THE MILITAN?

SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

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VOL. 46/NO. 28 **JULY 23, 1982** 75 CENTS

Israel wages war behind | U.S.-aided U.S. diplomatic cover

BY DAVID FRANKEL

With the exception of the 1948 war that established the Israeli state, the fifth Arab-Israel war now taking place in Lebanon has been the bloodiest so far.

Some 120,000 Israeli troops are now in Lebanon, with some 30,000 surrounding West Beirut. At least 300 Israeli tanks and 500 to 600 armored personnel carriers are facing the 5,000 to 6,000 Palestinian fighters in the Lebanese

Against these overwhelming odds, the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) has put up a truly heroic fight. Israeli leaflets dropped on Beirut June 10 boasted that "in a short time we will capture the city." But five weeks later, that arrogant promise has yet to be ful-

On July 11, Israeli forces launched their fiercest artillery attack of the war against West Beirut. "At times," Thomas Friedman reported in the July 12 New York Times, "Israeli rockets were landing at a rate of 30 a minute, setting off huge fires and sending clouds of smoke billowing out of buildings hit by incendiary devices.'

Despite this intense shelling, Washington Post correspondent William Branigin reported in a July 14 article, "the guerrillas knocked out several Israeli tanks near the airport and destroyed six trucks in a rocket attack on an Israeli logistics base. . . . '

Israelis bomb hospitals

Meanwhile, however, hundreds of thousands of civilians are trapped in West Beirut. Casualties among them have been heavy. As Friedman reported, "Many Israeli shells landed outside Palestinian neighborhoods, including one that hit the Barbir Hospital, killing 5 patients and wounding 11 others, a hospital spokesman said."

In another dispatch, Times reporter William Farrell pointed out July 13 that "Most buildings in [the Palestinian area Continued on Page 2



Bombed-out stadium in Beirut.

Washington's hate campaign against Iranian revolution

The U.S. government and mass media have opened up a new hate campaign against the Iranian revolution. The problem, they assert, is "Islamic fundamentalism" — which has become their code word for the growing nationalist

EDITORIAL

and anti-imperialist sentiment in Iran and throughout the Middle East.

The occasion for the outpouring of racist propaganda is the latest stage of the Iran-Iraq war. After fighting Iraq's invasion of their country for two years, the Iranians have finally turned the tables. Iranian troops have now moved into

Iraq, where they are encircling Iraqi divisions near the border and aiming to put an end to the war for good.

Iraqi bombers have continued their attacks on Iran, hitting the cities of Khurramabad, Ilam, and Bakhtaran on **July 14**.

Washington had hoped the Iraqi invasion of Iran would bring down the government of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini and roll back the Iranian revolution. With this prospect shattered, the new wave of anti-Iranian propaganda has begun

Setting the tone was a feature article by Henry Tanner in the July 13 New York Times. Headlined "Shouting Is Never Over for Revolutionary Iran," Tanner's broadside against the revolution drips hatred for the Iranian workers and peasants.

Talking of a country whose wealth was looted for decades by U.S. business and by the U.S.-backed shah, Tanner complains about "the dreary, rundown aspects of the stores where the shelves are either empty or are filled with rows of identical cheap goods."

But what really repels Tanner is the Iranian people - "the shapeless nunlike appearance of the women and the seediness of most of the men."

Tanner can barely contain his racist hatred when he talks about the slogans that are chanted whenever a group of these "nun-like" women and "seedy' men gather.

"The chants always have the same beginning: 'Praise the Lord! God Is Great! Khomeini Is Great! Death to America!'. . . .'

Of his trip to the war front, Tanner wrote: "There was something eerie and awesome about the severely wounded soldiers, some with plasma being dripped into their veins from suspended plastic bottles, who raised heavily bandaged arms and shouted the slogans with all the power of their lungs, 'Allah Is Great! Death to America!"

It is not surprising that the U.S. rulers hate and fear these hundreds of Continued on Page 14

army ready to invade Nicaragua

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, July 15 — "The war has already begun," Nicaragua's Vice-minister of the Interior Luis Carrión announced here July 14.

'We cannot continue to speak about preparing ourselves for war, because the war has already started. The task before us is to defeat an invasion.'

Carrión's statement, printed on the front page of the Sandinista daily Barricada July 15 under the banner headline "The war has already begun," was an alert that Washington has escalated its undeclared war against the country.

A new stage, Carrión said, has begun "with the invasion of our territory" by "large units organized in an almost regular military fashion, possessing the weapons of a fullscale army."

Some 5,000 counterrevolutionaries have been based in camps just across the border with Honduras. Armed, trained, and paid by the U.S. government, they have sought to spread terror and destruction throughout northern Nicaragua. Now their tactics have changed dramatically.

Over the last 10 days, Carrión said, there have been a series of attacks on border posts along the northern frontier with Honduras, in one case as many as five attacks on the same post.

Unlike the scattered attacks of the past, these systematic raids have had the clear aim of serving as cover for the infiltration of large armed units.

"They are no longer just attacking from bases across the border," Carrión said, "but have begun a clandestine invasion.'

In addition, he pointed out, a number of helicopter landing strips have recently been cleared on the Honduran side of the border.

"The plan," he said, "is to introduce large units with heavy artillery so as to create the impression of a civil war, when in reality it is a case of an inva-

Other facts pointing to the new stage in the war are that the number of U.S. spy flights from Honduran bases has greatly increased, and that ships carrying large cargoes of arms from the United States have recently docked at the southern Honduran port of Lempira less than 30 miles from Nicaragua. In addition, the U.S. spy ship Trippe, permanently stationed just off Nicaragua's Pacific Coast, has just been joined by another destroyer.

Meanwhile, Honduran President Roberto Suazo Cordova was meeting with President Reagan in Washington. Administration officials announced July 14 that Reagan plans to provide more than \$60 million in military aid to Suazo over the next two years. This amount is more than seven times the \$8.3 million in military aid that Washington gave Honduras over the last two years.

Part of the counterrevolutionary plan was to disrupt with bombings the July 19 celebrations of the third anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution. Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge announced, also on July 14, that these plans had been broken up with the arrest of several counterrevolutionaries in the Pacific

To counter the threat of such terrorist Continued on Page 2

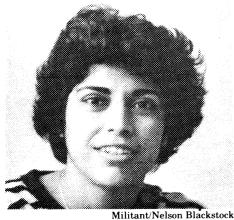
Iranian socialist ordered deported

BY NELSON GONZALEZ

On July 9, the Board of Immigration Appeals of the U.S. Justice Department ruled that Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh, an Iranian born socialist, must leave the country in 30 days or be forcibly deport-

Her attorney, Shelley Davis, announced the order would be appealed.

Despite the fact that she is an accredited student at Morgan State University in Baltimore, the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) claims Ha-



Mojgan Hariri-Vijeh

riri-Vijeh is being deported because she did not renew her student visa.

In addition, the Board of Immigration Appeals refused to consider her evidence that the deportation has been ordered because of her socialist views.

Hariri-Vijeh came into the United States in 1977 to attend school on a student visa. Her visa expired in 1978 because she failed the English exam for foreign students. She passed the exam a year later, but was afraid to renew her student visa in 1979 or 1980 due to the anti-Iranian hysteria whipped up in this country after the fall of the U.S.-backed shah.

She was never contacted by the INS until February of 1981, just two weeks after she joined the Young Socialist Al-

Financial support and protest messages to the INS are vitally needed. Contributions should be sent to the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, New York 10003. Protest messages and petitions should be sent to Director of Immigration and Naturalization Service Alan Nelson, Washington, D.C. 20536, with copies to PRDF.

Israel pursues murderous war in Lebanon

Continued from Page 1

of] Burj al Brajneh have no shelters or even basements. During raids, people crouch in doorways."

While Farrell was there, "A young girl, her foot bandaged, limped by on crutches. 'A gift from America,' her escort said bitterly.'

Testifying before a congressional subcommittee on July 13, Dr. Christopher Giannou, a Canadian surgeon who had been working in Lebanon, described how he saw two Palestinian prisoners beaten to death by Israeli soldiers in the southern Lebanese city of Sidon.

Giannou charged that the Zionist forces had dropped cluster bombs near the hospital where he had been working, and that he saw the "calcinated, carbonized bodies of the victims of phosphorus bombs, frozen in their position at the time of death.'

Despite the fact that just two days earlier the Times had reported the use of "incendiary devices" by the Zionist forces besieging West Beirut, Israeli spokesperson Nachman Shai insisted, "We have not used phosphorus bombs at any time in this conflict."

With equal candor, Shai claimed that cluster bombs had only been used in unpopulated areas.

Zionist propagandists pretend that the massive toll in civilian casualties is an unwanted side effect of the Israeli attack on Lebanon. But the truth is that just as in the case of Washington's use of napalm and cluster bombs in Vietnam, the blasting of civilian areas is a deliberate policy.

This savagery flows from the basic aim of the Israeli regime in this war, which is to destroy the PLO

From the point of view of the Zionist rulers, the main threat posed by the PLO has always been political. By exposing the injustice that the Israeli state is founded upon, by continually explaining that the Palestinian people were forcibly expelled from their homeland, and by refusing to give up the struggle for Palestinian rights, the PLO prevented Israel from getting the international legitimacy that it needs.

Israel remains politically isolated in most of the world. It cannot exploit the markets and raw materials of its Arab neighbors, which, with the exception of Egypt, still refuse to recognize it or trade with it. And the Zionist state also confronts an ongoing Palestinian national liberation struggle by 40 percent of the people under its sway.

It is this liberation struggle, both within Israel and in the surrounding countries, that the Israeli rulers must crush if they are to obtain their objectives. The PLO, which expresses the aspirations of the Palestinian people and the leadership of their struggle, is the most prominent target. But this is also a war against the Palestinian people as a

In keeping with this perspective, Israeli occupation authorities ousted two more Palestinian mayors from office in the West Bank and Gaza Strip on July 6 and 9 and closed down the Palestinian university at Bir Zeit.

"We're conducting a political war against the PLO," one Israeli official explained. "The army is conducting a military war. We're conducting a political war."

One thing that is understood throughout the Middle East is that Washington is working hand-in-glove with Israel in this war. Thus, on July 13, demonstrators in Damascus submitted a petition to the U.S. embassy there calling on the American people who "rejected the Vietnam massacre" to take a similar stand against Washington's policy in Leb-

A leader of the ruling Syrian Baath Party pointed to the "unlimited political support and huge quantities of sophisticated weaponry" being provided to Israel by the U.S. government.

While pressuring the PLO to surrender to Israeli demands, and even proposing the use of U.S. Marines to supervise this process, Washington is trying to avoid paying the full political price for its support to the Zionist regime. Thus, U.S. Secretary of State-designate George Shultz declared July 13 that "the legitimate needs and problems of the Palestinian people must be addressed and resolved. . . .

But there is only one way to "resolve" this question, and that is through the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland. The struggle for this right led to the formation of the PLO in the first place. The Israeli regime is trying to smash the Palestinian struggle precisely because it is unwilling and unable to concede the rights of the Palesti-

The idea that the imperialists in Tel Aviv or Washington will make concessions to the Palestinians if they are successful in breaking the PLO is akin to the idea that the bosses smash unions in order to make concessions to the

However, the imperialists have already paid a high political price for their attack on the PLO. Israel has never been so isolated internationally nor its society so divided at home.

In the United States itself, more and more people are beginning to realize that Israel is the aggressor in the Middle East. Finally, the Arab regimes that $% \left(1\right) =\left(1\right) \left(1\right$ have stood by in silence during this war have paid a heavy price in political credibility among their own people.

All these factors have led U.S. policy makers to push hard for a negotiated withdrawal of the PLO from Beirut. Furthermore, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin knows that a frontal assault on West Beirut could cost his forces hundreds of casualties.

But as New York Times reporter David Shipler noted July 12, "The Begin Government cannot back down from its demand that the P.L.O. leave Beirut, for to do so would be to give the Palestinians an incalculable victory

"The guerrilla organization would then be known as having held off mighty Israel. . . . It would be seen as a force to be reckoned with, to be negotiated with, to be recognized. Israel would have lost the war."

Clearly, the stakes in the fight that is now unfolding are very high. Whatever the outcome, the Palestinian fighters who have stood their ground against such ferocious odds deserve the respect and admiration of the oppressed of the world. Their struggle has exposed the real face of Zionism and its backers in Washington.



Tyre, Lebanon, after Israeli assault.

Detroit march supports Palestinians

BY SETH WIGDERSON

DETROIT — Marching behind a banner that said "Stop the murder of Lebanese and Palestinian people — No U.S. troops to Lebanon," 750 people marched through this city's downtown area July 10 to a rally sponsored by the Committee to Support the Lebanese and Palestinian People.

The newly formed committee is a coalition of more than 40 political, religious, and ethnic groups brought together by outrage over the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and U.S. complicity.

The demonstration demanded immediate and unconditional Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, an end to U.S. aid to Israel, and self-determination for the Palestinian people.

Speakers included Abdo Mortada from the Lebanese National Movement, who condemned any participation by U.S. forces in expelling Palestinians from Beirut.

Speaking on behalf of the Palestine National Congress, Anan Jabara supported the fighters in Beirut. "We will not surrender," she told the cheering

A special speaker was Micah Kaminer from the Israeli Committee Against the War in Lebanon. An Israeli citizen, he strongly condemned Israel's policies in Lebanon, which he likened to genocide. He described how Arabs in the occupied territories are collectively punished for any acts of resistance, and how Zionist settlers stole Arab land and are encouraged to attack the Arab population.

The rally marked a big step forward for antiwar forces in Detroit. Speakers linked the U.S.-Israeli war in Lebanon to the U.S. government's war against the peoples of Nicaragua and El Salvador, to Reagan's cuts in social services at home, and to the decision to begin prose cuting young men who have refused to register for the draft.

A demonstration of more than 400 people took place in Los Angeles July

10. Protesters demanded the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon, no U.S. marines to Beirut, stop U.S. aid to Israel, and self-determination for the Palestinians.

Demonstrations also took place in Cleveland on July 2 and Philadelphia on July 1. In addition, July 10 actions were scheduled in Chicago, Boston, Denver, San Francisco, and Washing-

Nicaragua

Continued from Page 1

actions, security has been noticeably increased in Managua in the days leading up to July 19. This has included a search of passengers on intercity buses arriving in the capital and a search for bombs in the sewage system near the government headquarters.

Summing up the new stage of Reagan's undeclared war, Commander Carrión concluded:

"This aggression is not just any counterrevolutionary aggression. It is the aggression of U.S. imperialism against Nicaragua. That is the only way we can explain the enormous supply of arms the invading units have, their tremendous facility of movement, the protection they are receiving from Honduras, and the full military character of the operation."

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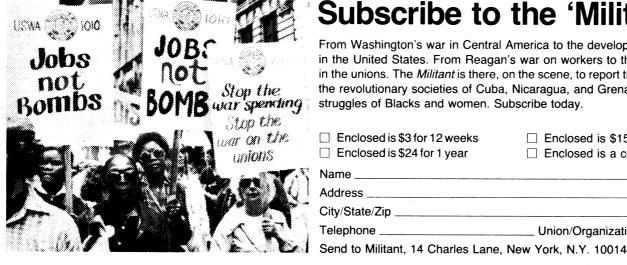
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When the marines were sent to Lebanon in 1958, opponents of U.S. move organized demonstrations like one above in Los Angeles to demand withdrawal of U.S. troops.

What happened when marines invaded Lebanon in 1958

BY DAVID FRANKEL

U.S. policymakers have watched the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, made possible by Washington's massive military aid to the Zionist regime, with barely concealed satisfaction. Now, Reagan is trying to tell us that if U.S. Marines are added to the U.S.-supplied weaponry already pounding Lebanon, this will help the cause of peace.

Although logic alone can tell much about the real role that U.S. Marines would play if they were deployed in Lebanon, we also have the advantage of experience. After all, the marines were already there in 1958.

In May 1958, social and political tensions in Lebanon exploded when rightist President Camille Chamoun announced that he would seek a change in the constitution allowing him to remain in office for another six years. Barricades went up in Beirut, and Chamoun was faced with a full-scale uprising.

The underlying issues in the conflict were the same that were to erupt in the bloody civil war of 1975-1976. Chamoun stood for an alliance with the United States — including military ties — and for a system of discrimination and exploitation inside Lebanon that was the

legacy of French colonialism.

In order to maintain their domination of the Arab world, the imperialist powers pursued a policy of divide and rule. In Palestine, the British sought to play off the Zionist settlers against the Arab majority, while in Lebanon the French played the same game, using the various Christian groupings against the Muslims.

When Lebanon became an independent state in 1946, it was under a discriminatory system of religious representation whereby the presidency and the command of the army were reserved for Maronite Christians. The various Christian denominations were also guaranteed a 6 to 5 majority in parliament.

The 6 to 5 ratio was based on the 1932 census, although Muslims may well have been the majority by the time of independence in 1946. They were certainly the majority by 1958.

Meanwhile the Maronite businessmen and bankers, who had traditionally dominated trade and commerce, used their control of the state apparatus to further enrich themselves. Taxes on business were held to such a low level that Lebanon became the banking capital of the Middle East.

But while the rich frequented the private beaches and posh nightclubs of Beirut, working people led a different life. Agriculture was left to decay. The Lebanese government has never carried out a single irrigation project or adopted a single program of technical or financial aid to farmers.

Impoverished peasants, forced off the land by debt, flocked to the cities. But there they were left without jobs, without unemployment insurance, without medical care, without schools. It was not for nothing that Lebanon used to be called the "bankers' republic."

These were the social conditions that sparked the rebellion in 1958. The Lebanese masses were also inspired by the radical, Arab nationalist ideas of the Nasserist movement in Egypt, which had successfully stood up to a combined British-French-Israeli invasion in 1956, following the nationalization of the Suez Canal.

President Eisenhower responded to the events in Lebanon by mobilizing the Sixth Fleet, complete with nuclear arms. Washington charged that the revolt against Chamoun was a case of "indirect aggression," with the Soviet Union allegedly using Nasser as its tool.

Then, on July 14, revolution broke out in Iraq. The U.S.-backed monarchy was overthrown. On that same day, Eisenhower ordered 5,000 U.S. Marines into Beirut "to assist the government of Lebanon in the preservation of Lebanon's territorial integrity and independence" and — of course — to preserve "world peace."

Within less than a week there were more than 10,000 U.S. troops in Beirut. Washington hoped not only to crush the rebellion against Chamoun, but also to use Lebanon as a base of operations against the nationalist regime in Syria and the Iraqi revolution.

However, as Joseph Hansen noted in the September 1, 1958 Militant, "Instead of moving into Iraq to restore the King Faisal type of 'law and order,' Western imperialism took a second look at what could happen to the oil wells and pipelines from which they draw fabulous profits and decided that discretion was the better part of valor. They recognized Iraq's new government."

Although the U.S. intervention preserved the discriminatory regime in Lebanon, the rise of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) during the late 1960s gave the Lebanese workers and peasants a powerful new ally. In 1975 the rightist forces unleashed a civil war in their attempts to crush the mas-

Now, Washington is working with the Israeli regime to do what the rightist forces within Lebanon were too weak to accomplish on their own. The imperialists aim to destroy the PLO and to reconstitute the kind of rightist minority government that they preserved in 1958.

N.Y. march protests Israeli war

BY EVA CHERTOV

NEW YORK — Four thousand people responded July 10 to a call put out two weeks earlier by the National Emergency Committee on Lebanon to demonstrate for immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon and a halt to all U.S. military aid to Israel.

Banners in the action proclaimed: "Israelis against the massacre in Lebanon"; "Palestine lives!"; "Peace can't be built on the bodies of the Palestinians"; and "No to the U.S.-Israeli war in Lebanon — Self-determination for Palestine!"

The march went through two of the busiest shopping districts in Manhattan on Saturday afternoon. Many of the mainly Black and Latino onlookers showed their support for the demonstration with applause and clenched-fist salutes.

As the march went by, a group of strikers let out loud cheers. They explained that they were 100-percent opposed to Reagan sending U.S. troops to Lebanon. In general, people showed interest and support — an indication of the changing attitude toward the Israeli state among working people.

Marchers came from organizations such as the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Casa Nicaragua; the Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos; the Palestine Congress of North America; the National Black Independent Political Party; the National Black United Front; and the New York Mobilization for Survival.

Also present were many individuals who had been active builders of the massive June 12 peace demonstration. Dick Lenzi, a member of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 1746 from Bristol, Connecticut, was one such person.

Lenzi explained to the *Militant* that he works at the Pratt and Whitney Aircraft plant that makes the engines for the F-16 and F-15 fighter planes being used by the Israelis in Lebanon. "I'm here to say that I'd rather be building something else," Lenzi said.

Several thousand IAM members from Lenzi's union District 91 in Connecticut marched in the June 12 demonstration, he reported. Lenzi said that almost all the workers in his plant oppose what Israel is doing in Lebanon. He felt that many would be part of future protests



Militant/Lou Howor

As Israeli aggression against Palestinians continues, growing numbers of people oppose invasion of Lebanon and U.S. complicity.

against U.S.-backed wars in the Middle East.

The rally in Union Square heard an impressive list of speakers, including Najat Nureiddine, a Lebanese woman who recently escaped from West Beirut with her two small children; Michael Bar-Am and Rani Amit, Israelis now living in the United States; Ali Badoun, representing the Lebanese National Movement; and Nubar Housepion of the Palestine Congress of North America.

Also speaking were Rabbi Dan Isaac; Sharon Mahoney, a nurse who worked in Beirut for the Middle East Council of Churches; and David Walker, chairman of the Afro-American Executive Committee. The rally was chaired by Rev. Timothy Mitchell, chairman of the board of the National Council of Black Churchmen.

The *Militant*'s coverage of the war in Lebanon was much appreciated by the marchers, who bought more than 200 copies.

Eva Chertov is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in New York's 18th District.

The fight against Washington's war on working people—at home and abroad



Rally in Cleveland Wednesday, August 4, 8 p.m.

Speakers:

Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California
Rev. Ben Chavis, Wilmington 10 defendant; deputy director, United
Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice
Masonic Temple Auditorium, 3615 Euclid Ave.
Donation: \$2

Ausp: The Militant and Perspectiva Mundial For more information: (216) 579-9369





Appliance assembly worker

GE loses sex-bias suit

BY RUSS DAVIS

LYNN, Mass. — Members of International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 201 have ratified a proposed settlement of a sex-discrimination suit against General Electric.

9,000 workers at five Boston-

area GE plants, sued GE for sex discrimination in hiring and upgrading to skilled jobs and giving lower rates to "women's

GE agreed to increase rates for 350 jobs usually held by Local 201, which represents women; revise layoff and transfer procedures at two plants;

hold training programs to foster duced the work force here from upgrading by women; improve maternity leave; and give modest compensation for past discrimination.

While some issues remain in dispute, the settlement is a big step forward. Black and Latino workers, who are also relegated to lower-paying jobs, will benefit from the settlement. New job posting rules will benefit all workers.

A precedent has been set for future struggles. This is an example of how unions are strengthened by taking up the demands of their most oppressed members. And it's good to get some concessions from the companies for a change.

UAW local turns concessions down

BY DEAN COHEN

CLEVELAND - Ford workers at the Brook Park complex, which comprises a foundry and two engine plants, voted nearly 2 to 1 against a proposal for local concessions.

The June 24 turnout for the vote, by 5,007 members of United Auto Workers Local 1250, was the largest in the local's history.

Despite the large "no" vote, it was not an easy choice for Brook Park workers to make. In the last three years, layoffs have re-

14,000 to just over 8,000.

In May, Ford ended V-8 production in Plant 2, and then said it was "considering" building V-6s in the plant — providing the union would make wide-ranging concessions.

These concessions included taking away seniority bumping rights for unskilled workers, overtime, vacations, and breaks. The two engine plants would have had separate work rules; nearly all skilled trades jobs would be combined in one or two classifications.

In the two weeks preceding the vote, workers were urged by the company, the news media, and the local union's leadership to vote for the concessions.

A lack of any guarantees by Ford that they would build the new engines was the reason for the contract's rejection.

1,500 march for Mass. strikers

BY MARK SCHNEIDER AND LOUIS JOSEPHSON

WESTFIELD, Mass. — More than 1,500 unionists gathered here June 19 in support of 68 striking workers at Sterling Radiator.

The Sterling workers, organized in United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 430, have been on

strike since March 4, 1981.

The march was billed as 'Western Massachusetts Solidarity Day," and it had the same militant spirit as the September 19 Solidarity Day in Washington called by the AFL-

Sterling Radiator demanded "18 pages of givebacks in every area," according to one veteran employee. "Then they wouldn't budge in negotiations. It's a case of union-busting clear and simple.

Sterling is threatening a decertification election. Since the strikers have been out more than a year, only scabs can vote.

John Crockett, president of Local 430, accepted a check for \$4,800 from UAW Local 282 and \$1,100 from Steve Porter of the Federation American Teachers.

A particularly well-received speaker was Bob Thayer, Machinists union representative from the embattled Brown and Sharpe workers in Kingston, Rhode Island. Workers there have been out since last October, and have been brutally attacked by local and state cops on the picket line.

Unemployment benefits have run out for most Sterling strikers. Donations are needed and can be sent to the UAW Regional Office, Region 9A, 111 South Road, Farmington, Connecticut 06032.

Two electrical unions ratify contract with GE

BY RUSS DAVIS

LYNN, Mass. — A proposed contract covering 73.000 General Electric workers has been approved by a 3 to 1 margin by members of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) and the United Electrical Workers (UE)

The union members voted July 6.

Eleven other unions representing 27,000 GE workers are to vote July 13 on local contracts based on the IUE-UE agreement

The IUE leadership termed the contract "forward-looking," and officials told IUE Local 201 here at Lynn it was "the best contract GE ever offered." There was little attempt to involve the ranks in discussion of the contract, and many GE workers aren't satisfied with what they see as a "give-nothing" con-

The contract is essentially an extension of the 1979 agreement, under which GE has eliminated thousands of jobs through automation and farm-outs, much of the latter to non-union shops. At the same time, electrical workers have seen their living standards continually eroded

The new contract has some minor improvements in benefits, and gives workers a 7 percent wage increase now, plus 3 percent next June and 3 percent again a year later. Cost-of-living allowances improve slightly in the last two years of the three-year contract.

But this is not enough for GE workers to keep up with inflation.

It's not that GE can't afford more. The company has made \$5 billion in profits

The Great Labor **Uprising of 1877**

by Philip S. Foner

288 pages, \$5.95 paper, \$12.00 cloth

A Monad Press book distributed by Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014

in the last three years, \$1.65 billion last vear alone

Despite their feeling that they should have gotten more, workers voted for the contract because it did not contain the big takebacks recently granted to the auto and trucking corporations, and because they felt they couldn't win more through a long strike that both the company and the union leaderships said would result from rejection.

As one union member put it, "How can we go on strike when the union has called it the best contract ever offered?"

Many plants have been hit by layoffs, and this fear of loss of jobs contributed to the workers' feeling of weakness.

There was no organized opposition to the contract. Voting was generally

GE workers now see that if they are ever to get their "fair share," a new approach will be needed for the unions. Discussions are taking place about how to fight back and win against GE.

At a contract meeting at Local 201 here, IUE member Don Gurewitz, who is also the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Massachusetts, was well received when he spoke during

Gurewitz said, "I'm voting no on this contract because I think we deserve more from GE. But we're not going to get it until we develop a new strategy for the labor movement. A strategy that will link up with the struggles of other workers, that will fight the government's war drive and take on GE and the government's offensive against us. We need to run our own candidates on a labor party ticket who will be on our side, not GE's."

Russ Davis is a member of IUE Local 201 and works at the GE aircraft engine plant in Lynn.

Gov't ruling blow to locomotive engineers

BY TOM PONTOLILLO

The fight by locomotive engineers against the rail bosses for a decent contract suffered a blow when the government announced July 8 that it was invoking Section 10 of the Railway Labor Act to forestall a nationwide strike that was to begin July 11.

The action by President Reagan averts a shutdown on every large U.S. railroad (except Conrail, which is negotiating separately) and scores of smaller ones where members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE) work.

The engineers haven't had a raise or cost-of-living increase in over a year and a half. In addition to long-overdue wage increases, they have been fighting for improved benefits and income protec-

The rail industry is plagued with a higher unemployment rate than the national average.

The carriers have adopted a very tough bargaining position this time around, buoyed by givebacks wrenched from Conrail and Amtrak workers and by a national agreement with nonoperating employees that was the worst in a decade.

Even at this late date, the carriers refuse to include any increases in mileage and other rates that comprise part of the complicated pay structures of members of the BLE and the United Transportation Union (UTU).

The bosses felt secure in their approach, knowing that the government would not allow a strike to happen.

Nor do the BLE officials want a strike. BLE President John Sytsma went so far as to telegraph his moves to Washington by referring to the impending job action as a "strike unless the President inter-

Sytsma knew that the contract, being nowhere near what engineers would accept, would be defeated in a ratification

During the 60-day cooling-off period

mandated by Section 10, a so-called impartial board, appointed by Reagan, will hear both sides and then make a recommendation on a settlement. A strike could occur after the 60 days but, more likely, Congress will pass a law to declare the strike illegal and dictate a settlement or force binding arbitration.

The end result — Sytsma will blame the government, and the engineers will get a bad deal.

Tom Pontolillo is local chairman of BLE Division 501 in New York City.

Cleveland Black party hits draft

CLEVELAND — Ninety people participated in a picket line here July 2 in protest of Benjamin Sasway's indictment for refusing to register for the

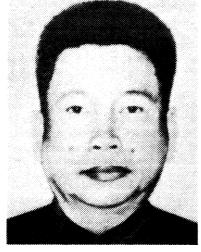
The picket included representatives of the Committee Against Registration and the Draft, Clergy and Laity Concerned, All-African People's Party, and the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). It was covered by major television and radio stations.

John Boyd, cochairman of the Cuyahoga County organizing committee of NBIPP, said in a statement issued at the picket line: "It is our position that Black people have the right to refuse induction into the U.S. armed forces.

"We believe that the U.S. armed forces have become the employer of last resort for our people. We believe that no Black person should be forced to fight a war of aggression for the U.S. government against people who are oppressed and fighting for freedom, which we are

"Therefore, we demand an end to draft registration and no draft; no prosecution of our people who resist military conscription; an end to racism and repression against Black people in the military; and the right of Black people in the service to organize and fight racial discrimination and repression."





Left: Madame Nguyen Ngoc Dung, Vietnam's deputy permanent UN representative, explains troop withdrawal at July 8 news conference (see story below). Right: Pol Pot. His murderous Khmer Rouge heads up U.S.-backed exile coalition.

25,000 Vietnam troops set to leave Kampuchea

BY SUZANNE HAIG

The government of Vietnam has declared that it will withdraw some 25,000 troops from Kampuchea this month.

The announcement was made at the Sixth Conference of Foreign Ministers of Laos, Kampuchea, and Vietnam, held in Ho Chi Minh City in Vietnam on July 6 and 7.

Vietnam currently has approximately 176,000 troops in Kampuchea at the request of the Peoples Republic of Kampuchea. The troops are helping to defend the country against counterrevolutionary raids by remnants of the army of the former Pol Pot regime which are now based in Thailand.

Pol Pot headed the Kampuchean government between 1975 and 1979. During that time millions of people were murdered and the country devastated. In 1979 the workers and peasants of Kampuchea, aided by the Vietnamese army, overthrew this genocidal regime.

Since that time Vietnam has aided the Heng Samrin government in rebuilding the country, sending food, teachers, engineers, and doctors, as well as troops.

Washington has used the presence of Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea as the main axis of its propaganda attacks against the Vietnamese revolution. Washington, however, is aiding and abetting the Pol Pot forces in their attacks on Kampuchea.

At a press conference at the United Nations July 8, Madame Nguyen Ngoc Dung, deputy permanent representative to the UN from Vietnam, said:

"The armed forces of Kampuchea are now able to carry out a great deal of the national defense efforts, thus allowing Vietnam to consider withdrawing a considerable amount of its troops."

Madame Dung added that Vietnam and Kampuchea might consider further troop withdrawals in the near future if security and stability on the Kampuchea-Thailand border did not deteriorate

The ministerial conference also reiterated a call to China to renew peace talks and stressed the friendly relations



Norodom Sihanouk

the three countries have had with China in the past.

The ruling bureaucracy in China has collaborated with the U.S. government's attacks on the Indochinese revolution, invading Vietnam in 1978 and continuing to help Washington arm the Pol Pot forces.

At the ministerial conference, Kampuchea reasserted its proposal to establish a demilitarized or safety zone along the border with Thailand to be internationally supervised and free of Pol Pot's forces. Currently, the U.S.-backed military dictatorship of Thailand provides sanctuary and aid for Pol Pot.

The conference blasted the so-called coalition government recently set up by Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge, former Kampuchean chief of state Prince Sihanouk, and rightist leader Son Sann, calling it a "farce" aimed at concealing the Pol Pot clique while attempting to "reimpose that regime on the Kampuchean people."

The three countries also called for Pol Pot's expulsion from the Kampuchean seat in the UN.

Right-wingers unite around Pol Pot

BY STEVE BRIDE

Leaders of three right-wing exile groups have taken up positions inside Kampuchea following a June 22 agreement to pool their efforts to overthrow the government of that country.

The move provides a fresh opening for Washington to pursue its own efforts in that direction and against the Vietnamese revolution.

Heading up the exile coalition are Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge. These are the people who ruled Kampuchea for four years, during which time they did away with about 40 percent of the population. Pol Pot currently has 30,000 guerrillas on the Thailand-Kampuchea border.

A second party to the agreement is Son Sann, who commands some 5,000 troops in the same area. Sann was prime minister of Kampuchea (then called Cambodia) until 1967, when he was exiled by then-head-of-state Prince Norodom Sihanouk.

The third partner is Sihanouk, who was himself ousted, by the United States, in 1970.

The deal ended a year of negotiation, which was complicated by several things. While united in their desire to be rid of the Vietnamese troops who help defend Kampuchea, the three factions did not agree on much else.

Son Sann and Sihanouk do not trust Pol Pot, largely because he tried to exterminate all their supporters the last time he had power.

Another problem was that most of the world would like to see the Khmer Rouge locked up for what they did to Kampuchea. Sann and Sihanouk's moral standing, such as it was, could only be compromised by any agreement with them

Weighed against this were the military realities — Pol Pot has the only army worth mentioning in the field — and the Khmer Rouge's occupancy of Kampuchea's United Nations seat.

Finally, there was the pressure from the U.S. and other governments to settle. Proimperialist regimes in Southeast Asia had become visibly fed up with the

Adding to this pressure was a recent Vietnamese diplomatic tour of Western Europe. There were hints that some governments there might not support Pol Pot in his upcoming (in September) bid to hang onto the UN seat.

For its part, Washington hailed the June 22 agreement as "a step forward in providing a framework for leadership against the Vietnamese occupation."

International hatred of the Khmer Rouge meant U.S. support for them had to be guarded, worked mainly through the Chinese government. Now, with the mascara of the agreement in place, the State Department says openly it will consider "financial assistance" to the exiles.

Among the exiles, there are few illusions as to who has the real power. As the settlement itself states, in the event of a falling out "the current state of Democratic Kampuchea [the Khmer Rouge] will have the right to resume its activities as the sole legal and legitimate state of Kampuchea."

Put simply, this means Pol Pot and his 30,000 guerrillas still hold all the cards. The Khmer Rouge will also serve as "diplomatic representative" for the coalition over the next six months. This takes them through the UN vote and guarantees them the seat.

Complaining of this to a news conference at the June 22 signing, Sihanouk spoke of the "misery" caused by the Khmer Rouge in Kampuchea. Both he and the Khmer Rouge delegate, reported the *New York Times*, admitted to "the Cambodian people's evident fear of Mr. Pol Pot and their initial relief at his Government's overthrow."

Both continued to insist that most Kampucheans now want the Vietnamese out, but offered no evidence to support this. In fact, every correspondent who has been there reports the exact opposite.

The agreement, and the increased U.S. interference it will surely bring, comes at a critical time for Kampuchea. Droughts and flooding have caused severe food shortages that are expected to hit in August.

Washington, meanwhile, is doing all it can to kill off the UN's Kampuchean aid program. UN agencies report pledges are way down this year, undoubtedly in response to U.S. pressure. Most of what aid has been pledged is headed for the Thailand border — that is, into the hands of the Khmer Rouge.

As for Vietnam, where some UN experts say the food situation is even worse, Japan has announced it will continue to withhold \$57.8 million in promised aid until Vietnamese troops are pulled from Kampuchea.

Good start in Chi. SWP ballot drive

BY KIM KLEINMAN

CHICAGO — Socialist campaigners here have gathered 24,000 signatures as of July 13 in the effort to put Ed Warren's name on the April 1983 ballot for mayor of this city.

Supporters report individual tallies of 150, 250, and even 600 signatures a day. They intend to get 35,000 signatures for Warren, who is running on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

It is, according to petitioning coordinator Meg Hayes, "the best response socialists have ever gotten from working people in Chicago." She said 130 people have already signed interest cards for a free, three-week subscription to the *Militant*, and one person has asked to join the Young Socialist Alliance.

Warren, a Black garment worker from Chicago's South Side, will face the winner of the Democratic Party primary, and a token Republican candidate. The race in the Democratic Party pits Mayor Jane Byrne against Richard Daley, son of the late "Boss" Daley of the notorious Chicago machine.

Warren points out that over the next five years, working people in Chicago will pay \$42 billion in taxes to finance Washington's war drive. Warren opposes shelling out even a cent to the Pentagon, instead calling for using those monies to fund a massive public works program to rebuild the city and provide jobs for all.

Unemployment here has reached crisis proportions. Nearly 20,000 young people applied June 8 for 1,200 minimum-wage CETA jobs being offered by the Byrne administration. Many of these youth signed Warren petitions as a protest against the U.S. Army, who they fear may be their next employer.

After the first day of petitioning, more than 60 people came to a Warren rally, which also featured the Socialist Workers statewide slate of railroad worker Marie Cobbs for governor and garment worker Rick Young for lieutenant governor.

The rally was chaired by Willie Mae Reid, who as the 1975 SWP candidate for mayor of Chicago became the first independent candidate since 1935 to win ballot status.

The rally raised nearly \$1,300 for the campaign.

Results of the Mexican elections

According to the Mexican government, the Revolutionary Workers Party (PRT), whose candidate for president in the July 4 elections was Rosario Ibarra de Piedra, received 2 percent of the vote. Government returns gave the Unified Socialist Party (PSUM), which ran Arnoldo Martínez Verdugo, 5.8 percent.

The figures are based on official returns from 73 percent of the voting booths.

Under the electoral reform law enacted by the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI), some seats in the Chamber of Deputies are allotted by a system of proportional representation, guaranteeing both the PSUM and the PRT representation in the 400-member body

The election law also provided government funding and free television time to all parties with ballot status. In addition to the air time, the PRT received some 30 million pesos (47 pe-

sos = 1 dollar), and the PSUM 68 million, for the campaign.

Under the law, 1.5 percent of the vote is needed to maintain legal status and receive representation in the legislature. In addition to the PSUM and the PRT, the Mexican Democratic Party and the Socialist Workers Party will receive seats, each being officially credited with 1.6 percent.

The right-wing National Action Party was reported to have polled 14 percent.

The PRT is the Mexican section of the Fourth International. On the eve of the elections, it held a rally of 50,000 people in Mexico City. The PSUM, formed by the fusion of the Mexican Communist Party and several much smaller parties, held a pre-election rally of about 100,000 people.

Both the PRT and the PSUM have charged election fraud resulting in official figures significantly less than the numbers actually cast for their candidates

Nicaragua Indians tour Ariz. reservation





Barricada

Miskitu Indian leaders (from left) Marcelo Zúñiga, Minerva Wilson, and Ga-

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA — "There are thousands of Native Americans who live in the Arizona desert without even the rights to the water they drink, because the landowners block the rivers, or the right to the land where they live, much less a decent house and a job — things they should have in a country as developed as the U.S."

This was the reaction of Minerva Wilson, a Miskitu Indian from Managua, when she returned here after a meeting with American Indian leaders in Tucson, Arizona.

Wilson and two other Miskitus, Marcelo Zúñiga and Gabriel Bell, were the only delegation to come from outside the United States to the Eighth Conference of Pápago Indians, held in mid-June in Arizona.

The Miskitu delegation returned appalled at the inhuman conditions that Indians "in the most developed nation in the world" have to live in.

"I got the impression that the Miskitus are well off in comparison to the plight of our Pápago brothers, because we have a river where we can go to fish, mountains where we can hunt, while the Pápagos don't have anything," Gabriel Bell reported.

Nicaragua's Miskitu delegation was a center of attention, and was able to provide firsthand information to correct the imperialist lies about mistreatment of Nicaraguan Indians by the Sandinistas.

Native Americans at the conference asked if there was any basis in fact for Reagan and Haig's charges that the Nicaraguan government has massacred Miskitus or placed them in concentration camps.

Using videotape, photographs, and other documentation, the Miskitu delegation demonstrated the extent of the raids into Nicaragua by counterrevolutionaries funded by Washington. These raids hit Miskitu villages severely. This is the reason the revolutionary government was forced to move the Miskitus to the Tasba Pry settlement — to protect them from U.S.-sponsored attacks on the northern border.

Zúñiga commented on the difference between the rights of Miskitus in Nicaragua and of Indians in the United States. "In Nicaragua we participate, discuss, and work on our problems. In the U.S., the government denies them everything, to the point where American Indians have to struggle to make sure they have legal rights."

Managua march scores Israel's war

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA — "Nicaragua and Palestine have a common enemy. They are waging the same struggle."

Addressed to a solidarity demonstration here by Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Ambassador Marwan Tahbub as Israeli jets hammered Beirut, these words struck home.

Only three years ago, thousands of Nicaraguan freedom fighters were being slaughtered by weapons the Israeli government had provided ex-dictator Anastasio Somoza's National Guard in the final months of the war of liberation.

Thousands of revolutionary workers and students marched through the streets here June 25 to show their support for the Palestinian resistance.

By the time the marchers reached the rally site — the headquarters of the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST) — they totaled more than 20,000, spreading blocks beyond the site that had been set aside in advance.

PLO Ambassador Tahbub detailed for Nicaraguans the brutal treatment being suffered by his people at the hands of the Israeli occupiers of Lebanon. Thousands of Palestinians, he said, including children and high-school youth, have been marched off to concentration camps by the Zionist invaders.

"It is difficult to believe that Israel alone is the aggressor," Tahbub said. "The truth is that Israel is no more than a tool in the hands of the United States."

Speaking for the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), Commander Dora María Téllez expressed gratitude for the PLO's recent contribution for flood relief in Nicaragua. She pointed to what the Nicaraguan people could do for their Palestinian sisters and brothers.

"We must understand," Téllez said, "that the Nicaraguan revolution is a trench in the fight of the Palestinian people. They are directly in the line of fire in humanity's fight against fascism. We are the rear guard, the reserves.

"The continued life of our revolution is a source of strength for the Palestinian struggle."

Téllez went on to develop the theme that U.S. imperialism is the common enemy not only of the Palestinian and Nicaraguan peoples but of all peoples fighting for national self-determination throughout the world.

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Militant/Michael Baumann

More than 20,000 Nicaraguans demonstrated June 25 against Israeli invasion of Lebanon.

Thousands in Greece rally for Palestinians

BY ARIS HARAS

ATHENS — The night of June 8, the first day of the murderous invasion of Lebanon by the Zionist army, 20,000 people gathered at Propilea, at the center of Athens, to protest the invasion and to express their solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese people.

The rally was called by various peace committees and by government officials from the ruling PASOK party. It was also announced on national television, along with appeals to the Greek people to donate blood for the victims of the invasion of Lebanon.

The rally was followed by a militant march to the Israeli embassy. The marchers demanded, "Israel out of Lebanon now!"

That was the beginning of an outpouring of opposition to the bloody U.S.-Zionist war in Lebanon and of firm solidarity with the Palestinian people by the Greek workers and peasants, especially the youth.

On June 10, on the occasion of Reagan's visit to Europe, 100,000 people marched to protest U.S. war policies and to show their solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. The slogan "U.S. death bases out!" (of Greece) went hand in hand with "Zionists out of Lebanes!"

A similar demonstration of 10,000 people took place the same day in Thessaloniki, the second-biggest city in Greece.

The appeal for donations of blood found a huge response. Hundreds of people donated blood for their brothers and sisters in Lebanon every day throughout the month of June. Sectors of the church campaigned to collect blood, food, and medicine for the Palestinians, despite the strong opposition to such a campaign by the leadership of the Orthodox Church.

Political meetings, rallies, and demonstrations were held in all the big cities of Greece, such as Pátrai, and Ioánnina. The last demonstration in Athens, organized by the pro-Moscow Communist Party, took place June 27. Tens of

thousands of workers and students heard representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization's embassy in Greece. They demanded once again, "Hands off Palestine!" The demonstrators also declared "U.S. bases in Greece are against the Palestinian people."

The most militant expression of solidarity came from the Greek dock workers. They decided to boycott all Israeli vessels, while through their union they donated \$19,000 to the PLO. When an Israeli military training vessel visited the island of Kalimnos, the dockworkers on the island led the residents of Kalimnos in a protest that forced the departure of the vessel.

Young students, taxi drivers, and con-

struction workers said that they would volunteer to go to Lebanon to fight with the Palestinians if there was recruitment.

This tremendous sentiment and movement of solidarity with the Palestinian people in their struggle for self-determination sets an example for working people around the world.

It became possible for two reasons. First, because of the political solidarity with the Palestinians expressed by all the political parties (except the rightwing New Democracy Party, and the huge campaign in the mass media. Second, and most important, because of the deep anti-imperialist sentiment of the Greek working people.

Sandinistas send two top ministers to visit besieged Lebanon city

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA — To make clear before the world Nicaragua's solidarity with the Palestinian struggle, the Sandinista government has sent two of its most prominent members to besieged West Beirut.

Father Miguel D'Escoto, minister of foreign affairs, and Father Ernesto Cardenal, minister of culture, told reporters as they left Sandino Airport July 5, "We are going to demonstrate our clear, categorical, and total solidarity with our brothers, the Palestinian people, and their leadership, the PLO."

Blasting U.S. support for the Israeli invasion, D'Escoto said, "It's impossible to separate the United States, its policy, its government, and its president from what is being done to the people of Palestine."

Nicaragua itself "experienced the genocidal violence of Somoza, aided by Israeli arms and military assistance, only three years ago," D'Escoto added. "It is for this reason that our people particularly feel and understand what the Palestinian people are suffering."

Sergio Ramírez, another top figure in Nicaragua's government, also spoke.

"The world is living through some of the tensest moments of the century," Ramírez said.

"To the south, the Reagan administration has fanned the flames of war in the Malvinas against the will of the Latin American people. In the Middle East, it is carrying out one of the worst massacres of the 20th century through the Israeli Zionist army, which has murdered thousands of Palestinians and leveled entire cities. In Africa, from its base in South Africa, it is attacking the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia, and Angola.

"Here in Central America," he continued, "Reagan's war policy has been escalated by the intervention of Honduran troops into El Salvador." Meanwhile, "increasingly better-armed and equipped counterrevolutionaries continue to attack our people."

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Federal court upholds order to release jailed Haitians

BY ANDREA BARON

MIAMI — On July 13, a federal court of appeals refused to stay a lower-court order releasing 1,800 Haitian refugees from detention camps in the United States and Puerto Rico.

The ruling opens the way for the possible release of the Haitians within 10 days.

On June 29, U.S. District Court Judge Eugene Spellman ruled in favor of releasing the Haitians in a court case challenging the policy of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

The Justice Department immediately filed an appeal to the U.S. Court of Appeals in Atlanta, and attempted to secure a stay of Spellman's order.

The stay has now been turned down, but the government intends to continue appealing.

While the potential release of the refugees was received with tremendous joy in the Haitian community, activists also recognize the seriously flawed nature of Spellman's ruling.

Spellman's release order was based on "procedural errors" the INS made. He had earlier ruled that the detention policy itself was not discriminatory.

Just a few days after his release order, Spellman granted the government the right to detain new Haitian refugees captured after the date of his ruling.

Activists in the Haitian community plan to file an appeal to challenge the racist basis of Spellman's ruling. They want to initiate a campaign to win legalized status for the Haitians already imprisoned and the release of any new detainees.

Rev. Gerard Jean-Juste, director of the Haitian Refugee Center, explained the issues in the fight: "We are starting a campaign to legalize the status of those illegally incarcerated. They have suffered too long and too many have died.

"They have been unlawfully punished by the U.S. government long enough. They have shown their determination and commitment to obtaining freedom in this society by enduring nearly 13 months of incarceration. There have been 29 suicide attempts.

"There is only one way the U.S. government can properly remedy the unlawful suffering it has inflicted upon these innocent people: legalize their status."

Judge Spellman's decision imposes many restrictions on the refugees and the agencies that have volunteered to help resettle them. All refugees must be photographed and fingerprinted before release; each must have both an agency and an individual sponsor; and each must report weekly to someone designated by the court.

About one-quarter of the Haitians held in the United States and Puerto Rico are in the Krome Avenue camp outside Miami. In recent months, the campaign to close Krome has gained big support in Dade County and all of south Florida. In May, a Dade County grand jury denounced the detention policy and called for the release of all Haitians. Mayors of three Dade County cities made appeals to President Reagan to close the camp.

The Friends of Haitians coalition has organized weekly noon pickets at the Miami INS office. Hundreds rallied outside the camp gate on May Day. The refugees held at Krome have had demonstrations and hunger strikes, been beaten and mistreated, and have consistently resisted the brutal, racist detention policy.

Activists in support of the Haitians have announced plans for a demonstration on July 31 demanding the immediate release of all Haitian refugees, political asylum, and an end to U.S. aid to the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti.

SWP candidate fired from Ga. plant

BY CHRIS HOEPPNER

ATLANTA — Maceo Dixon, the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) candidate for governor of Georgia and a member of Teamsters Union Local 528, was fired July 9 by Oxford Chemicals Co. The company claims he was simply laid off.

This is the second firing of a socialist by Oxford from its plant in Chamblee. In late May, Garrett Brown, chairman of the Georgia SWP campaign committee, was also fired.

Brown won an important victory when Oxford's claim that he was fired for "just cause" failed to convince an examiner of the Georgia Department of Labor. He ruled that Brown's unemployment benefits could not be held up, as Georgia law requires for "just cause" firings.

Brown and Dixon say they were discharged for union activities and their socialist ideas.

"Oxford," Dixon said, "claims I was laid off — although people in the plant are working overtime. This 'layoff' was in blatant violation of the union's seniority system. More than 10 workers with less seniority than me were not laid off."

While a number of workers were laid off at the same time, he pointed out, several white workers were allowed to bump into new jobs, while he and another Black worker were forced to take tests to see if they "qualified" for another position.

"The company is using this racist procedure in an attempt to divide the union and weaken it by gutting the contract's seniority provisions," Dixon charged.

He termed his discharge, and that of Brown, "an attempt by Oxford to intimidate other workers and force them to accept speedup, layoffs, and unsafe working conditions, and to prevent them from talking about politics."

He pointed out that both he and Brown had been active in successful fights against unsafe conditions at Oxford, and that he won a fight against a similar discriminatory layoff a year ago.

In addition, he and Brown have been active in involving the union in protesting racist murders in Atlanta and in discussing the government's war drive.

Dixon and Brown also took part in a fight in January that forced the company to back down from forcing workers to choose between working short weeks or accepting layoffs.

"We told them then," Dixon said, "we didn't believe their poor-mouthing, that they should open the books. Why should we believe them now?

"It's that sort of discussion, and actions," he said, "that Oxford is trying to stop through these firings."

The socialists are fighting back, and they are getting significant help from their fellow workers. Teamsters Local 528 has taken up Brown's discharge, which is to go to arbitration, and Dix-

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on's, which is now at the third grievance stage.

Five of Brown's co-workers and a shop steward, Sidney Colbert, signed statements disputing the company's allegations that Brown, a forklift driver, was fired because he was "reckless and negligent."

In addition, 65 members of the local, signed a petition demanding Brown's reinstatement and an end to political harassment at the plant.

Brown, through the state Labor Department, had subpoenaed his Oxford personnel records, his foreman and the plant manager, and any correspondence between them and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Georgia Bureau of Investigation, and local police departments

Oxford, which had appealed the state's decision June 2 to grant Brown's unemployment benefits without delay, was to have brought the subpoenaed witnesses and evidence to a June 28 hearing. Instead, the company withdrew the appeal.

This withdrawal is expected to strengthen the union's case in the upcoming arbitration hearing on Brown's discharge.

Dixon's firing is also being taken up by his co-workers, 35 of whom discussed the case during their lunch break re-

Campaign supporters held a news conference July 13 at the plant gate.

A protest rally is planned Saturday, July 17, at 7:30 p.m. at campaign offices at 504 Flat Shoals Ave. in Atlanta.

Socialist defends ERA, abortion

BY LISA KANNENBURG

PITTSBURGH — Katherine Sojourner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for lieutenant governor of Pennsylvania, recently completed a four-day tour of western Pennsylvania.

Sojourner talked to the *Militant* about some of her experiences while on tour.

"Everywhere I went," Sojourner said, "people questioned me about women's rights issues. In newspaper and radio interviews and on the streets, people had the same questions: 'What happened to the ERA?', 'What's happening with abortion rights?', 'Where do we go from here?'"

Sojourner said she found big support for the ERA and abortion rights in conversations during the tour. The candidate spent much of her time talking to laid-off workers in Pittsburgh's long unemployment lines.

"One man told me they had discussed the ERA and abortion in his steelworkers' union local," Sojourner reported.

"'We're all getting the hell punched out of us. We have to stick together and stay together,' he said," referring to the attacks on women and on the labor movement.

In an interview with the McKeesport Daily News, Sojourner pointed out that limited gains for women and Blacks were possible in the 1960s before the current capitalist economic crisis.

"But when the capitalists are in trouble, you see what happens," she said. "After 50 years of social gains we see the ERA defeated and abortion rights pushed back, and we see a military buildup diverting unprecedented amounts from domestic programs to military preparations."

The women's rights struggle has been a key issue in the 1982 Socialist Workers campaign in Pennsylvania. When the notorious Abortion Control Act (ACA) came up for a vote in the Pennsylvania legislature this June, Sojourner and Mark Zola, the SWP candidate for governor, held a news conference in Harrisburg denouncing the bill.

Congressman Alan Ertel, the Democratic candidate for governor, held a town meeting in Harrisburg the same day. When pressed by the media for a statement on the ACA, Ertel replied that he had been "too busy to read the bill" and that he was waiting for Governor Thornburgh to either sign or veto it before taking a stand on the issue.

Thornburgh signed the bill, giving Pennsylvania women the most restrictive abortion law in the country. Ertel is now reportedly soliciting support for his campaign from women's rights organizations

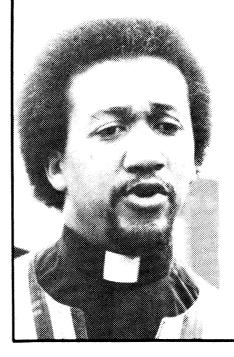
Sojourner wrapped up her tour with a speech to the Pittsburgh Militant Labor forum where she again discussed the abortion issue.

"The right to choose abortion," Sojourner stated, "is the absolute cutting edge of the women's movement in this country...a prerequisite for women's ability to participate equally in society."

Sojourner condemned the bipartisan drive against women's rights and called for women and the entire labor movement "to break with the twin parties of big business and build our own party, an independent party, a labor party."

-Newark-

Hear Rev. Ben Chavis



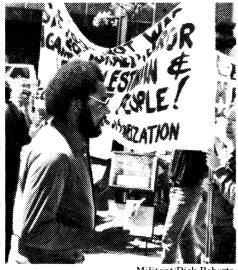
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The fight to put Mason on the ballot

Supporters open national campaign to win endorsers in rights battle



Militant/Dick Roberts

Mel Mason, independent candidate for California governor, at pro-Palestinian demonstration in San Francisco.

BY BARRY SHEPPARD

SAN FRANCISCO — Winding up five weeks of intensive petitioning July 11, supporters of the independent campaign of Mel Mason for governor of California have collected more than 220,000 signatures to put the socialist candidate on the November ballot.

This massive demonstration of support for Mason's right to be on the ballot went more than 100,000 over the legal requirement of some 113,000 signatures.

Nevertheless, campaign workers throughout California are now gearing up for the next stage in the fight to win ballot status for their candidate — to demand that the state certify Mason's candidacy. We know that the very wealthy who run the Democratic and Republican parties are going all out to keep the dynamic socialist leader off the November ballot

Fight for leave of absence

Moves to block Mason's candidacy came early in the campaign. Mel Mason is a socialist city councilman in Seaside, California. Shortly after Mason announced his candidacy for governor last winter, Los Angeles Mayor Thomas Bradley, who is now the Democratic gubernatorial candidate, made the first visit of his life to the small Monterey community of Seaside to attempt to squash the Mason campaign before it really got started.

Mason supporters in Seaside made Bradley's visit a hot one for the Democratic candidate by bringing out the issues. Shortly after Bradley left town in a hurry, Mason's employers at Monterey Peninsula College (MPC) refused to grant him a leave of absence so he could be a fulltime candidate. Members of the MPC Board of Trustees who spearheaded this undemocratic ruling are Bradley men.

Broad support for Mason's right to a leave was mobilized among unionists, civil libertarians, leaders in the Black community throughout the state, and others. A lawsuit was filed on Mason's behalf, and on the basis of the broad support he received Mason got his leave of absence by court order.

The federal cops got into the act, too. Mason, who is a national leader of the National Black Independent Political Party, flew to Detroit last spring to attend an NBIPP meeting. At the airport, federal narcotics agents accosted the candidate, charging they "had heard" he was bringing in a large shipment of drugs. They wanted to "search" him in an isolated area, but Mason refused and demanded they search him in front of the 100-or-so passengers who were watching the incident. Of course they found nothing.

Rumors began circulating in Seaside that the local cops were going to try to bust Mason on a trumped-up drug charge. When reporters questioned police to find out about the charge, the police chief finally admitted that anyone who knew Mel Mason knew he had nothing to do with illegal drugs.

In Bradley's hometown of Los Angeles, cars of Mel Mason supporters were broken into, and financial records stolen. In one incident, Mason's luggage was taken while he was speaking. In shopping malls, self-proclaimed Bradley supporters tried to drive away Mason petitioners. While this effort failed to stop the petitioning, it was serious and apparently coordinated.

There have been three burglaries at Mason's Oakland state campaign head-quarters

All these moves indicate that the ruling rich who run both capitalist parties have taken early note of Mason's campaign, and are attempting to silence this antiwar fighter and champion of the rights and interests of Blacks, Latinos, women, and all working people.

That's why Mason supporters in the state are gearing up for the next round of ruling-class attempts to keep his name off the ballot.

Eu's dirty tricks

The present secretary of state in California, March Fong Eu, who is in charge of certifying candidates, is notorious for stooping to any dirty trick to keep independent working-class people off the ballot. In the 1980 presidential campaign, her office ruled the Socialist Workers Party ticket of Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann off — even though their supporters had collected some 150,000 signatures (at that time the legal requirement was 101,000).

She also ruled the Communist Party off the ballot in 1980.

Some of the tricks pulled by Eu's office were to take a "random sample" of signatures through a process the heart of which, they claimed, was a state secret. Through this method, they targeted blank spaces on the petitions and names that were crossed out and not to be counted, and ruled them and others "invalid signatures." Also ruled invalid were names of registered voters who had changed their address, or who signed their names on petitions slightly differently than on voter registration forms. Other similar methods were used to disenfranchise these voters from making the nominations of their choice.

We fully expect Secretary of State Eu to be up to her old tricks again.

As the petitions are counted by the county election boards (which operate under the secretary of state), Mason supporters will be documenting fraudulent disqualification of signatures. Mason campaign attorney Robin Maisel is preparing a lawsuit, which will include this documentation, demanding that Mason be placed on the ballot.

The California election law is one of the most restrictive in the country. It requires that 113,000 signatures be gathered to place an independent on the ballot, while any Democrat or Republican only needs to collect 60. This is just one of the abuses in this law.

Law helps bosses' parties

The *real* reason this law exists is to help maintain the political monopoly of the two capitalist parties. The "good" reason given by the state is that the stringent requirements are needed to weed out "frivolous" candidates who have no support.

A major part of the lawsuit will be to point out that Mel Mason has certainly complied with this ostensible intent of the law by submitting 220,000 names of Californians who think he should be on the ballot.

The real support for Mason's right to be on the ballot is obvious from the success of the petitioning effort. The Mel Mason for Governor Committee is gathering support now for the next stage of this fight. Supporters of Mel Mason's right to be on the ballot already include such figures as Ed Asner, the actor; Georgia Assemblyman Julian Bond; antiwar activist Tony Russo; California Assemblywoman Maxine Waters: actor John Randolph and screenwriter Albert Maltz, victims of the Hollywood witchhunt; American Indian Movement leader Russell Means; and Charles Sheehan, past president of the Los Angeles air traffic controllers union

Militant readers can help in this fight now by writing to Secretary of State March Fong Eu, 1230 J St., Sacramento, California 95814, to demand that her office certify Mel Mason for the ballot immediately, in view of the massive number of petitions submitted on his behalf. Please send copies to the Mel Mason for Governor Campaign, 2864 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, California 94609.

The hundreds of supporters who got these 220,000 signatures have struck a powerful blow in the fight to put Mel Mason on the ballot. Now we have to build on this success, by bringing to bear the full political import of this large number of people who want Mason on the November ballot, in the next round of the battle.

Barry Sheppard is coordinator of the Mel Mason for Governor Campaign.

Utah socialists open Price offices

PRICE, Utah — The grand opening of the headquarters of the Socialist Workers Campaign and Young Socialist Alliance took place here in Price on June 5. The rally also launched the campaign of Kay Sedam, a rail worker from Salt Lake City, as the Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate from Utah. Her opponents are Republican Senator Orrin Hatch and Ted Wilson, a Democrat and mayor of Salt Lake City.

In her speech, Sedam attacked the prowar positions of both her opponents. "Hatch not only has a consistent pro-Pentagon voting record, he is a national leader of the attack on women's rights," she said. Hatch is the author of a constitutional amendment which would try to limit the right to abortion by overturning the 1973 Supreme Court decision and turning over to the states the decision whether or not to allow legal abortions.

Wilson, who is courting the support of the union officialdom, has no differences with Hatch on war and war spending. Sedam said, "When asked his stand on the Equal Rights Amendment, Wilson refused to comment. He said it was a dead issue. Our campaign doesn't think the issue of women's rights is a dead issue in the minds of working people."

Mary Zins, a national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party, and a former member of the United Mine Workers, sounded the theme of the rally when she said, "The war being waged by the U.S. government is against all working people — in Nicaragua, in Argentina, or in the coalfields around Price."

She explained that government moves to cut the budget of the Mine Safety and Health Administration, a crucial issue for coal miners, is part of the same war that is being waged against the workers and peasants of Central America.

"War is the inevitable product of the capitalist system," she said. "The only way to stop wars is to change the system. We need a workers and farmers government to replace this capitalist government, so that we can move on to replace capitalism with socialism."

Agnes Chapa, a union coal miner at the Deer Creek mine near Price, spoke on behalf of the Price YSA. Chapa, who has toured Cuba and Nicaragua, contrasted the treatment of human beings in those countries to the degradation suffered by working people in the United States.

"The prospect here is unemployment, the draft, and war," she said. "The YSA is the organization to join to fight against that, to fight to build a new society, a socialist society."

Also speaking at the rally was Sara Smith, socialist candidate for U.S. Congress from the 2nd Congressional District in Salt Lake City. The rally was chaired by Jim White, chairperson of the Price SWP.

Sugar workers union hears Mason on struggle against plant closings

BY LYNDA JOYCE

SALINAS, Calif. — Mel Mason, independent candidate for governor of California, spoke before a meeting of Local 180 of the Sugar Workers Union, AFL-CIO, here June 22.

Local 180 represents the 700 workers at Amstar's Factory No. 1 in nearby Spreckels, which is due to shut down on August 1. Earlier, Amstar management denied Mason the right to tour the plant.

"I'm really glad that the union invited me to speak," Mason began. "The company would not allow me in the plant. This just shows that democracy rests with workers organizations, not the

"I wanted to visit the plant to talk to workers, to gain an understanding of why the plant is closing down. Amstar is not saying. These companies should open their books to the workers and the unions so we can find out for sure why they're closing down."

Mason told the union members that when Thomas Bradley, the Democratic

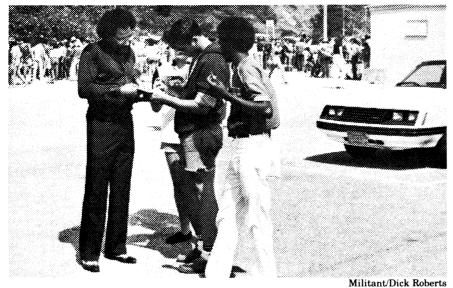
Party candidate for governor, toured the plant three months ago, he talked to management.

"My purpose," Mason explained, "would have been to talk to the workers, to find out your reactions to the closing and possibly to assist.

"Bradley's response to plant closings is a counseling program," Mason continued, "You don't need counseling, you ned jobs. I say the money going to the military could provide thousands of jobs. We need a mass movement led by labor to fight for this, and for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to spread the available work

"Plants like the Spreckels sugar mill should be nationalized with the workers controlling job conditions, health, and safety."

Mason received a good response and was invited back to speak before the sugar workers again. All the union officials present signed a petition for Mason's right to be on the ballot in November.



Why 220,000 signed to put socialist on California ballot

Antiwar, prolabor stance cited by many

Mel Mason (left), socialist running as independent candidate for governor of California, campaigning in Los Angeles.

BY DICK ROBERTS

SAN FRANCISCO — A resounding vote has been cast in California over the past 10 weeks: Mel Mason, the indegubernatorial candidate, pendent should be on the statewide ballot in November.

By July 16 more than 220,000 people had signed ballot petitions for Mason.

This is almost twice the legally required number of 113,600 signatures. The total is 40,000 signatures over the 180,000 signature goal initially set by the Mason for Governor Campaign

The big job of collecting these signatures - by several hundred Mason supporters up and down the state — represents a significant victory for working people.

The overwhelming majority of signatures came from Black, Latino, and white working-class communities.

Impact in Black community

Mason's campaign made a significant impact in Black San Francisco neighborhoods like the Western Addition, Hunters Point, and Potrero Hills, and in East Oakland.

"You people are everywhere," one supporter said during door-to-door petitioning in Hunters Point. "I signed already. I saw you downtown. Glad to see you here.'

One young man who appreciated Mason's stand against the draft told petitioners of an area where many of his friends hang out. This led to collecting some 400 signatures.

A woman who met Mason at an unemployment center in East Oakland said. "I'll sign that. My son has been bringing some information on your campaign from Berkeley High School.'

More than 7,000 signatures were collected at the June 12 peace march in San Francisco. Another 6,000 signatures were collected at the Gay and Lesbian Freedom Day Parade in San Francisco June 27.

Students, tenant groups

Mason was invited to give a class at Laney College in Oakland where he spelled out the need to break with the Democratic Party and get people into office who really represent working people. Twenty-seven of the students who heard him signed up to help his cam-

At San Francisco City College, more than half the student body signed Mason petitions. Students at Evergreen Community College in San Jose plan to launch a Youth for Mel Mason Committee. In Los Angeles 3,900 signatures were collected on campuses.

In Potrero Hills, residents of a cityowned housing project are fighting an attempt by the city to drive them out of the projects. The location offers a spectacular view of San Francisco, an ideal location for luxury, high-rise condomi-

Mason, who has led similar fights to preserve low-cost housing in Seaside where he is on the city council, is popular among the Potrero Hills tenants group. At a hearing before the housing authority, which Mason attended, women leaders of the tenants group were

wearing Mason for Governor buttons.

They led a scathing attack on the housing board. "This is a sick society where the rich are driving out the poor,' one of them declared. "What real-estate firm," Lawanna Potts asked the board, "are you going to sell this property to?"

"I support you 100 percent," Ellie Chubbs told Mason at a campaign rally in the Western Addition. "I don't go for war. We shouldn't be spending any money on nuclear weapons when you have massive unemployment."

In all, more than 20,000 people signed Mason petitions in Bay Area Black communities.

In Bradley territory

In South Central Los Angeles — in Watts, Carson, Fox Hill, and other Black communities — 28,000 people put their names on Mason petitions. This is the base of Democratic Mayor Thomas Bradley who is also running for governor of California.

There were countless conversations about what Mason and Bradley stand for. Many of the signers see through Bradley. They know he has done nothing for Blacks, and that he is a tool of the ruling rich, and they hate the police violence that Bradley, a former cop, stands for.

Some signed who remain Bradley supporters but feel Mason has the democratic right to be on the ballot.

Others signed because they learned things about Bradley they didn't know - for example, his support for the draft.

More than 100,000 Californians have refused to register for the draft. The first non-registrant to be indicted by the Justice Department, Benjamin Sasway, lives in San Diego.

There, petitioners found the greatest support for Mason in working-class shopping centers. At a K-Mart, one petitioner said there was much interest in Mason's stand for jobs for all. "People said, 'That sounds good, but how can he

She said she explained that a mass public works program could be launched to build schools and hospitals that would provide plenty of jobs. The money should be taken out of the war budget and through taxing corporate profits instead of working people

This made good sense to signers, despite the fact that San Diego is heavily dependent on the aerospace industry and military bases.

Not only big cities

The bulk of petitioning took place in the biggest cities - San Diego, Los Angeles, San Jose, Oakland, and San Francisco. Yet thousands of signatures were also obtained by teams in such cities as Sacramento, Stockton, Davis, Fresno, Richmond, Pittsburg, Vallejo, and Bakersfield, as well as on the Monterey Peninsula, where Mason is from. In the Monterey-Salinas area, supporters got more than 10,000 signatures.

One of the top Mason petitioners, a young man who brought in more than 5,000 signatures on his own, liked petitioning in Stockton best.

"First of all," he told the Militant, "every one of those 5,000 people who signed my petitions knew they were signing to put a socialist on the ballot, because that's the first thing I told them." Mason is a national leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

"They listened to Mel's program about how working people ought to run the country instead of big business.

"Particularly in industrial cities like Stockton. There you had people in their work clothes, farmers and farmworkers bringing in the produce, sailors from the port. All these workers are experiencing the problems Mel is addressing.'

Hundreds of GIs signed Mason petitions, expressing firm objection to Washington's war drive in Central America as they did. Mason is particularly popular among GIs at Ft. Ord, a big army base near Seaside.

A number of signatures were also collected in aerospace plants in the San Jose area and in San Diego, where some Mason supporters work. At the FMC plant in San Jose a group of Mason supporters regularly passes out campaign leaflets, sells buttons and T-shirts, and wages a continuing struggle with management over their right to conduct these activities.

'Straight-up campaign'

In a bar across the road from FMC, Mason talked with some of these supporters. They wanted to know if he openly expressed his socialist ideas when he successfully ran for the Seaside City Council in 1980.

"We ran a straight-up campaign," Mason answered. "We said we were for Black rights and for women's rights. The only people this would offend are people who are against Black rights and against women's rights. We don't represent such people.'

"Yeah, honesty is the best policy," an FMC shop steward replied. He then remarked, "I think the labor party is one of the best ideas I ever heard.'

"Labor has to be in the forefront of everything that's going on," Mason said.

"Otherwise it's back to Hoovervilles," the steward said. "We didn't realize how antilabor the state was until we went out on strike for 13 weeks. And now we feel the same oppression.'

A big chunk of Mason signatures came from people at unemployment and welfare centers in Los Angeles — 6,700 signatures. It is a telling comment about the times and about the change people feel is needed.

One of the top Los Angeles petitioners told this reporter about conversations at the unemployment center in Southgate. This is an area where General Motors, McDonnell Douglas and Firestone have all shut down plants.

Workers and farmers

"I talked about the concept that workers and farmers should run the government instead of Reagan and billionaires," the petitioner said. "Once they were sure I meant small farmers and not corporate agribusiness, they liked that,"

More than 5,000 signatures were collected from farmworkers in Salinas alone.

"The buses would come in from the fields, dropping people at street corners and shopping centers. All this petitioning was done in Spanish. There were practically no refusals. As soon as people realized that Mel is against the U.S. intervention in El Salvador, against deportations and for jobs, people signed," petitioner Janice Lynn explained.

In Bakersfield more than 1,000 signatures were collected, many from white workers as well as from farm laborers. One was a 52-year-old teamster who signed a petition and took a Mason leaflet home to study it.

He came back the next day and gave a \$20 contribution to the Mason campaign. "I agree with almost everything you have to say," he said. "I have three sons. What you people are doing is the most vital thing happening in Bakersfield — probably the most vital around the state. What you're talking about is stopping war."

Up in Hunters Point in San Francisco, a Black woman in her seventies had also been studying a Mason leaflet. "Oh, the socialist," she told a petitioner. "I've been wanting to sign that."

She told about how her family had been driven off their land in Oklahoma, and how she supported people who were fighting back, like the Palestinians. Above all, she expressed anger at the rich rulers of this country — anger that is deeply felt across the land.



July 23, 1982

Signing for Mason in Salinas

Worldwide poverty sharply increased by arms buildup

BY SUZANNE HAIG

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y. — One of the themes of the recent Second Special Session on Disarmament here was the relationship between military expenditures and world poverty.

Carlos Rafael Rodríguez, vice-president of the Councils of State of the Republic of Cuba, pointed out: "The arms buildup, in addition to being fraught with tragic dangers, also diverts from the world economy a torrent of material and financial resources that are used in unproductive and sinister ways, while the desperate situation of hundreds of millions of human beings demands that they be invested instead in development

"Never has the vulnerability of military equipment been so clearly evident as in the war in the Malvinas. Billions are lost in the ocean just a few minutes after firing, dragging human lives in their wake and rendering precious resources useless."

Rodríguez pointed to the imperialists' "philosophy of plunder" as responsible for the arms buildup, military aggression, and the accompanying increase in poverty among the world's population.

Unison Whiteman, foreign minister of Grenada, said: "The awesome increase in the volume and value of arms sales has made that traffic the most fantastically profitable — and one with the highest annual increment — of all trading in the modern world.

"This year, military expenditures will amount to some \$600 billion. One major power [the United States] is expected to spend between \$1,500 and \$2,000 billion on military activities during this so-called Third United Nations Development Decade."

Whiteman noted: "Whether it is in Central America, southern Africa, or the Middle East, we see United States imperialism propping up and buttressing some of the most violent regimes ever known to mankind. . . .

"Men of reason experience a sense of outrage in contemplating the picture of some 400 to 500 million people starving and malnourished, side by side with this cruel and wanton waste of resources."

Schools vs. weapons

Whiteman said that at 1979 production-cost levels "the money spent on the acquisition of instruments of mass destruction would have financed the following: 600,000 schools, with a capacity for 400 million schoolchildren; or 60 million homes for 300 million people; or 30,000 hospitals with 18 million beds; or 20,000 factories; or an irrigation system for 150 million hectares of land on which, with appropriate application of technology, food could be produced to feed more than 1 billion people.

"In our region, as elsewhere in the world, we have heard of the emergence of the new concept of [Washington's] rapid deployment forces, whereby thousands of military personnel will be mobilized within hours for the purpose of waging aggressive wars," Whiteman added.

"At the same time, in these very regions we know of cases where entire island-states devastated by hurricanes and other natural disasters have had to wait for months, or even years, for the mobilization of even small amounts of disaster relief assistance.

"Therefore, in place of these so-called rapid deployment forces, Grenada today calls for a special program of rapid emergency economic relief, whereby resources can be hurriedly mobilized and channeled to states which are the victims of natural and other disasters."

Dr. Ali Akbar Velayati, foreign minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran,

10

pointed out that "45 percent of the trade in and export of armaments in the world is in the hands of America. . . . Generally, this export was for the protection of despotic regimes and for the purpose of suppressing third-world countries."

These soaring military budgets, moreover, are "supplied by the resources and wealth of the deprived, oppressed, and tyrannized people of the world."

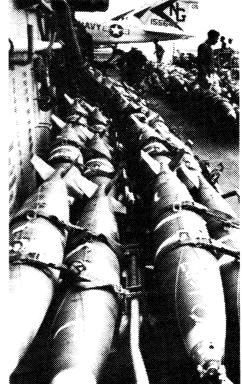
About \$600 billion yearly is spent on weapons in the world, Velayati said. In contrast, "according to the reports of United Nations experts, within the last 10 years the World Health Organization has allocated less than \$100 million from the international budget for assisting countries throughout the world in combating smallpox, whereas the price of a strategic bomber is more than \$100 million.

"Every year malaria kills 1 million children throughout the world, whereas an amount of \$1.5 billion, which means something less than one day's expenditure on arms, would be enough to eradicate this disease from the world.

"In developing countries, at least 300 million children are not able to make use of medical and educational services, and of every three or four children in the developing countries, one dies before reaching the age of five. . . .

"The arms race," Velayati continued, "hinders the economic and social growth of the developing countries and . . . is the cause of inflation, unemployment, and poverty in those territories. . . .

"In the developing countries, less than 15 percent of the rural people and the poor have access to hygiene facilities. At





Grenadian foreign minister pointed out at UN disarmament session that the money spent on arms in one year could finance 30,000 hospitals with 18 million beds.

least 300 million children cannot benefit from health services and education, and less than 10 percent of the children in those territories are vaccinated against diseases. . . .

"If a rational and just system were governing the world, instead of the system of modern barbarism and ferocity," Velayati said, all these sources of wealth could be spent on the welfare and betterment of living conditions and on the mental and spiritual elevation of the oppressed of the world."

Development and peace

Miguel D'Escoto Brockmann, foreign minister of Nicaragua, pointed to the effects of the imperialist arms buildup on the needs of the revolutionary government in this Central American country.

"New Nicaragua considers that social

justice, development, and the satisfaction of the most basic needs of our people are not only essential to peace but are the very raison d'être and the principal goal of our people's Sandinist revolution," he said.

"But while it is true that there can be no peace without development, it goes without saying that there can be no development without peace.

"Threats or acts of aggression by interventionist powers criminally force countries such as Nicaragua to set aside for defense a considerable proportion of the meager resources which they should allocate, and would like to allocate, to satisfying the most pressing needs of their peoples — needs which, in our case, have been sorely aggravated by the disastrous torrential rains of the past few days."

U.S. strengthens armed forces in So. Korea

BY SUZANNE HAIG

Thirty-two years ago, on June 25, 1950, the Korean War broke out.

That war was portrayed by Washington as one waged to prevent communist expansion into "democratic" South Korea. But in fact, like in Vietnam, the U.S. intervened to defend a military dictatorship in the South and to prevent reunification of the country.

On July 27, 1953, a truce was signed—after three million people had been killed and the country devastated. Since then the artificial division of Korea has been maintained and the population in the South ruthlessly exploited and oppressed by a series of dictatorships backed by U.S. troops and nuclear weapons.

Currently, 39,000 U.S. troops are stationed in South Korea, armed with some 700 tactical nuclear warheads. The North has no nuclear weapons. In addition, there are 600,000 South Korean troops, under a joint U.S.-South Korean command and a police apparatus, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA), trained by Washington.

A South Korean radio station has stated that the economic and military aid the U.S. has given to South Korea for its armed forces between 1946 and 1979 totals over \$14.6 billion.

In its 1981 foreign aid bill, the U.S. Congress voted to allot \$176 million in military sales loans — or one-third the total amount of aid it gave to Asian and Pacific countries — to South Korea. It also gave the regime \$167.5 million in military sales loans and \$1.8 million in military education and training expenditures in 1982.

Since the 1953 armistice, South Korea and the U.S. government have instigated literally thousands of provocative actions including incursions into the North.

These have consisted of violating territorial waters; sending spy planes over

North Korea; and shooting across the 38th parallel, or demilitarized zone, which divides the country into North and South.

Maj. Gen. Han Ju Gyong is senior representative of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK-North Korea) to the Military Armistice Commission. He stated that there has been more than 346,300 violations of the armistice agreement by U.S. and South Korean troops since the end of the war.

The U.S. and South Korea continually conduct war games with their troops and weapons as a show of force against the workers and farmers in the South and against the DPRK. Last year at least 13 major war games were held, totaling about 120 days.

This year, "Team Spirit '82" took up two months and involved 100,000 South Korean and 62,200 U.S. troops. The games covered the entire South, and simulated the launching of a preemptive attack against the North.

South Korea also provides Washington with a military beachhead on the Asian continent that can target China, the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and North Korea. It stands as an armed camp ready to defend other reactionary regimes in the region, such as in Taiwan, the Philippines, and Thailand.

Over the last few months, visible opposition to the presence of U.S. troops and Washington's support to the dictatorship of Chun Doo Hwan has grown in South Korea. This anger mounted following the trip by U.S. Vice-president George Bush to South Korea and in the wake of the financial scandal involving relatives of General Chun's wife.

On May 27, June 8, and June 9, student demonstrations of several thousand were held at universities in Seoul demanding the resignation of Chun and attacking U.S. support for his regime.

A trial of Christian activists, including a priest and several theology students, opened on June 14. The activists are charged with setting fire to a U.S. cultural center in Pusan on March 18 to protest U.S. backing for the Chun regime.

One South Korean labor organizer told the *New York Times* in June that among workers, "There's strong sentiment against the United States at the grassroots.

"It stems from a feeling that workers were exploited by American multinational firms paying wages far below living minimums prescribed by the Government-controlled Korean Federation of Trade Unions."

The organizer added that there is also "resentment against the United States Government for support to Chun, the oppressor of trade unions."

This anger was demonstrated on June 3 when mostly women workers at a South Korean factory owned by the Control Data Corp. seized two executives from the company's international head-quarters in Minneapolis, holding them to press their demand for the reinstatement of six union leaders fired during collective bargaining sessions in March.

The Control Data union local is one of only two in South Korea that still has a leadership elected by the membership. Many union leaders were arrested and unions broken up by the Chun dictatorship in 1980.

The U.S. executives were freed by South Korean police who took over the factory and arrested 55 workers.

The desire for reunification of North and South and by the workers and farmers in this divided country, and an end to U.S. occupation and the military dictatorship in the South has not lessened since the Korean War, despite Seoul's and Washington's attempt to legitimize a permanent split into "two Koreas."

What is a crisis of overproduction?

The capitalist business cycle: from prosperity to depression

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

(Second of a series)

We have seen that the essence of the current economic crisis is not a shortage of wealth. Rather it is a crisis of overproduction; more commodities have been produced than people can pay for.

But how can such an irrational situation arise?

A crisis of overproduction can only arise under one economic system, the capitalist system.

Why is the capitalist system plagued by this kind of anarchy?

To answer this, it is necessary to look at the most basic contradiction of the capitalist system: the conflict between the *social* nature of production and *private* ownership of and control over the means of production.

Production under capitalism is thoroughly social. It takes hundreds of millions of people working together on a world scale to keep modern society operating. The various branches of industry and agriculture depend on one another to the highest degree.

For example, automobile production

BEHIND THE RECESSION

could not go on without the steel, rubber, electrical, petroleum, and many other industries.

Not only does one industry depend on another, but their production must be carried out in the right proportion. If, for example, the auto industry wants to produce 10 million cars but the rubber industry produces only enough rubber for 1 million, then auto production would face collapse.

This principle is illustrated whenever a strike in a parts plant in Ohio forces the shutdown of auto assembly lines in Detroit — or, as is happening today, when the lack of a market for cars sends shock waves back through the economy, causing layoffs in parts plants, steel mills, iron ore mines, coal mines, and countless other enterprises.

Under capitalism, a high degree of planning is achieved within each corporation. Indeed, with computers and modern high-speed communications, more precise planning and coordination — sometimes spanning several continents and involving hundreds of thousands of workers — are possible than ever before.

No social planning

But there is no *overall* plan to coordinate the production of different corporations and industries with each other or with society's needs. The ever-shifting balance of production is achieved only through the competitive drive of these private owners to enrich themselves.

Each corporation, in ruthless competition against all the others, tries to maximize its own profit. (Monopoly control within various industries only modifies competition, it does not eliminate competition as the driving force of capitalism. General Motors is a powerful monopoly, but it is still locked in a fierce competitive struggle with Ford, not to mention Toyota, Datsun, and Volkswagen.) Private investors — that is, capitalists — try to maximize their own individual gains as they gamble in the stock, bond, money, and commodity-futures markets.

Production is undertaken by capitalist corporations only if they believe it will be profitable. In turn, individual capitalist investors supply money only to those banks and corporations that they think will be profitable and assure them a constant flow of dividends.

Moreover, a capitalist firm never really knows in advance if its enterprises

have produced too many or too few goods, if it has invested too much or too little in a particular line of production. That is only determined after the fact, when the goods are placed on the market. Either they sell at profitable prices or they don't. Here, even the most sophisticated, computerized market predictions cannot change the anarchic and unplanned character of capitalist production.

The overall well-being of society simply doesn't enter into individual capitalist calculations. What stock exchange shark ever asks himself whether a company whose stock he might purchase produces useful goods? He is interested in whether it will be able to sell its commodities at a profit and pay dividends.

Imbalance and crisis

Out of this anarchic struggle for private profit a certain order does emerge, of course. Otherwise capitalism would be entirely impossible.

But history has conclusively shown that capitalism cannot maintain a steady, balanced growth of production. Imbalances between production and consumption, and between different branches of industry, continually recur. Only through the destructive convulsions of the boom-and-bust business cycle can capitalism, in the long run, maintain a certain balance.

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, in the last century, explained the process that inevitably leads from wild expansion of production to crisis and depression. They pointed out that competition compels each capitalist firm to modernize its machinery in an effort to lower costs and capture more of the market. But investment in more modern equipment requires that the scale of production be expanded.

In a concise summary of this view, Engels explained: "The ever-increasing perfectibility of modern machinery is, by the anarchy of social production, turned into a compulsory law that forces the individual industrial capitalist [to-day we would say individual industrial corporation] always to improve his machinery, always to increase its productive force. The bare possibility of extending the field of production is transformed for him into a similar compulsory law.

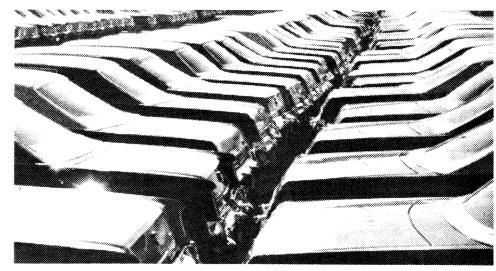
"The enormous expansive force of modern industry, compared with which that of gases is mere child's play, appears to us now as a *necessity* for expansion, both qualitative and quantitative, that laughs at all resistance. Such resistance is offered by consumption, by sales, by markets for the products of modern industry.

"But the capacity for extension, extensive and intensive, of the markets is primarily governed by quite different laws that work much less energetically. The extension of the markets cannot keep pace with the extension of production. The collision becomes inevitable, and as this cannot produce any real solution so long as it does not break in pieces the capitalist mode of production, the collisions become periodic. Capitalist production has begotten another 'vicious circle'" (Socialism: Utopian and Scientific, Pathfinder Press)

From bust to boom . . .

This "vicious circle" is the business cycle. Some business cycles are relatively "mild"; others bring with them terrible crashes, depressions, and the accompanying toll on working people. But they all have certain features in common.

During the phase of stagnation, there is an excess of commodities on the market. They cannot be sold at profitable prices. The employers cut back construction of new plants. They cannot



Unsold cars

profitably utilize the plants they already have.

Demand for loans drops off as spending by both workers and business declines. The unemployed don't apply for auto loans or mortgages. Interest rates fall and surplus funds pile up in the banks

Millions of workers are laid off or work fewer hours as production is depressed. High unemployment gives the employers greater leverage to blackmail those still working into accepting lower wages. Farmers and small businesses suffer because of the sluggish level of trade. Personal, farm, small-business, and corporate bankruptcy rates are high. Misery and poverty among workers and farmers are at a high level even by capitalist standards.

Gradually, the inventories of goods are sold off or even destroyed — sold as scrap, for example. In the case of agriculture, crops may be plowed under or livestock slaughtered and destroyed. The low wages and elimination through bankruptcy of weaker competitors improve the profit outlook for the strong companies that remain. The point is finally reached where supply falls below the level of demand.

Once this point is reached in key industries, it leads to a chain-reaction recovery throughout the economy. Workers begin to be rehired. Employment lags behind the recovery of production, however, because many older, more laborintensive plants have been shut down for good during the depression. New modern machinery is added, allowing more goods to be produced with fewer workers.

. . and boom to bust

Employment rises, but so does the number of those seeking work. As a result, the rate of unemployment falls very slowly and sometimes may even increase slightly during the recovery. Still, the rise in the number of workers employed leads to a rise in the demand for consumer goods. The rise in demand for consumer goods in turn increases the demand for capital goods — i.e., machinery — as well as raw materials. The recovery is aided by the low rate of interest and the abundance of credit.

Eventually, recovery leads to a boom. As demand rises, the corporations have to use more of their existing capacity and eventually step up construction of new plants. These will be equipped with more modern technology and will have sharply lower production costs than the older ones. The process is stimulated by the expansion of credit, which makes possible the building of factories with borrowed funds.

The boom feeds on itself. As new plants are built, jobs are created in steel, construction, machine tools, mining, and many other industries. Unemployment finally goes down, although never to zero.

The boom is further fed by the availability of consumer credit and mortgages, at relatively low interest rates. As demand exceeds supply, business is

in a position to raise prices. The rise in prices increases profits and limits the extent to which demand can exceed supply. Under boom conditions it is easier for workers to win wage increases. Bosses hate to lose production through strikes when trade is brisk, while workers are not so afraid that they won't find another job if they're fired.

The condition of family farmers also tends to improve, since high employment means more demand for food and thus a better chance of getting a better price for their goods.

How downturn begins

Just as many workers are beginning to feel secure, and memories of the last recession begin to fade, signs of trouble appear on the horizon. The first sign is a rise in the interest rates. Suddenly, loans become more difficult to obtain. Money is "tight." Industries that depend heavily on credit for their sales, such as housing and auto, begin to slump.

As supply begins to exceed demand in more and more industries, the rush of investment aimed at increasing production suddenly looms as a peril to profits. Many new plants come into production just as the market has reached its potential

As inventories pile up, businesses must borrow to cover the cost of carrying unsold goods. This increases the demand for credit, thus further increasing interest rates. More and more borrowers, especially small ones like workers and farmers, are deprived of credit altogether.

Bankruptcies increase. Eventually, the slump spreads from credit-sensitive industries to virtually all industries, as businesses slash spending and lay off workers to conserve cash. The economy spirals into depression. This sudden downturn in business following the boom is known as the crisis (or, somewhat euphemistically, as the "recession").

For a long time, capitalist government treated business cycles as natural disasters akin to earthquakes or hurricanes. But the crisis that began in 1929 and led to the Great Depression of the 1930s finally forced capitalist governments to attempt some sort of control of the business cycle. The next article will examine the Great Depression more closely.

 $(To\ be\ continued)$

Leon Trotsky on the Trade Unions

By Leon Trotsky 80 pp., \$2.95 Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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Women coal miners fight for equal rights

Continued from Page 16

She reminded the workshop participants that it was Democrat Carter who had invoked the Taft-Hartley Act in an attempt to smash the 1977 coal strike.

"What I think we really need is a labor party which would actively fight for the interests of working people. What we need is a workers and farmers government, not one of lawyers and businessmen," she said.

Several women stated that they liked the idea, but didn't consider themselves qualified to run for or serve as elected officials. They didn't see how such a proposal could be realistic.

Adrienne Benjamin, a coal miner from Charleston, West Virginia, argued that being realistic meant facing how serious the problems confronting working people today really are. She pointed out that the government was not doing anything to solve the problems of the working class, and that it didn't seem realistic to depend on them to do anything in the future.

Pat Taylor, a miner from Wyoming and leader of the workshop, summarized the discussion in this way: "We didn't solve the question of whether we need a labor party. Some said it was unrealistic to try to organize a new party. But, as others pointed out, 10 years ago they said it was unrealistic to think that women could ever be coal miners, and look where we are today!"

Other activities at the conference included the film showing of *We Dig Coal*:

A Portrait of 3 Women Miners and musical entertainment by the Knights of Labor and the Reel World String Band.

On Saturday there was an informal discussion with Ricardo Navarro, an El Salvadoran active in the St. Louis Committee in Solidarity with Latin Ameri-

Diane Groth, CEP Advisory Committee member from Illinois, reported on the meeting at the plenary session. "When we discuss the layoffs, the budget cuts, and the corporations' demands for concessions from working people," she said, "we must take into account that these are directly related to our government's involvement in Vietnam-style wars in Central America. The money for Social Security, for black

lung benefits, and for MSHA are being syphoned off for the war budget. Groth urged participants to become involved in local antiwar activities.

Conference participants also were introduced to the case of socialist union activists and members of the International Association of Machinists who had been fired from their jobs on account of their antiwar views. Twenty-two signed petitions demanding that the fired workers be reinstated in their jobs. In addition, over \$80 worth of socialist literature and several subscriptions to the *Militant* were sold at the conference.

Clare Fraenzl is a Pennsylvania coal miner and member of UMWA Local 1190.

-CALENDAR-

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Campaign Barbecue and Celebration of Nicaraguan Revolution. Speakers: Martin Boyers, Socialist Workers candidate for governor; Raymond Warren, Young Socialist Alliance, reporting on Mel Mason for Governor campaign in California. Also: Margaret Randall slide show on Nicaragua. Sun., July 18, 3 p.m. 2900 Tenth Ave. S. Donation: \$5 includes food and refreshments. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

San Diego

Celebrate the Third Anniversary of the Nicaraguan Revolution. Films, slide show, music, dance, food. Sun., July 18, 3 p.m. to 8 p.m. Unitarian Church, 4190 Front St. Proceeds to aid Nicaragua flood victims. Ausp: San Diego Committee in Solidarity with Nicaragua, San Diego Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. For more information call (714) 292-0912 or 692-9476.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Protest the Firing of Maceo Dixon! How to Fight Union-Busting and the War Drive. Speakers: Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers candidate for governor. Sat., July 17, 7:30 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Celebrate the Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Speaker: State Representative Mel King. Music, poetry, dancing. Sat., July 24, 7 p.m. Old Cambridge Baptist Church, 1151 Mass. Ave., Cambridge. Donation: \$5. Ausp: July 26th Coalition. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Celebrate the Cuban Revolution: Benefit for Michigan Socialist Workers Campaign. Speakers: Tim Craine, SWP candidate for governor; others to be announced. Slides, refreshments, entertainment. Sat., July 24, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Michigan Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Money for Jobs, Not for War. Socialist Campaign Rally. Speakers: Cathie Fitzgerald, Socialist Workers candidate for Congress; Rashaad Ali, former SWP candidate for mayor of New Orleans; Keith Brown, Young Adults for Freedom; Debrah Witley, community activist. Childcare provided. Sat., July 24, 7:30 p.m. Dixon Inn, 12th and Baltimore. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Kansas City 1982 Campaign. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis

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Eyewitness Reports: Latin American Workers and Farmers in Power. Slide show and reports from Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. International food and music. Sun., July 25, 6:30 p.m. open house, 7:30 p.m. program. 6223 Delmar. Ausp: Socialist Workers

Campaign '82. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

Fiesta in Celebration of Third Anniversary of Nicaraguan Revolution. Film: Americas in Transition; slide show. Sun., July 18, 4 p.m. to 8 p.m. Heights Community Center, 823 Buena Vista SE. Donation: \$1 (half of all proceeds go to Nicaragua flood relief). Ausp: Coalition for Human Rights in Latin America. For more information call (505) 345-4052.

In Concert for Cuba. Featuring Noel Nicola, renowned musician of Cuban New Song Movement, and Ayocuan. Thurs., July 29, 8 p.m. Student Union Ballroom, University of New Mexico. Donation: \$4 in advance, \$5 at door. Ausp: July 26th Coalition.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Three-Day Festival to Celebrate Third Anniversary of Nicaraguan Revolution. Fri., July 16, 7:30 p.m.: Showing of From the Ashes at Taller Latinoamericano, 19 W 21st St., \$4 donation. Sat., July 17, 8:30 p.m.: Salsa dance with live band, Taller Latinoamericano, \$5 donation. Sun., July 18, 12 noon to 5 p.m.: Picnic and cultural celebration, Central Park Great Lawn, 85th St. near Delacourt Theater. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua. For more information call (212) 243-7156.

Celebrate the 29th Anniversary of Moncada. Featuring Noel Nicola, one of Cuba's most renowned musicians of the New Song Movement. Sat., July 24, 8 p.m. Washington Irving Auditorium, 16th St. and Irving Pl. Tickets \$10 and \$5. Ausp: Committee for July 26. For more information call (212) 260-8244 or 477-5891.

NORTH CAROLINA

Winston-Salem

Stop the War in Lebanon! No U.S. Troops! In Defense of the Palestinian People. Speakers: Fawzi Mohammed, Palestinian human rights activist; Khalid Fattah, Institute for Islamic Involvement; Kate Daher, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., July 17, 7:30 p.m. 216 E 6th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO

Cleveland

Celebrate the Anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. Speakers: Darryl Tukufu, Ohio state cochair, National Black Independent Political Party; Norma Ruiz, Nicaraguan activist; representative of Union of Palestinian Students; Alicia Merel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Senate; Louise Haberbush, SWP candidate for 20th Congressional District. Traducción al español. Sat., July 24, 8 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$2. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

OREGON

Portland

Film: Cuba and Fidel. Celebration of anniversary of Cuban revolution. Speaker: Seth Rockwell, Socialist Workers Party, former volunteer worker in Cuba. Sun., July 25, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA Pittsburgh

Meet the Socialist Workers Candidates. Speakers: Deann Rathbun, candidate for Congress, Young Socialist Alliance; Mark Zola, candidate for governor. Sat., July 17, 4 p.m. to 7 p.m. Charleroi Library, 638 Fallowfield, Charleroi. Ausp: Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

South African Freedom Struggle. Speakers: Al Duncan, Socialist Workers Party; South African student; others. Fri., July 23, 8 p.m. 1102 E Carson St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

Picnic to Meet the Socialist Candidates. Food, sports, entertainment. Sat., July 24, 12 noon to 10 p.m. South Park, Sevens Pavilion off Corrigan Rd. Donation: \$5 adults, \$2.50 children and unemployed. Ausp: Pennsylvania Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (412) 488-7000.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Benefit for Flood-Damaged Nicaragua. Slide show from Nicaragua. music by Small Axe Band. Sun., July 18, 7 p.m. Maxwell's, 1 Wall St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Latin America Solidarity Project. For more information call (304) 594-1821.

Miners Fight for Democracy: 1969-1982. Film: UMWA 1970: A House Divided. Speaker: Kate Curry, United Mine Workers Local 2095, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., July 23, 7:30 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Stop U.S.-Israeli Aggression in Lebanon! Speakers: Anan Jabara, president, Palestine Aid Society; Dena Aronson, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee student; Robert Dees, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., July 25, 7 p.m. University of Wisconsin Student Union, Wisconsin Room. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.



'Naming Names': a look at informing in the 1950s

Naming Names, by Victor S. Navasky. The Viking Press, 1980, New York. 482 pages, \$15.95 hardcover.

BY MORRIS STARSKY

Naming Names is not just another account of the 1950s Hollywood witch-hunt. It is an important, unusual, and controversial book. The author, Victor Navasky, is the editor of the *Nation*, a leading voice of liberalism. He describes the book as a "moral detective story." By this he means that it is an investigation into the moral responsibility of "liberal informers" for identifying their former Communist

BOOK REVIEW

Party comrades to the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC).

Navasky's point is really quite simple. In the absence of mitigating circumstances, informing is unprincipled and morally reprehensible. No such mitigating circumstances can be found in a person's membership in the Communist Party. Therefore, naming names to HUAC is morally reprehensible.

In political terms, Navasky's argument rests on the premise that the Communist Party, its members and supporters, have the same constitutional and democratic rights as everyone else. The conclusion of the argument is that those who name names or otherwise cooperate with government and right-wing victimization of Communists are accomplices in the subversion of our democratic rights.

Navasky develops this argument with skill and insight. In Part I of the book he describes the Hollywood witch-hunt apparatus. This structure was the legal, economic, psychological, and moral support system, the "informer subculture" that made it possible for so many Hollywood personalities to override the moral presumption against informing.

In Part II, he evaluates and refutes the motives and reasons for naming names given by some of the more prominent informers. The sources for this account are interviews conducted at the time and recently by the author.

This point is taken up again in Part IV where Na-

vasky draws the lessons of the Hollywood witch-hunt. One of these lessons, perhaps the most important, is that the 1950s Hollywood witch-hunt provided a "moral test" for those caught up in it. Those who stood up to the attack on their rights — regardless of their motives or tactics — and paid the price of black-listing, passed the test. The liberals who did not stand up, who named names or helped to make it possible for others to do so by cooperating with HUAC or the blacklist, failed the test.

Navasky's book and the controversy raging over it in liberal and social democratic circles reflects the growing class polarization in the United States. This is not just a debate over how liberals should have behaved in the 1950s. The issue is whether liberals today should accept the undemocratic consequences of ruling class solutions to social problems created by the capitalist system.

Writing about Naming Names in the liberal New Republic (April 18, 1981), reviewer William Phillips says, "The country is now facing a crisis that cannot be solved alone by welfare considerations or the protection of civil liberties. We are facing the decline of American power, the deterioration of the economy, a breakdown of civility, all fed by and contributing to a psychology of anarchy. Reform politics could thrive in an age of economic expansion, but now that our economy has been contracting, measures to revive American industry and restore financial responsibility are required." [emphasis added]

There it is, right out in the open. Capitalism is in crisis and the solution is to attack the standard of living of the working class. This will be resisted. Crushing the resistance will require attacking constitutional and democratic rights. They are in the way. So, capitalism can no longer afford the protection of civil liberties. That is the ruling class line accepted by liberals of the *New Republic* persuasion.

This line is the political premise of Phillips' venomous attack on Navasky's book. There is a lot of nonsense in Phillips' review, but that should not mislead us. It is a deadly serious manifesto of present day liberal anticommunism.

Here is the gist of it. "[Navasky] cannot see why liberal anti-communists could be against HUAC but could not defend the Communists. Defend the Communists for what? For the right to lie, for the right to

a lucrative job, much more lucrative than their own, for the right to act as apologists and propagandists for a totalitarian regime, and one which democratic socialists believed stood in the way of a true socialist movement?"

The answer, of course, is an unqualified yes! That is exactly what liberals should have done and must do if they really believe in the free marketplace of ideas and defending the Bill of Rights.

A less rabid, but no less critical, review appeared in the Spring 1981 issue of the social democratic journal *Dissent*. Murray Hausknecht (house slave in German) attempts to refute Navasky's argument by the method of formal analogy.

"[Navasky's] inarticulate major premise . . . is that the Communists were devoted democrats, a premise that could only be sustained by a committed avoidance of reality. To accept the premise and the reality it created distracted attention from the actual behavior of the CP; Navasky's linking of the liberals and McCarthy serves a similar function. By the very nature of their persuasion liberals had to attack both HUAC and the Communists, since both were poisoning the political environment."

One does not have to assume that the Stalinists are devoted democrats to defend their rights. Those who defended the democratic rights of Communist Party members against the witch-hunters were defending their own rights as well as the democratic rights of all working people. But, that's beside the point. Navasky is not defending the political policies of the Communist Party. The issue is not criticism of the Communists, but collaborating with their persecution.

Hausknecht's sleight-of-hand logic transforms liberal anticommunists into consistent democrats for evenhandedly attacking both HUAC and the Communists for "poisoning the political environment."

Political opposition to the Communist Party (or any other organization) does not imply allowing the government to persecute or destroy it. On the contrary, political opposition to HUAC and its ilk *requires* defending organizations targeted by them.

Navasky's position is that of a consistent democrat. Opposition to both HUAC and the Communist Party, but without defending the Communist Party against HUAC, strengthens the hand of the repressive apparatus of the government and weakens everyone's constitutional and democratic rights.

Cleve. meeting pays tribute to socialist activist

BY GEORGE CHOMALOU

Tom Nagle, a member of the Socialist Workers Party since 1976, died in Cleveland May 17. He was 45.

At a May 27 meeting in Cleveland to commemorate Tom's contributions to the socialist movement, messages were read from friends who had known and collaborated with him from Phoenix, Kansas City, Seaside, California, and Washington, D.C.

Tom joined the party in Washington, his hometown, after years of activity in

the anti-Vietnam War movement and other struggles. He is best remembered by socialists there for his work in organizing sales of the party press. He was a member of the branch executive committee for much of his time in D.C.

In 1978 Tom moved to Cleveland. There, he was a member of the branch executive committee as well as branch secretary and bookstore director.

His whole existence revolved around the life of the branch. Always a top petitioner, he was active in sales of the party press, never refused any assignment, and was always the first to go out of his way to help another party member.

His devotion to, and revolutionary defense of, the Cuban revolution and the unfolding revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean was a spark for him to undertake the study of Spanish. He was self-taught, and became proficient to the point where he prepared a campaign leaflet in Spanish.

Not relying on translations, you would see Tom in a corner of the branch headquarters with paper and pencil, a

copy of *Perspectiva Mundial* or *Barrica-da*, or a Spanish book.

Tom had been unemployed for several years. Physically impaired, ground into the depths of this recession, he took his own life. He became a victim, like millions of others all over the world, of a barbaric, outlived social system that puts profits above human needs.

But even in his darkest hours, Tom never lost confidence in our class, our party, or the Fourth International. He was an example of unselfish devotion to forging a revolutionary party.

—IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP

Where to find the Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and socialist books and pamphlets

ALABAMA: Birmingham: SWP, YSA, 205 18th St. S. Zip: 35233. Tel: (205) 323-3079

ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 611 E. Indian School. Zip: 85012. Tel: (602) 274-7399. **Tucson:** SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

CALIFORNIA: Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (714) 234-4630.San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405. Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409.

Tel: (219) 884-9509. **Indianapolis:** SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613. Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165, Zip: 50311.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418. LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 1012 2nd Ave. South, Virginia, Minn. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644 6225

MISSOURI: Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 6223 Delmar Blvd. Zip: 63130. Tel: (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 30209. Zip: 68503. Tel: (402) 475-2255.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-

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NEW MEXICO: Albuquerque: SWP, YSA, 1417 Central Ave. NE. Zip: 87106. Tel: (505)) 842-0954.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, 216 E. 6th St., Winston-Salem. Zip: 27101. Tel: (919) 723-3419.

OHIO: Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 2531 Gilbert Ave. Zip: 45206. Tel: (513) 751-2636. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-

OREGON: Portland: SWP, YSA, 711 NW Everett. Zip: 97209. Tel: (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA: Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17102. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 1102 E. Carson St. Zip: 15203. Tel: (412) 488-7000. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O. Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel. (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 6333 Gulf Freeway, Room 222. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 924-4056. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

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WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. **Morgantown:** SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Why U.S. wages war on Nicaragua

On July 19, 1979, the workers and farmers of Nicaragua, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), triumphed over the dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza, whose family had ruled Nicaragua since being installed in power by the U.S. Marines in the 1930s.

For the crimes of tossing out Uncle Sam's man in Managua and replacing this puppet with their own government, Nicaragua's toilers are now being punished by Washington.

Some 4,000 to 5,000 CIA-paid mercenaries — mostly former members of Somoza's National Guard — carry out constant raids against Nicaragua from neighboring Honduras. The U.S. government has cut off all aid and loans and obstructed Nicaraguan efforts to get help from international agencies. U.S. companies in Nicaragua have even bankrupted their local affiliates to sabotage economic reconstruction.

The impact of this full-scale war has been magnified by the torrential rains that hit Nicaragua at the end of May. They caused \$200 million in damages, nearly half the country's annual income from exports.

This catastrophe has left 60,000 people homeless, wiped out three-fifths of the basic food crop and more than a third of the export crop, and destroyed 30 percent of the schools.

Confronted with this human tragedy, Reagan sent Nicaragua a grand total of \$25,500 and a shipment of surplus powdered milk.

What has Nicaragua done to deserve this?

The new government has made extraordinary efforts to help the rural population, building new roads, schools, and clinics. Land is being turned over to those who work it, so they no longer have to pay tribute to U.S. monopolies and absentee landowners.

Urban workers have also gained. The number of union locals has jumped from 174 to 765. Representatives of the unions are members of Nicaragua's legislature, the Council of State, which has enacted many new laws protecting health and safety on the job and improving working conditions.

Unemployment — a crushing problem throughout the Central American region — plummeted in Nicaragua from 40 percent in 1979 to 13 percent in 1981.

To ensure that there will never again be another Somoza, the government is organizing and arming the entire people through the Sandinista People's Militia The government has outlawed price gouging and extortionate rents. These laws are enforced by working people organized in the block associations known as Sandinista Defense Committees.

The Nicaraguan workers and farmers government is mobilizing the population to put an end to imperialist and class exploitation. And it is precisely this that is so intolerable to the Reagan administration and the bankers and big businessmen it represents. These plutocrats have grown accustomed to viewing Latin America as their private preserve, a source of raw materials, cheap labor, and stupendous profits.

This is why the U.S. government is waging war against Nicaragua. But it is not only a war against Nicaragua, it is a war against all the toilers of Central America and the Caribbean who have been inspired by the Sandinista victory. Reagan is waging war on the people in El Salvador through the U.S. trained, -armed and -financed Salvadoran army. He is increasing aid to the Guatemalan dictatorship, which is hard-pressed by the majority-Indian freedom fighters in that country. Several times in the past year, the U.S. Marines have carried out dry runs for an invasion of the east Caribbean island of Grenada, where a workers and farmers government also came to power through a revolution in 1979.

And the Reagan administration has repeatedly threatened to attack Cuba as the "source" of all the problems, because Cuba's socialist revolution has shown the way for all the peoples of Latin America.

The U.S. imperialist government has repeatedly said it will do everything in its power to roll back the Nicaraguan revolution and prevent "new Nicaraguas", the extension of the socialist revolution in this hemisphere.

It is we, the working people of the United States, who are paying with our dollars and will pay with our blood for Washington's new Vietnam in Central America. We have no interest in fighting and dying to defend the profits of the Rockefellers and du Ponts.

Our interests lie instead in opposing Washington's war in Central America, giving humanitarian aid to the flood victims in Nicaragua, and promoting the deepest solidarity between the working people of the United States and of Latin America in our common struggle against the multimillionaires who oppress and exploit us both.

The new hate campaign against Iran

Continued from Page 1

thousands of young soldiers who have been inspired with the idea of getting rid of the system of imperialist oppression that has been imposed on the Middle East.

What the imperialist rulers hate so much is the mass movement of the Iranian workers and peasants. This is an *anti-imperialist movement* which has led to the Iranian government cutting off oil exports to Israel and South Africa. Today, the Iranian government calls on the Arab regimes to aid the Palestinian fighters in Lebanon. It is the only government in the Middle East that has reponded to the Israeli invasion by sending volunteers to fight alongside the Palestine Liberation Organization.

The imperialists also hate the *internationalism* of the Iranian workers and peasants — their identification with the struggles of the oppressed around the world, from the Palestinians, to the rebel fighters in El Salvador, to U.S. Blacks.

Finally, the imperialists hate *Iranian nationalism*. This progressive nationalism, born out of the rejection of the U.S. domination of their country, has led the Iranian people to kick out the CIA torturers, CIA's shah, and the U.S. bases and businesses that had previously littered their country. It is a nationalist movement that will have to be smashed before Washington can regain its control over Iran.

On July 12, White House, Pentagon, and State Department officials held a special briefing on the Iran-Iraq war for reporters from the big-business press.

According to the July 13 New York Times, the administration officials indicated that the fear in Washington "now is that the Iranians might try not only to overthrow the Iraqi Government, but to stir up trouble in the Persian Gulf as a whole."

During the next two days, major articles in the *Times* and *Washington Post* warned of the "threat" to "the stability of the Persian Gulf region" — meaning to the reactionary, proimperialist monarchies in Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Oman, and the Union of Arab Emirates.

Ayatollah Khomeini has repeatedly urged the

masses in these Kingdoms to rise up and overthrow their rulers. Khomeini warned these regimes in May, "Do not do anything which will oblige us, under the tenets of the Koran, to treat you according to divine law."

In a radio broadcast to Iraqi citizens on July 14, Khomeini said, "Rise up and install the Islamic government that you want. Do not let the United States decide the destiny of your country."

The *Times* reported that U.S. officials are "concerned about an increased threat to Israel if Iran were able to impose its will on Iraq.

"In such an event, they said, Israel might be confronted by an alliance of Iran, Iraq and Syria, which has also been aiding the Iranians out of opposition to [Iraq's] President Hussein."

On July 14, the *Washington Post* chimed in with an editorial admonishing that "the United States should not be practicing a discreet neutrality between aggressors and victims in a situation as clearcut and urgent as the one on the Gulf."

The daily papers and TV are portraying Iran as threatening its peaceful neighbors with "aggression."

But where was all the dismay two years ago when Iraqi troops began the war by marching into Iran? Where was the outrage six weeks ago when Israel launched its massive invasion of Lebanon?

The fact is that the Iranians are trying to end a war that has devastated their country for two years, leaving whole cities in ruins, creating some 1.5 million refugees, and causing tens of thousands of casualties.

If the Iranians succeed in defeating the Iraqi regime and ending the war, it will be a blow to the entire imperialist system in the Middle East. It will inspire the Iranian masses to push forward with their revolution at home. It will encourage new struggles among the peoples of the Persian Gulf. And it will strengthen the cause of the Palestinian people, who are now standing almost alone in Lebanon.

For all these reasons, it is essential to repudiate Washington's hate-Iran campaign, and to defend Iran in the war with Iraq.

Cuban fighter dies after years of service to revolution

Raúl Roa García died July 6 at the age of 75. He was Cuba's foreign minister for 16 years, a member of the Council of State, and vice-president of the National Assembly until he retired last year due to illness. In the 1960s he was one of Cuba's foremost international spokespeople. He was often referred to as "the foreign minister of dignity" in Cuba and Latin America

From his youth, Roa fought for the liberation of Cuba. Born in 1907, he was imprisoned in 1931 for his political activity at the University of Havana, where he was an elected member of the Revolutionary Students Directorate.

In 1933 Roa took part in the popular rebellion that ousted Gerarado Machado and the military hierarchy. Fulgencio Batista, who put himself forward as an anti-imperialist and a supporter of the working class and oppressed, played a major role in succeeding governments up until the 1959 revolution. These governments quickly became repressive and allied with U.S. imperialism. By 1935 Roa was involved in a general strike against the new government. He was jailed in 1952 and 1957.

Roa was Cuba's foreign minister from the revolution until 1975. On April 17, 1961, he spoke before the United Nations as U.S.-backed forces launched the unsuccessful invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. The April 24, 1961, *Militant* printed excerpts from his presentation refuting the U.S. government's lies that it was not involved in the attack. Below are excerpts from the article.

With regard to the statement that Fidel Castro was supported by the Government of the United States in overthrowing the Batista tyranny, I do not think it deserves comment. It is as far from the truth as the United States rockets are from the moon. Suffice it to say that the Cuban revolution was never for sale.

The Cuban people do not stand alone. The peoples of the entire world have cherished the Cuban ideal as their own. "The cause of Cuba is their cause," as Lá-

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

zaro Cárdenas said when he inaugurated the conference for national sovereignty, economic independence and peace in Mexico — and this cause is invincible because it is fed by the living currents of history, and because the people do not surrender, nor are they sold. The day of imperialism is over. The dawn of the under-developed countries and the colonial countries has now broken, and the resplendent rays of this new dawn are visible all over the horizon.

The Cuban delegation accuses the Government of the United States of the international crime of aggression, and demands of the United Nations the adoption of rapid, efficient and determined measures to avoid these plans of aggression being consummated and this intervention being carried out, that we have solemnly denounced. International peace and security are in grave danger at these moments. . . .

This is the mirror we hold up to the Latin American, African and Asian peoples. The imperialism of the United States is going to punish in Cuba the desires shown by the Cubans to create a progressive and independent life. The Revolutionary Government of Cuba has repeatedly shown its eagerness through negotiation of a bilateral nature to settle its problems on an equal footing, and with an open agenda, and thus settle its serious differences with the Government of the United States.

The reply of the United States has basically been the same — destruction or submission. Cuba has the right to live in peace. Cuba has the right to be left in peace. But instead of letting us live in peace, the imperialist Government of the United States has exported war to us. A unanimous clamor today shakes the entire island of Cuba. It resounds in America, and reverberates in Asia and Africa.

My tiny and heroic nation is repeating and proving again the heroic struggle of David against Goliath. A soldier of that noble cause on the battleground of international affairs, may I repeat this declaration in the serious body of the United Nations — country or death, but we shall win.

U.S. National Bank's 'Buy Oregon' campaign

BY RON RICHARDS

PORTLAND, Ore. — The spirit of the "Buy American" campaign has been carried to its logical but ridiculous conclusion. U.S. National Bank of Oregon, the largest in the state, is organizing an "Are You With Us?" program it says will revitalize the state's economy.

The first part of the program is a "Buy Oregon" campaign. In the words of This Week (a local shopping newspaper that has endorsed the campaign), "Part of

AS I SEE IT

the plan is to urge Oregonians to purchase Oregonbased products and services."

This Week continues: "Special coupon books featuring discounts on Oregon products . . . will be direct mailed to 600,000 households. The Oregon Economy Pack will promote Oregon business.'

The second part of the program is a promotional stunt by the bank to get more deposits. It will contribute 1 percent of certain deposits to an "Economic Action Fund" to stimulate existing and new industry and to retrain workers. The fund will be administered by a council made up of local business leaders.

The Oregon economy has severe problems, but the "Economic Action Fund" and "Buy Oregon" campaign will not solve them. The bank will contribute a maximum of \$1 million, which is only \$6 per unemployed worker. (In April, the unemployment rate in this state was 11.3 percent, sixth-highest in the

The "Buy Oregon" campaign makes no more sense than a "Buy American" campaign. Such drives by the employers only hinder the international solidarity that is needed by the working class against the

Ironically, the logic of the bank's push to buy "Oregon products and services" would lead to a campaign to buy Japanese cars and not American. The U.S. auto industry produces no jobs in Oregon, but Portland is the largest port-of-entry in the world for Toyotas. Thousands of jobs in ship repair, rail, and trucking are created by imports.

In fact, the "Buy Oregon" campaign has nothing to do with creating jobs in the state. This can be seen in the picture that accompanied the story in *This Week*. It shows "Oregon" products that Oregonians are encouraged to buy. Prominently featured are Nike shoes. Although Nike is headquartered in Beaverton, Oregon, it has no production plants in Oregon.

Clearly the bank is more concerned with supporting its customers than putting Oregonians to work.

U.S. National Bank Chairman John Elorriaga has gotten over 100 letters of support for the campaign from other businessmen. Elorriaga obviously sees his role as that of organizing the local employers. Besides the "Are You With Us?" campaign he chaired a committee appointed by Oregon Governor Victor Atiyeh that prepared a report on revitalizing Oregon's economy. The report's recommendations included slashing the corporate income tax and replacing the lost revenues with a sales tax. The argument was that shifting the tax burden from businesses to workers would make the state a more attractive place for industries to locate in.

The people organizing the U.S. National Bank campaign are as excited as a child at a circus. Says bank Vice-president Duane Perron: "A lot of people doubted it could be done. What started as a deposit campaign has unlimited potential. Sometimes you feel helpless as an individual. I'm receiving a lot of personal satisfaction."

 $Ron\,Richards$ is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Oregon and a hospital worker and member of Teamsters Local 223.

NURTURE DREAMS

LETTERS

Palestinian roots

Last Thursday evening I attended a forum on the Middle East sponsored by a local Philadelphia organization called the Organization of Arab Students. While there I purchased a book entitled Toward Peace In Palestine. Contained in this collection of articles by various Palestinian authors is a speech given by Yassir Arafat at the UN entitled "The United Nations Appeal for Peace.'

In this speech Mr. Arafat discusses the history of the Palestinian question, tracing its roots as far back as the 19th century when the Zionist movement first began settling European Jews in Palestine. Mr. Arafat discusses the British mandate, the Balfour Declaration, and the eventual UN partition of Palestine. He explodes a number of Zionist myths notably among them the oft-cited Zionist argument that Palestine was a barren land until the Israelis made it bloom.

Perhaps his greatest contribution to the debate is his sucwhich would be secular and to-nounced "Zionist aggression,"

tally democratic, where Jews and Arabs alike could live in peace and equality.

copy of this speech and to reprint it in the *Militant*. It would make an ideal propaganda piece for the Palestinian point of view at a time when clarification of basic issues is so urgently needed. It can be obtained from the Palestine Information Office, 1326 18th St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

Stephen Martorano

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Rally hits Israeli war

A very spirited rally was held in San Diego on June 28 protesting the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. The crowd of about 200 included Blacks, Hispanics, Arabs, and young whites, many of whom had "no draft" t-shirts and signs.

Many of the placards and chants reflected a high level of internationalism such as "We won in Vietnam, we'll win in cinct but cogent presentation of Palestine," and "U.S. Out of El the Palestinian proposal for a Salvador." Among the speakers bi-national Palestinian state was a Jewish woman who de-

explaining that being Jewish doesn't mean being a Zionist.

I was there as a supporter of I strongly urge you to obtain a the Mel Mason for Governor campaign and petitioning for his right to be on the ballot in the November elections.

> Among the many people who signed my petition was a Catholic priest who, when I told him Mel was a socialist who opposed the draft, nukes, and U.S. intervention in El Salvador, said, "that's the man I want" and signed my petition.

Bill Frey San Diego, California

Mujahedeen

I have read your paper for a number of years. I was astonished to see the article in the July 9 issue, "Mujahedeen escalates anti-Iran campaign." The article claims that the Mujahedeen are trying to win support for an imperialist-backed campaign against the Iranian revolution. This is an incredible distortion.

The Khomeini government has murdered 15,000 leftists, women, homosexuals, and national minorities. Many of these were Mujahedeen activists. There are 40,000 political prisoners in Iran. Many of these are Mujahedeen activists. The Khomeini government has formed a secret police agency, SAVAMA, out of former agents of the Shah's notorious SAVAK. The Fourth International's own comrades are harassed, arrested, and threatened with death by this same government.

You also forget to mention that the Mujahedeen have volunteered to send thousands of fighters to aid the Palestinians if the Khomeini government frees the political prisoners.

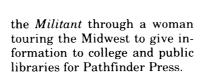
Yes it is true that the Mujahedeen's strategy is often mistaken. But they are struggling not for imperialism in Iran, but against murderous repression directed against the left.

Why does the Militant solidarize with the murderers of the Iranian revolution, not those fighting for the rights of working people to organize?

Danilo Warsky New York, New York

Makes me think

Thanks so much for a great newspaper. I became aware of



Although I don't always agree with all the articles and viewpoints, I do find that every article awakens me intellectually and makes me think.

I have become aware of many other enlightening socialist/ communist newspapers now, but I began with the Militant and I will stick with it. O.C.

Grinnell, Iowa

INS in North Carolina

I thought Militant readers would be interested to know that the immigration police are also carrying out their raids in North Carolina.

Lorraine Knitting Mills Inc., in King, was raided June 10 by an INS official and local sherriff's deputies. They arrested six workers who had all been living in the area for some time. They also threatened a receptionist who tried to warn workers of the raid.

Twenty people were also arrested in two raids during May in Kernersville.

Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Propagandistic style

I would like to re-subscribe but as things are right now, I cannot look forward to reading the *Militant* in its present form.

Each of the writers and editors should work at minimizing the current, blatantly propagandistic style. This would vastly improve credibility, believability, and subscription renewals. This would also increase the number of new subscribers and eventually, the effectiveness of the Socialist Workers Party. Ellen Stern Harris Beverly Hills, California

Supports gay rights

I receive your paper every week and I think it is a very good paper. I was looking at the June 11, 1982, issue and saw the headline about gay rights |Gay rights setback in Lincoln, Neb.]. Myself, I am not gay, but gay people are human too, just like everybody else. I think that they should have the right to have good jobs like everybody else. A prisoner Pennsylvania

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full

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PONALD REAGAN

Sick of capitalism? . . . Join the Young Socialist Alliance!

The Young Socialist Alliance is active in the struggle against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, against racist attacks, and in defense of unions and women's

The YSA has a unique contribution to make to these struggles. We explain that *capitalism* is the source of our problems We advocate a government that acts in the interests of the *majority* — a workers and farmers government.

With a government that's on our side, we can construct a socialist society based on human needs.

The YSA is a national organization of young workers, students and unemployed youth that brings these revolutionary ideas to the thousands of young people who are eager to hear

We are part of an international movement of young people who have a realistic alternative to the harbarism of capitalism

who have a realistic alternative to the barbarish of capitalish.
Joining the YSA is the best thing a young person can do wit
their life.

,	oin the Young Soc re information on	
Name		
Address		City
State	Zip	Phone
Clip and mail 10014	to YSA, 14 Charle	es Lane, New York, New York

THE MILITANT

Women coal miners press fight for jobs and equal rights

BY CLARE FRAENZL

OWENSBORO, Ky. — "Coal mining women are signifying they will not be part of any retreat. They are showing the union movement what solidarity really is." This statement by Galen Martin, executive director of the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights, captured the determined mood of the more than 70 women coal miners and 70 supporters who attended the Fourth National Conference of Women Coal Miners, June 25-27.

The conference, sponsored by the Coal Employment Project (CEP), was attended by coal miners from 11 states. Betty Jean Hall, founder and director of the CEP, outlined the CEP's battles to force coal companies to hire women.

In 1972, she told the conference, no women were employed in U.S. coal mines. Since that time, 3.536 women have obtained jobs in the coal mines. In 1981, 9 percent of all new hires in the mines were women. Alabama led the way, with 20.4 percent of new employees being women.

Hall noted the successful sex discrimination suits won by the CEP, including the recent settlement against Coal Resources Corp.; which resulted in the award of \$38,433 in damages to two Kentucky women and an agreement to actively search for women applicants, to maintain a preferential hiring list for female applicants, and to reserve 25 percent of the entry-level positions for

Hall also explained the CEP's participation in two suits — one in Charleston, West Virginia, against Consolidation Coal Co. and another in Illinois aimed at stopping sexual harassment on the job by company personnel.

She also noted the CEP's activities promoting child care in the coal fields, fighting for safety equipment in the mines, and conducting studies on pregnancy and safety records of women coal

'Backbone of UMWA'

Leroy Patterson, president of United Mine Workers of America District 23, welcomed the women to his district. Patterson recounted the role of miners' wives in the UMWA's fight to end the system of company stores, company houses, brutal working conditions; and

"Women have always been the backbone of the UMWA," he said. "At first, we were not certain that women were in the mines to stay. Today we are convinced of that, and the whole union is watching your actions here today.'

Many of the discussions during the conference workshops centered on the fact that the gains won by women in the coal fields are under attack today. Martin and Hall outlined government attacks on affirmative action in a workshop called "The Changing Equal Opportunities Scene."

These attacks include proposals to remove 80 percent of the corporations from coverage by federal affirmative-action statutes and eliminate fines for violations of these statutes, and the establishment of new guidelines requiring plaintiffs to prove not only that company policies discriminate, but that companies intended to discriminate against women or minorities.

Hall also stated that, despite the CEP's successes, only 1.25 percent of the workforce in the industry today is female. The conference mandated the CEP to continue the fight to preserve affirmative-action programs.

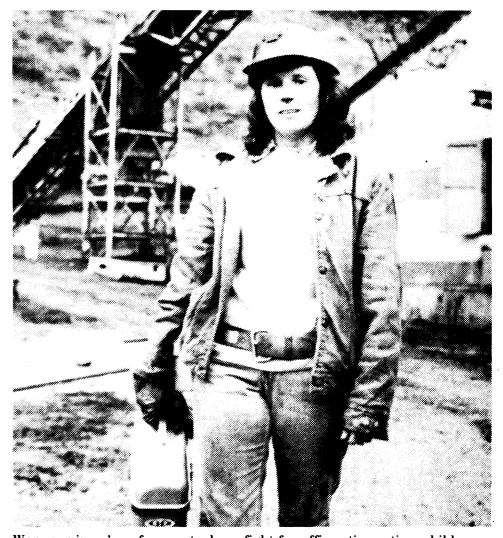
"How many of us will still have jobs next year?" one coal miner asked. She suggested that separate seniority lists for women and minorities be drawn up so that, when layoffs struck, the percentage of women and minorities working in the mines would be preserved.

Male miners

A lively discussion on how to involve male miners in defense of their female counterparts ensued. "There are still deep divisions between male and female miners," Yolanda Hall, a miner from Kentucky, stated.

Other women told of difficulties in convincing union officials to defend them when discrimination occurred. They agreed that the fight to win equal protection was just beginning. The task was to convince male miners that defending women's rights on the job was a crucial part of defending the union it-

In various workshops, participants discussed the special problems they face as women workers. A CEP study of



Women miners' conference took up fight for affirmative action, child care, and maternity rights, discussing how to use union power to win their de-

women miners who gave birth indicated that 3 out of 25 babies born had birth defects. In addition, many women were denied pregnancy leaves or forced back to work in as few as five days after giving birth. Yolanda Hall, coordinator of the "Contract 84" workshop, asserted, "We need a maternity/paternity leave clause in our union contract."

The link between the fight for women's rights on the job and defense of the UMWA against the attacks of the government, the courts, and the corporations was a theme that ran throughout the conference. "Without the UMWA, you can forget any protection for women's rights on the job," one woman commented.

In a workshop on political action,

miners discussed the attacks on the union and on women's rights again. Charles Head from the UMWA's Coal Miners Political Action Committee (COMPAC) insisted that election of Democratic Party candidates would reverse the antilabor, antiwoman policies of the government. But several women challenged this assumption.

DeAnn Rathbun, a miner from Pennsylvania and Socialist Workers candidate for Congress in the 22nd Congressional District, pointed out that candidates of both the Republican and Democratic parties represented the interests of big corporations. "I am running for office," she said, "because I think we should elect and represent ourselves."

Continued on Page 12

Brooklyn speakout held against racist violence

BY RAÚL GONZALEZ

NEW YORK — How to stop racist violence was the focus of a June 29 speakout in Brooklyn that drew 300 people. It was called by the National Black United Front (NBUF) in the wake of the murder of Black transit worker William Turks June 22 by a gang of white youths in the Gravesend section of Brooklyn.

NBUF leader Rev. Herbert Daughtry laid out the purpose of the speakout at the opening of the meeting: to hear testimony from residents of the community and to discuss plans for action.

Sonia Simms Bey, a resident of the mostly Black and Latino Marlboro housing projects near where Turks was slain, spoke. She told the meeting how both her daughters have been attacked by white youths who said: "Niggers don't belong on Avenue X."

After appeals to the cops for help, Bey

said, they finally told her to just keep her daughters out of the white section of the neighborhood.

Rev. John Moses spoke up. His son was beaten by racists May 22 on his way to James Madison High School. He is still receiving medical treatment. Madison High has been the scene of numerous attacks on Black vouths.

A member of the Transport Workers Union Local 100 read a press release from the union calling for full prosecution of the killers of Turks. Five youths have been arrested thus far.

Deputy Police Commissioner William Perry was an invited speaker. He pledged to do all he could to see that the murderers were brought to justice. He stated that he had worked under 12 different police commissioners and had the influence to make sure the job got done. "We have already won some victories,"

he said, and pointed to the extra police assigned to the area.

But the mostly Black audience was visibly and vocally dubious about the role of the cops and their promises. "We've heard all this for 25 years," one shouted. "What happens when the extra police evaporate?" another asked.

One member of the audience wondered aloud how a Black man could serve 12 racist police commissioners and be anything but a lackey.

During the discussion Minister Michael Amon-Ra of NBUF proposed that more Black cops be assigned permanently to the Gravesend section of Brooklyn. This idea received a mixed response from the crowd.

Job Mashariki of the Black Vets for Social Justice said, "[Police] Commissioner McGuire and the racists like him are the main aggressors in the attacks on Black people." He went on to say that in order to cut down on crime and racist violence we must "take the police out of the Black community; take them out of New York."

Sam Pinn of Brooklyn Congress on Racial Equality charged that New York Mayor Edward Koch "helps create the atmosphere" for racist violence.

Minister Michael proposed a July 18 protest march from the Marlboro housing projects down Avenue X.

Many members of Transport Workers Union Local 100 attended the meeting. One white transit worker, entering the meeting, asked "Is the union here?" He was angered to learn no union officers had come. "Some of them should be here," he said.

Raúl Gonzalez is a member of TWU Local 100.