighting, class-conscious workers will begin to take shape.

These experiences can forge a new leadership in the labor movement. It will fight to lead the labor movement on an independent course, opposed to capitalist austerity and war, and for the interests of the working people of the United States and the world. It will take the fight to the end, to the struggle for a different kind of government, a workers and farmers government, as exists today in Nicaragua, that supports the struggles of working people and throws its weight and power behind them.

'El Salvador: labor, terror, and peace'

The National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador has recently reissued its pamphlet, "El Salvador: Labor, Terror, and Peace," based on a 1983 union fact-finding delegation to that country.

Of particular interest is that, despite U.S. government claims that democracy and human rights are improving under new Salvadoran Pres. José Napoleón Duarte, the labor committee's new "Preface to the second edition" notes that the attacks on trade union rights continue. Excerpts from the preface are reprinted below. Copies of the report can be obtained from the committee at 15 Union Square, New York, N.Y. 10003.

This report on the state of trade unionism in El Salvador was originally published in July 1983, shortly after the return of the first U.S. labor fact-finding delegation ever to visit El Salvador.

That delegation reached three deeply troubling conclusions:

- the government of El Salvador is making no real progress towards human rights,
- the elections planned by the govern-

ment for December 1983 (that date was later postponed until March 1984) offer no solution to El Salvador's ongoing conflict.

• continued U.S. aid will not alter current political and economic realities in El Salvador.

Unfortunately, in the nine months since these conclusions were written, the situation inside El Salvador has not changed. In fact, the terror targeted against Salvadoran trade unionists who have dared to stand up for social justice has actually increased.

Last fall, the director of the union federation that includes El Salvador's largest farmworker union narrowly escaped death when his truck was bombed. At about the same time, El Salvador's shadowy death squads launched a new round of murders against unionized farmworkers and kidnapped the union leader who led an unprecedented public housing worker strike. Also "disappeared": the secretary-general of an important Salvadoran union federation who had personally met with our delegation. His corpse later turned up with a cassette recording of a "confession" affixed to his body.

In January 1984, El Salvador's National Police raided the annual meeting of an

8,000 member Salvadoran union federation. Nine trade unionists were arrested and held for a week of late-night interrogations and beatings. The jailed labor activists later told the *Boston Globe* that they had been "made to sign a written confession while blindfolded, with no knowledge of its contents."

These nine trade unionists currently face trial by a military court. They stand accused, in an official government statement, of planning to "present demands to management for higher wages and benefits and promoting strikes, which destabilize the economy."

Our National Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador — a coalition of 21 national U.S. union leaders — believes that the terror against working men and women in El Salvador can end — if enough North American trade unionists raise their voices against the U.S. policies that allow the terror to continue.

Today, the voices of North American trade unionists are rising. Scores of national and local union bodies are now officially on record against the Reagan Administration's policies toward El Salvador.

Social Democrats move further to right

Howe, Harrington pledge loyalty to 'democratic' imperialism, anticommunism

BY MALIK MIAH

The June 17 *New York Times Magazine* contains a lengthy conversation between Michael Harrington and Irving Howe, two leading social democrats. Howe is editor of *Dissent* magazine and Harrington is co-chairman of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA).

Entitled "Voices from the left," the aim of the article, according to the *Times* introduction, is to have two spokespeople for the "democratic left" explain their "ideas and programs" and how "they see the nation's future."

The conversation is of interest because it reflects broader thinking going on in the petty bourgeois left as the capitalist class deepens its offensive abroad in Central America and the Caribbean and at home against the labor movement, Blacks, Latinos, women, and farmers.

Many left radicals, including those who identify themselves as socialists or communists, are politically retreating from an internationalist, socialist perspective. They advocate the reform of capitalism as the solution to the problems of the working class. They project achieving these reforms primarily through elections.

The bourgeois editors of the *Times* actively promote the views of leftists who are in political retreat. That is why they asked two leading spokespeople of social democracy to take 14 pages of their Sunday magazine to expound their opinions on U.S. foreign policy, socialism, communism, and democracy.

Thus it is important to look at what Harrington, who leans more to the left, and Howe, who is further to the right, have to say about "democratic socialism."

Democratic Party is their party

Harrington explains that the DSA is "not a party but a sort of activist-educational league." The term "democratic left," he adds, "mean[s] a spectrum of opinion to the left of conventional liberalism, including both socialists and freelance radicals. We all believe in democracy, we all want social change."

"Practically everyone on the left," he continues, "agrees that the Democratic Party, with all its flaws, must be our main political arena."

The DSA's perspective is to bolster the "liberal wing" of the Democratic Party. It presents the Democratic Party as a working people's party. DSA leaders function as advisers, propagandists, and apologists for a section of the labor officialdom that is aligned with liberal Democrats such as Walter Mondale.

DSA members also include "socialist" Democrats, for example, California Congressman Ron Dellums. The ruling class is not too concerned about these "socialists," particularly as more and more working people radicalize and begin to consider radical ideas and seek alternative leaderships. "Socialist" Democrats play a useful role in helping to divert workers from struggle and to look to capitalist elections to solve their problems.

The social democrats' orientation to the Democratic Party is also tied to their strong anticommunism. Communism — what



Irving Howe (left), editor of *Dissent* and Michael Harrington, cochair of Democratic Socialists of America, discuss how best to defend "national security of United States" in *New York Times* interview.

they call "totalitarianism" — is considered the main enemy of working people throughout the world.

"There was a time when the Communists were a major force, a terrible problem, within the American left," Howe asserts. "That's over with — forever, I hope."

Harrington adds that there are several former Communist Party leaders who have broken with their past and joined the DSA and the "democratic socialist milieu."

The Communist Party USA, like the social democrats, rejects the revolutionary mobilization of workers and farmers leading to the conscious objective of taking power, destroying the capitalist state, and establishing a workers and farmers government. For example, the CP is running its own presidential ticket. However, rather than promoting independent working-class political action, the CP candidates have put the November election of the Mondale-Ferraro ticket at the center of their campaign.

But it is not the common class-collaborationist approach to working-class politics that explains why a few former CP leaders are joining the DSA. It is their hatred for the Soviet Union and the other countries that have overthrown the capitalist system which leads them to the DSA, even if they, as Harrington tells it, are a "little uncomfortable with my visceral anti-communism."

Defense of U.S. foreign policy

The reactionary character of social democracy and the poisonous program it brings to the working-class movement is most evident in the DSA's support to "democratic" imperialism and its institutions. They seek to make imperialism more effective in fighting communism and protecting capitalist democracy.

"We are absolutely committed," Howe explains, "to democratic [capitalist] institutions."

"When I criticize American foreign pol-

icy, our intervention in Central America, the MX [missiles], I do that in the name of the national security of the United States," Harrington adds.

Howe, leading Harrington on, states: "And you speak of the national security because you recognize that there is a totalitarian [communist] enemy out there which needs to be met. . . . We are loyal allies and sometimes friendly critics."

"Our critique," Harrington explains, "is that President Reagan's policy with regard to Nicaragua does not promote the national security, it hurts it."

The social democrats' strong opposition to the workers states — beginning with the Soviet Union and revolutionary Cuba — is why Howe and Harrington are critical of the popular revolutions in Central America and elsewhere and see them as a threat to "national security."

What is most interesting about this exchange is the fact that the "right-wing" Howe encourages the "left-wing" Harrington to make clear why both are strong supporters of U.S. national security. There is not a dime's worth of difference between the two precisely because they begin with a common anticommunist framework.

Champions of 'democratic imperialism'

This belief that "democratic imperialism" is better than communism affects the activities of social democrats of all varieties. This includes their criticisms of Washington's war policies in Central America.

For example, while it is significant that Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), is a co-chair of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, and speaks out against U.S. support to the Salvadoran government and against the use of U.S. troops in Central America, he does it from the standpoint of being for a better imperialist policy to defeat communism.

Sheinkman doesn't say the peoples of Central America have the right to take power and form a truly independent democratic government. Sheinkman, like Harrington, simply doesn't believe Washington's current policies are the best way to defeat the "enemy" and defend capitalism.

Of course, the fact that he and some other top union officials are somewhat critical of U.S. foreign policy reflects the growing antiwar sentiments among rank-and-file ACTWU unionists and other working people. The stance of these officials can make it easier for the membership of these unions to push for more active involvement by their unions in antiwar protests and activities. It can encourage more unionists to take trips to Nicaragua and El Salvador to learn the truth as Sheinkman and others did last year.

For example, the United Auto Workers' (UAW) staff frequently writes articles on Central America in its monthly publication, *Solidarity*. The UAW recently pub-

lished a special issue of *Ammo*, which focused on opposition to the sending of U.S. troops to Central America. These materials are valuable tools for antiwar and solidarity activists in the UAW.

'A reformist impulse'

Social democracy's support for "national security" abroad is integrally linked to their defense of capitalist "democracy" at home.

"We see ourselves as part of a reformist impulse in American society," Howe explains. "We share many of the values of traditional liberalism (civil rights, political freedoms, tolerance). . . ."

"The value of having a socialist analysis of capitalism," Harrington adds, "is it allows us to advance some very large ultimate goals while trying to realize what is possible now."

What this means concretely is socialism is dropped from their program. Socialism becomes an ideal for the far-off future with no practical meaning today. Everything is seen in the framework of making capitalism better. Instead of reforms being a by-product of revolutionary struggles they become a goal in and of themselves. In their view, major social change is reduced to the "welfare state."

"As I see it," continues Howe, "what happened in the last 50 years was a major social and political change, the creation of a rudimentary welfare state ushered in by [Franklin] Roosevelt and continued by [Harry] Truman and Lyndon Johnson."

"Under the Reagan Administration there has been a partial retreat from the welfare state, as a result of planned government attacks." He conveniently leaves out that the cutbacks in government-financed social measures are being carried out under bipartisan auspices — by both Democrats and Republicans.

"Now we're in an interesting stage," Howe further explains, "where the left has begun to do programmatic work in preparation for what we expect, or hope, will be the next surge forward of American liberalism."

"A lot depends on what happens in the 1984 election. If a Democratic candidate, let's say Mondale, wins, then certain possibilities are open. . . . Of course if Reagan wins, then we're in for a difficult period," he adds.

Social democratic solutions

Because socialism is a faraway dream, the social democrats limit their solutions to patchwork reforms.

"We want economic planning that, as much as possible, is democratic, participatory, bottom-up," Harrington explains. "Second, not only bottom-up in process and procedure, but also directed toward satisfying the needs of those at the bottom and the middle rather than those at the top."

As an example, Harrington says, "One precondition [to achieve full employment]

Continued on Page 19

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Agriculture in Vietnam moves forward step by step

BY DIANE WANG

"As you know, we started to rebuild our country from a very poor basis. And we had a long war," La Xuan Dinh told the *Militant*. "But we have great potential: lots of land, 56 million people, with a great majority of the labor force in the countryside, and the beginnings of irrigation systems, tractors, and pumps."

La Xuan Dinh is director of the International Cooperation Department of Vietnam's Ministry of Agriculture. He spoke with the *Militant* last February in Hanoi.

In order to develop its agricultural potential, Dinh explained, Vietnam has had to cope with exceptional problems left from the long U.S. war.

"Agent Orange did long-term damage to trees, and it has had a certain effect on rice and annual crops," Dinh explained. U.S. troops carried out massive chemical warfare against Vietnam, using dioxin-based defoliants throughout southern Vietnam in particular. More than 40 percent of the forests in south Vietnam were destroyed.

Clearing the land

"Our first work was to collect all the bombs, to clear the fields. In this work we lost a great many people," Dinh continued. The U.S. war left behind at least 150,000 tons of unexploded bombs. In 1975-76 in Trieu Phong province alone, for example, nearly 900,000 bombs were unearthed. In Quang Nam-Da Nang province there were 3,700 casualties from unexploded bombs over the course of three years.

The bombing left some 25 million craters in Vietnam, which is only a bit smaller than the state of California. It destroyed a

big part of the irrigation system so necessary for rice cultivation. This had to be repaired after the war.

Dinh explained that Vietnam's extreme poverty has posed difficulties in modernizing agriculture. The country produces some fertilizer, but not in adequate supply. It lacks and cannot yet produce pesticides. Its capacity to manufacture tractors and pumps is still only developing, and it has very limited foreign exchange to import such heavy machinery. The lack of electricity and fuels to operate mechanical pumps slows down plans to extend irrigation.

"While other underdeveloped countries were making their 'Green Revolution' to modernize production, we were making our revolution to liberate the country," Dinh said. "Now we have a lot of catching up to do."

Vietnam has made big progress. It now has five agricultural universities training specialists and doing research. Agricultural institutes in Hanoi have developed several strains of high-yield seeds and breeds of more productive livestock.

"We try to modernize production step by step," Dinh said. "Now we combine hand-craft methods with semimechanization. Later we will reach to mechanization, electrification, and chemical technology."

Food the first priority

"The most important task now is to produce and process food," Dinh explained. "That means getting food to workers, in particular to get more food to workers in remote areas."

In 1977 and 1978 severe typhoons and

floods hit Vietnam. In 1978 alone the floods destroyed 3 million tons of food, perhaps a quarter of the harvest. In 1979 and 1980, despite its own calamities, Vietnam sent tons of food to help ease the famine in neighboring Kampuchea.

Last year Vietnam harvested 17 million tons of rice and other food grains. It was the first time in the country's history that Vietnam was self-sufficient in food.

This year, because of bad weather during the last crop season, it appears that Vietnam may fall 200,000 tons short of its projected goals.

In addition to food, Vietnam is developing a number of subsidiary crops such as rubber, coffee, tea, coconut, oranges, soybeans, sugar, cotton, and mulberry. "These will provide material for industry as well as for export," Dinh explained.

Cooperatives in north

Northern Vietnam was freed from the French in 1954. Despite the subsequent U.S. war, it has had several decades to develop its independence and planned economy. In the northern part of the country, rice production is organized through cooperatives, Dinh said. About 95 percent of the land is assigned to the cooperatives and the rest to individual peasant families.

Under a new contract system adopted in 1982, peasants negotiate an agreement with the cooperative to tend and harvest a set amount of rice. Any surplus is theirs to sell. Contracts are set for a three- to five-year period so that peasants will be encouraged to improve their land and use intensive cultivation techniques.

According to surveys conducted among 1,000 families producing under this contract system, the peasants polled reaped 38 percent more than the contracted quota.

In addition, peasants are free to raise any crops or animals on their individual plots of land to supplement their diet or income.

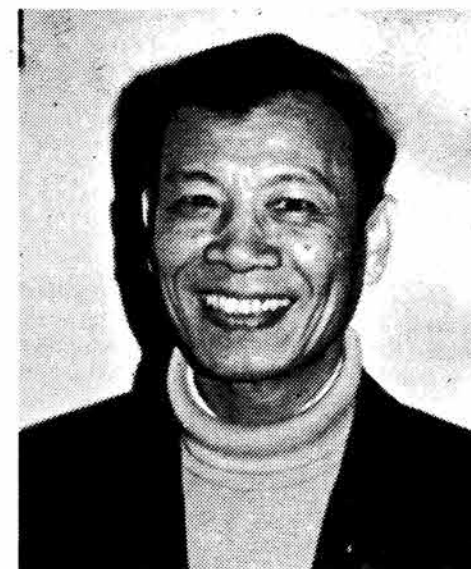
Dinh explained that Vietnam has a multifaceted price structure that helps stimulate agricultural production.

The state buys a small portion of the harvest, perhaps 10 percent, from the peasants at a fixed price. "This is something like an agricultural tax," Dinh explained. The percentage to be sold at the fixed price depends on the land's fertility.

Most of the crop is sold at the premium price, which must be higher than the fixed price and also depends on soil fertility and other factors.

Finally, any surplus can be sold at the open market price. The private market price, of course, changes from day to day.

Dinh explained that it had taken many years to accomplish the land reform in the north. "In the first stage we collected all



La Xuan Dinh from Vietnam's Ministry of Agriculture.

the land of the big landlords who left, along with the land of the French and foreigners. We used those lands to distribute to people who had no land or not enough.

"Actually, we did not distribute the land to own, just to use. The land belonged to the people as a whole, to the state." Land in Vietnam cannot be bought or sold. That makes it possible to guarantee peasants the use of the land. Users cannot demand the land as a pledge for a loan, for example.

"From 1954 to 1960 peasants cultivated individually," Dinh said. "But from 1959-60 we started to mobilize people to join the cooperatives and combine their efforts."

Land reform in the south began after the 1975 liberation. The government began by readjusting land holdings in the south.

An article in the *Vietnam Courier*, an English-language magazine published in Hanoi, described the readjustment in one province. "In 1976-1978 the province concentrated on liquidating the vestiges of feudal exploitation by landlords and rich peasants, putting an end to land tenancy and land rent collection while confiscating illegally appropriated land and doing away with land usurpation," the magazine said.

"From 1979 to 1982 the province urged rich peasants and rural bourgeoisie to cede land to the State," the magazine continued. "This land was allotted to individual peasant households and production collectives."

The readjustment of landholding was seen as a prerequisite for future cooperative work on the land by groups of peasants.

In the south the peasantry remains much more stratified than in the north, Dinh explained. "In fact, among the peasant class there is a small number of rich, of landlords who are reactionary. But the number is still very small," he said. "But, even then, some of the sons and daughters of the rich had a revolutionary attitude against the U.S. occupation and participated in the revolution."

In addition there were a great number of landless peasants who now have small holdings, as well as a sizable middle layer.

Steps to cooperatives

The Vietnamese are proceeding by several steps towards cooperative agriculture in the south, according to Dinh.

"First we organize solidarity groups of production," Dinh explained. These solidarity groups are a means for collectively distributing supplies from the government, exchanging help among families, and organizing peasants to carry out social tasks assigned by the government. For the most part, however, at this stage land is still farmed by the individual families and the product sold on the private market.

"For the second step we organize groups of production," Dinh said. "Whereas in the north we have 300-500 families in each cooperative, divided into 10 production teams, the groups for production in the south are still very small, with 50 or 60 families."

"The management of these groups is very simple, with perhaps a secretary and not much staff."

Finally, a number of these groups of production are being organized into cooperatives.

Vietnam's government stresses that the cooperatives must be set up on a voluntary basis. Immediately following the liberation in 1975 there were attempts to quickly organize cooperatives. Most of these failed

Continued on next page



Rice cultivation in northern Vietnam. "Most important task is to produce and process food ... to get more food to workers in remote areas."

Indianapolis racists try to gag Farrakhan

BY BILL WARRICK

INDIANAPOLIS — Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan recently spoke at the convention center here, despite a racist drive aimed at denying his right to speak.

Six months ago, Farrakhan was invited to speak in Indianapolis by organizers of Indiana Black Expo, an exposition held here yearly for the last 14 years. After Farrakhan became the target of a nationwide racist smear campaign for speaking out against the state of Israel, a drive was organized to pressure Black Expo officials to cancel the invitation.

Indianapolis Mayor William Hudnut ordered his staff not to appear at any session with Farrakhan. Marion County Prosecutor Steven Goldsmith announced he would boycott Black Expo opening activities.

The Indianapolis big-business news media jumped on the bandwagon. Several Indianapolis religious leaders lent their names to the drive to cancel Farrakhan's invitation.

Organizers of Black Expo refused to cancel the invitation. Expo Pres. Charles Williams defended Farrakhan's right to freedom of speech.

A standing-room-only crowd of more than 1,000 jammed the convention center

ballroom to hear Farrakhan. The audience was made up mainly of working-class Blacks.

"The enemy of Black people is not white people," Farrakhan said. "The enemy of white people is not Black people, or Russia, or Cuba, or Fidel Castro, or the Sandinistas."

Farrakhan received enthusiastic applause each time he criticized U.S. capitalism. This response shows how Black working people are looking for solutions to the problems of racism, unemployment, and war.

Another example of how Blacks are looking for solutions was the response to Socialist Workers Party campaign volunteers. Supporters of SWP presidential and vice-presidential candidates Mel Mason and Andrea Gonzalez staffed a booth inside Black Expo. They sold more than \$200 worth of books and pamphlets, including several books by Malcolm X and four copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks*, a book of speeches by the central leader of the Grenada revolution.

Outside the convention center, campaign volunteers collected 484 signatures to put SWP congressional candidate Dave

Ellis on the November ballot. Ellis is a laid-off RCA worker and a member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 1048.

The fact that the racist campaign to pressure Black Expo officials to cancel Farrakhan's speech failed is a victory. The big-business news media, however, has continued its smear campaign against Farrakhan, using as a pretext the "detention" of a few reporters for 20 minutes while their credentials were checked by Farrakhan's security people. The incident was cited as an alleged example of "Muslim Gestapo tactics."

Indianapolis city officials are clearly irritated that Black Expo organizers refused to cancel Farrakhan's speech. In their lead editorial on July 10, the *Indianapolis News* editors wrote: Expo officials have said that Farrakhan was invited because he has a right to speak. True, he enjoys the rights of free speech. But why at Black Expo?

Speaking for the rulers of Indianapolis, the *News* editors warned Black Expo organizers to "take a different direction next year." Socialist candidate Dave Ellis responded: "No one has the right to tell Expo officials who they can or can't invite to speak. Not in 1984, not in 1985, not ever."

Vietnam's unions develop with revolution



Militant/Diane Wang

Hoang Manh Chinh is member of Vietnam's central trade union committee. He explained that unions today try to "educate, organize, and mobilize workers to carry out state plan" and are involved at every level in developing economic plan.

BY DIANE WANG

Across the street from Vietnam's trade union central office in Hanoi, a huge workers' recreation and cultural center is being built. It is one of the few large public buildings under construction in Vietnam's capital city. Most construction these days is to repair or put up housing.

"We don't have the resources to erect monuments or beautify the city," said Hoang Manh Chinh. "Our government has decided to build housing first."

"We don't hide from our friends that our living conditions are poor because of the long, half-century war, because our economic, material foundation was destroyed. You can understand."

Hoang Manh Chinh is a standing member of Vietnam's central trade union committee. He spoke with the *Militant* last March in Hanoi.

Vietnam remains an overwhelmingly agricultural country where the majority of people are peasants. Out of a population of nearly 60 million, there are 3.8 million wage workers, more than 2 million of them industrial workers, Chinh said.

About 85 percent of these workers belong to trade unions in Vietnam. The

unions are voluntary, open to everyone who earns a wage and agrees to the union's by-laws. The labor movement is organized into 20 branches ranging from steel, coal, electric, and transport workers unions, to those in commerce, health care, and agriculture. They are organized on a factory, district, provincial, and national level, Chinh said.

"The trade union always had two big tasks. We had to fight feudalism and imperialism. Those are still our two big tasks, as we try to help build a socialist fatherland," Chinh said.

"The trade union has played a different role at different stages of our revolution," Chinh explained.

"In the last wars against French and U.S. imperialism, the trade unions took the most important role in uniting the movement of workers to fight."

"We mobilized workers to fight imperialism, to demand both their economic interests and political freedoms. This fighting took place in serious struggles, in secret as well as open struggles. Thousands sacrificed."

"Our trade unions took an important role in the military struggle," Chinh continued.

"Workers organized into fighting units. Other workers produced our war equipment and brought it to the liberated areas."

During the war against the French, Chinh said, the Vietnamese fought with simple weapons made by Vietnamese workers.

In addition, Chinh said, "volunteer teams stayed in the enemy-controlled areas." During the latter part of the U.S. war, Chinh recalled, there was severe repression in southern Vietnam. Nonetheless, trade union militants, led by the Vietnamese Communist Party, organized underground. "We had to organize very carefully, one by one, so the enemy could not discover us. Each activist only knew the name of one or two others."

This underground trade union activity was crucial, alongside the military efforts of the liberation army and the peasant struggle in the countryside.

"If we had not had forces in the city, we could not have won," Chinh said.

After the liberation of Saigon in 1975, the trade unions that had previously functioned illegally now had a new role to play.

"The trade unions had to step in and safeguard the factories, protect the machines," making sure that capitalists did not de-capitalize or sabotage production, Chinh explained. "The government took some time to organize administration. In the meantime the trade unions had to assume that role."

Once the government apparatus was developed in the south, Chinh said, the trade unions there took on functions like those in the northern half of the country.

Today, Chinh said, the trade unions try to "educate, organize, and mobilize the workers to carry out the state plan." At the same time, he said, "the trade unions are involved at every level from the factory to the council of ministers" in helping to develop the economic plan, set production goals, and determine the rate of wages and bonuses.

In addition, Vietnam's trade unions are responsible for helping administer many social benefits. "Our workers are protected by our state policy on labor," Chinh said. Many important aspects of the labor protection — subsidies, child care, maternity benefits, workers rights — are administered by the union.

For example, if a worker has unexpected personal difficulties, they can get a subsidy from the trade union's social fund. The money in the fund comes from the state; it is distributed through the trade unions.

Besides describing Vietnam's labor movement, Chinh was eager to send a message to North American workers:

"The Vietnamese workers understand very clearly the difference between our enemies and our friends overseas. We know the American government, the ruling circle, waged war on us. They caused much destruction and suffering for us. We will never forget these things."

"But we also know that the American working people and progressive organizations helped us very much."

"We want to build a new life, one of peace and friendship between our two peoples."

Lacquerware shop develops traditional art

Dinh Van Phat is 74 years old. For 40 of those years he has been a master of Vietnamese lacquerware. Until 1975 he ran a large and successful private lacquerware workshop in what was then called Saigon, today called Ho Chi Minh City, in southern Vietnam.

"Why didn't you leave and go to the United States?" I asked him. "With your skill, you could have made a lot of money."

"I'm not very interested in politics," Phat answered, "but I make Vietnamese lacquerware. To do that I need Vietnamese lacquer, Vietnamese materials, and Vietnamese humidity. I know just how long it takes to dry lacquer in the air here. It would not be the same anywhere else."

So instead of relocating after the revolution, Phat helped organize the Song Dang cooperative. It carries out operations at 11 locations in its neighborhood and is training more than 300 young people in the traditional art of Vietnamese lacquerware.

Apprentices at the cooperative learn to produce five kinds of lacquerware, some with inlaid mother-of-pearl, others with metal or eggshell inlay, some woven, still others painted. It is a slow and painstaking process.

Only about 60 out of 100 young people who try the technique actually master it in the five-year apprenticeship, Phat told us, because the work requires so much skill and patience. Because it is such a skill, the craftsmen still earn about twice the average wage of other Vietnamese workers.

The cooperative is supervised by a board of managers elected every year. This board includes both managers who deal with trade and technique questions, and representatives of the trade union, the Women's Union, and the youth association.

Phat explained how the trade had changed over the decades in his experience. Until 1954 Vietnam was a colony, and the French had a monopoly on lacquerware export. Then, in the 1960s, the United States became a main customer. Now, because Washington has organized an economic boycott and put Vietnam under the Trading With the Enemy Act, people in the United States cannot import the lacquerware.

The cooperative now markets its products around the world — to Australia, Argentina, Canada, France, Italy, Mexico, the Middle East, as well as to East Europe and the Soviet Union.

After 1975 it was a difficult transition at first, Phat said, but it had big advantages. "Before, we had to sell the lacquerware through a middleman who made his own big profits," he recalled. "Now the state sells our products and gives us a fair income."

The goal is to turn the neighborhood around Song Dang into a center for lacquerware. It is one of many such handicraft cooperatives being set up in Ho Chi Minh City to develop a traditional art, provide jobs, and boost Vietnam's economy.



Militant/Diane Wang

Dinh Van Phat, a master of Vietnamese lacquerware, is training young people in that traditional art. This six-foot vase took half a year to complete.

Vietnam's agriculture advances step by step

Continued from preceding page

for lack of support among the peasants, and poor management. In 1979 and 1982 the government and Vietnam's Communist Party assessed the failure. The conclusion was that while Vietnam needs to establish cooperatives in the south to facilitate modern production and food distribution, these must be organized on a voluntary basis.

"The task is to convince the peasants to join, and the way to do that is to set up models," Dinh explained. "They must see the advantages to joining with their own eyes."

At the end of 1983 Vietnam could point to several advantages of cooperative production in the south. While individual peasants harvested about two tons of rice per hectare (one hectare equals 2.47 acres), the cooperatives were harvesting three-and-a-half or four tons of rice per hectare.

In one area outside Ho Chi Minh City,

the individual production group members' income had risen from 1,023 pounds of rice and 390 dong (Vietnamese currency) in 1979 to 2,200 pounds of rice and 2,000 dong in 1982.

Economic incentives

In addition, Vietnam uses economic incentives to get volunteers for the cooperatives. "The state will help individual peasants to cultivate their land, through contracts and capital loans. But there is preferential treatment in granting loans and aid to members of solidarity groups or cooperatives."

Dinh said that in the central regions of Vietnam cooperatives have been organized on 96 percent of the land. "There, the people have difficult conditions of production. The land is not rich; the population is more dense; the climate is very changeable;

materials for production are still poor. So it is easier to convince people of the cooperatives' advantages."

"But in the Mekong Delta the soil is rich, and the production is at least self-sufficient, if not good," Dinh said.

By the end of 1981 only 9 percent of the peasants with 7 percent of the land in the southern provinces had joined the cooperatives. At the end of last year Vietnam reported that 40 percent of the peasant families with one-third of the land had joined cooperatives.

Almost 18,000 production groups and 234 agricultural cooperatives had been organized by the end of 1983.

Diane Wang and Steve Clark spent 20 days in Vietnam and 10 days in Kampuchea last February and March for the *Militant* and Intercontinental Press.

Big stakes for all labor in auto contract showdown

Socialist UAW members discuss coming battle

Continued from front page

In addition, more than 80,000 auto workers are on indefinite layoff.

Donald Ephlin, head of the UAW GM negotiating team, expressed his view that "The companies understand that they must share their record profits and productivity advances with the workers who have gone for three years without a real wage increase."

UAW Pres. Owen Bieber has said that if the UAW concentrates on obtaining big wage increases at the expense of job security, "we'd be suckers because we would have played right into GM's hands."

Bieber said the union should concentrate on job security by pushing for import restrictions on jobs and parts, as well as pension increases and shorter work time.

The UAW is also demanding a seat on the board of directors of both General Motors and Ford.

What the companies want

The companies have made their intentions clear. This was outlined in an internal GM memorandum that became public last March. (See the March 9 *Militant*.) The document laid out GM's plan to eliminate 60,000 to 120,000 jobs.

The companies want to replace wage increases and COLA (Cost of Living Adjustment) with the meager "profit-sharing" scheme, set up a permanent two-tier wage system, further erode working conditions through speedup and job combinations, force more medical payments onto the workers, step up harassment for absenteeism, undercut seniority rights, break the skilled trades, and step up forced overtime.

They plan to step up the use of "whip-sawing," the highly-profitable practice of forcing workers in different plants to compete with each other (for example GM in Kansas City versus GM in Flint) to see who will work the cheapest and the hardest. This means undermining health and safety provisions and weakening the union's say about working conditions.

The GM bosses also explained their objective of "continuing to shift the union/management relationship toward a joint problem-solving process" — polite language for schemes like the Quality of Work Life programs (QWL), which undermine and weaken the union.

Meeting of socialist workers

It was in this context of an impending confrontation between the auto bosses and the workers that socialist UAW members met in New York City in mid-July. Workers came from GM plants in Atlanta, Boston, Kansas City, Dallas, and St. Louis; a Jeep plant in Toledo; a General Dynamics tank plant in Detroit; Chrysler plants in St. Louis and a plant outside Cleveland, and from a number of other cities.

The meeting heard three major reports. Mark Friedman, a Toledo Jeep worker and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the Ohio House of Representatives, gave a report on the lessons of the AP Parts Strike in Toledo. Jeff Powers, a worker from Kansas City, reported on the upcoming contract battle. Janice Sams, a UAW member from Detroit, initiated a discussion on organizing international working class solidarity.

Sams singled out support to striking British coal miners and opposition to the U.S. war in Central America as key campaigns.

She pointed to an issue of the UAW's publication *Ammo* that is devoted to the U.S. war in Central America and why workers should oppose it. She suggested that UAW members travel to Nicaragua to learn about the gains and challenges of the revolution and bring back reports to their locals and coworkers.

Lessons of the Toledo battle

Mark Friedman discussed the struggle of AP Parts workers in Toledo as an example both of the determination of the bosses to

bust the union and the determination of the workers to fight back.

"Workers around the city understood that the company's demands for a \$5.84 an hour wage cut and the elimination of seniority was not merely a demand for a concession contract," said Friedman. "UAW members and other unionists feared another PATCO." (In 1981 the government smashed the air traffic controllers' union after it went out on strike.)

Commenting on the May 21 mass action by 3,000 unionists to back the strike, Friedman said, "In one day, with one action, hastily organized, 3,000 UAW members and others showed the power of the union to the city and the country. It was a graphic expression of the type of solidarity actions needed to win."

Other socialist leaders at the meeting agreed that the AP Parts struggle set an inspiring example. A Chrysler worker from St. Louis said that his coworkers understood "that what happened at AP Parts shows what's in store for them in their local contract fight."

Many pointed to the important role played by the *Militant* in getting out the lessons of the AP Parts story and expanding the influence of socialists in the plants, especially among vanguard workers.

Friedman explained that the attack against the union has been escalated by the indictment of 37 workers, many of them



Discrimination against women is one way bosses try to divide workers, weaken union.

UAW members at Jeep, for their role in the May 21 demonstration. Fourteen of them face felony charges that carry jail terms of six months to two years. This includes Danny Wilson, president of the UAW's Jeep unit and a central participant in the demonstration.

The meeting decided that socialists in the UAW should step up solidarity work with the AP Parts strikers, including demanding that charges against the 37 be dropped.

Contract fight will have big impact

"The stakes in this fight are high," said Jeff Powers in his report on the GM and Ford contracts, "not just for auto workers, but for all working people. If the UAW stands up and fights back, it will have a big impact."

Powers said that many issues are posed — Quality of Work Life, imports, outsourcing, health and safety, divisions within the work force, probationary employees, and the new "migratory" workers created by the "Guaranteed Income Stream" program.

He pointed out that the 1982 concession

contract had been sold to workers on the false promise of job security. In exchange workers accepted deferred COLA payments, reduced benefits, a pension freeze, the beginnings of the two-tier wage system, and an end to Personal Paid Holidays and annual raises.

"The linchpin of the job security snow job," Powers said, "was the 'Guaranteed Income Stream' [GIS]. This was supposed to give permanent job security to senior employees. A worker with 10 years' seniority whose plant closed, or a worker with 15 years' seniority who was laid off, was supposed to be guaranteed 50 percent of their income through GIS payments."

"This sounds pretty good, especially if you're laid off," Powers continued. "But there were some hitches. The main one was that to remain eligible you had to accept employment anywhere in the country. With the upturn in the economy, GM and Ford told everybody they had to move."

'Migratory' workers

A St. Louis UAW member said, "We now have the existence of 'new migratory workers' — wage slaves who just have to pick up and move when the company commands them."

A number of participants at the meeting explained how these workers — from Fremont, Detroit, Buffalo, and many other cities — are forced to move and leave their families behind. Moreover, while keeping company-wide seniority for retirement purposes, they are placed on the bottom of the seniority at their new plant.

Others at the meeting reported that the companies are using new hires to increase divisions in the work force. It is a general practice for the companies to fire new employees after 85 days, just short of the time they would need to get into the union. Often they are rehired for another 85 days. Some eventually make it into the union, but in the meantime, the company has a permanent force of short-term workers, with no union protection.

"The work force is explosive," said an Atlanta UAW member who worked in Detroit auto plants 15 years ago. "It's younger, there are more Blacks, and a lot of women. They pit the new hires against the permanent employees."

"The new hires," he said, "don't have any union protection. So they are forced to speed up and violate work rules. Work overloads and speedup are then imposed on everybody. And not just on the assembly line, but on making stock. By not fighting to get these workers into the union from day one, the union is depriving itself of some of the best fighters. And it's creating a divided situation, a situation in which these young workers could be used to break strikes."

Women workers

A woman worker from a Chrysler plant in Ohio described conditions there. Speedup and forced overtime at the plant have meant an increase in accidents. "The company," she said, "reported that its rate of 10 major accidents per 100 workers in one month was an improvement."

She told how management had kept the line going for five hours before removing the body of a worker crushed to death in one of the presses.

Many probationary employees are women workers and, without union backing, have little protection from sexual harassment.

She described the practice of herding probationary employees through the plant from press to press. "The foremen choose which workers they want from the shape-up," she said. "Those who aren't picked are sent home with no pay. Often, all the workers sent home are women. Many times foremen pick women they want to sexually harass."

Powers explained that "what Ford and GM are after is what they got at Fremont."

The GM plant in Fremont, California, was shut down and reopened as a "joint



Auto bosses want speedup, lower wages, fewer benefits. Workers are ready to fight.

venture" between GM and Toyota. It is now called the New United Motor Manufacturing, Inc. (NUMMI).

"The attempt to introduce what they call 'Japanese-style management-relations' really means no union," Powers said.

Powers said that attacking the skilled trades, as was done at Fremont, is also a key part of the companies' strategy. They plan to step up the use of outsourcing and bring in imports to use against the union, he added. Outsourcing is farming out work that used to be done in the UAW-organized assembly and parts plants to lower-paying nonunion shops or to countries where wages are significantly lower.

The UAW's ability to fight this union-busting tactic, however, is blunted by the leadership's reactionary support to the bosses' anti-imports, anti-foreign worker views. The UAW leadership's answer to outsourcing is what they call "domestic content." The officials are backing the passage of laws that would require companies selling cars and trucks on the U.S. market to produce a certain percentage of the vehicles and parts in the United States.

Big fight ahead

Powers said that, on paper, the UAW leadership is taking a better stance than in 1982. "They say they will go for a wage increase, hold on to COLA, increase pensions, junk the absenteeism program, and fight for reduced worktime."

"Winning even some of these limited goals, however, will require a fight — a mobilization of the ranks, a real battle," Powers said. "Yet the word 'fight' isn't in these guys' vocabulary."

Powers said that the program of the UAW top leadership adds up to "combat imports, pass domestic-content bills, and elect Mondale."

"Their policies are a dead end," he said. "But the drive of the companies against the union is leading to pressure from the ranks to fight back."

The readiness of the ranks to fight, he explained, was shown at AP Parts.

Another indication of this was the extremely high turnover of elected officials in the local UAW elections. Those defeated included a number of officials who had opposed the 1982 concessions. "It was literally a case of the 'ins' getting thrown out," explained one GM worker. "It didn't matter what they said they were for, they obviously hadn't done anything."

The meeting concluded that big opportunities exist to discuss socialist politics in the plants and in the union. This is especially true as the ruling class steps up its assault against working people in this country and deepens its war in Central America.

Revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean

Don't go looking in the capitalist press for the truth about Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. It isn't there. It is, however, in the *Militant*. See the ad on page 2 for subscription rates.

Cuban ballet helps break down U.S. blockade

BY HARRY RING

This summer, for the first time in 25 years, the National Ballet of Cuba performed in Argentina.

Starring its founder, the world-famed ballerina Alicia Alonso, the celebrated company was given a tumultuous reception by a capacity audience in Buenos Aires.

In the first years after the Cuban revolution, Washington compelled every Latin American country, except Mexico, to break all relations with Cuba. The process of reversing this did not begin until the 1970s. Cuba has made particular gains in breaking through the U.S.-imposed cultural curtain.

Commenting on the extremely successful appearance of the National Ballet in Argentina, the July 15 English-language edition of the Cuban paper, *Granma*, saw it as "a landmark in the cultural relations between the two peoples."

An important factor in achieving this tie undoubtedly was the fact that Cuba played a central international role in mobilizing solidarity behind Argentina during the 1982 British aggression over the Malvinas Islands.

One moving expression of solidarity with Cuba was registered by the workers at the Colón Theater in Buenos Aires, where the ballet performed. The performance coincided with a huge demonstration by Argentine unions, parties, and youth organizations protesting the usury of the International Monetary Fund against Argentina. The workers at the Colón theater decided that because it was the Cuban ballet that was slated to perform, they would keep working so the show could go on.

The acclaim extended the company was, of course, also based on its artistic power.

Granma reported that at the conclusion of the performance, the company was extended an ovation that literally went on for half an hour.

Earlier, in July, three performances were slated for the company in Brazil.

This, too, represented a breakthrough. Alonso herself has appeared in Brazil a number of times over the years. But government authorization for the entire Cuban company to perform came despite a policy of not granting visas to citizens of countries with which Brazil does not have diplomatic relations.

Alonso, still a ranking performer at 63, first became recognized as a major dancer here in this country in the 1940s. While she mainly performed with U.S. companies, she struggled to maintain a small ballet troupe in Cuba.

One of the earliest acts of the revolutionary government in 1959 was to provide funding to establish the National Ballet. Under Alonso's continuing guidance, it plays an important role in Cuban culture and has won international acclaim as well. Meanwhile, Alonso remains as deeply committed to the revolution as to her art.

An earlier substantial breakthrough in the cultural blockade against Cuba was

achieved last spring by Silvio Rodríguez and Pablo Milanés, Cuba's celebrated singing duo.

Huge audiences turned out to hear them in several Latin American countries. In Argentina alone, 150,000 people jammed into their various concerts, and an estimated 8 million people saw them on Argentine television.

In Cuba, Latin America, and elsewhere, Silvio Rodríguez is the most widely acclaimed representative of Cuba's New Song Movement. This developed in association with the New Song current that became popular throughout Latin America in the '60s.

As with the National Ballet, the highlight of their Latin American tour was Argentina.

There they did 19 concerts. In Buenos Aires, a stadium with a capacity of 6,000 overflowed for each performance.

A huge crowd also turned out in the city of Córdoba. A center of Argentina's automotive industry, Córdoba was the center, in 1969 and 1971, of heroic worker-led battles against the Argentine dictatorship of that period.

Rodríguez and Milanés did a special performance in the city of Rosario, birthplace of Che Guevara. The audience cheered them with chants of "Che, Che!"

The Cuban performers were particularly moved by the audience in the city of Mendoza, not far from the Chilean border.

There were a large number of Chileans in the audience, including a number of young people who, at serious risk, slipped across the border from Augusto Pinochet's police state to hear them perform.



Fidel Castro and Alicia Alonso (right) backstage after performance of *Giselle* in 1967.

Social Democrats move further to right

Continued from Page 15

is to reduce the workweek so that more people will be working fewer hours. That involves all kinds of problems — it's much easier said than done, but it's essential."

Does this perspective mean a mobilization of the working class against the bosses? No.

Howe advocates more government intervention. Harrington agrees but adds workers participation is important too, as long as it doesn't challenge the power of the capitalists.

The Eastern model

"You're getting, as a result of the current crisis," Harrington explains, "a rather dramatic increase in various kinds of worker participation in industry — some good, some not so good. The contract signed by Eastern Airlines with the machinists, the flight attendants and the pilots is one of the most significant union contracts of the last 40 or 50 years."

"In return for significant concessions on the part of the unions — they had to give up

wages and other claims on money — the workers now have 25 percent of the equity in the company and 25 percent of the seats on the board of directors."

"You have the beginnings there of the American equivalent of what the Germans call co-determination," Howe adds, "which means that you also begin to move — a small but significant step — toward workers' control of their economic life."

In fact, as most Eastern workers will tell you, the big concessions have given them less say about health and safety and other working conditions while they've taken a big cut in pay. Concessions, even with the appointment of a few union officials to company boards, have not improved the fighting capacity of the unions. The opposite has taken place — the employers are emboldened to demand greater takebacks. "Codetermination," far from leading to greater workers' control, is another step toward institutionalizing collaboration of the workers with the employers at the factory level.

The DSA's support for the Eastern model flows from their reformist proposals to restructure the economy.

"The policies we advocate do include a risk of rekindling inflation," Harrington goes on. "So do Reagan's; but leave that aside. Everybody on the left believes that there have to be some controls. Wage, price, income, rent, dividend controls."

Both Howe and Harrington favor a new "industrial policy" that many top labor officials are advocating as a way to make U.S. capitalism more competitive, which they see as the way to create more jobs.

Harrington says new industries should be created by government encouragement and "certain subsidies [should be offered] to the private sector."

Their primary concern for the profits of the bosses is seen in the DSA's strategy to win a shorter workweek.

Tinkering with capitalism

"If you tried overnight to go from the 40-hour week to the 35-hour week at 40 hours pay," cautions Harrington, "you would cause enormous harm since increasing the wage bill by that much could decrease profits too much. . . . Suppose, however, company A paid you 36 hours of pay for 35 hours of work, with tax credits and other governmental policies making up the other four hours of pay. You will wind up with a total package of 40 hours of pay for 35 hours of work; but the 40 hours of pay will

not necessarily come simply from that one company. It will be borne by society as a whole."

In other words, the boss gets off the hook. The social democrats' proposal is simply a gimmick, a tinkering with the capitalist system while not fundamentally altering its structure.

Their proposals for "workers' participation" and more "governmental intervention" to move "towards a democratic socialist society" is in fact a trick on the workers. It tells workers to believe in capitalism; that it can work for them, and therefore it should be defended from the "totalitarian" communists and socialists here and abroad.

They miseducate their supporters into believing that socialism can come about through the peaceful reform of capitalism — as though any ruling class will allow that to happen. Every successful revolution — from the French revolution of 1789 to the Nicaraguan revolution of 1979 — took place as a result of a mass revolutionary uprising.

Defend capitalist political structures

"Concretely," Howe explains, "we distinguish sharply between the democratic political structure of America, which is precious, and the socioeconomic arrangements of American capitalism, which we criticize fundamentally. . . . So we are working politically through a mixture of what I call the far and the near — the far, our ultimate vision of a transformed world, and the near, our steady effort for social reforms."

This reformist perspective cannot free working people from the oppression and exploitation they suffer under capitalism. As Harrington and Howe make quite clear, "democratic socialism" is nothing but a left defense of U.S. capitalism and imperialism.

Social democracy is an obstacle to workers thinking socially and acting politically, and charting an independent course in politics.

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Klan indicted for attack in Ala.

BY BOB SCHWARTZ

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — A federal grand jury here has indicted nine members of the Ku Klux Klan for attacking a 1979 civil rights march in the north Alabama city of Decatur. The indictments came just eight days before the crime's statute of limitations would have run out.

The May 26, 1979, march was one of many protesting the frame-up conviction of Tommy Lee Hines, a retarded young Black convicted of raping three white women. Previous Black community protests had been countered by cross-burnings and threats of violence by the Klan.

When 80 Blacks — led by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference's president, Rev. Joseph Lowery — tried to march through Decatur, they were attacked by a mob of 100 hooded Klansmen. In the brief confrontation that followed three Blacks and two Klansmen were shot.

Despite extensive news coverage of the attack and the Klan gathering before it, only a Black, Curtis Lee Robinson, was charged and convicted in the shootings. Robinson, who was driving through town on a family outing and had no connection to the protests, shot Klan leader David Kelso,

one of the nine indicted recently, when Kelso and a gang attacked his car.

Robinson, who was given a five-year suspended sentence, is now petitioning for his conviction to be set aside because of racial bias.

Although federal investigators claim credit for finding new evidence that led to the May 25 indictments, a June 4 *Birmingham News* article revealed that authorities reopened the case only after several years of private investigations by the Southern Poverty Law Center in Montgomery, Alabama.

Investigators Randall Williams and Bill Stanton spent four years interviewing hundreds of witnesses and identifying Klan participants from news photos. They worked first to defend Robinson and then gathered evidence for a civil suit brought by the rights marchers. That suit is still pending.

After Williams and Stanton amassed enough evidence to prove the Klan had planned the attack and then had worked to silence potential witnesses questioned by the FBI, the Justice Department finally reopened the investigation in 1983. The trial is scheduled for August.

The silver lining — "The owners of the damaged Three Mile Island nuclear power plant have cleanup technology for sale. To help offset the \$1 billion cost of

kicked in \$18 million and talks are in progress with Swedish and German officials." — News item.

rick, the hard-nosed right-wing U.S. delegate to the U.N. Then someone remembered she's a Democrat.

would get like five weeks off, Bill Blass wistfully recalled. "Today, most of us own our own business ... we have to keep plugging." Currently Bill is plugging several satin skirts and evening sweaters which retail for up to \$2,400.

bit of free job-hunting advice to a group of English youth. Polishing up your interview techniques is important, he advised. And, he confided, "Although you may not think so, the way you dress makes a difference."



Harry Ring

decontaminating the crippled reactor, utility officials are looking to trade all sorts of new, useful tips on removing radiation. ... So far, to gain access to the innovations, 17 Japanese companies... have

Buddy system — The Nuclear Regulatory Commission is pondering how its staff members made more than a thousand errors in licensing a new nuclear plant in Mississippi, including safety OKs for nonexistent parts. Part of the problem, it was concluded, was "excessive informality" between NRC staffers and owners of the plant.

Viva la difference! — To keep up on the gender issue, Republican convention planners were considering having the keynote address delivered by Jeane Kirkpatrick.

Just helping urban removal — The number of abandoned buildings are diminishing in St. Louis. What with used bricks selling at 20 cents apiece, exemplary free entrepreneurs have been busy with crowbars and sledgehammers. Entire buildings reportedly vanish in a weekend. Officials complain that, for whatever reason, area residents don't bother calling the cops.

Think you've got troubles? — When they worked for garment employers, big-time designers

Worse than the subway — Another designer, Perry Ellis, has troubles too. He sold his New York townhouse and the brownstone he bought isn't ready for occupancy. So every night he has to grab the seaplane to his other home on Water Island.

That's how he got his job? — What with the high jobless rate in Britain, Prince Charles offered a

Framed-up Indian activist wins new court hearing

BY ERLING SANNES

BISMARCK, N. Dak. — At long last Leonard Peltier, American Indian Movement (AIM) leader, received a measure of justice. A Circuit Court of Appeals has ordered that an evidentiary hearing be held in the U.S. District Court in Fargo, North

Dakota, before Judge Paul Benson.

The hearing will determine whether Peltier should receive a new trial on his 1977 frame-up conviction of aiding and abetting in the killing of two FBI agents at Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota on June 26, 1975. Peltier is currently serving two consecutive life sentences in the U.S. Penitentiary in Marion, Illinois. Peltier maintains he is innocent of the charges.

A three-judge panel of the 8th Circuit Court of Appeals ordered the evidentiary hearing after Peltier's attorney, William Kunstler, argued that he had uncovered new evidence showing that a crucial gun could not have been the murder weapon.

The Appeals Court based its order for the evidentiary hearing on an October 2, 1975, FBI teletype, which the government suppressed at Peltier's trial.

The FBI teletype, discovered by Peltier's attorneys through the Freedom of Information Act several years after the trial, states that the AR-15 rifle allegedly owned by Peltier had a "different" firing pin than the rifle used to kill the two agents. The jury never knew this fact. They didn't have that report.

"In our view, the language of the October 2 teletype raises factual questions bearing directly on Peltier's legal claim that the government denied him due process in withholding the teletype from him prior to his trial," the court said.

The court also said that should the hearing determine the government "introduced evidence it knew was perjured or refused a specific request from defense attorneys for the evidence, then Peltier's conviction must be overturned if the evidence might have affected the outcome of the trial."

"There can be no question that the withholding of this report denied him even the semblance of a fair trial," Kunstler said.

Two of Peltier's earlier codefendants were acquitted in a Cedar Rapids, Iowa, trial that ended before Peltier's 1977 trial began.

Their acquittal was largely due to FBI misconduct, including fake affidavits, false testimony, illegal wiretapping, and tampering with witnesses. The judge in the Iowa trial also allowed the introduction of evidence concerning the FBI's domestic counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO), as well as reports of a full-scale paramilitary assault on AIM at Pine Ridge conducted by the FBI and other government-law enforcement agencies on the day of the shootings.

After the Iowa acquittal, the government was so determined to convict any available member of AIM for the agents' deaths that it made sure the vital ballistics report re-

mained buried in its files during Peltier's trial.

In a more recent development, Kunstler has filed a motion in U.S. District Court in Fargo, asking Judge Paul Benson to disqualify himself in the evidentiary hearing. Benson allegedly remarked publicly that the sentencing of Peltier "was justified because he could not be rehabilitated."

"We're struggling to get rid of this prejudiced judge, this totally prejudiced judge," Kunstler said. Benson, for example, refused to allow any defense testimony during Peltier's trial regarding FBI misconduct — the same testimony presented in the Cedar Rapids trial.

More than 140 residents of North Dakota and Minnesota have already filed a friend of the court motion in U.S. District Court at Fargo on behalf of Peltier, asking that Judge Benson be removed from the case.

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NEW YORK

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Rally to Commemorate South African Women's Day. Speakers: representatives of African National Congress and South West Africa People's Organization; others, Entertainment by Sechaba, Casselberry Du Pree, Loretta Bascombe & Spirit. Sun., Aug. 5, 2 p.m. to 7 p.m. Harriet Tubman School, 127th St., between Adam Clayton Powell Blvd and Frederick Douglass Blvd. Ausp: New York Southern Africa Solidarity Coalition. For more information call (212) 234-1334.

WASHINGTON D.C.

Socialist Workers Party Campaign Open House. Speakers: Ken Morgan, cochair of Baltimore National Black Independent Political Party, on the "Fight for Independent Black Politics"; Glenn White, SWP. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Aug. 11, 6 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 797-7694.

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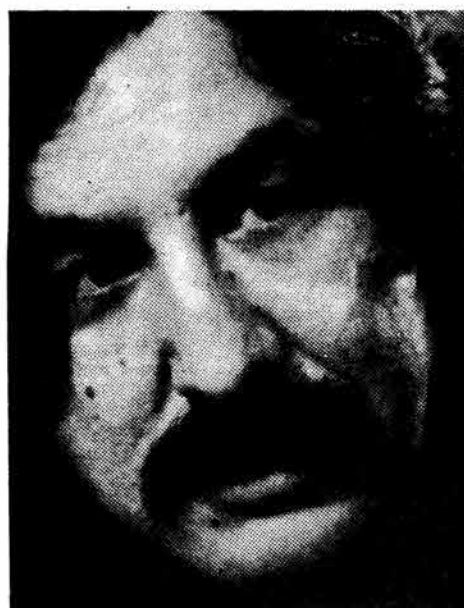
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Leonard Peltier

Crazy Horse Spirit

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Behind the myth of the 'Black-Jewish alliance'

"Man, why did he have to apologize? It's like saying, 'Well, excuse me for nothing.'"

That's how one brother reacted to Jesse Jackson's keynote speech at the Democratic Party convention. In his speech Jackson begged forgiveness from the racists who attacked him throughout his campaign. These attacks centered on Jackson's initial refusal to repudiate Nation of Islam leader Louis Farrakhan, a Black



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Mohammed Oliver

nationalist and a strong opponent of Israel. Racists tried to use statements by Jackson and Farrakhan to smear the entire Black community as anti-Semitic.

Jackson's apology was hailed by the most conservative sectors of the Democratic Party and middle-class leaders of major Jewish groups. But Blacks and other working people needn't apologize for blasting these organizations and their policies.

It's false that we have a lot in common with B'nai B'rith or the American Jewish Congress. It's a myth that Blacks and Jews have "shared blood and shared sacrifices," as Jackson claimed in his speech.

Blacks are victims of national oppression. We're denied housing, decent education, and jobs — because we're Black. Those of us working are generally trapped

in the dirtiest, lowest-paying jobs. We're the victims of cop terror and other acts of racial discrimination.

Since most Blacks are working-class, we are also exploited on the job — superexploited, in fact, because of the national oppression we suffer.

Jews have been discriminated against in employer-inspired campaigns aimed at making Jews the scapegoats for the problems faced by working people. But Jews are not an oppressed national minority in the United States.

Moreover, unlike Blacks, Jews today are not predominantly working class, but middle class and professionals.

In the U.S. population, one of six people 25 or older have four or more years of college. Among Jews more than 50 percent fall in that category.

In the New York-Northern New Jersey area, where 40 percent of the 5.728 million U.S. Jews live, 4 percent of Jewish male heads of households have medical or dental degrees. Three percent hold doctorates.

Forty percent of Jewish males and 18 percent of Jewish females are self-employed. This compares with 7 percent of the total U.S. work force similarly employed.

Until World War II, Jews in the United States were mostly workers. They were, for example, a significant proportion of the workers in New York's garment industry.

This is no longer true. Since the war, U.S. Jews have become increasingly middle class. Those Jews who still are workers tend to be older, skilled workers — such as cutters in the garment industry.

Most Jews today are part of the middle class. Tens of millions of people in the middle class and professional layers directly benefit from government social policies, tax breaks, and support for the employers' antilabor of-

fensive. This class composition of U.S. Jews helps explain why many of them oppose affirmative action quotas and other demands for Black equality. Such demands threaten the privileged status of the middle class and professionals.

Spokespeople for major Jewish organizations such as the B'nai B'rith represent not only middle class Jews, but the "Yuppies" (young urban professionals) of all creeds and national origins. This entire layer of society has become more and more conservative as capitalist politics moves to the right and the employers intensify their offensive against working people at home and abroad.

It would be wrong, however, to think that because Jews have become predominantly middle class, they've been assimilated into U.S. society. The U.S. rulers are thoroughly anti-Semitic. The employers will turn on Jews and blame them for the evils of capitalism in crisis. As this worldwide crisis deepens and the working-class fightback against it sharpens, the capitalist rulers will increase their attacks on democratic rights — including those of Jews.

Blacks have been among the most outspoken opponents of racist and anti-Jewish violence.

Precisely because we're an oppressed and superexploited section of the U.S. working class, Blacks are the most combative and class-conscious layer of that class. Black workers will lead the fight of our class and its allies to take political power out of the hands of the ruling rich and establish a revolutionary government of workers and farmers. Such a government will open the way toward building a socialist United States in a socialist world and eliminating the class system — capitalism — that spawns national oppression and anti-Jewish bigotry.

School desegregation under attack in Virginia

BY CHARLES BARNET

NORFOLK, Va. — The school board here voted July 23 to delay until September 1985 implementation of its "neighborhood schools" plan. The plan would end cross-town busing of elementary school students for the purpose of school desegregation. It has been the target of protest from Norfolk's Black community.

Black leaders had held a news conference July 11 to protest a July 9 federal court decision approving the "neighborhood schools" plan. Under the plan proposed by the racist-led school board, 10 of 36 elementary schools would become more than 95 percent Black. At the news conference, leaders of the probusing Coalition for Quality Education announced they would appeal the decision to the 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals.

Henry Marsh, lead counsel for those seeking to block the school board's plan, stated, "We will remain true to our commitment to the children of Norfolk, particularly the Black children, so that they will never experience the ravages of segregated education."

The school board is seeking to end 13 years of court-ordered busing. Marsh is the lawyer who, in 1970, successfully argued the need for busing in Norfolk to give Black children an equal education. Last summer more than 10,000 people marched to city hall to support busing and school desegregation. The march was a culmination of a series of mass meetings and rallies in early 1983 protesting the board's plan.

In May 1983 six Black parents and 16 Black school children filed a class-action suit charging that the school board's plan violated the 1954 *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision in which the Supreme

Court ruled that separate schools for Blacks and whites are inherently unequal.

In his decision to uphold the school board's "neighborhood schools" plan, District Court Judge John MacKenzie accepted the school board's argument that busing causes "white flight." MacKenzie ruled that the board's plan is a constitutional way to stop the system from becoming resegregated because of "white flight." In many other cases, courts have declared "white flight" irrelevant.

MacKenzie rejected the charge that all-Black schools would be given inferior supplies and resources. "Such an argument is hardly worth the review of the evidence," declared the judge.

A central argument of probusing lawyers during the trial was that the Norfolk city

government has purposefully segregated residential areas over the years by concentrating public and subsidized housing in predominantly Blacks sections of the city.

In his ruling, MacKenzie could not deny that some 25 percent of Norfolk Black schoolchildren live in such projects and that "neighborhood schools" in those areas would be all Black. MacKenzie simply declared the school board was not itself responsible for housing segregation and could not be held accountable for it.

Marsh stated that the ruling would "probably inspire school boards in other places to try to do the same thing. I think it would unravel the *Brown vs. Board of Education* decision."

In nearby Newport News, for example, Mayor Harry Atkinson, who was a leader

of antibusing forces in the early 1970s, called on the Newport News school board to take the same action as the Norfolk board to scuttle school desegregation. Newport News is currently under a court-ordered busing program.

Eli Green, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Virginia's 1st Congressional District seat, condemned the court ruling, saying: "This ruling is the result of the racist, antibusing climate encouraged by the Democrats and Republicans, the Justice Department, and the Supreme Court. They want to reverse the positive changes that desegregated schools have brought to the education of Black children."

Green's campaign platform calls for defense of busing in both Norfolk and Newport News.

Albany Blacks protest racist killing

BY BETH KEITEL

ALBANY, N.Y. — Residents of this city's South End and Arbor Hill areas are demanding justice for Jesse Davis, a 35-year-old Black man fatally shot July 8 by cops from the Arbor Hill Neighborhood Police Unit.

That Sunday afternoon, five white cops responded to a report by neighbors that Davis was causing a disturbance in his Clifton Ave. apartment by pumping several bullets into him.

A July 10 community meeting following this killing drew more than 250 people. A coalition was formed of community-based organizations, ministers, and business people, as well as four city and county officials.

Speakers demanded that the officers in-

volved be suspended pending an investigation. Some also demanded that more Blacks, Latinos, and women be hired onto the police force.

Some people argued that a citywide citizens' police complaint review board be formed. Local residents also got up and spoke of incidents of brutality and murder committed daily by Arbor Hill cops and by cops in general throughout the country.

The angry crowd at the meeting marched to the Arbor Hill police unit chanting, "Justice for Jesse!" "We're fired up, won't take no more!" and "Stop killer cops!" A second demonstration on July 12 at Davis' funeral was attended by 400 to 500 people.

Meanwhile, on July 20, the grand jury cleared the police of any wrongdoing.

Allegedly, the cops found Davis alone in his apartment. He was naked and armed with a folding knife and long-tined carving fork. Police claim that they were unable to disarm Davis and found it necessary to fire one shot into his chest. They say the first shot had no effect and therefore, found it necessary to fire at least 3 more shots into him, striking him in the chest, head, and face.

At the July 22 Black Arts Festival, a contingent of Davis supporters marched to the Empire State Plaza to protest the killing. Further actions are being planned.

Richard Ariza, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 23rd C.D., said that "the refusal of the Albany grand jury to indict the police officers responsible for the murder of Jesse Davis is an outrage. The Socialist Workers Party joins with the Black community in condemning the grand jury for its complicity in allowing the killers to go free. The only thing that will force the racist 'justice system' to take any action against the killer cops is the continuing protest demonstrations, which I call on everyone to support and participate in."

Court rules Detroit layoffs discriminatory

BY SETH WIGDERSON

DETROIT — An affirmative action victory was won here when a federal judge ruled that the city had to rehire 630 Black police officers because their layoff in 1979 and 1980 violated their constitutionally protected civil rights. More than 1,000 cops — including the 630 Blacks ordered reinstated — had been laid off by Mayor Coleman Young as part of cutbacks in city government spending.

The layoffs were challenged in a lawsuit brought by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Guardians, a Black police officers' organization. Detroit city officials admitted that Blacks were victims of racial discrimina-

tion. A voluntary affirmative action program to increase the percentage of Black cops was adopted as part of a plan to alleviate racist hiring practices.

This differs from a Memphis affirmative action plan in which the city government refused to acknowledge any discrimination against Blacks, but altered its seniority rules to maintain the newly-achieved percentages of Black cops despite layoffs.

The Memphis affirmative action program was challenged by white cops, and the Supreme Court recently overturned the plan. The high court ruled that a "last-hired, first-fired" seniority system is protected by the Civil Rights Act, under which the white cops brought their suit.

In the Detroit case the suit was brought under the 14th Amendment. Judge Horace Gilmore did not change the strict seniority clauses in the city contract with the Detroit Police Officers Association (DPOA). Instead, he ruled that the city had reneged on its "duty to remedy past intentional racial discrimination" and that "this breach was knowing and intentional."

The trial showed that when white police faced layoff, the DPOA took concessions to save jobs, but when layoffs threatened recently hired Black cops, the DPOA did nothing.

The DPOA has also consistently rejected the city's bargaining demand to include affirmative action in their seniority clauses.

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Postal unions need solidarity now

Postal workers need solidarity now! Contracts covering more than 600,000 postal unionists expired July 21. Within days Postal Service officials announced that this leaves them free to impose unilateral changes in wages and working conditions. The federal agency said it would institute a two-tier pay scale and begin to hire new workers at wages 20 percent or more below current employees.

American Postal Workers Union (APWU) Pres. Moe Biller denounced the move as "a provocative union busting tactic."

The government has seized the initiative with this PATCO-style move and, like the employing class it represents, is on the offensive against the unions. Federal law denies postal workers the right to strike. The failure to reach agreement on a new contract leads to a 45-day "fact-finding period." If this produces no new contract the issues can go to binding arbitration.

The government has made its position clear: it can do whatever it chooses. The unions cannot strike — they must simply wait. Meanwhile the government will impose its own contract terms.

This is precisely what the AP Parts Co. did to UAW Local 14 in Toledo. AP Parts' unilateral action included imposing a giant wage cut on those already working. This the Postal Service has not done — yet!

They are testing to see how far they can go. Every day they remind postal workers of PATCO's fate, when 11,400 air traffic controllers struck in 1981 and the government destroyed the union.

The postal workers have not yet decided their course. The two largest unions, the APWU and the National Association of Letter Carriers, will hold conventions in August. In 1970 postal workers took militant strike action. President Nixon called in troops to move the mail. What will happen this time around is not yet settled.

The labor movement and all of its allies should express our outrage at the government's antiunion action — immediately. Unions, Black, Latino, women's and farmers' organizations should let the postal workers — many of whom are Black and female — know that we will stand behind them in whatever course of action they feel is necessary to defend their union.

The government action is aimed beyond the postal workers. It is a clear warning to others — especially auto and mine workers whose contracts expire in September.

Labor and its allies must answer this threat now. Solidarity should be publicly extended to the postal workers immediately so that the government knows that the postal workers do not stand alone.

Let the message be clear: No more PATCOs! No more union busting!

Drop sanctions against Poland!

The Polish government's amnesty of virtually all persons serving sentences or facing charges for their role in organizing the banned trade-union federation, Solidarity, is a victory for Polish workers and for working people all over the world.

The amnesty, approved by the Polish parliament on July 21, will lead to the release of 652 political prisoners by the end of this month. An additional 35,000 other prisoners will also be freed.

Most prominent among those to be released are seven central leaders of Solidarity and four leaders of the former Committee for the Defense of the Workers (KOR).

The amnesty frees almost all those unjustly imprisoned for demanding trade-union and political rights.

The government's action also removes the Reagan administration's pretext for applying punitive sanctions to Poland. These restrictions on trade and credits to Poland, which Reagan cynically claimed were enacted as a way of supporting the Polish workers' struggle, have caused severe hardship for the workers and farmers there.

Poland's economy lost \$13 billion in the past two and a half years as a result of the U.S. economic squeeze, according to Polish government figures.

In response to the amnesty, Washington has indicated that two of the most minor sanctions — restrictions on

Polish airline flights and scientific exchanges — may be lifted.

But the administration is still holding out on lifting the more damaging sanctions. These include the ban on all U.S. government credits for the purchase of food and other commodities; the denial of normal tariff status, which prevents Polish goods from being sold in the United States; and U.S. refusal to allow Poland's admission to the International Monetary Fund. The maintenance of these sanctions shows the hypocrisy of Reagan's declared support for the working people of Poland.

The Democrats' and Republicans' phony support for Solidarity is designed to try and draw U.S. working people behind the anticommunist campaign which is the chief justification for U.S. aggression around the world — from Nicaragua to Lebanon.

Washington's anticommunist crusade around Poland has also had the staunch support of the reactionary bureaucrats who control the AFL-CIO. As the official spokesperson for the U.S. labor movement, these labor fakers have continually cheered Reagan's anti-Poland policies.

U.S. working people should reject the anticommunist foreign policy of the employers and their government and instead call for the removal of all sanctions against Poland.

Keep Three Mile Island shut down

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) is preparing to act on a recommendation by its staff that the undamaged Unit 1 reactor at Three Mile Island be permitted to start up again.

The unit had been shut down for refueling at the time of the 1979 near-catastrophic accident in Unit 2 of the complex.

On March 28, 1979, the cooling system at Unit 2 malfunctioned. This led to a near meltdown — an accident which, according to the government's own statistics, could kill 45,000 people quickly and spread radiation bad enough to at least ruin crops over an area the size of Pennsylvania.

While the Three Mile Island accident never got that far, it did release massive quantities of radioactivity into the atmosphere, contaminating humans, animals, and crops.

Every nuclear power plant is an accident waiting to happen. And even without an accident, they leak poisonous radiation into the air and produce toxic wastes which cannot be safely stored.

The facts were driven home to millions as a result of Three Mile Island.

It is this outrage and anger that has prevented the undamaged Unit 1 from being reopened.

This is the third time the NRC staff has recommended restarting Unit 1. The last time was in December. But the commission, faced with continuing public anger, deemed it judicious to request a further report on the "management integrity" of TMI's scandal-ridden owners.

Earlier, in 1981, an NRC staff recommendation to approve restarting Unit 1 had to be shelved in the face of revelations of gross criminal safety violations by TMI's owners and managers.

Later, the NRC asserted it would not have favored a startup if it had been aware of these violations. But then it was revealed that a documentation of such violations

had been filed with the NRC two years previous and had gathered dust.

Revelations of gross safety violations have caused a number of reactors to shut down. Others have had to be scrapped because of wildly escalating costs and repeated construction delays.

But the stubborn drive to get Three Mile Island going again symbolizes the determination of the industry, and the government, to salvage the nuclear industry.

For the industry's owners, there are very big bucks at stake. Currently, 140 reactors have been completed or are under construction across the country.

An additional factor is the ownership of reactors by utility companies which also use coal and often are tied in with those who own the mines that produce it.

Switching from coal to nuclear energy is seen as a means of weakening the United Mine Workers Union, long a target of the employers because of the gains won by union miners.

The union, in turn, has pressed for shutting down the nuclear reactors. It has marshalled evidence of the grave health and safety risks they represent for the population.

The UMWA proposes using coal as a safe, clean alternative to nuclear power.

It certainly is safer. And, with coal-burning plants required to install chimney scrubbers, the present pollution problem with coal could be effectively brought under control.

Three Mile Island should be kept shut down and its owners made to pay for the clean-up and damages caused to life and property.

The same holds true for every other nuclear plant as well. Every minute any plant is operating means more destruction of lives and land, and increases the danger of a horrifying accident. They should all be closed down immediately.

Cannon on unionists, revolutionists, and party perspectives

August 21 marks the 10th anniversary of the death of James P. Cannon, the central founding leader of the Socialist Workers Party. When he died at age 84 he was National Chairman emeritus of the SWP.

In the early 1950s Cannon led a struggle against a minority faction in the SWP which, under the pressure of conservatism in the organized working class, turned away from a revolutionary perspective.

"Trade Unionists and Revolutionists," was a key 1952 speech by Cannon in the course of this fight. The excerpts below come from *Speeches to the Party* by Cannon, available for \$8.95 from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., N.Y., N.Y. 10014 (please enclose 75 cents for postage).

Since the consolidation of the CIO unions and the 13-year period of war and postwar boom, a new stratification has taken place within the American working class, and particularly and conspicuously in the CIO unions. Our party, which is rooted in the unions, reflects that stratification too.

If you will go back and read Lenin again, in case you've forgotten it, you will see how Lenin explained the degeneration of the Second International, and its eventual

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

betrayal in the First World War, precisely by its opportunism based upon the adaptation of the party to the conservative impulses and demands of the bureaucracy and aristocracy of labor.

We had the same thing in the U.S.

The organized labor movement, up to the thirties, was largely restricted to a privileged aristocracy of labor — as [Eugene V.] Debs and [Daniel] De Leon used to call it — of skilled craftsmen, who got better wages and had preferred positions, "job trusts," and so on.

On the other side, there was the great mass of the basic proletariat, the unskilled and semiskilled, the mass production workers, the foreign born, and the jobless youth. They were without benefit of organization, without privileges, the outcasts of society.

The drives behind the 1934-37 [labor] upsurge were the bitter and irreconcilable grievances of the workers; their protest against mistreatment, speedup, insecurity; the revolt of the pariahs against the pariah status.

This revolt, which no bureaucracy could contain, was spearheaded by new people — the young mass production workers, the new, young militants whom nobody had ever heard of.

The workers' victory in these battles definitely established the CIO and secured stability of the new unions through the seniority clause.

The seniority clause, like everything else in life, has revealed a contradictory quality. By regulating the right to employment through time of service on the job, it secures the union militant against arbitrary discrimination and layoffs. It is an absolute necessity for union security. That is the positive side of the seniority clause. But, at the same time, it also gradually creates a sort of special interest in the form of steadier employment for those unionists who have been longest in the shop. That is its negative side.

In time, with the stretching out of their seniority rights and their upgrading to better jobs, a process of transformation in the status of the original union militants has taken place. In the course of sixteen years, they have secured more or less steady employment, even in times of slack work. They are, under the rules, the last to be laid off and the first to be rehired. And in most cases, they have better jobs than newcomers to the shop. All of this, combined with war and postwar prosperity, has changed their material position and, to a certain extent, their social status.

But these conservatized ex-militants are only part of the membership of the CIO. . . .

In these mass production industries, which are real slave pens and hell holes, there are many others. There is a mass of younger workers who have none of these benefits and privileges and no vested interest in the piled-up seniority rights. They are the human material for the new radicalization. The revolutionary party, looking to the future, must turn its primary attention to them.

A new upsurge in the labor movement . . . will take youth, and hunger, and raggedness, and bitter discontent with all the conditions of life. We must look to the new people if . . . we are thinking . . . of the coming American revolution and not limiting our vision to the prospect of a new shake-up in the bureaucracy and of caucus combinations with slick "progressive" fakers for little aims.

The surest way to lose one's fighting faith is to succumb to one's immediate environment; to see things only as they are and not as they are changing and must change; to see only what is before one's eyes and imagine that it is permanent.

Should feminists support maternity leave?

The California Federal Savings and Loan Association says they don't like sex discrimination.

So they refused to give Lillian Garland her job back when she returned from a two-month maternity leave following the birth of her child by Caesarean section.

Because she was out of a job, Garland, a young Black



WOMEN IN REVOLT

Pat Grogan

woman, was evicted from her apartment and lost custody of her child.

"I was in total shock," Garland said. "I don't think a woman should have to choose between having a baby or having an income."

California Federal decided to use Garland's case to challenge a California state law that entitles a woman to maternity leave, without losing her job, for medical disability caused by pregnancy or childbirth. California Federal was joined by the California Chamber of Commerce and the Merchants and Manufacturers Association. They succeeded in having the law struck down.

The employers argued that to give disability leave to pregnant women is a form of sex discrimination against men because it singles women out for preferential treat-

ment. Male workers who take disability leaves don't necessarily get their jobs back, said California Federal, so why should women?

On this issue the employers have some so-called feminists on their side.

Dianne Feinstein, mayor of San Francisco, articulates the position of those who oppose maternity leave from a fake feminist point of view.

Commenting on the Garland case, Feinstein said, "What we women have been saying all along is we want to be treated equally. Now we have to put our money where our mouth is."

"What we were asking was to create a special group of workers that, in essence, is pregnant women and new mothers. . . .

"I don't think the work market has to accommodate itself to women having children."

But women are a special group — we are discriminated against and oppressed on the basis of our sex. That's why we have to fight for affirmative action, child care, reproductive rights, and maternity leave.

Wendy Williams, a professor of law at Georgetown University, described by the *New York Times* as "the leading feminist opponent of special treatment for pregnancy," gets to the heart of the question. She argues that laws like pregnancy disability really hurt women, because they make women of child-bearing age more expensive employees, and thereby increase the incentive to discriminate against them.

With this argument, women and workers should never

fight for any rights, because every gain for us comes out of the bosses' profits.

In 1979 I was at a meeting of over 175 steelworkers, male and female, who gathered to celebrate the passage of the Pregnancy Discrimination Act by Congress the previous year. The act forced the employers to give disability benefits to pregnant workers.

We shouted and jeered at the complaint of the steel industry that the new law "would cost them a nickel an hour per worker" and their vow to fight it.

The answer that genuine supporters of women's rights gave to the bosses' phony claim that women retaining their jobs after maternity leave discriminates against men is simple: we support the right of women to have a job and have children. In addition, we think all disabled workers should have the right to return to their jobs.

This kind of answer helps forge a firm, fighting alliance between the labor movement and fighters for women's rights and exposes the lie that the fight for women's rights discriminates against male workers.

The December 1983 convention of the United Mine Workers of America unanimously approved a resolution supporting the demand for a maternity-paternity leave clause to be included in the contract with the coal operators.

This position, not the one pushed by capitalist politician Dianne Feinstein, shows the way forward for women. It champions the needs of women workers, forges working-class unity and puts human needs before the profits of the bosses.

LETTERS

Prisoner renews

The administration told me they were going to ship me to Statesville, so I cancelled my free subscription to the *Militant*. Now I am told I won't be transferred, so please renew my subscription. I know and feel that you want the Brothers and Sisters to be up on things.

The ruling class is scared to death. This is why they are stepping up their attacks on the democratic rights of the people and trying to destruct the revolutionary movements around the globe. Right on to your work in publishing the truth about the coming revolutionary transition.

A prisoner
Illinois

SWP on Farrakhan

Regarding your July 13 front-page defense of Louis Farrakhan, I am shocked that the *Militant's* editors would defend a man who regards Hitler with respect. I have seen enough of this stuff lately on the pages of what used to be an excellent paper. Please cancel my

subscription to the *Militant* and refund the unused portion.

I hope the SWP can get its act together in the future. You are beginning to resemble the Communist Party.

David Moss
San Francisco, California

'Militant' always there

I would like to take this time to commend the *Militant's* highly professional staff for putting out a truly first-class newspaper.

It's good to know that despite the big-business media's "conspiracy of silence" concerning major struggles of the working class — for example, the British miners strike — the *Militant* is always there bringing us the truth.

Earl Camiré
Lawrence, Massachusetts

Cop kills brother

I am a resident of Arizona. Within the past year I have heard of over a dozen cases where an unarmed person who presented no physical threat is shot down, and

the officer responsible is relieved of any liability if he states that he believed the person shot to have committed a felony and that such force was necessary to detain the individual.

If an officer shoots and kills an individual that he believes to have committed a misdemeanor, he is only liable to be found guilty of manslaughter, which carries a maximum seven years in prison. Since it would endanger the life of an officer of the law to be sent to prison, he is likely to receive probation as a "punishment."

If it is so easy for an officer to justify killing someone, then it must take no effort whatsoever to justify kicking in your door, tapping your phone, using unnecessary force or violating any right they take a notion to — then justify it on the grounds that the officer felt it was "necessary."

I am writing . . . in memory of Steven Kenneth Fisher, who was shot and killed on July 15, 1982, for suspicion of theft while waiting for his girlfriend to get off work at Smittie's Supermarket in Phoenix, Arizona.

He was shot by Officer Mark Morlock of the Phoenix Police Department, who had been working as a security guard for Smittie's at the time of the shooting.

The shooting was justified by the Phoenix P.D. [Police Department] Review Board on the grounds that the officer acted in good faith. The family members are denied all police reports that pertain to the incident. So the family is expected to read about it in the paper, and accept the story given as the truth!

I am Steven's older brother and I will miss him every day of my life.

John Fisher
Arizona

Solidarity committee

I was glad to see the coverage of the Auto-Lite commemoration rally in a recent issue of the *Militant*. One paragraph troubled me, however.

Speaking of the Toledo Area Solidarity Committee, Malik Miah wrote, "Many of its leaders . . . focus their fire on top labor officials. This approach was outlined by the TASC speakers at the rally." First of all, there was only one TASC speaker and secondly, no such approach was stated.

Whether TASC focuses its fire on union officials or not can be

discussed and argued. (I think the focus of the organization's work has been strike solidarity and unity against union-busting companies. Along the way, some union officials may receive verbal criticism, as they often will within the SWP and many other organizations.) This can't be fully discussed here.

What has to be discussed, however, is the description made about the TASC speaker at the Auto-Lite rally. In no way was an "approach" of criticizing labor officialdom given by TASC. In fact, there was not even one critical word made. If Mr. Miah has a tape recording of the rally, he should check on this.

The TASC speaker discussed the attacks on working people going on today, the need for labor unity and support between unions, and the vital importance of getting involved in each person's union. TASC activity was not and has not been counterposed to this type of activity.

Such a charge appearing in the *Militant* is more dangerous than you might be aware of. Since the formation of TASC, we have met huge amounts of red-baiting, LaRouche-baiting, and other false accusations, such as dual-unionism. These charges have generally come from some union officials who know better. Other union officials in Toledo are very supportive of TASC.

As someone who generally agrees with the *Militant's* analysis of national and international events, I hate to see such inaccuracies in the paper, especially when they can be harmful.

Paul Tierney
Toledo, Ohio

Brave alternative

I want to thank the *Militant* for taking a firm stand against the Simpson-Mazzoli "immigration reform" bill. This bill, which has been misrepresented as some generous act of amnesty in the *Baltimore Sun* and other like publications, is a criminally racist measure.

Completely aside from the political intent of the law — to strengthen anti-foreign sentiment — it will cause tremendous economic hardship for millions of immigrants and their families.

I'm also glad to see the Mason-González campaign bravely continuing to offer an alternative in this grim election year.

Leftist advocates of a Demo-

cratic (Mondale) vote in November do not even claim a more progressive program to the credit of their candidate. The best I've heard lately is that while a Reagan victory would mean direct repression against the left, Mondale would not persecute the opponents of his reactionary policies.

Even if one assumes 100 percent sincerity on Jesse Jackson's part to reform the Democratic Party, it is obvious that it could not succeed. Mondale and Co. are too committed to Zionism, anti-Castroism, and the status quo — or worse — in racial relations.

The choice of Geraldine Ferraro may be a historic event in capitalist politics, but it is quite safe. Mondale knows the NOW [National Organization for Women] leadership is content to settle for tokenism over any serious concessions to women's equality.

Voting for Mel Mason may not be a solution in itself, but I recommend it to anyone over the self-deception of the "lesser evil" in 1984.

A reader
Baltimore, Maryland

Correction

The article in last week's issue on the Democratic Party convention includes an error on page 4. The sentence that reads, "They explain that participation in elections is not the road to transform society, in fact, it is a barrier to advancing toward independent political action," should read, "They explain that reliance on elections is not the road . . ."

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. Where possible the fund also tries to fill prisoners' requests for other literature. To help this important cause, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Irish-Americans back Mel Mason

Supporters of Mel Mason, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president, will be pleased to hear the results of two polls recently published in the *Irish American Voice* (IAV).

The IAV is a new publication supporting the Irish republican movement. In the April issue, it printed statements from five presidential candidates, including Mason, "on issues of importance to Ireland."

Readers were asked to respond by returning an attached preference card and by writing in their comments.

Poll results were published in the June issue:

Gary Hart	50 percent
Mel Mason	22 percent
Jesse Jackson	16 percent
Walter Mondale	11 percent
Ronald Reagan	0 percent

"Socialist candidate Mel Mason came in second, despite the lack of attention he has been given by the U.S. media," the IAV said. "His unconditional support of the Irish freedom struggle apparently overcame

the traditional reluctance of Irish Americans to consider a third party candidate."

Georgia Fleming, editor of the IAV, told me that many people wrote in with favorable comments on Mason's statement, and that a number had asked, "Why haven't we heard of him before?"

The IAV published results of another presidential poll in the June issue as well.

"The Irish American Veteran's Association, a lobby group with national membership, announced the results of its latest survey. When asked 'Would you support and/or vote for one of the major party candidates?' 75 percent said yes. . . . Of those who said no, they would not support a major party candidate, 99 percent said they would support the candidacy of Mel Mason (SWP)."

To find out more about the *Irish American Voice*, write to: IAV, 114 Rosewood Drive, Enterprise, Ala. 36330.

Melissa Moriarty
Birmingham, Alabama

UAW members locked out in Texas

BY JOHN RUBINSTEIN

DALLAS — 3,200 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) union were locked out indefinitely from the eight Bell Helicopter Textron plants in Hurst, Grand Prairie, and Arlington, Texas, on July 26.

Bell's aerospace assembly workers, organized by UAW Local 218, and clerical workers, organized by UAW Local 317, had been working without a contract for more than a month.

After the unions rejected the company's contract offer, Bell began to institute new work rules. In response, over the past month, members of the UAW have participated in several walkouts and work stoppages.

However, on July 18, the company escalated its efforts to force Bell workers to give in to its concession contract. Edmund Szol, the company vice-president for employee relations, issued a letter to the membership which claimed that work stoppages, slowdowns, and the refusal to work overtime were not rights protected by the National Labor Relations Act and workers would be fired if they continued to participate in these.

Several days after the memo was issued, some workers were told they had to work 12 hours a day and Saturdays and Sundays as well.

On July 26, many workers scheduled to come in two hours early punched in at their regular work time at 8 a.m. The company immediately began disciplinary proceedings against them.

Within minutes, workers rallied in the plant and began discussing what kind of action to take. At that point security personnel asked them to leave the plant.

Almost 2,700 workers walked out of the



Bell Helicopter workers march against forced overtime

different Bell plants, mostly from the main plant in Hurst, and went to the union hall. They decided to return to work.

Workers from the main plant marched down the street together from the union hall. As they approached the plant, security guards closed the gates and locked them out.

The workers then rallied at the gate, chanting, "We won't go" and "We want a contract."

Later that day, Bell issued a statement which said that the union members who had left the plant that morning were sus-

pending until further notice.

That night, 500 workers from the much smaller second and third shifts walked out.

The following day union members returned to work at 8 a.m. and security guards, management, and local police were waiting. Any worker who had left the plant the day before to go to the union hall was turned away at the gate.

At this point, most of the Bell employees still working are management, security guards, and engineers. Bell employs 6,500 people in the area. One worker, estimating that over 90 percent of the hourly employ-

ees are now locked out, said, "If they fire anybody, they'll have to fire nearly all the plant."

Jerry Tucker, the assistant regional director of UAW District 5, said the company is using the issue of forced overtime to provoke a confrontation with the union. Union officials said the company doesn't have enough orders for the military and commercial helicopters it produces to warrant the amount of overtime that is being required. For the past 32 years, overtime at Bell has been voluntary.

"I see it mostly as a tool of confrontation," Tucker said. "They have in effect said, 'We are going to ask you to work 10 hours a day even if we don't need you.'"

Currently, over 2,000 Bell employees are laid off.

The attempts by the company to take away the regular COLA (Cost of Living Adjustment), and the procedure of folding the COLA into the base pay by substituting a lump "bonus" payment at the end of each year, have been rejected by both union locals. The company's proposal would result in a cut in real wages.

The latest attacks on the workers at Bell are part of the overall drive of the employers to seriously weaken the UAW in aerospace plants like McDonnell Douglas in California and at LTV, just a few miles away from the Bell plants, in Grand Prairie, Texas.

But one worker told a reporter from a local newspaper, "We can stay out for two years or more, if that is what it has to be."

The Texas Socialist Workers Party candidates for Congress in the 24th C.D. and for U.S. Senate, Steve Iverson and Beverly Andalora, issued a statement expressing support for the fight of the UAW workers at Bell.

Both socialist candidates are members of UAW Local 276 and work at the General Motors assembly plant in Arlington.

"Clearly," the statement said, "Bell Helicopter is intent on outright union-busting and is using the pretext of overtime to mount an all-out attack. . . . Now, more than ever, solidarity is essential. It is the only way we working people will begin to roll back the bosses' attacks . . . against the entire union movement."

John Rubinstein is a member of UAW Local 276 and works at the GM assembly plant in Arlington.

Immigration cops raid Wisc. foundry

BY MINDY BRUDNO

RACINE, Wis. — Last month the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) swooped into the foundry of Racine Steel Castings, a UAW-organized shop in Racine, Wisconsin, demanding to see immigration papers or birth certificates of hundreds of Latino workers there.

Twelve workers, with 5-10 years seniority, were taken to Chicago for deportation to Mexico.

José Nieve, a U.S. citizen, was almost seized. "I tried to tell them I was born in Texas and that I had lived here since I was a baby," Nieve said, "but they wouldn't believe me even after they went through everything in my wallet."

Nieve would have been detained, if not for the speedy intervention of relatives who rushed to the plant with copies of Nieve's marriage license and other documents.

The raid at Racine Steel Castings came on the heels of a number of other INS factory raids in Wisconsin. This was by far the largest plant and the biggest number of individuals involved to date.

The raid had a chilling effect on the entire Latino community in southeastern Wisconsin. David Granados, a Mexican-American who is president of the local chapter of the League of United Latin American Citizens, said that the raid had "made me a little paranoid. The police could ask me for documents based on my last name, and I don't carry my birth certificate."

Following the raid, Richard Fought, president of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 553 which organizes the plant, said in an interview, "The people here are like family, and it's tough to see this. It really makes you wonder what the hell kind of country we're living in. Here all these guys had been here at least five and a half years. . . . Maybe if some of us reacted morally, we should have been in the vans, too, when the government arrested those guys."

Following the raid an exchange of views

on the issue of immigration took place in the pages of *Racine Labor*, a weekly union publication.

One reader criticized the paper for featuring articles sympathetic to the victims of the foundry raid. "The news in your paper should carry titles like 'Buy American' or 'Fight Automation,'" he wrote. "Instead, it's a sympathy card for people who have entered this country illegally to steal our work."

Fought backed down somewhat from his support for the Mexican workers. He explained in the July 6 issue of *Racine Labor* that the union was only trying to ensure the workers' right to due process. "Our position is that these people are in the country legally, until proven otherwise," he said.

In an editorial, *Racine Labor* editor Roger Bybee took a strong position in defense of these workers. He pointed out that while immigrant workers do hard, dirty work at Racine Steel Castings, well-paying factory jobs are being eliminated through moves to the Sun Belt and overseas.

After the raid, Bill Breihan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in the 5th C.D. of Wisconsin, went to the plant to talk to workers about the raid. Breihan and a supporter distributed a campaign statement condemning both the raids and the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill as racist and antilabor.

"Simpson-Mazzoli, which basically requires workers to prove to their bosses that they are U.S. citizens," said Breihan, "will only serve to drive down even further the already low wages of undocumented workers, increase profits for the employers, and terrorize undocumented workers," making it more difficult for them to "join with other workers to fight for better conditions on the job."

"The employers want U.S.-born workers, enraged by layoffs," said Breihan, "to turn against workers born in other countries rather than against the U.S. government and corporate owners who are the real

cause of unemployment.

"Only by working together and defending the rights of immigrants, Blacks, Latinos, and women, can working people defend our union," he said.

The campaign team distributed several hundred statements. It sold 16 copies of the *Militant* and the Spanish-language *Perspectiva Mundial* — which was especially well-received — on the basis of their coverage of Simpson-Mazzoli.

Death and injury underground at Jim Walter's Alabama mine

BY LEE HAWTHORNE

BIRMINGHAM — The May 1984 United Mine Workers *Journal* called Jim Walter Resource Co.'s No. 4 mine "a disaster waiting to happen." For two coal miners that disaster just struck.

In the early morning of July 13, Walter Stewart, a 42-year-old Black coal miner veteran of over 20 years, was killed on the No. 1 longwall section.

Safety inspectors from the union and from the Mine Safety and Health Administration are still investigating, but it is evident that company neglect of maintenance played a role in Stewart's death.

He was killed instantly by a blow to the head as he tried to free a jam in the conveyor chain of the longwall machine, which had been reported for repair earlier.

Just two weeks later, on July 27, Jean Harvelle, a young Black woman coal miner, slipped underneath the unguarded conveyor belt roller in an area full of water. Her left leg had to be amputated above the knee.

Harvelle's life was saved by a coworker who quickly turned the conveyor belt off. Had it not been for this action, miners at No. 4 would be burying their second coworker in two weeks.

The company has cynically distributed a letter to the miners asking their opinion on how to reduce accidents. But miners know that Walter Stewart and Jean Harvelle are two more casualties in the coal operators' drive for higher production at the expense of safety.

The UMW *Journal* cover story on Jim Walter's No. 4 mine exposed the company's negligence toward safety practices. The company has been cited for 1,454 mine safety violations in eight years of operation, including 83 "unwarrantable failure" orders. Most of the violations involved illegal conditions that could contribute to a methane gas explosion.

The No. 4 mine is 2,300 feet underground — one of the deepest in the country — making escape in an emergency nearly impossible with over a dozen working sections and more than 300 miners on each shift.

Concentrations of methane gas are so high that the company now "captures" the gas for sale to others, a dangerous process in itself. There have been more than 20 ignitions — methane catching fire but not triggering an explosion — since October 1982.