

Reagan escalates aid to El Salvador's junta



Salvadoran soldiers studying at Ft. Benning, Georgia (top). They'll return to carry out war against popularly supported guerrillas (bottom).

Haig: 'We'll use what's needed—even troops'

BY CINDY JAQUITH

FEBRUARY 4 — The U.S. government will do "whatever is necessary" — including the use of troops — to prevent the toppling of the hated dictatorship in El Salvador, Secretary of State Alexander Haig told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee February 2.

Haig's statement underlined the sharp escalation of U.S. involvement in the El Salvador war in just the last few weeks, as rebel forces continued to gain ground.

On January 9 the first of some 1,600 Salvadoran soldiers — nearly one tenth of the total strength of the junta's army — arrived in the United States to begin counterinsurgency training at Ft. Bragg, North Carolina, and Ft. Benning, Georgia.

On January 28, a day after the *Washington Post* and *New York Times* reported the massacre of nearly 1,000 peasants by U.S.-trained troops in Morazán province, President Reagan sent Congress a message certifying that the human rights situation in El Salvador is improving and warrants a continuation of U.S. military and economic aid.

On January 30 the Reagan administration announced it will ask Congress to increase aid to the junta this year by \$100 million over the present level of \$135 million. It will also ask for some \$300 million in aid for fiscal year 1983.

On February 1, the administration said it was sending \$55 million more aid immediately to the dictatorship to prevent "probable victory" for the rebel forces there, in the words of Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Enders.

The \$55 million being rushed to the besieged regime comes out of an "emergency" fund the president can dispense as he pleases, without Congressional approval.

Cuba, Nicaragua also threatened

Testifying before the Senate committee, Haig made it clear the stepped-up military moves by Washington are not only aimed at the Salvadoran workers and peasants. Repeating the lie that the guerrilla successes in El Salvador are due to the "outside intervention" of Cuba and Nicaragua, Haig said:

"We are considering a whole range of options — political, economic, and security — in response to Cuban intervention in this hemisphere.

"All of the countries in the Caribbean," he declared, "are confronted by a growing threat from Cuba and its new-found ally, Nicaragua."

Asked whether the Reagan administration would consider using troops, Haig replied:

"I think the president has made it very clear that he has very strong reservations about such a step except in extremis, but as a general response to your question, we have not ruled out anything and we're not going to, a priori, in a very dynamic, ongoing situation."

Washington's rapidly escalating military moves are a direct response to the openly acknowledged deterioration of the Salvadoran junta's military position.

Part of the \$55 million rushed to the junta is destined to replace U.S. Huey helicopters and other aircraft demolished in a highly successful guerrilla raid January 27. The rebel forces attacked the Ilopango military airport outside San Salvador, the capital city, and destroyed half the Salvadoran government's air combat capacity in a single blow. One U.S. military officer termed the raid "disastrous."

On February 2, the rebels launched a new series of attacks on government troops. This included an offensive in broad daylight in Usulután, the country's fourth largest city.

Salvador dictators isolated

Recent reports in the capitalist media here confirm that the rebel forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) enjoy the active support of much of the population.

Francisco Altschul, a representative of the FDR, noted in a January 22 speech in New York that the guerrillas now operate in thirteen of El Salvador's fourteen provinces, and exercise political and military control over large areas of the provinces of Chalatenango, Caba-

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Polish workers continue to resist

BY ERNEST HARSCH

A month and a half after the imposition of martial law in Poland, the spirit of resistance of Polish workers and students is still far from dead.

On January 30, in reaction to sharp price increases laid down by the military government, demonstrations and street clashes broke out in the northern port city of Gdansk.

According to the Polish government's account of the unrest, the protests began just outside the Lenin Shipyard, where the August 1980 occupation strike led to the formation of Solidarity, the independent union movement.

The demonstrations against the price increases then spread to other parts of Gdansk, including the center of the city. An Interior Ministry communiqué complained that the young protesters shouted slogans and handed out "antistate" leaflets.

As they have with most outbreaks of open resistance since martial law was declared on December 13, the authorities responded with force.

At least fourteen persons were injured in clashes between the demonstrators and police — six protesters and eight police. Another 205 demonstrators, most of them university and high-school students, were arrested and face trial before summary martial-law courts, against whose sentences there is no right of appeal.

In an effort to prevent the demonstrations from spreading further, the regime cut off all telephone communications between Gdansk and other cities — as well as within Gdansk itself — lengthened the curfew hours, banned all nonreligious gatherings, and prohibited cars from the streets.

Even before the demonstrations, in anticipation of the anger aroused by the price increases, many workers at the Lenin Shipyard were ordered to go on two-week "vacations" to prevent them from organizing opposition within the shipyard itself.

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TV 'spectacular' on Poland fuels anticommunist drive

BY SUZANNE HAIG

President Ronald Reagan and the heads of most major capitalist countries joined with Prime Minister Bulent Ulusu of the Turkish military junta, Hollywood celebrities, and performer Frank Sinatra in a ninety-minute TV program, "Let Poland be Poland."

The \$500,000 imperialist spectacular was aired on January 31 in the United States and beamed by satellite to other countries. It was produced and funded by the International Communications Agency (ICA — formerly the U.S. Information Agency), a government body established to disseminate Washington's policy and opinions abroad.

A law that prevents the broadcasting of ICA productions in this country was

waived for the program by a bipartisan vote in the House and Senate.

The program included coverage of rallies on Poland held January 30, which had been proclaimed an "International Day of Solidarity" by Ronald Reagan earlier in the month. These actions, which the *New York Times* reported as attracting "less than capacity crowds," were built by the AFL-CIO officialdom, the anticommunist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, right-wing Polish emigré groups, and others.

"Let Poland be Poland" and the "International Day of Solidarity" are the latest, and one of the more ambitious, attempts by Washington, in collaboration with AFL-CIO officials, to use the December 13 crackdown in Poland to

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Reagan escalates aid to Salvadoran junta

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ñas, San Vicente, Morazán, Cuscatlán, Usulután, San Miguel, and La Unión.

New York Times reporter Raymond Bonner spent several weeks traveling in the province of Morazán with guerrillas of the FMLN. In the January 26 New York Times, Bonner noted that in Morazán:

"Even in the daylight, armed guerrillas walk along the paved road that connects Perquín and San Francisco Gotera [the provincial capital]. Buses and trucks that travel the roads sometimes stop to offer them a lift or to give them oranges or other food.

"Commander Jonás, the 28-year-old guerrilla commander for Morazán, says that about 60,000 peasants live in the zone, where the guerrillas have set up schools for children, health clinics and hospitals, military schools, and a radio station. Peasants are cultivating corn, sugar cane, beans, and other crops and grazing cattle.

"The revolutionaries' control is sufficient to enable them to hold large ceremonies in open fields. At a ceremony that honored the graduates of the military school's fifth class, the shouting of such revolutionary slogans as 'If Vietnam won, we will win!' reverberated in the hills."

Stakes in battle

Coinciding with Haig's testimony, his assistant Thomas Enders appeared before two congressional committees. In addition to propping up the Salvadoran junta, he proposed more aid to the Honduran regime, which has escalated its military forays into neighboring Nicaragua in the last months.

"There is no mistaking that the decisive battle for Central America is underway in El Salvador," Enders said.

"If after Nicaragua, El Salvador is captured by a violent minority, who in Central America would not live in fear? How long would it be before major strategic United States interests — the Panama Canal, sea lanes, oil supplies — were at risk?"

In reality, a "violent minority" captured El Salvador long ago and has oppressed the majority there ever since. It's the minority of businessmen and landlords, backed to the hilt by the U.S. government, that the Salvadoran majority of workers and peasants are trying to get off its back, so it can truly live without fear.

Enders is right that if the Salvadoran people succeed, they will score a major victory in the battle to liberate Central America from U.S. imperialism. Their victory, added to the unfolding revolution in Nicaragua, would especially im-

pel forward the struggle of the Guatemalan workers and peasants. It would also have repercussions in Honduras, Costa Rica, Panama, and Mexico.

It would threaten "major strategic interests" — of the U.S. capitalist class. That class reaps enormous profits from its extreme exploitation of the working people of the region. That's why the U.S. rulers are determined — after the revolutions in Nicaragua and Grenada — not to let a single additional country in the region be freed from their grip.

In line with this perspective, the Reagan administration warmly greeted the January 19 formation of the Central American Democratic Confederation. This misnamed, proimperialist alliance is composed of the governments of El Salvador, Costa Rica, and Honduras. It was set up to provide mutual military and economic security — thus laying the basis for the possible use of troops from the three nations against revolutionary forces in the region.

The bloodstained Salvadoran dictatorship was named coordinator of the group. The U.S. State Department welcomed the alliance as a "positive step."

The U.S. rulers will meet tremendous opposition from working people in the United States and around the world if they attempt to crush the Salvadoran revolution in blood.

The rapidly moving situation has

even produced a debate within the U.S. ruling class over how fast and how far to go at this time. The Washington Post rushed to Reagan's defense with an editorial January 29. "We think he did the right and necessary thing," said the Post editors, in certifying that human rights are improving in El Salvador.

The Post posed the choice now confronting U.S. imperialism as follows: "For people who can't take the junta, the honest response is not to say the junta is — surprise — beset and flawed, but rather to make the case that it's acceptable to the United States if El Salvador goes the Cuban way."

The New York Times, on the other hand, expressed alarm at the pace of Washington's escalation and the political consequences of it.

In a January 31 editorial, the Times noted that "one measure of America's painful predicament in El Salvador is the cynical humbug it inspires. With a straight face, the Reagan administration now certifies that El Salvador's record on human rights justifies more American aid."

The editorial acknowledged that "without more aid, Marxist guerrillas might well rout the junta's repressive armies and install a regime the United States deems unacceptable." But the Times editors worried that since "the Reagan administration has clearly

failed to restrain the murderous armies," their massacres make it hard to defend U.S. military involvement.

Some Democratic Party politicians also raised doubts. 1984 presidential hopeful Walter Mondale said the stepped-up military aid made El Salvador look like "another Vietnam." Democratic congressmen Gerald Studds, Thomas Harkin, and Bob Edgar introduced a bill in the House to cut off aid to the junta and declare Reagan's certification on human rights null and void. Some thirty members of the House signed the bill.

At the same time, leading Democrats in the House indicated to the Washington Post that they "doubt that they can block [Reagan's] new military aid program."

The Democrats have given Reagan the majorities he needed thus far to pump millions into the Salvadoran army. U.S. intervention there has been a bipartisan policy all along. The aid began, in fact, under the Democratic Carter administration.

The challenge is before the U.S. labor movement — and its allies in the Black and Latino communities and among farmers and youth — to recognize the dangerous new steps being pursued by the U.S. rulers and voice the loudest possible outcry against the threat of a new Vietnam.

U.S.-trained troops kill hundreds in El Salvador

BY WILL REISSNER

Reagan's certification of human rights progress in El Salvador stands in total contradiction to the murderous reality of the junta's policies. On January 27 the New York Times and Washington Post both carried accounts of a massacre in which as many as 926 peasants were murdered by the U.S.-trained Atlacatl Brigade in Mozote, in Morazán province.

Washington Post reporter Alma Guillermoprieto wrote from Mozote that "several hundred civilians, including women and children, were taken from their homes in and around this village and killed by Salvadoran Army troops during a December offensive against leftist guerrillas, according to three survivors" who witnessed the killings.

New York Times reporter Raymond Bonner also visited Mozote. In the January 27 Times he wrote that "in some 20 mud brick huts here, this reporter saw the charred skulls and bones of dozens of bodies buried under burned-out roofs, beams and shattered tiles. There were more along the trail leading through the

hills into the village, and at the edge of a nearby cornfield were the remains of 14 young men, women and children."

A peasant told Bonner that although he had not sympathized with the guerrillas before the Atlacatl Brigade moved in, now "I want my wife and children to go to Honduras, but I am going to stay and fight."

These massacres are not isolated incidents. As the guerrillas increase the area under their control, the Salvadoran army has embarked on a scorched earth policy. The Human Rights Commission of El Salvador has charged the army with killing large numbers of civilians during military sweeps on a number of occasions. According to the commission, more than 100 peasants were killed in northern Cabañas province during a November sweep by the Atlacatl Brigade; 143 people, mostly children, were killed in San Vicente in October; and some 300 in Usulután in September.

Several days before Reagan's certification letter was sent to the U.S. Congress, a 275-page report by the American Civil Liberties Union and the

Americas Watch Committee charged the Salvadoran government with responsibility for 12,501 murders in 1981 alone, based on statistics compiled by the legal office of the San Salvador diocese of the Catholic church.

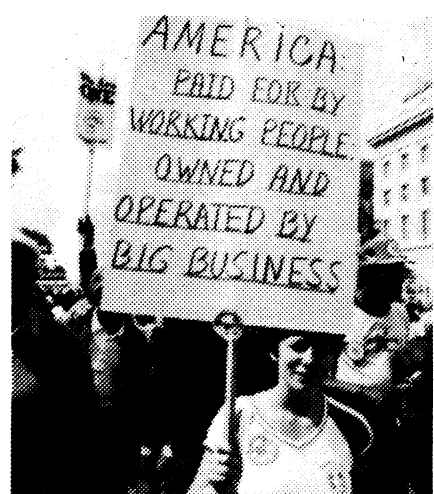
In a January 11 dispatch from Mexico City, Raymond Bonner of the Times reported on an interview he conducted with a former Salvadoran soldier, Carlos Antonio Gómez Montano, who stated that U.S. military advisers were present at two "training sessions" he attended where suspected guerrillas were tortured by Salvadoran army instructors.

According to Gómez, a former paratrooper, the U.S. advisers made no effort to stop the torture of a seventeen-year-old boy and thirteen-year-old girl, who were subsequently killed and dumped on a San Salvador street. Gómez charged that the Salvadoran Army routinely mutilated the bodies of suspects and dropped some people alive into the sea from helicopters, a technique also used by U.S. forces in Vietnam to loosen the tongues of the remaining prisoners.

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N.Y. 'Red Squad' settlement exposed

Cops admit court deal allows informers, wiretapping



Red Squad has spied on New York protests like this one for decades. Court settlement would legitimize cops' illegal activities.

BY MATTHEW HERRESHOFF

Can the cops tap your phone and bug your home, without even a warrant from a judge?

They can in New York. And it's all perfectly legal under the terms of a deal struck by the cops and lawyers for the New York Civil Liberties Union (NYCLU).

Can they use informers to spy on and disrupt unions and political organizations?

In sworn answers, the cops admit that this, too, is OKed by the agreement, as long as their informer operations are "consistent with law." In plain English, this means that the cops can carry out informer and disruption operations whenever they please.

These facts came to light as a result of legal moves by attorneys representing opponents of the police-NYCLU agreement.

The deal between the cops and the NYCLU is the proposed out-of-court settlement of a ten-year-long lawsuit against the cops' notorious Red Squad. The suit was brought on behalf of everyone who has ever been, is, or may become the victim of police spying, harassment, and disruption operations. The settlement must be approved by federal Judge Charles Haight before it can take effect.

Under a court order from Judge Haight, the cops were forced to spell out the details of the agreement. The cops had to provide sworn answers to questions from attorneys opposing the settlement.

Questions were filed by attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance and by Victor Rabinowitz, representing the National Emergency Civil Liberties Committee (NECLC), the National Lawyers Guild, and the Bill of Rights Foundation.

The cops' answers, made public by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) and the NECLC, reveal the antidemocratic nature of the agreement. It gives the cops the right to use bugs and wiretaps without a warrant. It gives them the right to use informers and conduct disruption operations whenever they want to. And that's just the tip of the iceberg.

Is socialism a crime?

Under the settlement, the cops supposedly can conduct an "investigation" only if they have "specific information indicating that a person or group has... threatens to... or is about to engage in a crime." But what is a crime?

Is it a crime to advocate socialist revolution? The cops duck the question, saying, "mere rhetoric or theoretical advocacy of revolution does not constitute a crime."

Is it a crime to advocate a strike by government employees? The cops give the same answer.

Obviously, while "mere rhetoric" and "theoretical advocacy" may not be considered a crime, some other kind of rhetoric and advocacy is.

So, are the police currently investigating the SWP and YSA? The cops refused to answer this question.

Their silence speaks louder than words; if the cops were innocent, they would certainly say so. By refusing to answer, they virtually admit their guilt.

Elsewhere, the cops explicitly state: "Political, religious, sexual or economic preference may not be the sole basis for a PSS [Public Security Section — the Red Squad's new name] investigation." However, the cops "may consider any of these factors" in launching an investigation.

Thus, the settlement gives the go-ahead for the cops to continue their political police operations.

Any pretext will do

The proposed settlement allows the cops to target political groups when they receive "specific information" supposedly linking the group to a crime. What is "specific information"? "Any information," the cops replied.

Attorney Rabinowitz asked, does this include "anonymous or other unverified information?" "Yes."

In other words, if the cops get an anonymous phone call, a poison pen letter, or a hot tip from a paid informer, they can use it as a reason to launch a political investigation.

Of course, the cops are experts on making anonymous phone calls, sending anonymous letters, and paying off anonymous informers.

So any pretext will do to launch a political "investigation."

Once such an investigation begins, it can continue indefinitely.

Under the terms of the proposed settlement, such investigations would have to be OKed by a new, three-member board. This board is one of the big selling points of the settlement, especially among liberals who claim it would "monitor" the cops and protect our rights.

Who would "monitor" the cops and

protect our rights? Two deputy police commissioners, and a "civilian" appointed by New York's Mayor Edward Koch.

The cops' answers show that the New York Red Squad is part of the larger political police apparatus of the U.S. ruling class. In their answers, the cops admit that the settlement allows them to continue to collaborate with the FBI and other secret police agencies.

Under the proposed settlement, they can continue to pass along information about the political activities of anyone who has been touched by a Red Squad "investigation." What kind of information?

If the Red Squad learns, during an "approved investigation," that you have signed a political petition nominating a candidate for public office, or are a member of, contributor to, or on the mailing list of a political group like the SWP or YSA, they can give that information to other political police agencies.

They ominously add: "It is also noted that a political petition nominating a candidate for public office is a public document" — and, presumably, fair game for political snoops.

Can the police also give out information which was "improperly obtained"? The cops refused to answer, claiming that the question is too "vague and ambiguous." Here again, their silence speaks louder than words.

Thus, under the proposed settlement, the New York cops can continue to work hand-in-glove with the FBI, the CIA, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Defense Investigative Service, and other political cops. They are part of the government apparatus used to fire, deport, frame up and victimize union militants, Black leaders, and other political activists.

Red Squad v. Blacks

Since 1904, the New York cops' Red Squad has been at war against the political rights of working people. It has kept files on, spied on, harassed, victimized, or framed up over 1 million individuals and organizations. Activists in the Black movement have been a special target.

The lawsuit against the Red Squad grew out of one such victimization: the 1971 frame-up trial of twenty-one members of the Black Panther Party.

The twenty-one were jailed in 1969, charged with conspiring to blow up several department stores, the Brooklyn Botanical Gardens, and other places.

When the Panther 21 reached trial, documents were introduced proving that police agents were among the founders of the New York chapter of the Panthers. One document revealed that police agent Eugene Roberts served as a bodyguard for Malcolm X, raising questions about police complicity in his assassination.

The jury took less than one hour to find all the Panthers not guilty.

Murder charges are dropped against Milwaukee cops

BY CHERYLL HIDALGO

MILWAUKEE — The Black community here is reacting angrily to the dismissal of homicide charges against two cops who killed Black youth Ernie Lacy last July.

Circuit Judge Joseph Callan ruled January 29 that the complaint against Thomas Eliopul and George Kalt lacked "probable cause."

One hundred people turned out for an emergency meeting of the Coalition for Justice for Ernie Lacy the day after the charges were dropped.

"It's hard to uphold peace when people do wrong and then laugh in your face," said Rev. Harry Hendrick in a statement for the press at the beginning of the meeting.

Today, two of the Panther 21, Afeni Shakur and Dhoruba Moore, are among the leading opponents of the settlement in the Red Squad suit. Moore is currently in jail, the victim of another Red Squad frame-up effort.

Richard Boyle, attorney for Dhoruba Moore, told the *Militant*, "It is clear that the cops are continuing their illegal acts." Referring to the victimizations of Black activists following the hold-up of a Brinks armored car in Nyack, New York, Boyle said, "This shows that they're still seeking to destroy individuals associated with the Black Panther Party."

Threat to civil liberties

The proposed settlement of the suit would deal a blow to civil liberties. If the settlement goes through, it would be a message telling the New York cops to set up their political spying and disruption operations.

The agreement does not brand a single act carried out by the cops as illegal. Not the frame-up of the Panther 21. Not the spying and disruption operations against Black groups, unions, and political groups. Not their warrantless wiretapping.

Because the lawsuit is on behalf of all victims of the Red Squad's crimes, the settlement would trade away the rights of hundreds of thousands of people to sue the cops themselves. And it would trade away the rights of millions to engage in political activity without police interference.

The settlement would give police spying a cloak of legality and the NYCLU's seal of approval.

The victims will get a bunch of phony restrictions on police crimes against democratic rights.

A similar deal has been cooked up in a Chicago lawsuit against the cops' Red Squad and other political police agencies. Last August, a federal judge approved a settlement in that case with the FBI and CIA. A settlement with the Chicago Red Squad is now being pushed through.

The fight to oppose this rotten deal is an important task for defenders of civil liberties.

Attorneys for the SWP and YSA, and for other opponents of the settlement, are now preparing legal moves to further expose the agreement and to block its adoption.

Along with this, a big campaign is needed to get out the truth about the proposed settlement to the labor movement, the Black movement, and to everyone else who has a stake in defending democratic rights. A press conference sponsored by PRDF and other opponents of the settlement will help launch this truth campaign.

These moves can help mobilize the widespread public protest needed to stop the Red Squad settlement from going through.

"We're tired of excuses and legalitis," he continued, "everytime we turn around there's something else." The meeting called for a mass community meeting February 2 to plan a response if District Attorney E. Michael McCann has not reissued new charges by then.

The homicide charges were the result of a six-month campaign by the Lacy coalition. This campaign led to the convening of an inquest jury whose recommendation for homicide charges passed muster with two judges before it came before Callan.

A third cop whose case was separated because he has a relative working in the district attorney's office, was charged only with "misconduct in public office" by a special prosecutor earlier in January.

American Indians solidarize with Nicaragua

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Some 100 people packed into the Militant Forum here on January 24 to hear an eyewitness account of the Nicaraguan revolution and a slide show presentation by Vernon Bellecourt (Waubun-Inini), a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM).

Bellecourt and other AIM leaders returned recently from a three-week visit to Nicaragua as guests of the Sandinista government.

While there, AIM leaders participated in an international conference on agrarian reform and in the United Nations Human Rights Third Seminar on Racism and Racial Discrimination.

AIM leaders also spent considerable time in Nicaragua's Atlantic coast region where a large percentage of the indigenous population (Miskitu, Sumo, Black, and Rama) live.

Bellecourt said AIM is an "open and vocal supporter of the Nicaraguan

revolution." In a written statement distributed at the Militant Forum, AIM declared that "after having analyzed the situation of Nicaragua we want to say that we express our solidarity with the people and the government of Nicaragua in front of attacks from North American imperialism."

Bellecourt blasted the U.S. government for perpetrating a "holocaust" on the peoples of Central America, particularly in Guatemala and El Salvador. He took special note of the hypocrisy of the U.S. government as it pretends to support the Polish Solidarity movement when only a few months earlier it smashed the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization's strike.

In his talk Bellecourt emphasized that the "dirty hands" of the U.S. government are evident in the manipulation of the Indian peoples on the Coco River, along the Honduran-Nicaraguan border. The largest Indian population in this region is the Miskitu people.

Bellecourt said, "U.S.-CIA counter-revolutionary activity is causing severe problems for these people, as was the case of the Hmong tribal peoples of Laos during the Vietnam Era."

Bellecourt quoted from a document written by Sandinista William Ramírez, minister of the Atlantic coast: "Imperialism has promoted separation among the Miskitu. One group of the indigenous people is now undergoing

military training in Honduras, and carrying out propaganda campaigns in the communities along the Coco River."

Bellecourt talked with several Indian leaders and stressed why it was not in their interests to collaborate with the counterrevolution. He explained, for example, the genocidal role the FBI and CIA played at Wounded Knee in 1973.

Bellecourt said he fully endorses the "Declaration of Principles of the Popular Sandinista Revolution in regards to the Indigenous communities of the Atlantic Coast." He pointed out that some mistakes were made after the revolution which the Sandinistas themselves were quick to recognize and correct.

Bellecourt called the Sandinista approach to the Atlantic coast "the most realistic." After his visit Bellecourt said he was convinced the FSLN was the first revolutionary government to deal justly with the particular problems of the Indian population.

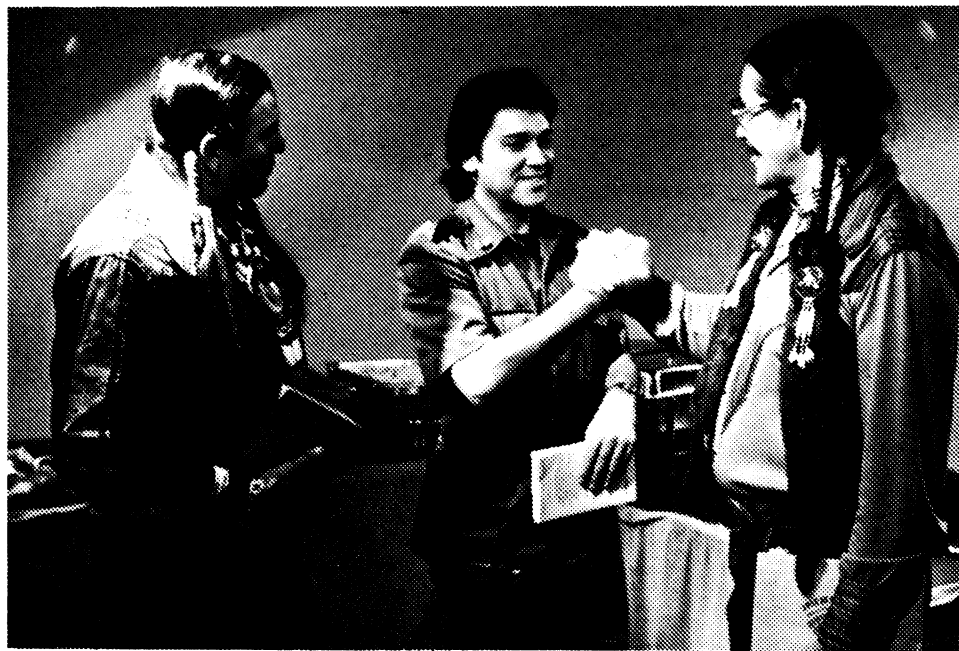
While traveling throughout Nicaragua, Bellecourt was impressed by the resolute determination of Nicaraguan youth to defend their country at all costs. He said the youth were integrated into all levels of leadership and that Nicaraguan women "played a key role in the defense of the revolution."

As invited guests of the revolutionary government, AIM leaders met with several central Sandinista leaders, including Jaime Wheelock, William Ramírez and Ernesto Cardenal. In their discussions, these leaders explained that the Sandinista revolution was not "their" revolution but "ours."

Bellecourt told the Sandinista leaders that upon returning to the United States AIM "would do all it could to expose the truth about the role of U.S. imperialism and explain that the revolution should be supported by all Americans."

A Minnesota-wide tour by Bellecourt, organized by the Central American solidarity group in the Twin Cities, is already being planned.

Bellecourt ended his talk by asking, "Why does the U.S. want to destroy the Nicaraguan revolution?" Because, he said, the revolution is seen as a "model" for all the oppressed. "What is there will catch on."



From left to right: Vernon Bellecourt, leader of the American Indian Movement; Jaime Wheelock, Commander of the Revolution; Clyde Bellecourt

Sandinistas guarantee native rights

The following are excerpts from a declaration issued in Nicaragua August 12, 1981, by the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional (FSLN).

To: The people of Nicaragua, specifically to our Miskitu, Sumu, Creole [Black], and Rama brothers.

To: The people of the world.

Whereas: It's the responsibility of the Popular Sandinista Revolution to find a just and revolutionary solution to the legitimate claims and grievances of the indigenous population of the Atlantic Coast communities. . . .

Whereas: Both internally and externally, imperialism and local counterrevolutionaries are now dedicated to the spreading of confusion, in order to discredit and obstruct the efforts which the Government of National Reconstruction, in conjunction with the genuine indigenous representatives, are now carrying out in order to try to find creative solutions to the difficult and complex problems, inherited from previous administrations.

The Frente Sandinista de la Liberación Nacional (FSLN) and the Government of National Reconstruction hereby emit the following Declaration of Principles to serve as guidelines in our dealings with the indigenous minorities of the Atlantic Coast. . . .

All citizens of Nicaragua, regardless of race or religion shall enjoy equal rights. . . . Wherever racism may sprout this government shall support the fight against it.

The Government of National Reconstruction . . . will provide the Miskitu, Creole, Sumu, and Rama communities on the Atlantic Coast with the means that are required to develop and enhance their cultural traditions, including the preservation of their languages. . . .

The Popular Sandinista Revolution will not only guarantee but also legalize the ownership of lands on which the people of the communities of the Atlantic Coast have traditionally lived and worked. . . .

Because the Government of National

Reconstruction is convinced that an improvement in the living conditions of the people can be brought about only through economic development, it will continue to promote all local and national projects that are necessary for the development of the communities of the Atlantic Coast.

In order to ensure the necessary representation in the social, political and economical institutions existing on the Atlantic Coast, the Popular Sandinista Revolution will support all patterns of organizations that are natural to these communities.

S. Africa to try Black youth leader

BY ERNEST HARSCH

After nearly six months in detention, Black youth leader Khotso Seatlholo was brought before a Johannesburg court in early December and charged under South Africa's notorious Terrorism Act.

Seatlholo, twenty-five years old, was detained by the Security Police in late June 1981 with seven other Black activists. Since then, he has been kept in incommunicado detention, without charges or the right to receive visitors or meet with lawyers.

Seatlholo first came to prominence in 1976, during the massive student and youth rebellions that shook most Black townships in South Africa. In August of that year, he was chosen president of the Soweto Students Representative Council (SSRC), one of the most influential Black organizations in the country at that time.

In face of widespread arrests of Black activists and a murderous police repression that left hundreds of Blacks dead, Seatlholo left the country in January 1977 to continue his political activities from exile. Throughout this period, he lived in Gaborone, the capital of neighboring Botswana, where many young Black South African exiles were based.

In April 1979, former members of the SSRC and other young Black activists met in Gaborone and formed the South African Youth Revolutionary Council (SAYRCO). Seatlholo was elected its

first president. The SAYRCO publicly called for a socialist revolution in South Africa, which it said could come about only through a combination of the class and national liberation struggles.

The SAYRCO included both members who had been forced by the repression to live abroad and those who were still able to function within South Africa. This required some travel back and forth across the South African border, despite the risks involved.

It was on a trip back into South Africa that Seatlholo was captured last year. According to the South African authorities, he and the others detained with him had distributed leaflets in Soweto on June 16 — the fifth anniversary of the original 1976 Soweto rebellion — calling on Blacks to "organize and act against the enemy."

When he was finally brought before the Johannesburg Regional Court, Seatlholo was charged together with twenty-three-year-old Masabata Mary Loate, who was also accused of being a member of the SAYRCO. Under the Terrorism Act, virtually any form of political or trade-union activity can be defined as "terrorism."

Among the specific accusations against them are:

- that Seatlholo and Loate engaged in "terrorist activities" and belonged to the banned SSRC;
- that Seatlholo formed the SAYRCO and became its president;

- that the aims of the SAYRCO included the undermining of law and order through armed resistance;

- and that Seatlholo and Loate attempted to recruit members to the SAYRCO and make contact with other organizations in South Africa.

Loate is, in addition, charged with seeking to arrange meetings between SAYRCO members and leaders of the Azanian People's Organisation and the Azanian National Youth Unity, as well as prominent Black journalist Thami Mazwai, who was detained about the same time as Seatlholo.

On December 10, Seatlholo was again brought to court. According to the Black-run *Sowetan* newspaper, the slightly-built Seatlholo "appeared in Court 19 in leg irons amid tight police security."

The trial of Seatlholo and Loate was set to begin in the Vanderbijlpark Regional Magistrate's Court on February 8. If convicted under the Terrorism Act, they could face sentences ranging from a minimum of five years in prison to a maximum of death.

The only real "crime" of which Seatlholo and Loate are guilty is fighting for the liberation of South Africa's oppressed Black majority and for an end to the barbaric apartheid system.

Defenders of human rights around the world should demand that the charges against them be dropped and that they be immediately set free.

From Intercontinental Press

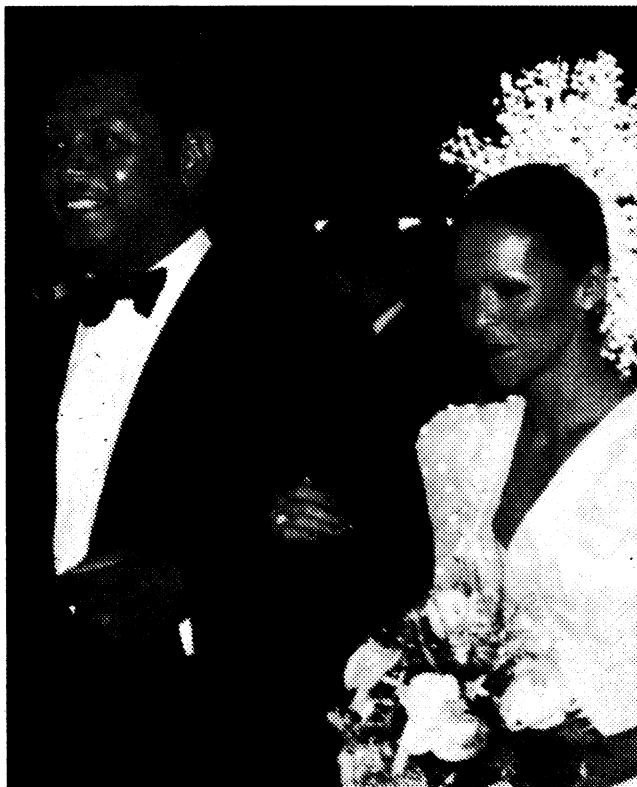
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Haitian refugees fleeing dictatorship face repression, imprisonment in U.S.



While Haitians flee poverty and political persecution at home to find more of the same here, U.S. backed dictator Duvalier flaunts his wealth, spending \$5 million for his wedding last year.

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

The Reagan administration has condemned approximately 2,500 Haitian refugees to indefinite imprisonment in detention camps throughout the United States. Some have already been incarcerated for as long as ten months.

This policy includes the coercion and intimidation of refugees into signing "voluntary withdrawal" forms. They are then immediately deported. Other refugees are subjected to immediate exclusion hearings — kangaroo courts set up to deport them as fast as possible without informing them of their right to apply for political asylum.

The policy also includes "interdiction at sea," in which the U.S. Coast Guard — Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) agents on board — picks up Haitian boat people. The refugees are interrogated in the presence of Haitian naval officers, then forced to return to Haiti. There they are often met by the *tontons macoutes*, the feared Haitian secret police.

In a column appearing on the op-ed page of the January 13 *New York Times*, Robert Bernstein, chairman of the U.S. Helsinki Watch Committee, reports on a conversation with Jean Claude Bajeux, a Haitian professor at the University of Puerto Rico:

"Mr. Bajeux, who is actively involved in refugee affairs, believes that if the refugees are forced to return to Haiti they will be let alone by the authorities for two or three months. Once it is certain that the United States has forgotten them, however, they will be beaten or killed by the secret police."

"Persecution is endemic in Haiti." This, according to the October 17 issue of the *Nation* magazine, is the conclusion of documented reports by Amnesty International, the Organization of American States Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, and the U.S. State Department.

The Reagan administration claims the refugees are fleeing Haiti for economic, not political, reasons. Therefore, it argues, they are not entitled to political asylum in the United States.

Flee unemployment, recession

The fact is that the nearly 6 million Haitians under the dictatorship of Jean Claude Duvalier clearly understand the political connection between the massive unemployment levels and fierce repression that exist in Haiti.

The Haitian government admits to a nationwide unemployment rate of 14 percent. Underemployment is estimated at 65 percent. The U.S. embassy in Haiti estimates that 50 percent of the resi-

dents of the capital city of Port-au-Prince are unemployed.

Of the 75 to 80 percent of the population that still lives in the countryside, the World Bank estimates that 85 percent of these live at less than the absolute poverty level. Ninety percent are illiterate.

Haiti has an annual per capita income of below \$200, with half of all Haitians making less than \$135 a year.

Meanwhile, amidst this utter misery, "President for Life" Duvalier spent \$5 million for his wedding in 1980.

The Duvalier family fortune was estimated in 1976 at \$350 million. A later estimate put family holdings outside Haiti at \$600 million. Considering that the president's salary is a mere \$25,000 a year, one might wonder how such a fortune was amassed.

It so happens that projected U.S. aid to Haiti for 1979 through 1982 is nearly \$1 billion. Per capita, this is one of the highest amounts of aid to any country in the world. The Haitian people have not seen a dime of this aid.

Even the U.S. State Department admitted in a 1979 report, "Corruption is traditional at all levels of society, and significant amounts of domestic revenues usable for development continue to be diverted to personal enrichment" — i.e., the personal use of "Baby Doc" Duvalier.

Haven for U.S. business

Sharing in the graft are the more than 200 U.S. corporations that have set up operations in Haiti. They profit enormously from the \$1-a-day wages and seven-day-a-week working conditions.

Anyone who dares to protest these barbaric conditions inevitably becomes a target of the *tontons macoutes*. This gang of murderers, together with the armed forces, insures the continued rule

of the U.S.-backed Duvalier dictatorship.

Given these conditions, Haitians still attempt to escape in spite of the risk of being returned.

For those who survive and make it to the U.S. mainland, only additional misery and repression await them at the hands of the Reagan administration.

Krome detention camp

In the January 10 issue of *Tropic*, a magazine supplement of the *Miami Herald*, an article entitled "Inside Krome" by freelance writer Larry Mahoney provides a rare view of what Haitian refugees face.

A former journalist in Haiti, Mahoney was the State Department's chief spokesperson at the Krome Avenue refugee camp, located near the Florida Everglades. Unable to stomach covering for the inhuman conditions there, Mahoney quit his job.

"It was an absurdity," he writes, "an abandoned Nike missile site replete with bunkers and hangars and barracks and military maps, still festooned with spraypainted Mickey Mouses and raunchy GI graffiti; but overrun with refugees, wretched and aimless, living in giant, flapping, blue-and-red striped circus tents. . . ."

"I saw women sleeping under blankets so soiled and threadbare I mistook them for the contents of vacuum-cleaner bags; guards so indifferent to suffering that they snickered at the helpless; sanitary facilities so squalid they turned your stomach. Above all, there was the crippling boredom. The people just slept and ate, ate and slept."

Mahoney describes his job: "The press was not allowed free access to these compounds. It was part of my job to keep it that way."

When he was forced to talk to the press, "My basic strategy was to start by

apologizing for Krome, then to point out that if the refugees from such a backward country were turned loose in the streets, they would be victimized; in short, that the Kromes were set up for their own protection. This was the government line. . . . But when the subject of conditions at Krome came up, there wasn't much to say: again, an apology."

Mahoney describes the "international flavor" at Krome. He notes the German woman he met, and the Polish woman who was an activist with Solidarity and was fleeing the repression in Gdansk. "There were many other nationalities at Krome, including dozens of Colombians and Mexicans, people fleeing the war in El Salvador, Argentinians. . . ."

Corruption of immigration cops

Mahoney exposes the corruption of Immigration and Naturalization Service authorities who would smuggle refugees out of the camp in the trunks of their cars for a price, or who would sell immigration forms. Telephone calls were sold for \$20, especially in the early days when refugees were prevented from communicating with the outside world.

Mahoney describes one heartbreaking scene when children were being separated from their loved ones to be taken to other detention camps: "Friends of the departing children . . . threw themselves to the concrete with high piercing wails. It was a wrenching scene."

He recounts another incident in which a woman who had just had a miscarriage was taken to a medical trailer, caught a vaginal infection, and was diagnosed at a hospital as having tuberculosis. Seven days later, a correction came, explaining that the diagnosis had been made "by some employees not related to the medical field."

Mahoney concludes, "Krome was and is a horribly sad place, even more so for some of us Americans there than for the Haitians."

"The Haitians believe the Promised Land is just beyond the gate. We know better."

Haitian activists face court charges

On January 29, three Haitians who are members of the January 2 Coalition for the Defense of Haitian Refugees appeared in Manhattan District Court to answer charges of disorderly conduct.

The charges resulted as part of a protest action in support of the Haitian refugees December 29. The three Haitians, George Honorat, Maude LeBlanc, and Camille Cesar, chained themselves to the front gate of the United Nations. After the police cut the chains, the three demonstrators were arrested, arraigned and released to appear in court January 29.

On the day of their arraignment, nearly forty people picketed in front of the district court in support of the Haitians.

At the arraignment the Haitians pleaded not guilty on the grounds that they have the legitimate right to protest the Reagan administration's refugee policy, which they assert is illegal under U.S. and international immigration laws. The judge has adjourned the case until February 17.

For more information call or write to the January 2 Coalition for the Defense of Haitian Refugees at 527 Ocean Avenue, Room 1, Brooklyn, New York 11226, (212) 462-8519.

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Gov't stages anticommunist 'spectacular'

Continued from Page 1

peddle anticommunism under the guise of support to the Polish workers and their union, Solidarity.

In addition to Reagan the heads of state from Great Britain, Japan, France, Germany, Italy, Australia, Canada, and Belgium appeared on the program. They hope to channel, in a reactionary direction, the progressive support of working people in these countries for the Polish workers.

The ICA production aimed to convince its viewers that the imperialist governments, led by Washington, are the promoters and defenders of freedom and human rights everywhere, including in Poland, and that working people should be glad they live under capitalism.

But this media extravaganza, organized by the same forces that have missiles aimed at the USSR and Eastern Europe and that oppress working people throughout the world, in no way aids the Polish workers. In fact, it serves to undermine their struggle.

Defenders of freedom

"We are reminded in the West," said Britain's Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, who permitted ten Irish hunger strikers to die in prison last year, "of the precious quality of our own freedom, and of those who know what it's like to live without it."

"As a long-time union member and former union president, I feel a special bond with this courageous labor movement," said Ronald Reagan, who last year led the attack to crush the air traffic controllers union, PATCO.

"Solidarity symbolizes the struggle of real workers in a so-called workers state for fundamental human and economic rights," he continued, "the right to work and reap the fruits of one's labor, the right to assemble, the right to strike, and the right to freedom of expression."

Reagan uttered these words five days after he promised in his State of the Union address to give tax breaks to big business and make further cuts in social services. Shortly after the program was aired, Reagan requested from Congress increased military aid for Israel, Egypt, and the murderous dictatorship in El Salvador.

Secretary of State Alexander Haig, shown speaking at the January 30 rally in Chicago, stated that "the Polish government and its ally, the Soviet Union, have been unable to produce either bread or freedom."

The ICA production brought out a parade of Hollywood stars, writers, Polish emigré artists, and others to endorse the idea that intellectual and artistic freedom is flowering in the imperialist countries.

The program even attempted to equate the current crackdown by the Polish regime with military occupation of that country by imperialist Germany during World War II. Six million people were killed during the horrible savagery of that occupation. To present this analogy, which has no relationship to the facts, Washington drew upon its prize acquisition from the Polish crackdown — the former Polish ambassador to the United States, who defected after December 13.

Two leaders of mass working-class parties who are heading, or have headed up imperialist governments in their countries also participated in the program.

Of the crackdown in Poland, former Socialist Party prime minister of Portugal Mario Soares, explained, "This is why we say to the communist workers that the party which defends privileges and which defends oppression in foreign lands cannot defend the liberty of workers in our own land."

For capitalism in Poland

Francois Mitterrand, prime minister of France and head of the Socialist Party, said that the Polish workers are fighting to restore capitalism, some-

thing only stated implicitly by the other heads of state.

"The Polish people know that they still are suffering the consequences of the Second World War," he asserted, "and they will be free only on the day when both the division of Europe into two blocs and the system which crushes them have disappeared. Their amazing courage in adversity shows that this evolution, even if it takes some time, has begun, even now."

The Polish workers and farmers, however, are fighting against everything these imperialist rulers stand for. They do not want to return the factories and land to billionaires and landlords, like those Reagan and Mitterrand speak for.

They want to extend their control over the nationalized economy — to make their constitution, which states the factories belong to the workers, a reality.

But that's not the message Reagan and Co. want broadcast around the world. In one of the cruder attempts to discredit socialism, these anti-Marxists even tried to use the authority of Marx and Engels. They had actor Henry Fonda, scarcely a radical, read the introduction to the Polish edition of the Communist Manifesto where Frederick Engels calls for the national independence of Poland.

The government-funded program asserted that the only hope of the Polish workers for freedom lies with the imperialist governments and the pressure they can exert upon Warsaw and Moscow.

"America has already acted firmly and deliberately on behalf of Polish freedom," Reagan stated. "We have announced sanctions against the Polish military government and the Soviet government that backs its suppression."

"If the events in Poland continue to deteriorate," he warned, "we will take further steps."

These threats of further economic sanctions are aimed directly against the Polish and Soviet workers and farmers, who are the victims of such trade restrictions.

Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives alike joined in the anticommunist effort. Speaker of the House Thomas O'Neill and Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker both spoke on the program. Senator Charles Percy addressed the Chicago rally, and Senator Edward Kennedy told a small crowd of 300 in Boston, "The dictators can never finally kill the idea of freedom — not in Poland, not in Eastern Europe and not even in the Soviet Union itself."

Help of labor officials

The conspicuous participation of labor officials in the program helped the Reagan administration to create an impression of broad support for its reactionary policy on Poland.

Lane Kirkland, head of the AFL-CIO, was shown speaking at the Chicago rally. "We are part of a worldwide movement, not of government, but of plain people who cherish for themselves the rights claimed by Solidarnosc," he said of the rallies called by Reagan. "They are gathering today in dozens of American cities . . . and overseas."

One-time civil rights leader Bayard Rustin, shown speaking at the January 30 rally in New York City and the only Black person quoted on the TV program, said, "The people of Poland are waging a fight against the most ruthless force on earth, totalitarianism and communism. If they can win that fight they are saving all of us."

Labor officials were shown speaking at rallies in a number of countries. They included the head of the Japan Confederation of Labor, the secretary generals of the Italian Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the Italian Federation of Workers, the head of the German Confederation of Labor, the president of the Ontario Federation of Labor, an official from the Portuguese labor movement, and others.

"Let Poland be Poland" was aimed at

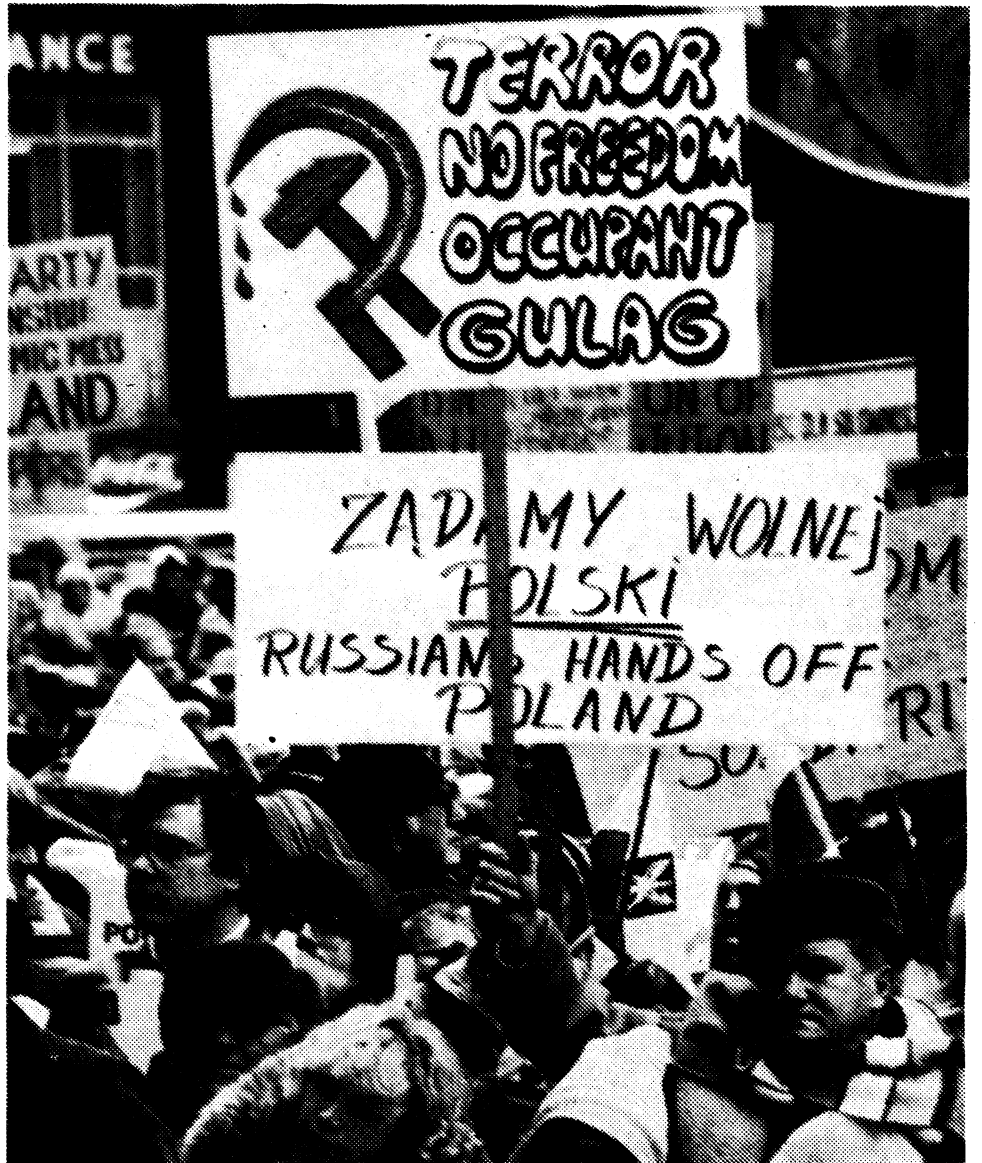
a wide international audience. The program was translated into Portuguese, Polish, Arabic, German, Spanish, Italian, French and other languages. According to the ICA, fifty-seven countries accepted the feed of the program and would decide whether to actually broadcast it. Cassettes were prepared for later broadcast in at least twenty-three countries.

ICA Director Charles Wick told the *Washington Post* that a dozen countries in the Far East and two dozen in South America had asked for the program. In addition a radio version will be aired over Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and Radio Liberty, government-funded stations that broadcast anticom-

munist propaganda to Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, and Cuba.

There was some opposition to showing "Let Poland be Poland." WNET, Channel 13, the New York City affiliate of the Public Broadcasting System, viewed the program on January 31 before making a final decision to broadcast it.

Right before airing it, a Channel 13 moderator explained the program's government origin. This, he said, "is not a balanced piece of reportage, news analysis, or objective documentary. It is a message intended to persuade to a particular point of view. We must recognize that fact, no matter how much sympathy we may feel for the cause it pleads."



Washington, along with AFL-CIO officials, hopes to channel genuine support for Polish workers in reactionary direction. So-called solidarity actions in U.S. are little more than vehicles for anticommunist propaganda.

Haig, Kirkland at Polish rally

BY JON HILLSON

CHICAGO — The centerpiece of President Ronald Reagan's January 30 "International Day of Solidarity" took place here at the International Amphitheater.

Backed by the right-wing Polish American Congress and the Chicago Federation of Labor, the organizers hoped to draw 15,000 people.

But only half that number showed up, despite a massive media campaign in the weeks leading up to the event.

Although a big push was made by the local AFL-CIO leadership to turn out trade unionists, only a smattering of staff men and officials from five or six unions were represented.

"It's a damn shame," a Communications Workers of America official later complained. "You'll see union officers, but not workers. They just didn't show."

Banners and placards made clear the reactionary character of the event.

"Send our wheat to Russia in a nuclear missile."

"America, don't give even an inch to communism."

"Free Poland from communism."

Right-wing Cubans from Independent and Democratic Cuba stood next to Chicago cops wearing Solidarnosc buttons, waving their banner from a half-empty balcony.

Greetings from President Reagan were conveyed by Secretary of State Alexander Haig, who received a triumphant standing ovation.

"What the Polish people sought," Haig said, "is no more than we take for granted, as the air we breathe. . . . The simple dignity of the workplace is the birthright of every worker."

When Haig warned the USSR of the "high cost" of its backing for martial law in Poland, the crowd erupted in a standing cheer of "Haig! Haig! Haig!"

Illinois Republican Senator Charles Percy quoted from Reagan's January 30 proclamation on Poland.

Chicago Democratic mayor, Jane Byrne, who tried in 1979 to break teacher, transit, and firefighter unions, was introduced as someone "deeply concerned with workers."

Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO brought down the house when he said, "Candles in the window are not enough. Saying 'Let Poland be Poland' is not enough."

"Now is the time to call in the Polish debt, to oppose further credit to the Soviet bloc, embargo grain, and factory shipments."

Thomas Gleason, President of the International Longshoremen's Association, promised that if Reagan didn't order the blockade of commerce, he might do so himself.

Twin Cities NOW hosts panel on strategy

BY CHRISTINE FRANK

MINNEAPOLIS — There's an important discussion going on among women's rights activists about how to defend abortion rights against stepped-up government attacks.

A panel discussion on what strategy is needed to defend this fundamental democratic right was held here on January 29, sponsored by the Twin Cities chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW).

The newly formed National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), whose anticapitalist program advocates a break with the Democrats and Republicans, was at the center of this discussion.

Abortion rights supporters from University Feminists, NBIPP, NOW, Socialist Workers Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and others attended the meeting.

The panel was originally scheduled for January 22, the ninth anniversary of the U.S. Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. That same night, other reproductive rights activists had scheduled "J22" parties. These are gatherings in people's homes to organize for the upcoming precinct-level caucus meetings of the Democratic and Republican parties.

The Abortion Rights Council cancelled their traditional January 22 protest activity at the state capitol on account of these "J22" parties.

Opponents of the panel discussion argued that it was "divisive" and called for unity of abortion rights supporters inside the Democratic and Republican parties.

A fierce snowstorm put the panel discussion off a week. At the forum, a cry of "divisive" was answered by Laura Quinn, who spoke for Twin Cities NOW. She defended this crucial strategy discussion. She said it was a necessary alternative to the exclusively electoral

strategy of some feminists.

Quinn then went on to state that NOW supports "multiple strategies" — both working within the two parties and organizing independently for women's rights.

The first person to speak in the discussion was a leader of Twin Cities NOW, who said she welcomed this discussion and then went on to express her support for this "multiple strategies" approach.

Another participant pointed out that in reality, the "multiple strategies" was really one strategy — tying women to the same two parties that have consistently betrayed women's rights. This course, which is counterposed to building a militant independent women's movement, had contributed to the downfall of the ERA and had made it easier for the government to attack abortion rights.

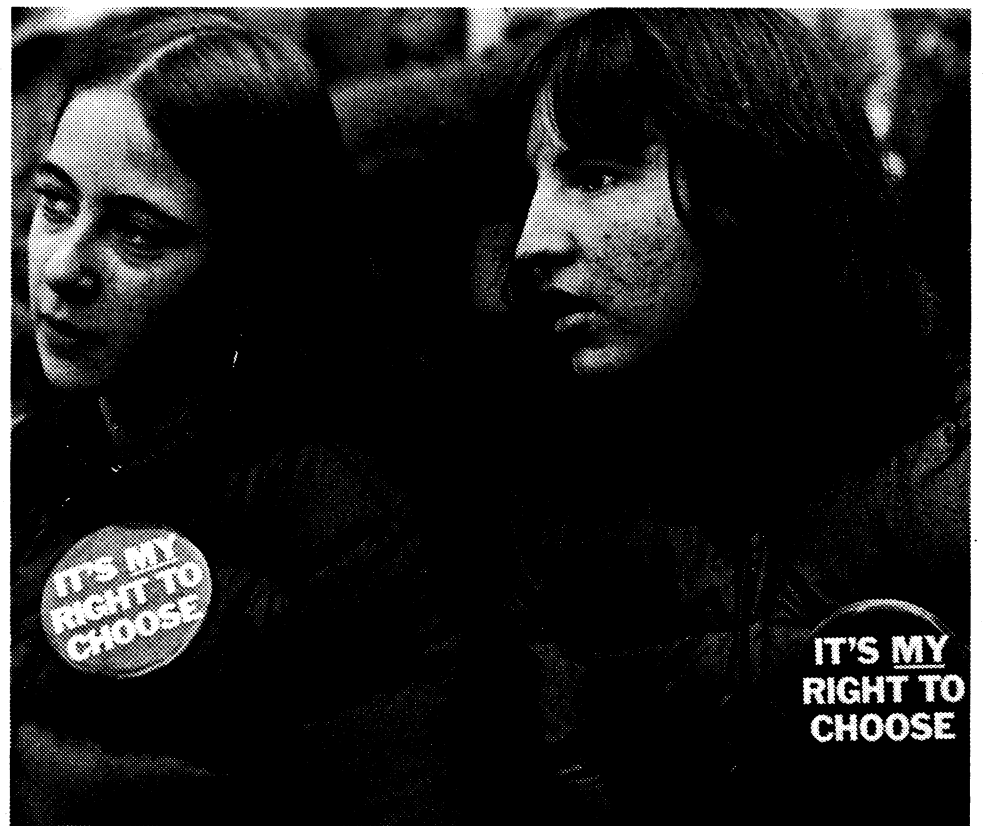
NBIPP's political perspective was repeatedly cited as a much more realistic and effective course for the women's movement.

Tiffany Patterson, a leader of the Minneapolis chapter of NBIPP, was one of the panelists. She explained why her party supports abortion rights.

She pointed to the stakes in the struggle for this basic right: "Abortion is fundamental to any liberation movement in this country because abortion deals with the control of life. Who will control reproduction — the ruling class, and by definition men, or women?"

Patterson said that NBIPP's strong stance in favor of women's rights, and the party's position that all leadership bodies must be half women — which they are — is one of the main things that attracted her to NBIPP.

Patterson criticized the official leadership of the women's movement for having avoided the responsibility of fighting for the rights of the most oppressed women.



Militant/Jean Vertheim

Government attacks on abortion rights are prompting women to discuss how we can defend the right to choose.

Patterson pointed to their support for the appointment of reactionary Sandra O'Connor to the Supreme Court as an example of their "misguided goals."

The NBIPP leader, who had visited Cuba, was inspired by the advances of women there and saw the Cuban revolution as an example of what women should be fighting for here.

Patterson pointed to the role of the Cuban government in advancing women's rights, which is quite a contrast to Washington's sustained campaign against those rights.

Patterson said, "The Cuban government recognizes that women will not be

truly liberated until they are economically liberated." Patterson described how, despite the limited resources of the Cuban economy, they provide free child care and education to allow the fullest participation of women in that society.

Patterson pointed out that Cuban women have access to free abortion and free medical care in general — the best in Latin America. They've also established extensive paid maternity leaves.

Other speakers on the panel included representatives from University Feminists, Coalition of Labor Union Women, Abortion Rights Council, and Midwest Health Center for Women.

Polish workers, students continue to resist

Continued from Page 1

In justifying their crackdown on the price protests, the Polish authorities have been handed valuable political ammunition by the Reagan administration.

"It is no coincidence," declared the Polish Press Agency, "that the Gdansk disturbances took place on the day that subversive, anti-Polish events were organized in the West at the inspiration of the U.S. Administration," a reference to Reagan's call for an international day of protest around Poland on January 30. Another statement claimed that the demonstrations had been "provoked by propaganda activities of the U.S. Administration."

Thus Reagan's anticommunist propaganda campaign and his hypocritical claims of support for solidarity have made it easier for the Polish government to try to smear the workers movement, falsely accusing those who are fighting for workers rights in Poland of acting in collusion with U.S. imperialism.

But those who really "provoked" the demonstrations in Gdansk were the Polish authorities themselves.

The price increases, which went into effect on February 1, were the largest ever announced in Poland since the end of World War II. The prices of butter, steak, sugar, and other food and consumer items rose by 200 to 400 percent. Electricity and heating costs were also raised.

Although the government coupled these price hikes with some forms of compensation, they nevertheless spell a further erosion of Poles' already declining standard of living.

The government claims these price rises were necessary because of the disastrous state of the Polish economy. Production has declined drastically,

there are severe shortages of certain key food items, and Poland owes \$27 billion to imperialist governments and banks.

This economic catastrophe, however, is itself a product of years of economic mismanagement by the bureaucrats who rule Poland. Rather than responding to the real needs of working people, they have raked off substantial material privileges for their own benefit and blocked workers from having any say over economic decision-making.

The bureaucrats' only "solution" to the economic crisis is to impose a severe austerity policy on working people. The declaration of martial law was aimed,

among other things, at making that possible.

But despite thousands of arrests, the outlawing of Solidarity's activities, and restrictions on most democratic rights, martial law has still not been able to prevent workers from fighting to defend their interests.

Solidarity activists around the country have begun reorganizing themselves, setting up numerous workers committees and publishing unofficial leaflets and bulletins. In response to the price hikes, groups in Gdansk and other cities issued repeated calls for strikes and protests.

The January 7 issue of *Tygodnik Wojenny* (State of War Weekly), an unofficial Solidarity newspaper in the Warsaw region, quoted an appeal to the Polish nation by Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa, which had been smuggled out of his place of detention near Warsaw.

"We will not allow ourselves to be broken," Walesa said. "We will organize strikes in large workplaces and resort to passive resistance in small ones. If the army uses force, we will act so as not to spill blood. We stand together and we will help each other. We will show that our union exists and continues to function."

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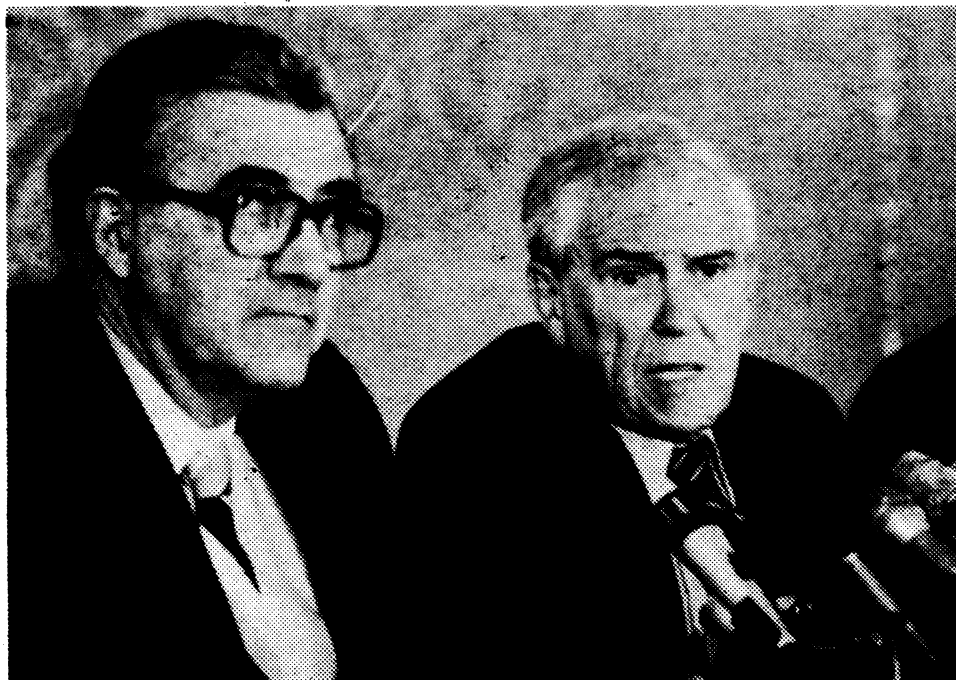
- Jaruzelski Wages War on Workers
- Imperialists on Anticommunist Binge





GM workers block contract concessions

Discuss Chrysler defeat: less pay, fewer jobs, worse conditions



UAW negotiators: Bieber, GM; UAW President Fraser

BY SUSAN ANMUTH

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Strong opposition from auto workers prevented General Motors (GM) from wringing contract concessions from the United Auto Workers (UAW) last week.

Contract reopening talks broke down when top UAW leaders realized they would not be able to sell the wage and benefit givebacks the auto industry giant was demanding. No new talks are scheduled before regular negotiations on the three year contract that expires September 14 of this year.

Breakdown of the GM talks is a victory for the UAW membership. It broke a pattern that began in the automobile industry in 1979. Then, the first of three rounds of concessions was forced from Chrysler workers. With the company and government campaigning to convince them that Chrysler was near bankruptcy, UAW members believed the only way to save jobs was to tear up the contract.

The results have been devastating. Over \$1 billion was transferred from the pockets of Chrysler workers to the stockholders, banks, and top management of the company. Tens of thousands of jobs were lost, working conditions deteriorated.

The day after the contract talks broke down, General Motors announced price rebates of \$500 to \$2,000 per car. This shows that tying wage cuts to prices was only a ploy to push through concessions.

The same time GM was crying that labor costs were too high, it was counting up its profits. A few days later the company announced a \$97 million profit for the last three months of 1981, bringing profits for the year to \$333 million. Stockholders were awarded 60 cents a share, giving them \$2.40 a share for the year.

And top management hasn't been slighted. While GM Chairman Roger Smith cut his pay by \$135 a month, this is hardly "equality of sacrifice" considering his yearly salary ranges between \$290,000 and \$422,000, according to the *Wall Street Journal*.

No wonder GM workers were not convinced they should sacrifice to boost company profits even further.

Their opposition to concessions was reflected in the General Motors bargaining council, which is made up of local union officials. On January 23, 42.7 per-

cent of the representatives from 235 GM locals voted against reopening the contract. While not a majority, this substantial vote was a warning to the company and top union officials that the major concessions they had been considering would not fly with the union ranks.

Opposition to the concessions was organized by a group called Locals Opposed to Concessions (LOC). Initiated by a number of longtime oppositionists within the UAW, LOC was formed Jan-

Historic jobless levels in Wisconsin

BY NANCY COLE

MILWAUKEE — Unemployment here reached an all-time high in December: 60,000 Milwaukeeans are officially out of work.

The crisis of the auto industry has sent nearby Kenosha and Janesville to the top of the nation's unemployment charts. Auto plants and their hard-hit suppliers in those smaller cities have idled thousands of workers.

Thirty percent of the American Motors Corporation's 8,400 employees in Kenosha are laid off. Now that company is demanding that those still working invest future wage increases back into the company. This amounts to a 10 percent cut in wages and benefits.

The company claims this giveback will be repaid — with interest — when AMC "gets back on its feet," perhaps in 1984.

In January, United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 72 voted, after considerable discussion, to allow local union officials to join talks with AMC on its "investment" demand.

Allis-Chalmers is threatening to close its West Allis foundry because UAW-organized workers there are making "too much money." The company wants workers to give back \$8 of the \$23 an hour in wages and benefits it claims to pay them.

Democratic and Republican politicians and the news media have joined the chorus calling for concessions and givebacks by labor to insure profits.

Peter Seidman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Wisconsin, sharply differs with this point of view.

"Auto workers should not have to bail out the auto companies, which have always put profits first," Seidman says.

"We need an emergency program that puts human needs ahead of profits if we're going to put people back to work again in this country.

"If we eliminated the war budget and closed tax loopholes for oil and other corporations, there would be plenty of money for a crash program to build schools, hospitals, child-care centers, and other badly-needed social services. Such a program could put everyone back to work," Seidman explains.

uary 15 when 150 representatives from forty locals met in Flint, Michigan.

Three hundred people attended a meeting January 22 called by LOC in Washington, D.C., before the bargaining council vote the next day. Chrysler workers who were present gave the most telling arguments against concessions, from their own experiences.

Bob Weissman, president of Local 122 at Chrysler in Twinsburg, Ohio, said, "I believe the effect on the union and the membership at Chrysler has been so disastrous that concessions should be ruled out."

Weissman said that Chrysler workers have lost \$4.40 an hour in wages and benefits and 50,000 of their jobs have been eliminated. He exposed the so-called "equal sacrifice" by management, pointing to executive raises during the one profitable quarter Chrysler claimed. But "they deserve the raises for what they've put over on us!" he remarked.

Bill Bon, recording secretary of Local 122, explained, "This is a watershed contract. We have to take a stand — and realize we might get our asses whupped, but it's guaranteed if we don't do it right now we're sure to lose later. We won't have any strength left."

Every speaker at the meeting opposed giving back hard-won wages and benefits. But unfortunately, the only solution offered was to press Congress to pass "content laws." This scheme, which the UAW leadership promotes, requires imports to contain a certain percentage

of parts made in this country.

By focusing on imports as the problem, the auto giants are let off the hook. Our jobs, wages, benefits, and working conditions are under attack from our employers, not the Japanese.

The auto industry crisis results from worldwide overproduction of cars. More cars are for sale than consumers can afford to buy.

Accepting wage cuts does not help solve this problem. On the contrary, it exacerbates it. Concessions from auto workers set a pattern of lower wages for millions of other workers. Increased unemployment and falling wages mean consumers can purchase even fewer goods.

Although the contract reopening broke down at General Motors, negotiations are taking place between the UAW and Ford. Ford is expected to report a loss of \$1 billion for 1981, and a larger percentage of Ford workers have been laid off than at GM. It is possible that Ford workers will make concessions to the company.

Although the victory against General Motors may not prevent concessions to Ford, it will limit them. The *Wall Street Journal* put the capitalists' dilemma succinctly: "there is some fear that the GM workers' reluctance could spill over."

Susan Anmuth, a member of UAW Local 980, worked at the Ford Assembly plant in Metuchen, New Jersey, for three years.

"If the auto companies won't manufacture cars and provide jobs, let's nationalize them.

"Publicly elected boards could supervise the reorganization of the auto industry with union workers controlling safety and working conditions.

"By reducing the workweek to thirty hours with no cut in pay," Seidman explains, "the auto industry could be a source of hundreds of thousands of new jobs for the unemployed, rather than the engine of unemployment it is now."

Socialist Workers campaign supporter Chris Ihlenfeld works at General Motors' Delco electronics plant in Oak Creek, Wisconsin. She reports that many workers, backed up to the wall by company blackmail, are thinking for the first time about new political solutions.

Ihlenfeld explains, "To some extent, this discussion has been opened up by the union leadership calling for political solutions to the crisis in auto. But the UAW officialdom urges support to Democratic Party politicians as an alternative to Reagan's economic policies.

"The Democrats already give Reagan and Wisconsin's Republican Governor Lee Dreyfus the voting margins they need to press cutbacks and other attacks on labor, Blacks, and women.

"The UAW leaders also promote 'Buy American' anti-import schemes. These are designed to put the blame for unemployment on workers in other countries, instead of on the U.S. auto bosses who are actually responsible."

Candidate Seidman discussed the ideas of his campaign with Delco's UAW Local 438 members as 300 of them, on a week's layoff, filed into the union office January 26 to fill out compensation forms.

The workers he talked with were angry about the wages and benefits they are being asked to give up. While many were resigned to some concessions, few were convinced concessions will guarantee their jobs.

"The more you give up, the more they want," said Hattie Jackson, a four-year veteran of the Delco plant. Jackson is adamant that the union should hold on to wages and cost-of-living benefits. But she was less protective of the union's Paid Personal Holidays.

"They can keep those PPHs," she said, voicing a view shared by several Delco workers Seidman talked with.

"I don't want to give up anything," answered Sue Jones to a question about concessions. "I think some of the big guys upstairs should give up something. They could lower the prices of cars without cutting us."

Mike Roach's position was that union concessions might be necessary, but union negotiators should first get written agreement from GM about how much, and for how long, it would reduce car prices.

"The companies lie about their costs and prices," Seidman pointed out. "The auto workers union should inspect all company records. That would be a step toward finding out the truth."

Almost without exception, Delco workers liked Seidman's proposal that "working people need a party of our own, a labor party based on the unions and independent of the twin parties of the ruling rich."

Such a party, he explains, would campaign for a crash jobs program financed by the government; for a shorter workweek; for unemployment benefits at union-scale, lasting as long as recipients are out of a job. It would fight for a workers government that puts human needs — not profits — first.

Reading on UAW history

A Political Biography of Walter Reuther: The Record of an Opportunist by Beatrice Hansen. 23 pp. 40 cents.

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. 538 pp. \$8.95 paper.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.

American Labor Struggles 1877-1934

By Samuel Yellen

416 pp., \$6.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.

The class-struggle road to women's liberation

The following is the edited version of a report adopted by the twenty-first national convention of the Young Socialist Alliance, which took place in Philadelphia December 31, 1981-January 3, 1982. A couple of sections have been updated to reflect political developments since the convention.

BY MARGARET JAYKO

In Idaho, on December 23, a federal judge and leading member of the Mormon Church ruled against the three-year extension of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) deadline that was granted by Congress in 1978.

The effect of this decision, if it had been allowed to stand, would have been to sound the official death knell for the ERA.

Not content with that, Judge Marion Callister also ruled that state legislatures that had voted previously to ratify, could rescind these votes. Five states have so far done just that — Idaho, Kentucky, Nebraska, South Dakota, and Tennessee. This ruling would remove those states from the list of those that ratified, and would mean we are eight states short of the thirty-eight needed to pass the ERA.

Leaders of the National Organization for Women (NOW), which was a defendant in the case, filed a brief with the U.S. Supreme Court on January 8, requesting a quick reversal of the lower court's decision.

First, the Justice Department said it would appeal the ruling to the Supreme Court. The next day, the department announced it would "oppose NOW's effort to expedite the appeal." This would have meant letting the decision stand until after the June 30, 1982, deadline for ERA ratification.

But that was a little too crude, even for many in the top ruling circles. So, on January 25, the Supreme Court issued a stay that deprives the Idaho ruling of any legal effect.

'Fairness'?

The *New York Times* editorialized on January 27 that "the Court has provided much-needed fairness," and that their stay "undoes the mischief" of Callister's ruling.

But Callister's "mischief" was in complete harmony with the ruling-class decision to kill the ERA. It's been the Democrats and Republicans in the state legislatures across the country — not just a lone, "New Right" Mormon judge — who have systematically prevented a single additional state ratification since 1977, and who also voted for the rescissions.

And the decision to overrule Callister's ruling one month later hardly "undoes" the damage.

The ERA has been voted down twice this year by the Oklahoma state legislature — on January 13 and January 19.

In Georgia, on January 20, the Democrats and Republicans rejected the ERA by a two-to-one margin.

And on January 13, the Democrats in the Illinois state legislature refused to press for a vote on changing the rule that constitutional amendments must be ratified by a three-fifths — not a simple — majority. This rule has been used to prevent Illinois from becoming a ratified state for years.

'Legal equity' without ERA

Just two days before the Idaho ruling, President Reagan established a Federal Task Force on Legal Equity for Women.

When anti-abortion, anti-ERA, Mr. Cutbacks himself starts talking about "legal equity for women," we had better look out.

Who is on this task force?

Are its members feminists, working women, Black and Latino women, young women — those who know the most about discrimination?

No. According to the White House, the task force

will include senior officials from each cabinet department and agency, women the President has appointed to government posts.

In the White House ceremony marking the creation of the task force, Reagan took the opportunity to reiterate his opposition to the ERA, and to lecture women about why the ERA would be a barrier to equality.

You know we never know what's good for us!

NOW denounced the task force as "paying lip service to American women" and called for passage of the ERA.

The ERA ruling in Idaho and Reagan's task force are a miniature version of what one year of Reaganism has meant for women — a little lip service to the idea of female equality, combined with a lot of effort to prevent that idea from ever becoming reality.

A reactionary female Supreme Court judge and a conservative women's commission are very small fig leaves to cover the antiwoman drive emanating from Washington.

Capitalism in crisis

The American ruling class is in a deep economic crisis. It is fighting to alter qualitatively the relationship between capital and labor in this country. To increase their profit margins, the employers must divide and demoralize the workers and their

allies, like women, and ultimately crush the organized power of the working class to resist their offensive.

It is under the lash of this offensive that the oppressed and exploited are being shaken up. They are more open to new and radical ideas. Interest in class-struggle alternatives is developing, and a willingness to fight back on the basis of *our* class interests against *their* class interests is beginning to emerge.

Essential to the capitalists' offensive is directing the most brutal blows at the superexploited and specially oppressed — the peoples of the semicolonial and underdeveloped countries abroad, and the women and oppressed nationalities in this country.

The aim of this divide-and-conquer strategy is both *economic* and *political*.

On the economic side, the employers want to increase the rate of exploitation of those who are already a significant source of capitalism's superprofits.

The political aim of directing the harshest blows against the most vulnerable is to divide and demoralize the working class, to try and prevent us from uniting in common defense of our rights and living standards.

These divisions along race and class lines are not just an unfortunate byproduct of capitalist rule. They are indispensable for the maintenance of this rotting system.

They point to the equally indispensable necessity for *unity* of the workers and the oppressed.

Unity between men and women around a program of struggle that includes women's rights issues is strategically necessary to achieve the kind of unity and combativity our side needs to win.

The oppressed sex

How does the YSA view the fight for women's rights today, and what can we contribute to the struggle for women's equality?

The reality of women's second-class status in society today shows that, despite the advances we have won in struggle, women are still very much the oppressed sex going into the 1980s.

Two statistics about the position of women worldwide are revealing:

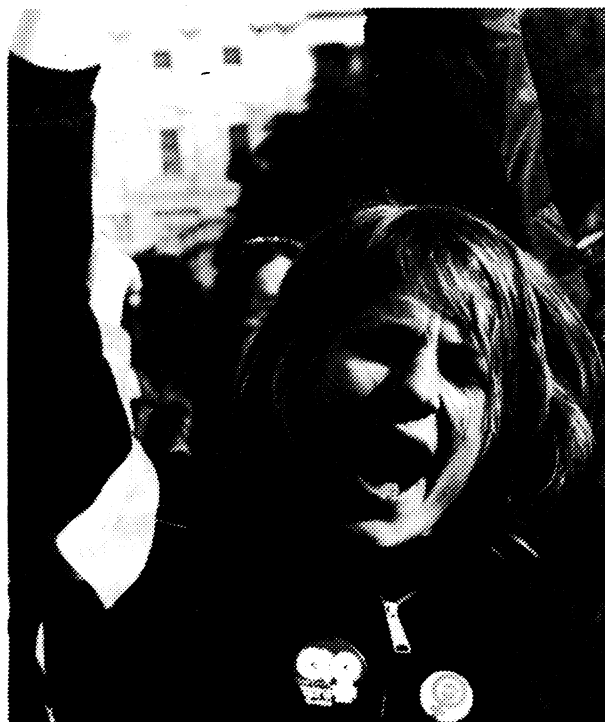
- Women perform nearly two-thirds of the world's work hours, yet are only one-third of the official workforce. Half of these work hours we spend doing unpaid labor in the home.

- Men receive 90 percent of the world's income and own 99 percent of all the property. (This isn't divided equally among them, of course.)

In this country, more than 52 percent of all women are in the job market. More than 43 percent of the U.S. workforce is female.

But, in general, women workers average only 57 cents for every dollar a man makes. Much of that

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Militant/Howard Petrick

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February 1982

Editor: Fred Feldman

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Continued from ISR/1

differential is due to the fact that lack of child-care means women make up 70 percent of all part-time workers.

Women are now concentrated in the lowest-paying, least-skilled, and least-unionized jobs.

To end sex segregation in employment — that is, for women to achieve an occupational distribution identical to that of white men today — you would have to change the jobs of 66 percent of white women, 69 percent of Black women, and 80 percent of Puerto Rican women. I don't have figures for Chicanas, but it's safe to assume they're comparable.

The widespread practice of less pay for jobs traditionally considered "women's work" was challenged last summer by women workers in San Jose, California. They struck against the city and won a victory in their struggle for equal pay for work of comparable value.

This victory inspired San Jose nurses at four hospitals to go out on strike in January over the same issue.

Even within the same job classification, there's often a huge gap between men's and women's wages. For example, women textile workers average 85 percent of the weekly earnings men make.

Black and Hispanic women are subject to a triple oppression: as women, as workers, and as members of oppressed nationalities. The highest single category of unemployed in the United States today is teenage Black women, whose official rate of joblessness is 43.7 percent. Black women who do work average only 54 cents for every dollar a man makes.

As a result of this discrimination against women in the workforce, women are poorer than men, and Black and Latino women are the poorest of all.

And the current program of the ruling class calls for deepening our oppression on every front, not lessening it one iota. No section of the ruling class is offering any significant alternative to this perspective. The Democrats and Republicans are working together to drive down wages and living standards, and curtail democratic rights.

In fact, many of the current attacks were begun, prepared, or advocated under the Carter administration.

But with the election of Reagan, the drive has deepened and accelerated. It's more bold, more up

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Opposition to legalized abortion, and reproductive rights in general, is clearly the cutting edge of the antiwoman drive.
”

front. But Reaganism is a *bipartisan* phenomenon.

One year of Reaganism has been disastrous for women: on the ERA, affirmative action, and social services that women desperately need.

Abortion rights — central target

However, I want to focus here on an issue that the rulers are also concentrating on. That is, on the most fundamental of all questions affecting a woman's life — the right to choose whether and when to have children.

Ever since the Supreme Court ruled in January 1973 that abortion is legal, this democratic right has been under attack.

Opposition to legalized abortion, and reproductive rights in general, is clearly the cutting edge of the antiwoman drive.

The legalization of abortion was a tremendous, liberating step forward for women — and men, too, for that matter. It meant that, given the fact that there is no 100 percent effective contraception, women would now have access to the necessary backup of safe, legal abortion to terminate unwanted pregnancies.

But, like all gains that we wrest through struggle under capitalism, victory merely establishes a new arena of battle. How much we're able to exercise these rights, and how long we have them, are decided by the class struggle, not by legislation.

Since 1973, there has been a one-sided war against abortion rights.

The Catholic church hierarchy, the "Moral Majority," the misnamed "Right-to-Lifers," and other

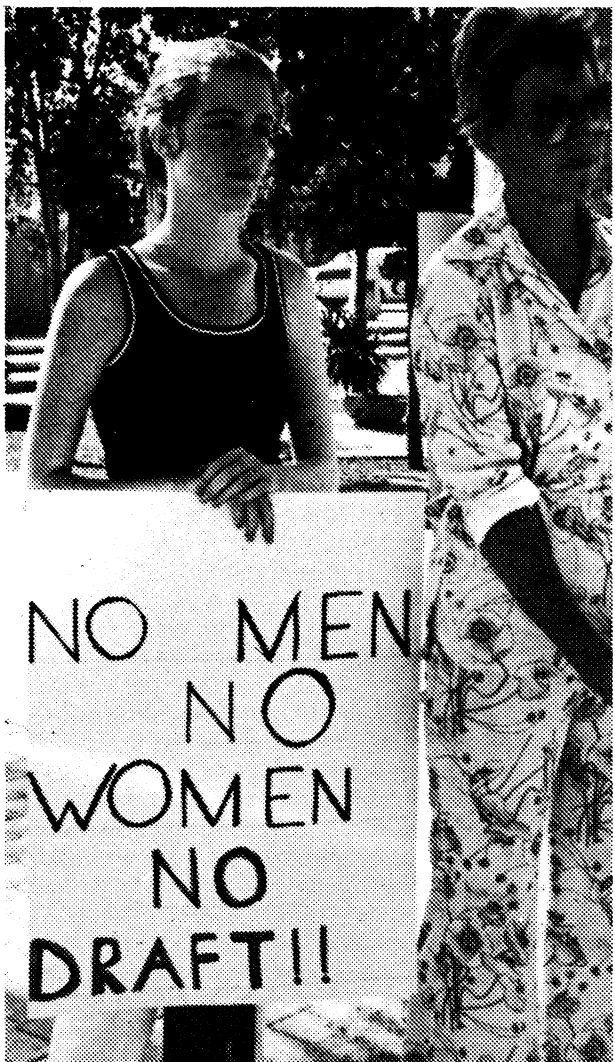


Militant/Karl Bermann
The legalization of abortion helped open the door to women's demands for full equality.

right-wing foot soldiers of the ruling class have taken the field.

In the face of this concerted mobilization, the standard line peddled by the Democrats and Republicans, and swallowed by many feminists, is that the "radical right" is "pressuring" them to cut back abortion rights.

But the real relationship is the opposite of what these lying politicians would have us believe. It is Reagan's — and before him, Carter's — openly anti-abortion stance that has encouraged and emboldened these groups. The ruling class calls the shots, not Jerry Falwell, of the "Moral Majority," or Phyllis Schlafly, "chairman" of Stop ERA. They



Militant/Andrea Baron
Many young women don't accept the line of the NOW leadership that we must 'prove' we're equal by supporting the draft and war drive.

simply provide cover for the rulers' own offensive against women's equality.

Why are reproductive rights so hated by the rulers?

It is because these rights undermine the very foundation upon which all of women's oppression is constructed — the lie that biology is woman's destiny. To challenge this myth — to say no, women occupy an inferior status for economic and social reasons, not because of biology — is to challenge the entire structure built on this false foundation.

Controlling our reproductive lives raises women's expectations and therefore our militancy. We go from a perspective of forced motherhood to one of

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By effectively eliminating abortion rights for the majority of women, the rulers intend to deal us a staggering blow.
”

personhood, which includes and insists on the right to choose.

The rulers know that this is the logic of winning control over our own bodies. It's been proven by the growing demand for women's equality in all spheres since the 1973 victory. By effectively eliminating abortion rights for the majority of women, the rulers intend to deal women and the working class a staggering blow.

Where does the right to abortion stand today?

At the present time, only a handful of states and the District of Columbia still make state funds available for abortions, and remaining programs are in constant jeopardy, as in California and New York.

Results of a study on the effects of the Hyde Amendment were made public several months ago. This measure cut off federal funds for abortions in 1976, just three years after the Supreme Court declared legal abortion the law of the land. The figures showed that of the nearly 300,000 eligible women who applied for Medicaid abortions in 1977, about 5 percent, or 15,000, were forced to bear unwanted children. About 1 percent, or 3,000, resorted to self-induced or back-alley abortions.

Meanwhile, the "Teenage Chastity Bill," supported by Senator Edward Kennedy, passed Congress with nary a whimper.

This enlightened piece of legislation authorizes research into why teenagers have sex, and encourages sexual abstinence among them. The otherwise cutbacks-happy congressmen appropriated \$30 million for this bill.

Apart from its lofty aims, there are some insidious parts to this package. The main one is that teenagers will need their parents' consent to receive any abortion or birth control services under this bill.

The Department of Health and Human Services is considering new rules that would require parents to be informed when teenagers under eighteen get prescription birth control products.

What will be the results of these moves?

Not less sexual activity, but certainly more sexual misery for youth — more guilt, ignorance, and fear about sex and sexuality. There will also be more pregnant teenagers, accompanied by the inevitable higher maternal and infant mortality rates, and suicide rates.

Hearings, debates, and discussion continue non-stop over the proposed federal amendments and bills that would outlaw abortion altogether. Twenty-seven bills limiting or banning abortions have been introduced into the current session of Congress.

And this is despite the latest Associated Press-NBC News poll showing that three-fourths of the American people oppose a constitutional amendment outlawing abortion.

As happens annually, on January 22 there were anti-abortion marches in Washington, D.C., and other states. Unfortunately, there was no national countermobilization by the women's movement and our allies, reflecting the majority support for the right to choose.

All this adds up to a dramatic curtailment of the right to abortion.

Worst of all, this most fundamental right is being taken away without a fight. This makes it doubly demoralizing.

Questions affecting women's welfare and status

are class questions. That is, they must be approached in the framework of the class structure and conflicts of this society. The different and opposing classes have different and opposing stakes in this struggle for the rights of half the human race.

For the capitalist class, the oppression of women is a central pillar of their system. Now that their system is in crisis, they are bearing down even harder against women.

For the working class, the cause of women's rights is integral to its own advancement. It is the class that must ultimately solve this question.

The status of women is also objectively a big concern for the movements of the oppressed nationalities. The newly formed National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) recognizes the special oppression of women, gives it a prominent place in its program, and champions women's equality. This testifies to the NBIPP's seriousness in charting an independent, anticapitalist course.

The struggle for women's rights is a big question, a test, for every leadership claiming to be revolutionary. The YSA gives it top priority. We recognize that the coming American socialist revolution will have the task of ending the oppression of women, as well as liberating the oppressed nationalities and ending wage slavery.

Battle of ideas

Over the past few years, working people have increasingly become supporters of the ideas of women's equality. The labor movement has actively backed the ERA and other issues. The ruling class wants and needs to halt this ongoing process. Thus, an important battle is being waged in the realm of ideas: a battle for working-class opinion on women's rights. The capitalist rulers use their propaganda to try to erode our class's developing unity around women's interests. They try to impose their class view onto our class.

And what backward views this "civilized class" is capable of! It's their idea that women should be kept barefoot and pregnant, that women are genetically incapable of doing math, that women take away men's jobs and are too emotional to have certain jobs, anyway.

What archaic ideas! This alone shows how historically outmoded their class is and how overdue is the job of sweeping these people into the dustbins of history. All progressive, advanced ideas are bound up with the working class, with its struggles, and its future.

Of course, this ideological offensive is not always so crude and obvious. It can be slick and subtle — the better to trick you with, my dear.

This is nowhere truer than in the big play given in, the capitalist media to Betty Friedan's latest book, *The Second Stage*.

This is the first major political work by a prominent leader of the women's movement to come along in some time. In it, Friedan joins the rulers' offensive in the realm of ideas.

Friedan is widely viewed as the "mother of modern feminism." She has been perhaps the single most famous spokesperson for women's rights in the world.

Her reputation was launched in 1963, with the publication of her book, *The Feminine Mystique*. This profeminist protest work was eagerly read by millions of women in the United States and other advanced capitalist countries. It helped inspire them to question the limits imposed on their lives by society.

Friedan was the key founder of NOW in 1966 and its first president. In the past two decades, she has traveled widely in this country and abroad, lecturing on women's issues and participating in women's rights activities.

In *The Feminine Mystique*, Friedan took up the fight against some of the realities of capitalist society and the "feminine mystique" that imprisoned women.

In *The Second Stage*, however, she capitulates to capitalist austerity, the imperialist war drive, and attacks what she now terms the "feminist mystique."

Far from challenging the rulers' views on women, she provides theoretical cover for them "from the women's angle." In fact, Betty Friedan is in full-scale retreat from feminism.

In what she dubs the "first stage" of the women's movement — which she pronounces dead — Friedan asserts that women went too far. This gave rise to a



Friedan has no place in her 'two-stage' schema for women like this construction worker.

“On the issue of cutbacks in social services, Friedan lends support to the rulers' anti-working-class austerity drive.”

new problem — the "feminist mystique."

According to Friedan, both our goals and our methods were too radical. The pivotal error was fighting for legal abortion as a woman's right to choose. This is clear, because women's reproductive freedom has provoked the biggest "backlash." By demanding legalized abortion as a woman's right, the feminist movement was projected as selfish, and as putting the personal needs of women above those of their families.

Women dared to demand the right to control their own bodies. How selfish can you get?

Friedan also complains that the fight for abortion rights gave the women's movement a promiscuous image, thereby tainting women's liberation with "sexual politics."

Thus, the ruling-class attacks on abortion rights have been successful because women fought too militantly for their rights.

Friedan never explains that the real reason for the ruling-class success is that she, the NOW leadership, and others who claim to be leaders have not organized any fightback. Instead, she says that feminists alienated the great mass of women by being too uppity. She swallows the rulers' line that Reagan has a mandate for what he's doing — and that the women's movement helped give it to him.

Friedan goes so far as to claim that, in fact, the reactionary views of Schlafly and company are really more in tune with those of most women than are aspirations toward equality and dignity. Thus, she not only blames the women's movement for the attacks on our rights, she blames *women* for our problems. We've gotten what we want — and deserve.

On the issue of cutbacks in social services, Friedan lends support to the rulers' anti-working-class austerity drive, in which women are front-line casualties. Just as we shouldn't have been so strident in our demands for abortion rights, so too we shouldn't be equally unreasonable by demand-

ing social services such as child care when "our country" is in crisis. We should be against "big government" funding child care and health care. She proposes instead that women take up "passionate volunteerism," and pursue private corporate funding for things like child care.

Friedan's "strategy" for achieving her aims is not new: deeper involvement in the Democratic Party, which women should support and build — presumably passionately. This is why she drops the goals of feminism. In the Democratic Party, they are just so much excess baggage.

'Transcending the polarization'

Friedan talks a lot in *The Second Stage* about how women must have a dialogue with the so-called radical right.

Here is one example from the chapter on "The Limits and True Potential of Women's Power."

"It was a second-stage approach, when NOW president Eleanor Smeal invited leaders of the Right to Life movement to meet with feminists in Washington in 1980 to discuss how we might jointly work to further research that would enable women to transcend the divisive issue of abortion and be able to choose to bear children responsibly and joyously and with full respect for all of our [!] values and rights to life."

Friedan neglects to mention how the meeting ended — the anti-abortion people went wild. They stepped in front of the television cameras and unwrapped baby blankets to display what they claimed were human fetuses.

That's how Friedan envisions transcending the polarization between the classes in this society — by capitulating to the opponents of women's rights.

The reason that Friedan can feel so comfortable "dialoging" with these types is that her views and Schlafly's are not really so far apart. They both occupy the same side of the class line, and so find themselves in substantial political agreement as the spectrum of capitalist politics shifts to the right.

For instance, they're both against raising demands on the government to defend and advance the interests of women. They both want to jettison the goals of the women's rights movement. They both want to put more, not fewer, burdens on the individual working-class family. They both view the presence of an independent, fighting women's movement as an obstacle to the capitalist class carrying out its war plans and austerity drive, which they both support.

Friedan's real ambition — and intention — is to lead the dismantling of the women's liberation movement as an independent force. She says so explicitly, and explains her purpose: to help bind women hand and foot to the parties and perspectives of the capitalist class she supports.

Making imperialism more 'sensitive'

The book is full of superpatriotic and promilitarist rhetoric. She concludes a chapter on her visit to West Point saying, "I leave West Point, as the first female cadets are about to graduate, feeling safer somehow because these powerful nuclear weapons that can destroy the world and the new human strategies therefore needed to defend this nation will henceforward be in the hands of women and men who are, with agony, breaking through to a new strength, strong enough to be sensitive and tender to the evolving needs and values of human life."

Well, it might make Friedan feel safer that "nicer" people are being prepared to fight new imperialist wars that could destroy the world. But I doubt if the sisters and brothers in Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, El Salvador, Guatemala, Europe, Iran, and lots of other places are sleeping any easier because West Point has gone coed.

Given all this, Friedan's last chapter becomes predictable, but it's still surprising in its frankness. It amounts to an orgy of patriotism and anticommunism.

She writes, "It is, after all, in capitalist America that the flexibilities inherent in our own system, our democratic tradition, even our individualism, could produce the women's movement as the first stage of the sex-role revolution."

So capitalism is superior to communism because it's "democratic." Friedan doesn't understand that the democratic rights we do have were won by the workers and the oppressed in struggle. She has virtually nothing to say about the current attacks on democratic rights. And she "forgets" to point out

Continued on ISR/4

Continued from ISR/3

that the women's movement was born because of what capitalism can't provide women — real equality and liberation.

Then she gets to her main point: "It is the best testimony to the strength of that system, and hope of saving it, that women, once the least secure and most rigidly conservative, have moved from political passivity to active autonomy. . . .

"For, of course, feminism is threatening to despoils of fascism, communism, or religious fundamentalism, Third World or American brand. . . ."

Friedan has gone all the way. Her main concern is not women's rights, or anybody's rights, but how to save the American capitalist and imperialist system. She has become an apologist for and defender of U.S. imperialism's decaying, brutal, deadly 1980s stage. That is why Friedan joins the racist attacks on "Islamic fundamentalism" (read: Iranian revolution). That is why she attacks communists — because she defends "America" as it exists today.

Friedan has become part of the U.S. rulers' militarization drive, part of the much sought after antidote to the "Vietnam Syndrome." She is attempting to corrupt a generation of feminist fighters with her deadly national chauvinism.

New economic order

The fundamental question Friedan raises, and gives the exactly wrong answer to, is the same one confronting the unions, militants in the Black struggle, opponents of U.S. militarism, and all the peoples of the world struggling for a better life.

Can capitalism solve the major problems we face? Or is Cuban President Fidel Castro right when he says that the solutions to war, injustice, racism, and oppression against women lie in a new economic order — socialism — which is based on human needs, not private profits?

In 1982, to accept the limits of capitalism is to give up the struggle. The logic of the demands raised by the women's movement is such that the only class in society that has both the interest and the power to win these demands is the working class.

Only that class, in alliance with the oppressed nationalities, and a fighting mass women's movement, overwhelmingly proletarian in composition and leadership, can steer the way out of the crisis of

“Only by charting a course in opposition to the capitalist class can any of our interests and needs be met or advanced.”

the old order. And only by charting a course in opposition to the capitalist class can any of our interests and needs be met or advanced.

Only such a force can usher in a new type of government — a workers and farmers government. A government that bases itself on the mobilized power of the working people in order to lead a fight against all forms of discrimination and exploitation.

Such a government would open the road to the socialist reconstruction of society.

No, the fight for women's equality will not save capitalism, as Friedan hopes. Instead, it will be one of the motor forces of the great movement of the exploited and oppressed to free ourselves from the yoke of this rotten system.

NOW leadership

This same explicitly pro-U.S.-capitalist perspective is carried out in practice by the NOW leadership. Their nearly exclusive focus on lobbying for the ERA is a cover for their lack of any effective response to the other attacks on women's rights, most notably, on the question of abortion. And it hasn't helped the ERA any, either.

Their consistent refusal to defend every woman's right to abortion aids the rulers' anti-reproductive-rights campaign. They're willing to sacrifice abortion rights for poor, young, and working women to their alliance with the ruling class. This default helps pave the way for outlawing abortion completely. But their class bias prevents them from seeing this.

NOW leaders link the equal rights of women with drafting women into the imperialist army. This is combined with a general increase in their patriotic and prowar propaganda. They urge women to "help



Militant/Ann Teesdale and Osborne Hart
The July 9, 1978, ERA march (top) and the September 19, 1981, Solidarity Day protest (bottom) were both actions that advanced the consciousness, combativity, and confidence of women and working people.

our country in a time of crisis," as the only way to "earn" equality.

The NOW leadership's thoroughly procapitalist perspective is seen most clearly in their "ERA Countdown Campaign." The real bottom line of this campaign is the push to get women's "friends" elected and their "enemies" defeated in the 1982 elections.

In NOW President Eleanor Smeal's speech to the November 1981 AFL-CIO convention, she endorsed their "Solidarity Day II" scheme, which is an attempt to get their members to go to the polls and vote Democrat in 1982. Smeal told the convention, "I'm delighted with the resolution that you are putting forth for a mobilization on election day. I can tell you that we will be very anxious to work with you in November of 1982 and all the days until then so that we can have a victory and we can have a return of politics that are concerned with people."

Apparently, her "people's politics" don't include abortion rights, since she didn't mention them once in her speech.

Just like the union bureaucracy, the NOW leadership is looking to an alliance of labor bureaucrats, Black liberal misleaders, and the leadership of women's organizations inside the Democratic Party. Such an alliance is only in the interests of the ruling class.

The fact is, you cannot be a consistent feminist and a supporter of the ruling-class parties. The two



Militant/Cindy Jaquith
Left to right: Eleanor Smeal, Betty Ford, Lady Bird Johnson at ERA rally at NOW conference. This action counseled women to rely on the two capitalist parties to grant rights, in exchange for support to this government.

are mutually exclusive because they point in two different and conflicting directions.

The NOW leadership's narrow view of feminism is of a movement of middle-class women who work hand-in-hand with the rulers and their parties to win a few legal reforms for women within a framework of shoring up capitalism. This perspective is what Lenin called "bourgeois feminism."

In a 1920 discussion with German communist leader Clara Zetkin about the theses she was writing on the woman question for the Communist International, the world organization of communist parties at that time, Lenin explained:

"The theses must emphasize strongly that true emancipation of women is not possible except through communism. You must lay stress on the unbreakable connection between woman's human and social position and the private ownership of the means of production. This will draw a strong, ineradicable line against the bourgeois movement for the 'emancipation of women.'

"This will also give us a basis for examining the woman question as part of the social, working-class question, and to bind it firmly with the proletarian class struggle and the revolution."

Where new leadership will come from

The massive September 19, 1981, Solidarity Day demonstration in Washington, D.C., called by the AFL-CIO, was the biggest pro-women's-rights action in U.S. history. It showed the potential for involving the ranks of labor in this struggle and building precisely the kind of women's rights movement that Lenin was talking about.

But the developing militancy of the ranks is checked by the pro-capitalist perspectives of the union bureaucrats. On them falls much of the blame for the current crisis of the women's movement. Their class-collaborationist political stance has contributed to the blocking of passage of the ERA and other women's rights. They've been the example that the NOW leadership has followed into the Democratic Party. This is because their answer to the current social and economic catastrophe threatening working people in this country is the same as Friedan's — deeper into the Democratic Party.

But it is from the ranks of the labor movement, of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, of NOW, and from the communities of the oppressed nationalities that the new leadership needed by the women's movement will come. It will be a leadership that orients to the working class and the exploited and oppressed internationally, and not to our common oppressors: big business, bankers, and landlords.

That's why the YSA's decision to have the overwhelming majority of our members get jobs in industry puts us in the best position to conduct our women's liberation activities. In the mines, mills, and plants, we will be able to meet, talk to, influence, and learn from the young women fighters who are coming forward there. This work is a central arena of the YSA's women's liberation activity today.

Ferment of ideas

Despite the crisis of leadership in the women's movement, women are joining NOW and other women's rights organizations. They are doing so because they are looking for answers to their questions about conditions they face. They want to engage in discussions with other women like themselves, and they are looking for forces to link up with to fight for their rights.

The YSA has a lot to contribute to this vital discussion.

At the national NOW conference in Washington, D.C., this past October, there were hundreds of young women who came looking to discuss the attacks on abortion rights, how to save the ERA, and the state of their movement. Many were disgusted by the pro-Democratic-Party, promilitarist perspective that was offered by the NOW leadership.

They responded with great interest when YSA and Socialist Workers Party members spoke in the workshops about why they opposed supporting the Democrats and Republicans, about the need for a labor party, and about the positive example that the National Black Independent Political Party provided.

Many listened intently when we described the popular revolutions that the U.S. military is designed to crush. They were inspired by our view of a fighting alliance with labor militants like those who marched on Solidarity Day. They responded to our call to link the fight for the ERA with a defense of

all the rights of women that are under attack.

Many conference participants were eager to talk for hours about socialism. Dozens bought the *Militant* and other socialist literature. It's clear that our participation in the conference was important. If we hadn't been there discussing our ideas, many of these women would have gone away from that convention more confused and bitterly disappointed in the prospects for feminism. That is why refuting the views of the class-collaborationist misleaders, and counterposing a class-struggle feminist perspective, is at the heart of our contribution to the women's liberation movement today.

This includes talking to feminists about socialism. Friedan and Smeal are talking about capitalism. We must talk socialism. In doing so, we can be confident that there is considerable interest in socialist ideas among feminist fighters today, as the response we met at the NOW conference demonstrates.

What Marxists contribute

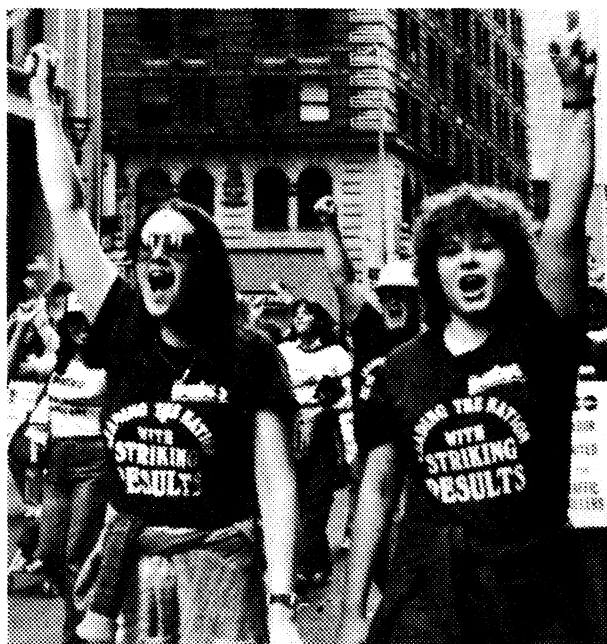
Such a stress on the propaganda axis of our participation is in line with our entire history in the women's rights struggle as it has unfolded in this country over the past decade. Our main contribution to building the movement has been precisely our ideas. We are able to explain scientifically what feminist militants instinctively know — biology isn't destiny. Women's oppression is social in origin. We are able to put the prospect of women's liberation on a scientific foundation, to say, yes, we haven't always been the second sex and we need not always be.

This is quite a contribution — one only Marxists can make.

We are also able to explain the class-struggle road to advancing the fight for women's rights. We promise no easy way out, but the road of class struggle is the *only* way forward. We can confidently explain this, because this is what women's rights activists want and need to know.

Our propaganda perspective encompasses all sorts of activities. We are for actions — rallies, marches, picket lines, speak-outs, teach-ins, vigils, etc. — that advance the struggle for women's rights. This is our general approach to any action. Will it advance the class consciousness, organization and self-confidence of the working class and its allies? Does it advance the kind of fighting alliance we need, or does it divide us? Does it knit us closer to the ruling class or the working class?

For example, Solidarity Day was called by the rotten labor bureaucracy, not by a class-struggle leadership. But we built it and participated in it enthusiastically because it advanced our class's interests, including the interests of women. It put the blame for our problems on the government, and it showed the potential power of our class and its allies when we mobilize and fight together against this government. Solidarity Day showed the poten-



Militant/Lou Howort
Young militants like these will be a central component of the new leadership needed by the women's movement.

tial for labor moving forward down the road of independent political action.

This is the same way we approached the ERA rally at the conclusion of the national NOW conference. We opposed it, despite its call for ERA ratification. The central political thrust of the rally was to tell women that the fight for the ERA is linked with the fight of U.S. capitalism against its enemies around the world, and to supporting the government and its parties. That's why we opposed that rally.

We supported the march called by NOW on July 9, 1978, in Washington, D.C., to demand an extension of the ERA ratification deadline. Despite political weaknesses, overall it pointed in the right direction: building women's confidence in their own independent movement in opposition to the capitalists. It was the first national ERA action to involve the labor movement, raising the question of women looking to labor instead of the capitalist politicians for support. We will support any actions like that in the future.

Actions like these are all different forms of propaganda, of disseminating and explaining basic ideas to those who participate and those who observe.

Our starting point is always how to advance the struggle of the working class and its allies for socialism. Our starting point is not simply the fight for the ERA, or the fight to defend abortion rights or affirmative action.

We're not fighting for a few reforms, however important they may be. Any reforms we *can* wrest

from the ruling class will advance the struggle for a workers government and a socialist society. Only this kind of government, brought to power by a revolution of the workers and the oppressed, can begin the process of liberating women.

Today, we favor the building of a massive, democratic, politically independent women's liberation movement that sides *with* the working class, *with* the oppressed nationalities, *with* our sisters and brothers in other countries struggling against U.S. imperialism, and *against* this government and this ruling class.

We don't say that the leadership of the women's liberation movement has to be socialist or Marxist. We do say they have to put women's rights first and fight uncompromisingly for them.

This is what the debate in the feminist movement is all about.

Participants

What should the YSA be doing in the coming months to fight for women's rights?

We want to be *part* of the discussions about the ERA, abortion rights, affirmative action, and all the other issues women are discussing. These discussions take place in the meetings of various women's organizations, at forums and speak-outs, on the job, and in the unions.

We should sponsor forums to respond to attacks on women's rights and to provide a platform to discuss questions of strategy for the women's movement.

YSA members participated in the abortion rights activities around January 22. In some cities, we also held our own forums on this topic.

We'll be participating in the same way in the activities projected around March 8, International Women's Day. NBIPP chapters and activists will be participating in many of these activities, as well.

All the liberal misleaders have targeted the 1982 elections as the chance to turn around the rulers' offensive by electing some "good" Democrats and Republicans. But the Socialist Workers Party candidates will be the only ones championing women's rights. They will use their campaigns to offer women the perspective of a break with the two parties of the oppressors. They will advocate the formation of a labor party based on the ranks of the unions, which can unite all the oppressed and exploited to fight for a workers and farmers government and a socialist society.

The YSA must take its perspective of class struggle to women's liberation fighters; our vision of a fighting, uncompromising women's rights movement that doesn't flinch in the face of the oppressors. If we do this, we will win increasing numbers of women over to this strategy.

And the best of these, the young women, the ones most willing to fight, the ones with the least to lose, will join the YSA.

For further reading on women's liberation...

Abortion and the Catholic Church

By Evelyn Reed and Claire Moriarty
14 pp., \$.50

Black Women's Struggle for Equality

By Willie Mae Reid et al.
15 pp., \$.50

The Emancipation of Women

By V.I. Lenin
136 pp., \$1.65

FBI vs. Women

By Diane Wang and Cindy Jaquith
47 pp., \$.75

Feminism and the Marxist Movement

By Mary-Alice Waters
43 pp., \$.75

The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State

By Frederick Engels. Introduction by Evelyn Reed.
191 pp., \$3.45

Problems of Women's Liberation

By Evelyn Reed
96 pp., \$2.95

Sexism and Science

By Evelyn Reed
190 pp., \$4.95

Weber Case: New Threat to Affirmative Action

By Andy Rose
31 pp., \$.75

Woman's Evolution

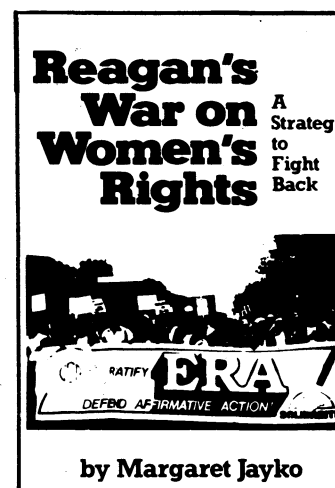
By Evelyn Reed
492 pp., \$8.95

Women and the Family

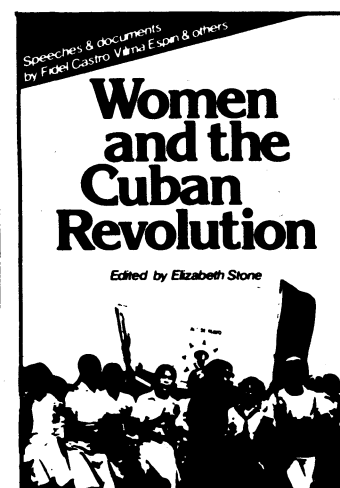
By Leon Trotsky
78 pp., \$2.45

Women and the Socialist Revolution

By Mary-Alice Waters
30 pp., \$.75



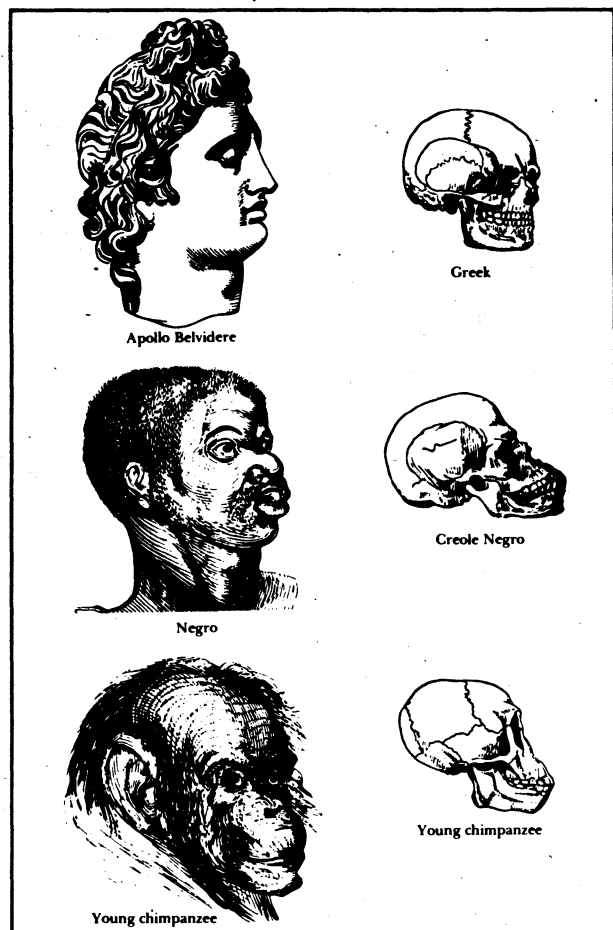
Reagan's War on Women's Rights
By Margaret Jayko
38 pp., \$.95



Women and the Cuban Revolution
Edited by Elizabeth Stone
160 pp., \$3.95

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.

Can human intelligence be measured?



This racist diagram, drawn in 1868, falsely inflates the chimpanzee skull and extends the jaw on the 'Creole Negro' to give the impression that Blacks might even rank lower than apes on the evolutionary scale. The so-called science of craniometry was used to 'prove' that Blacks and women are less intelligent than white males.

The Mismeasure of Man, Stephen J. Gould, W.W. Norton and Company, New York, \$14.95

BY CLAIRE MORIARTY

In 1928 Doris Buck was taken to a hospital for what doctors told her was an appendix operation. But the doctors lied. There was nothing wrong with her appendix.

Virginia physicians severed Doris Buck's fallopian tubes and made a teenage girl sterile for life because she had failed to pass an IQ test.

One year earlier the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled such action legal.

In the fifty years that followed, the state of Virginia alone sterilized more than 7,500 men and women,

BOOK REVIEW

including "unwed mothers, prostitutes, petty criminals and children with disciplinary problems."

Stephen Jay Gould's new book *The Mismeasure of Man*, says something that will surprise you: Intelligence does not exist; it is not a *thing* in your head. And IQ tests cannot measure something that doesn't exist.

Doris Buck might just as well have been burned at the stake for witchcraft.

Belief in intelligence and the capacity of IQ tests to measure it have practical political results: inferior segregated schools, forced sterilization programs, restrictive immigration laws, tracking, job discrimination.

Financial press defends IQ tests

The reviews of *The Mismeasure of Man* have been almost as revealing as the book itself.

Robert Kagan, for example, writing for the *Wall Street Journal*, begins with faint praise for Gould's research and finishes with a complaint. Gould devotes too much time to craniometry, he says, "a crackpot 'science' if ever there was one. . . . By focusing so much attention on the obviously misguided and often demonstrably racist works of a discredited science," he continues, "Mr. Gould obscures, intentionally I believe, some of the really hard issues raised by modern intelligence testing."

Kagan — ignoring 300 pages of evidence — claims

that Gould provides no answer to why "some groups" score less well on IQ tests.

This fact makes it clear that the debate over whether some classes or races are biologically inferior is more than an argument. It's a war. With real casualties.

The Mismeasure of Man is an indictment of biological determinism — the argument that social inequality is the natural reflection of inborn biological differences.

Gould begins at the beginning with an early version of one myth that grew up to justify social inequality — Plato's "Noble Lie."

Plato had the idea that class society could be imposed on the majority if you could get them to believe that some people were born of gold or silver and the rest were born of brass. Golden people ruled; brass worked.

The Mismeasure of Man investigates the modern, supposedly scientific version of Plato's myth.

Plato's myth dressed up as science

That myth was refurbished in the nineteenth century as the "science" of craniometry, literally the measurement of skulls. Respected scientists of the last century spent long hours pouring BBs into empty skulls and transferring the pellets to beakers, where skull capacity could be measured.

Their assumption was that brain size (roughly equivalent to skull capacity) determined intelligence; and that intelligence was now the *thing* that determined a person's station in life.

These early scientists assumed what they set out to prove: 1) that brain size determines intelligence; 2) that because Blacks and women are supposed to be less intelligent than white males, our brains must be smaller; and 3) that since our brains are smaller, we must be less intelligent!

This circular reasoning was no accident. But it wasn't science either. None of what the craniometrists assumed, and none of what they discovered, is true. Brain size is correlated with body size, not with race or sex.

Gould takes the argument further. He disputes the whole idea that intelligence is a *thing* that can be measured. To prove it, he dismantles the most sophisticated version of Plato's myth — the IQ test.

Gould explains that what distinguishes the craniometrists and IQ testers from Plato's "Noble Lie" is only their *claim* to scientific objectivity. In practice they are no more scientific than the mythmakers of 2,500 years ago.

He documents the convergence of fraud and unconscious error that has characterized the development of intelligence testing. And he exposes its social consequences. IQ tests have been used to initiate U.S. immigration laws, to enforce discriminatory education, and to legalize forced sterilization. And Gould has the facts to prove it:

- During World War I nearly two million recruits were subjected to what the army called "mental testing." Your grandfather was probably one of them. He very likely found himself with a crowd of other raw recruits jammed into close quarters that were poorly lit and without furniture. Pencils were distributed and instructions were barked out in a language he may not have mastered — English.

Some of the questions went like this: Crisco is a: patent medicine, disinfectant, toothpaste, food product/ The number of a Kaffir's legs is: 2, 4, 6, 8/ Christy Mathewson is famous as a: writer, artist, baseball player, comedian.

The results were tabulated, and in 1924 your grandfather's IQ — derived from questions like these — became part of the basis for the Immigration Restriction Act. That year Congress set restrictive quotas that provide the legal precedent for the racist anti-immigration laws in effect today.

- It used to be against the law to teach a slave to read. It took a civil war to wipe that law off the books — and a counterrevolution in the decade that followed to make education for Blacks all but illegal once again.

By World War I half the Black recruits from Southern states never got beyond third grade; half of those from the North made it to the fifth grade.

But the army's IQ test data revealed something racist propagandists preferred to ignore and in fact have suppressed for sixty years. Gould reports that Black recruits educated in four Northern states scored *higher* than whites educated in the South. IQ scores

correlated with education, not with race. IQ is not in your genes.

- On January 8 of this year an article appeared in the *New York Times* under the startling headline, "Study Says Criminal Tendencies May Be Inherited." In *The Mismeasure of Man* you'll find this "recent discovery" was first made more than a hundred years ago.

Cesare Lombroso, founder of the positive (read "scientific") school of criminology, set out to prove that some people are "born criminals." You can identify them by stigmata, or tell-tale physical signs, he argued. And to prove it, he set about measuring the noses of German murderers and the feet of prostitutes. (Picture that!)

Lombroso relied on the vocabulary of science — but not its method — to argue that Blacks and Asians were closer, in evolutionary terms, to earlier forms of animal life and therefore more predisposed to animal-like, or criminal, behavior. Whites who exhibited such behavior must have inherited these genes somewhere along the line.

Racism led Lombroso to conclude that the punishment should fit the criminal and not the crime. Born criminals, he said, should be given indeterminate sentences because they were biologically incapable of changing their ways.

Many states enacted laws that put Lombroso's theory into practice. In 1915 New York state prescribed indeterminate sentences of up to three years for such "crimes" as disorderly conduct, disorderly housekeeping (!), intoxication, and vagrancy.

George Jackson, author of *Soledad Brother*, was given an indeterminate one-year-to-life sentence for stealing seventy dollars from a gas station. In 1971, after serving eleven years (eight and a half of them in solitary confinement), George Jackson was shot to death in prison.

Lombroso and his followers never went so far as to propose prescreening and isolating people who bear the tell-tale signs of the "born criminal" *before* they committed a crime.

But Dr. Sarnoff Mednick, whose research was publicized in the *New York Times* article, seems to believe that his more sophisticated list of tell-tale signs might justify such a policy. He cites nervous system characteristics, low intelligence, and a predisposition to alcoholism as biological factors that might be associated with crime.

The *New York Times* reports that Mednick believes "the time is ripe" for an interdisciplinary research program on early detection of such youngsters (!), so long as the 'overriding' concern is that such intervention be voluntary, nonpunitive, and consistent with civil rights."

- If you ever took a course in psychology, you may have come across a quote from Gustave Le Bon, the founder of social psychology and author of a study of crowd behavior that is still read today. But Gould provides a quote from Le Bon you probably haven't read:

'Women . . . inferior form of evolution'

"All psychologists who have studied the intelligence of women, as well as poets and novelists, recognize today that they represent the most inferior forms of human evolution and that they are closer to children and savages than to an adult, civilized man. They excel in fickleness, inconstancy, absence of thought and logic, and incapacity to reason. Without doubt there exist some distinguished women, very superior to the average man, but they are as exceptional as the birth of any monstrosity, as, for example, of a gorilla with two heads; consequently, we may neglect them entirely."

Le Bon was writing in 1879, but if you turn on your TV, you're likely to find another distinguished "doctor," Joyce Brothers, peddling the same old wine in new bottles. She makes a lot of money doing this.

"A girl's verbal brain develops earlier than a boy's," she says, "and a boy's visual brain develops earlier than a girl's. This is why little girls generally read and write better than little boys and why little boys usually can puzzle out how to put a model car together or drain the oil from a power mower more easily than a girl."

She then says that in men — owing to their genetic structure — the two hemispheres of the brain are more highly specialized. This, she implies, has allowed men to perfect the analytic method of thinking

but it leaves them emotionally less developed.

In women, on the other hand, the hemispheres of the brain are not as sharply differentiated — which deprives women of the experience of genuine masculine lucidity but offers the advantage of an intuitive, if hazy, grasp of the Big Picture.

There is no more scientific justification for this ridiculous "theory" of brain development than there was for the early Catholic theologians' belief that the soul of a female embryo developed at a later stage than a male's.

Which is to say it has no scientific basis at all. It's just an attempt to decorate the ruins of craniometry.

Daniel Seligman, reviewer for *Fortune* magazine, goes beyond the fainthearted equivocation of the *Wall Street Journal*. Attacking Gould's books, Seligman praises Arthur Jensen's *Straight Talk about Mental Tests*. He says that "Jensen also mentions . . . that brain size is correlated with IQ. The correlation is weak but distinctly positive. . . ." So much for the *Wall Street Journal's* suggestion that craniometry is a crackpot science that is widely discredited!

Seligman bases his defense of craniometry and IQ on the publications of Arthur Jensen. But Gould demolishes Jensen in *The Mismeasure of Man*. "Arthur Jensen used Sir Cyril [Burt]'s figures as the most important datum in his notorious article (1969) on supposedly inherited and ineradicable differences in intelligence between whites and blacks in America."

Burt's figures, which underlie Jensen's "research," have been exposed in the world press as professional fraud.

Page after page Gould masses the evidence against biological determinism like so much artillery. The last chapter is decisive. Because it's with this contribution that *The Mismeasure of Man* registers a fundamental advance over earlier exposés of race and sex bias in intelligence testing.

Gould demonstrates that IQ tests measure nothing but the ability to take IQ tests; that they are really only a reflection — and in practice an instrument — of social prejudice.

But he goes further. He says the notion that IQ tests measure a *thing* called "intelligence" is deeply unscientific. He stands with those who argue that *matter* is the basis of life and ideas a byproduct of matter.

He exposes the fallacy at the heart of intelligence testing: its attempt to convert the abstract *idea* of mentality into a material *thing* called intelligence.

Here's what I mean: The dictionary will tell you that IQ is a *number* believed by some to express a person's relative intelligence. IQ testers arrive at that number by asking a series of questions to determine what they call your mental age and dividing that figure by your chronological age.

Another method is to plot your test scores on a sort of graph paper and correlate your answers to a lot of seemingly unrelated questions. From that mathematical statistic they deduce the existence of a *thing* called intelligence.

But what does that *number* signify? What does it mean to say that Bobby Fischer has an IQ of 204? About the same as saying Bo Derek is a ten. That is, it doesn't mean much.

IQ testers want us to believe that intelligence is a real, physical, heritable property of the human body; that it is a form of energy that can be measured in the same way you can meter electricity.

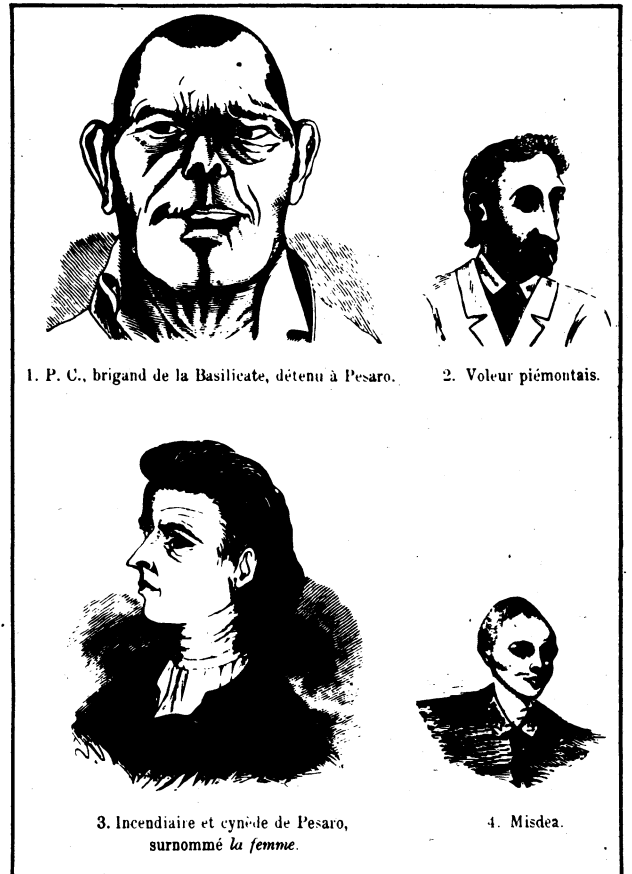
They are guilty of what Gould calls "reification" — of attempting to convert ideas into real physical things.

An exchange of views on Gould's book appeared in the *New York Review of Books* (Feb. 4, 1982); in it R.C. Lewontin illustrates the fallacy of reification:

"The height of a person is a natural attribute of a real object. If I average the heights of ten people, that average [a mathematical statistic, a number] is not an attribute of any real object. There is no person with such a height, nor does it characterize the height of the collection of individuals, since a collection of people does not have a height. The average is not even a height. It is simply the sum of a lot of measurements divided by the number of measurements. It is a mental construction. To assert that it is a real attribute of a real thing is an act of reification (indeed, double reification!)."

When I was five, I wanted to find out if Santa Claus was real. I left pie and coffee on the kitchen table Christmas Eve and the next morning scanned the back yard for reindeer hoofprints. All I could get from my mother was a cryptic remark about Santa embodying the spirit of Christmas.

That's an example of the error of reification. Intelligence is no more a real, physical, measurable, herita-



Four 'born criminals.' The *New York Times* recently revived this 'scientific' theory in an article headlined 'Study Says Criminal Tendencies May Be Inherited.'

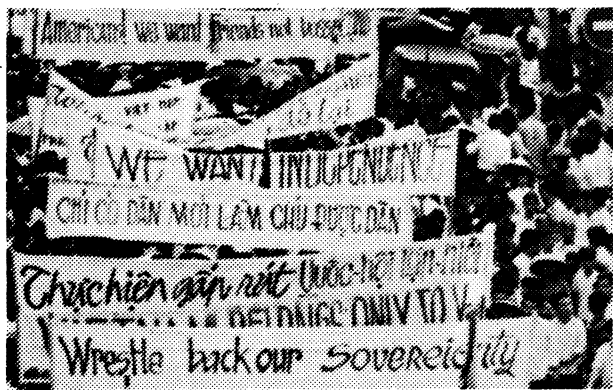
ble property of a human being than the spirit of Christmas has a round, plump body and a long white beard.

Intelligence is just the word we use to describe our idea of what Gould calls "a wondrously complex and multi-faceted set of human capabilities."

Science has the job of bridging the gap between what we think and what really exists; the job of measuring and remeasuring our theory against the evidence of real life.

Unlike religion, science has the advantage of awarding evidence the decisive vote.

U.S. government figures hid scope of the Vietnam war



Mass protest in Saigon in 1966 shows depth of opposition to U.S. intervention.

"The Uncounted Enemy: a Vietnam Deception." CBS television, January 23.

BY SUZANNE HAIG

Fourteen years ago, in January 1968, Vietnamese freedom fighters launched a major offensive against South Vietnamese government and U.S. military in-

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stallations in Saigon and other South Vietnamese cities.

Known as the Tet offensive, this heroic action signaled a major political and military turning point in the Vietnam War.

The offensive spelled an end to the lie that Washington was winning the war. It showed that the Vietnamese patriots were not a minority, as U.S. government officials claimed, but had the overwhelming support of the South Vietnamese workers and farmers. The Johnson administration's slogan of "light at the end of the tunnel" was switched off, and antiwar sentiment deepened extensively. Two months later, President Johnson announced that he would not seek re-election.

A TV documentary, "The Uncounted Enemy: a Vietnam Deception," which appeared on CBS January 23, throws some light on Washington's conduct of the war in the period leading up to the Tet offensive.

Through interviews with CIA and military officials, the program shows that the U.S. military command, under General William Westmoreland, systematically withheld facts from the press and doctored reports in order to keep the American people from knowing the true size of the Vietnamese liberation forces.

Military officials arbitrarily decided never to release figures of troop size above 300,000, even though they knew the size was about double that number. They concealed the increased size of troop movements by liberation fighters prior to the Tet offensive, and one colonel ordered the destruction of data in the intelligence computer, a CIA official asserted.

This was important because Johnson was trying to sell the war on the grounds that it could be won with a minimum of U.S. troops, casualties, and money.

In interviews, Westmoreland and other officials explain that they withheld troop size to prevent "gloomy" news reports from appearing. Johnson's adviser, George Allen, said that Westmoreland and others feared that if the truth were told, "it would have scuttled entirely the effort that had been going on to convince the people that the administration's policy was on the right track."

They also wanted to keep secret the extent of Vietnamese opposition to U.S. troops and to the Saigon regime. They wanted the American people to believe this was "the Soviets' war," as one official stated.

Westmoreland admitted that he decided to stop counting "self-defense militia" (Vietnamese civilians aiding the liberation forces), but he claims it was because they had no "offensive capability."

General McChristian, who had been Westmoreland's intelligence officer, was frank: "This was an indigenous civil war. . . . The self-defense militia was removed [from estimates] or else newsmen would seize on this to say the enemy had grown, and draw erroneous conclusions."

The Tet offensive shattered their deception.

The CBS documentary has its own untruths, however. Contrary to its implications, one did not have to be privy to intelligence sources in 1967 to know that Washington was lying about the size of the Vietnam freedom forces. Antiwar activists and the media were constantly pointing out the discrepancy between the inflated "body count" and the deflated troop estimates of the liberation fighters.

More importantly, the program is wrong in arguing that President Johnson didn't know what was going on, and that the military command bore the principal responsibility for deceiving the American people.

This was not Westmoreland's war. This was Washington's war. Johnson and other high-level government officials and key Democratic and Republican Party politicians were fully aware of the progress of the fighting.

But they did want to keep the truth about Vietnam restricted to a tight circle of government officials. Growing antiwar sentiment among the American population had caused tactical divisions to develop in Washington over how to conduct the war. Top officials took whatever steps necessary to prevent the growth of public opposition, including plugging leaks, lying about the war, and spying on and disrupting antiwar organizations.

But lying about troop size was not Washington's principal deception. The documentary only touches on the major cover-up — the nature of the war itself.

U.S. troops were in Vietnam not to make the country safe for democracy, as the politicians claimed, but to keep a puppet dictatorship in power — one friendly to U.S. corporate interests — in opposition to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of Vietnamese workers and farmers.

All other lies revolved around keeping this reality a secret.

These truths about the Vietnam War are not just important history. The same kind of lies are being told by the Reagan administration today.

This time the country is El Salvador. But because of Vietnam, more people in the United States already know they are being lied to.

BY STU SINGER

In the December 4 National Picket Line column in the *Militant*, there was an item headed "Ripping off workers the united way." It suggested that workers not contribute to United Way charity drives.

Some *Militant* readers have asked that we give more information on why we think workers should not participate.

Millions of workers do contribute. You are baraged with propaganda about it at work and at home. You can't watch a football game without seeing several United Way commercials.

At work there are often real threats from management. Union stewards and company supervisors frequently go around together to make clear that not only do you have to contribute, but the union will not protect you if you refuse.

But workers contribute not just because of pressure. Workers' contributions make up three quarters of all the funds raised by United Way. They are expressions of generosity and solidarity. It is another proof, to anyone who doesn't already know it, that American workers are not greedy brutes as we are portrayed.

Workers' contributions are fundamentally different than those from corporations. Every penny the companies contribute is deducted from their taxes. Most of the contributions by workers are not deducted. A worker who gives \$100 to United Way has \$100 less to spend. A corporation that matches \$10,000 in contributions from its employees will pay tax on \$10,000 less income.

Corporate involvement in United Way campaigns is used to portray profit-hungry companies as benevolent. But the lies about greedy workers don't let up no matter how much workers contribute.

How to meet social needs

United Way, and private charity in general, is becoming a more important issue because it is a cover for dismantling government social programs. In his State of the Union speech Reagan repeated the lie that spending cuts will be made up by private contributions.

Reagan appointed Armco steel Chairman C. William Verity to head the "President's task force on private sector initiatives." Verity is supposed to encourage the charity giving that will make up for the cuts in welfare, Social Security, aid to the handicapped, school lunch programs, medical care, and housing.

Verity himself, in a recent interview, admitted that these cuts will not be made up by private charity.

He said that in the year before Reagan took office, the government spent \$128.2 billion on social programs Reagan intends to cut. In that same year, industry raised about \$2.5 billion for charity. "It is unrealistic to expect us to fill what is not just a gap; but a chasm," Verity remarked.

He might also have pointed out that only 35 percent of businesses contributed anything at all; that those which did, averaged about 1 percent of pretax profits; and that the \$2.5 billion was only 5.3 percent of the \$47 billion raised by all charities. Almost all that money came from workers, not corporations.

The social programs that have been cut were inadequate to start with. Meeting human needs requires that they be expanded, not eliminated. But the resources required can only come from the government.

These programs were won by political pressure from workers. They can only be reestablished and expanded through a political struggle. Pushing private charity as an alternative is a diversion from facing the real problem.

Unfortunately, it is not just big business and the government promoting this diversion.

In the October issue of *Steelabor*, United Steelworkers of America President Lloyd McBride appealed to the union's members in an article headed, "Now — more than ever, with Reagan cutbacks — back United Way."

But the same issue of *Steelabor* reported on the union's involvement in the opposite approach to fighting cutbacks: the half-million-person, AFL-CIO-led demonstration in Washington on September 19, Solidarity Day.

Solidarity Day was a powerful demonstration against cuts. Pushing United Way covers them up.

Who runs United Way?

United Way is the main private charity operation in the country. There are about 2,100 affiliates under names like local United Ways, United Funds, and

United Way charity ripoff

Why workers shouldn't give



Militant/Jon Hilson

Political action needed to restore social services. United Way contributions are used to lobby for business tax cuts.

Crusade for Mercy. The local groups are autonomous. There is a National Association of United Ways headquartered in Alexandria, Virginia, outside Washington.

There are a national board and local boards. The national one includes union officials like McBride of the Steelworkers and United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser. There are also a few prominent Black individuals, including NAACP head Margaret Bush Wilson. But most members of the national board are businessmen.

The local boards are in charge of raising and distributing money. These bodies have token labor and minority representation. For example, the Greater New York Fund/United Way has about forty board members. Two are union officials and one is from a Puerto Rican group. There are no representatives of major Black organizations.

But there are top officials from the following businesses: NL Industries; Con Edison; New York Telephone; AT&T; New York Life Insurance; Equitable Life; Home Life; Bank of New York; Citibank; Chemical Bank; Chase Manhattan; Bowery Savings; First Boston; American Airlines; Murjani jeans; Merrill Lynch, Pierce, Fenner and Smith; and the Henry Luce Foundation.

You couldn't find a gang more concerned about human welfare.

Not in interests of Black community

The businessmen who run United Way decide which groups and organizations are worthy of receiving funds.

Black organizations and community groups are generally excluded. Jerry Bergman is the director of public relations for the National Association of United Ways. He explained that United Way does not fund organizations involved in "militant" activities or that advocate "controversial" positions.

That leaves out many Black community organizations.

In some areas Black United Funds have been set up to raise money for Black organizations. But the Black United Fund was prohibited from soliciting contributions from federal employees. A court upheld the government granting exclusive rights to United Way to campaign and use payroll checkoff to collect funds.

Some Black organizations are funded by United Way. Various Urban League programs around the country reportedly received \$17 million last year. But the money is strictly controlled.

For example, a Black community group helping to find jobs might get funded, but one that fights for jobs

or opposes racist hiring practices would not get funded.

The biggest debate involving United Way concerns abortion rights.

Mimi Barker, a spokeswoman for the Planned Parenthood Federation, a major organization providing contraception and abortion counseling and services, told the *Militant* that of the 188 affiliates of Planned Parenthood, forty-three are in local United Way programs. But some of them are under attack, and twelve or thirteen other affiliates of Planned Parenthood have quit or been forced out of United Way.

Where Planned Parenthood does get United Way funds, it is only for counseling, not for abortion clinics or for advocating abortion rights.

Birthright, on the other hand, a group that tries to discourage women from having abortions, is not considered controversial and does get funding.

Antilabor

A resolution was introduced, but not passed, at the AFL-CIO convention in New York last November that exposed United Way and its affiliates as antilabor.

The resolution pointed out that United Way affiliates such as the Mental Health Association, the Association of Retarded Citizens and the United Cerebral Palsy Association have actually broken unions of their employees.

The resolution embarrassed the labor officials who sit on the United Way boards. They like the opportunity to rub shoulders with the employers.

But the United Way businessmen have a different purpose in having some token union representation. For one thing, they help extract contributions from union members. They also help put over the hoax that private charity is an alternative to the government meeting social needs.

When I asked United Way spokesman Bergman about the charges contained in the resolution presented to the AFL-CIO convention, he said that with McBride and Fraser on the Board, how could United Way be anti-union?

Taxes

Reagan maintains that the tax giveaways to business will encourage contributions to charity.

The United Way agrees. Bergman told me that their position is that anything that's good for business profits is good for contributions to United Way.

This is the line followed by United Way lobbying efforts. Keep in mind that some of your United Way contributions go to pay for lobbying in favor of tax cuts for big business.

But higher business profits do not encourage contributions to charity. In fact the Reagan tax breaks for business discourage contributions.

The reason is simple. Business contributions are encouraged by tax deductions. The Reagan tax breaks are so extensive that more businesses than ever do not have to pay any taxes. If you have no tax bill, you don't need any deductions.

Fight back armed with the truth

American workers are suffering from an economic crisis. Sections of basic industry are in the grip of a full scale depression.

The protections from economic hardship won through decades of struggle are being cut back when they are needed most.

Every effort is made to blame the victims for the problems. Workers are told we are unproductive and have been overpaid. The only solution is said to lie in increasing business profits.

The employers ask workers to sacrifice their wages and to work harder for the good of the companies and the economy. They also demand contributions to make up for cutbacks in social programs.

The only alternative is a fightback. Ultimately, it will take workers establishing our own political party and a workers government as measures of defense against the capitalists.

The misleaders of the labor movement are taking their cues from the bosses. Accepting wage cuts and pushing private charity drives are part of the bosses' game.

Workers are looking at the whole picture of this society. The strongest weapon to prepare for the battles ahead is the truth.

The truth is that contributing to United Way is no more an answer than tearing up your contract. It's just another way to take a pay cut.

Major accident at N.Y. nuclear plant

Corrosion of tubing plagues entire industry

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

In what has been called the most serious accident since Three Mile Island, a steam generator tube ruptured January 25 at the Ginna nuclear power plant, releasing radioactive steam into the air. The plant, owned by Rochester Gas and Electric, is in Ontario, New York.

Far from being unique, more accidents of this type loom in the near future. In the last six years, similar accidents have already occurred at nuclear plants in Two Creeks, Wisconsin; Gravel Neck, Virginia; Red Wing, Minnesota; and Lake Keowee, South Carolina.

The accidents all involved leaks in steam generator tubes, usually brought about by corrosion.

These tubes carry water that absorbs

some of the tremendous heat generated by the nuclear reactors. The temperature of the water rises above its normal boiling point and is kept liquid only by being subjected to great pressures. As the water passes near the reactor, it becomes radioactive.

If for any reason the pressure drops — if a corroded tube bursts for example — the radioactive water turns to steam and can then escape. This is what happened at the Ginna plant.

The release of radioactive steam is serious enough. But there is an even greater danger that can arise from corroded tubes and tube supports.

If a sufficient amount of water in the tubes were to turn to steam, the reactor rods could be exposed. The temperature of the rods would rise very quickly above

the melting point of the radioactive material.

In molten form the radioactive matter could then eat its way right through the plant shell and spew into the surrounding environment. This kind of accident, known as a "meltdown," would be catastrophic.

Corrosion of the tubing in nuclear power plants is extremely widespread. One such plant is the Power Authority of the State of New York's Indian Point plant near New York City. In addition to the corrosion problem, the plant is built on land prone to earth tremors. All in all, of the forty-nine nuclear plants operating in the United States that use steam generators, at least thirty-four have had difficulty with tube corrosion.

At Three Mile Island's Unit 1 plant, there are 153 known leaks in steam generator tubes. Experts think 4,000 tubes in all are faulty.

The inherent danger in nuclear power is greatly magnified by the fact that nuclear power plants are owned and operated by profit-making corporations. To these corporations the tubing is fixed capital whose value must be conserved to the maximum extent possible. This means delaying its replacement, even in the face of serious corrosion. Here the irrationalities of capitalism combine with the energy released by the atom. It is a dangerous mixture.

Pat Mayberry, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in New York State's Twenty-eighth Congressional District, released a statement January 26 on the accident at the Ginna nuclear power plant.

"Americans have been reminded once again of the threat of a nuclear nightmare by what happened at the Ginna plant," she said. "Corrosion and leaking of cooling system pipes is happening not only at Ginna but in many nuclear power plants in this country.

"Radiation releases from these plants are not harmless. They contain radioactive cesium, iodine, and strontium, which are absorbed by the muscles, thyroid, and bone.

"I call for the immediate shutdown of every nuclear power plant in the United States. I support the position of the United Mine Workers and other unions that all existing nuclear plants should be converted into coal-fired plants. Coal can be mined safely and burned cleanly. Thousands of unemployed miners and rail workers could be put back to work mining and transporting coal.

"The people of Rochester," Mayberry's statement concluded, "should not have to pay for this accident with their health and pocketbooks. Shut the plants down now!"



Bound hand and foot, antiwar activist David Truong is led to jail by U.S. marshals.

San Jose strike is solid as nurses demand equal pay

BY LENORE SHERIDAN

SAN JOSE — Currently 1,300 registered nurses, members of the California Nurses Association (CNA), are on strike in Santa Clara County.

On January 7 nurses at O'Connor and Good Samaritan hospitals went on strike.

They were followed January 16 by nurses at Alexian Brothers and San Jose hospitals. They are striking for comparable pay with men for comparable work.

The CNA negotiators explained nurses are demanding that their salaries be brought up to competitive levels where responsibilities, skills, and educational requirements are comparable.

The issue of comparable work has broad implications. Employers in Santa Clara County and across the country are watching this strike very closely. They hope this issue does not spread to the women they employ.

The wages nurses make were institutionalized when women were only supposed to be earning a supplementary income. The CNA points out that nurses are underpaid because of sex discrimination against this predominantly women's occupation.

The nurses explained their wages are being fixed by agreement among hospital administrations who have closed ranks to keep nurses' wages at an artificially low level. The wages they offer are inadequate to keep nurses working in hospitals.

Among other things, the nurses are

demanding higher wages, better retirement benefits, and at least twelve hours' rest between shifts.

The hospitals are doing everything they can to break the strike. Two Catholic hospitals, O'Connor and Alexian Brothers, have brought in nuns from other areas to staff the hospitals. Administrators are also using part time per diem nurses not covered by the CNA agreement.

The O'Connor Hospital administration cut off all medical insurance payments for the nurses from the day the strike began. They also sent mailgrams to over 300 strikers that essentially said return to work or you're fired.

The nurses have responded with a mass picket line, joined by nurses from the other three struck hospitals and other representatives of the union movement.

There have also been two attempts to decertify the CNA at San Jose hospitals which have failed.

The morale at the picket lines is high.

The nurses say that if present conditions continue there will be a continuation of deterioration of hospital health care available to the community. The nurses have even left the picket line at one hospital to help perform emergency surgery.

One nurse, in a letter to the editors column in the San Jose Mercury News, said that the hospitals should open their books as a way of indicating to the community that it's not nurses' wages that are causing the rising costs of health care in the community.

Irish activists deported by U.S. government

BY WILL REISSNER

Two leading Irish republican activists were deported from the United States on January 28. Owen Carron, who is a member of the British parliament from Northern Ireland, and Danny Morrison, the public relations director of Sinn Féin (the political organization in solidarity with the outlawed Irish Republican Army), were seized by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) on January 21 as they attempted to enter the country from Canada.

Carron and Morrison have both been denied U.S. visas in the past. These visa denials are part of a long-standing State Department policy of preventing Irish opponents of British rule in Northern Ireland from putting their views before the American public.

Carron, who was elected to the seat left vacant by the death of hunger-striker Bobby Sands, and Morrison

were attempting to go to New York City to address a dinner sponsored by Irish Northern Aid, an organization that raises funds for the families of political prisoners in Northern Ireland.

They had been in Canada responding to a publicity tour there by Northern Ireland rightist Ian Paisley.

According to Benedict Ferro, district director of the INS in Buffalo, the INS had advance knowledge that both men would try to enter the U.S. Ferro ac-

knowledgeed that the INS has been carrying out surveillance of Irish republican activists in Canada for the past eighteen months.

Morrison and Carron had been held in Buffalo on charges of trying to enter the United States illegally, which is punishable by up to five years in prison. Arrested with them were a Canadian citizen born in Ireland and an Australian resident of Hamilton, Ontario.

Apaches beat oil monopolies in tax victory

The U.S. Supreme Court has upheld the right of a small Apache tribe to impose severance taxes on oil and natural gas extracted from its land. The January 25 ruling overturned a decision by a lower court. The challenge to the tax was brought by a dozen of the nation's

biggest oil companies, including Amoco, Mobil Oil, Gulf Oil, and Phillips Petroleum.

Indian lands are estimated to contain up to 13 percent of the nation's coal reserves, 3 percent of its oil, and significant amounts of other minerals.

Victims of 'Vietnam spy' frame-up jailed

On January 25, just a few months after air controllers' strike leader Steve Wallaert was arrested and hauled away in chains, David Truong and Ronald Humphrey were taken off to jail, handcuffed and in leg shackles, by federal marshals.

The two were convicted in 1978 on trumped-up charges of spying for the Vietnamese government. The Supreme Court refused in early January to overturn their conviction and they now face fifteen years in prison.

Truong, a Vietnamese who came to study in the United States in the 1960s, was active in the movement against the Vietnam war. He favors normalizing relations between the United States and Vietnam. Charges of espionage were brought against him and Humphrey by the Carter administration, in part to prejudice public opinion against Vietnam and those supporting its continuing struggle against U.S. imperialism.

The two were falsely accused of stealing U.S. government documents related to "national defense" and passing them on to Vietnamese officials.

Then-president James Carter personally approved electronic surveillance of Truong — without a warrant. His phone was tapped and his apartment broken into to plant a bug.

In the trial, the Justice Department vigorously defended Carter's action, citing "national security." Federal officials openly asserted their goal in the trial was to legitimize presidential authority to order such illegal spying.

Truong has spent the last three years on a public speaking tour to publicize his case and to raise funds. He reports he has been harassed — and even his life threatened — by opponents of Vietnam in this country.

Truong held a news conference the day he entered prison and told the media and supporters, "At a time when our constitutional rights are being violated and eroded by this administration, I firmly believe that the injustice being done to me will be heard now more loudly and clearly, here and abroad, than ever before."

Truong will be held at the Fairfax County, Virginia, jail while his attorney files an appeal for a reduction of sentence.

3,800 electrical workers fighting givebacks in long Pittsburgh strike

BY LISA KANNENBERG

PITTSBURGH — The employers' drive to cut wages and undermine working conditions of union workers has run into stiff opposition from 3,800 electrical workers here.

The workers are members of United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 610. They have been on strike against the WABCO Westinghouse Air Brake Company and its Union Switch and Signal Division since November 1. The two WABCO plants are key components of American Standard Corporation's transportation division.

At a third plant in the American Standard chain, 450 workers just settled a nine-month strike. The strikers, organized in UE Local 558 in Hamilton, Ontario, were fighting to eliminate any cap on cost-of-living wage increases. They didn't win this, but they succeeded in winning big increases in wages and benefits and raising the cap from six to forty-four cents.

Negotiations in the Pittsburgh-WABCO plants draw close attention from the electrical industry and its unions. As they are the first major negotiations in each contract year, WABCO talks have historically set the pace for negotiations in the larger General Electric and Westinghouse national contracts. The GE contract expires this June, the Westinghouse contract in July.

Vote to strike

This time around WABCO workers voted overwhelmingly to strike rather than accept American Standard's proposed package of cutbacks. The cutbacks are similar to those being forced on workers in many industries. A key demand of the company would drastically cut the earnings of piece workers, who make up 70 percent of the workforce.

Others would erode seniority rights on job bids and establish a computerized "big brother" system to police the workers.

The company also wants to eliminate the workers' right to strike on grievances involving the wage payment plan. This is a clear attempt to disarm the workers and lay the basis for deeper cuts in the future.

The coldest winter in recent memory and the hardest times since the Great Depression have not shaken the determination of Local 610. Each rank-and-file membership meeting since the strike began has sent the negotiating committee back to the company with the same resounding message: "No cuts, no way!"

The strikers have dug in for the duration and have established an effective organization. Rank-and-file committees are functioning to deal with every aspect of the strike. This includes both helping strikers survive and building support for the strike among other unions and organizations in the area.

Strikers are operating a twenty-four-hour strike kitchen to feed picketers and their families. Others have organized weekly food distributions to provide for strikers' families. Another committee supervises the picket line and provides a constant supply of wood to keep picketers warm. The relief committee provides funds for financial emergencies, deals with creditors, and has arranged health care for strikers. Regular strike bulletins are put out by a publicity committee. This committee also provides information about the strike to the news media.

Solidarity and financial support

The fundraising committee has been successful in obtaining support for the strike among unions in the area. Union workers have contributed thousands of dollars through local contributions and plant gate collections. Local 610 strikers have been encouraged by the solidarity of other working people, many of whom

face similar fights in their own companies.

While talks between the union and the company are still deadlocked, there has been plenty of action in the courts and on the picket lines.

Early in the strike rumors began to circulate that the company was using management personnel for scabs. The rumors were verified when strikers went into both plants to see for themselves.

When the company hauled the union into court charging it with illegal trespassing, the union defended its action by citing a Depression-era law. According to this law a company could not resume production while strikers were under an injunction barring mass picketing. In effect this would have made scabbing impossible. To everyone's surprise the judge ruled in favor of the union, stating that it could not prevent the strikers from mass picketing as long as the company insisted on using bosses as scabs. The strikers immediately resumed mass picketing, preventing management from entering the plants at all.

The company appealed the decision to a higher court. Acting swiftly at the company's request, the Pennsylvania Superior Court reversed the lower court's decision, restoring the limits on picketing while allowing the company to resume production with scabs.

Education on the picket line

None of the strikers were surprised by the Superior Court's ruling. In the course of the strike Local 610 workers are getting an education in class politics. The picket line is a great divide. On the one side stand the strikers and their allies among working people, on the other side the company and their allies, the courts, the cops, the media, and the De-



United Electrical Workers Local 610 has kept up picket lines twenty-four hours a day at WABCO plants near Pittsburgh.

mocratic and Republican politicians.

While nobody was surprised that the company won its way in the courts, the action angered strikers. Since the ruling, picketers have exercised their meager rights under the law to the fullest extent. They walk very slowly, in front of each boss-scab car, giving the occupants a few things to think about while they do the strikers' jobs.

On January 21 police attacked a picket line in front of one of Union Switch and Signal's gates and arrested a striker. The company charged the union with harassment and intimidation.

The case came before the same judge who had earlier ruled in favor of the union. In the course of the hearing the strikers testified that the company had violated the court's original ban on production. After questioning company officials the judge dismissed all charges

against the strikers and ordered the company to halt scab production for ten days, the period of time they had violated his original ruling.

The company is again appealing to the Superior Court.

The pickets are continuing to make it rough for boss-scabs at the plant. The company has retaliated by firing ten strikers for alleged acts of intimidation. The union has vowed to stay out until all strikers are reinstated.

If unity, determination, and support of other people can pull a victory out of these hard times, then UE Local 610 has a good chance of succeeding. Whatever the outcome, win or lose, the strike is setting a fine example for working people everywhere.

Lisa Kannenberg is a member of UE Local 610 and is a member of the publicity committee for the strike.

Roosevelt: White House dirty tricks

BY HARRY RING

For liberal-minded nostalgia buffs, the name of Franklin D. Roosevelt evokes the images of a lost breed — an enlightened, progressive capitalist politician.

Those who buy the Roosevelt myth — and it is a myth — must have winced at the recent revelation that, like Tricky Dick Nixon, Roosevelt also kept a recording device in the Oval Office and secretly recorded press conferences and conversations with aides and visitors.

Some of Roosevelt's Oval office musings indicate that this "cultured" politician was a racist, a sexist, and no stranger to the gutter school of politics.

According to historian Arthur Schlesinger, one of the perpetrators of the Roosevelt myth, the recording device was intended simply for press conferences and only to prevent the president from being misquoted during his campaign for a third term.

But conversations were also recorded. How this happened, Schlesinger advises, is a "mystery."

In one conversation, Roosevelt discusses with an aide the idea of promoting a then current rumor that his Republican presidential rival, Wendell Wilkie, was having an extramarital affair.

"Spread it as a word-of-mouth thing . . .", Roosevelt advises. "We can't have any of our principal speakers refer to it, but the people down the line can get it out."

He also enlightened his aide about an asserted affair New York's Mayor James Walker had with "an extremely attractive little tart."

But Roosevelt did also have bigger things on his mind. This was the time

when his administration was engineering a confrontation with Japan. The president's bellicose, racist approach to the Japanese people was expressed in his advice that "this country is ready to pull the trigger if the Japs do anything."

Throughout the Second World War for "democracy," the armed forces remained strictly Jim Crow.

When a civil rights delegation came to discuss this problem with Roosevelt (and the recorder "mysteriously" got turned one), Roosevelt suggested that perhaps some combat troops could be integrated while on battle.

In another meeting, with aides, he suggested Black musicians might be put on otherwise white Navy vessels, "because they're darned good at it."

The secret recording device was no aberration. It was Roosevelt who gave a qualitative new dimension to the role of the secret political police in this country.

In 1936, he instructed FBI head J. Edgar Hoover to expand the agency's surveillance of "subversives."

According to one Hoover memo, Roosevelt wanted more systematic intelligence about "subversive activities," including "a broad picture of the general movement and its activities as may affect the economic and political life of the country as a whole."

As one starting point, Hoover advised Roosevelt that the West Coast Longshore union, led by Harry Bridges, was "practically controlled by Communists" who also allegedly had plans to "get control" of the United Mine Workers led by John L. Lewis.

Both Bridges and Lewis were put under surveillance.

Bridges established his phone was

being tapped. In a memoir, Francis Biddle, then attorney general, recalls going with Hoover to discuss the matter with Roosevelt. He describes the scene:

"FDR was delighted, and with one of his great grins . . . slapped Hoover on the back when he had finished. 'By God, Edgar, that's the first time you've been caught with your pants down.' The two men liked and understood each other."

But, Schlesinger-types will argue, that was different. Bridges was a communist sympathizer.

John L. Lewis too?

Lewis told biographer Saul Alinsky of a 1940 meeting with Roosevelt where he scored Roosevelt for having his phone tapped.

Roosevelt denied it.

Lewis responded: "My phones are tapped. . . I can prove it by Frank Murphy [then attorney general] who told me so and who knows about it because he has seen your orders to the FBI to do so."

Lewis added, "The president changed the subject."

January 30 marks the centennial of Roosevelt's birth, and it's the occasion for a lot of hoopla.

But the Roosevelt days are worth recalling. He assumed the presidency during the depth of the depression. He had the job of defusing a deep workers' radicalization and of getting the country in line for a war that was essential to the survival of U.S. imperialism. He wore, at that moment of capitalist crisis, the velvet glove of liberalism. But underneath was the iron fist of repressive secret political police activity which is a hallmark of the social system under which we live.

Enterprise zone scheme: 'Taiwan in Bronx'

For openers, Reagan uses sweatshop plan to attack minimum wage for youth

BY HARRY RING

The Reagan administration has shaped an opening wedge for an attack on the minimum wage law.

It proposes to scrap the required \$3.35 an hour for workers under twenty-one employed in the "enterprise zones" now being discussed in Washington. These zones would purportedly create jobs in impoverished areas by offering financial inducements to companies locating in these areas.

The proposal to grant minimum wage exemptions was criticized by congressional sponsors of an enterprise zone bill who felt it would endanger prospects for passage.

But the use of the enterprise zone scheme as a lever against the minimum wage is only one reactionary feature of this antilabor proposition. While its claimed purpose is to create jobs, the real purpose is to further swell employer profits.

What it comes down to is that runaway shops wouldn't have to move as far. They could enjoy the same tax benefits and low-wage pool in their own area.

The Reagan administration is projecting seventy-five pilot enterprise zones and says it foresees 10,000 of them. This gives an idea of how many superdepressed areas there are in this country.

A Coors product

A busy proponent of enterprise zones is the Heritage Foundation, a right-wing "think" tank. The foundation is bankrolled in good part by Joseph Coors, head of the racist, antilabor Colorado brewery.

Stuart Butler, a Heritage Foundation propagandist, has written a book and a pamphlet on the question. He credits a British professor with the idea, and says the professor saw the enterprise zones as "based on fairly shameless free enterprise."

The zones would be, the professor enthused, "free of . . . taxes, social services, industrial and other regulations. . . . Trade unions would be allowed, as in Hong Kong, but there would be no closed shops. Wages would find their own level."

In 1979, a bill spelling out these unadorned aims was introduced in the Illinois legislature, but fortunately there was enough labor opposition that it died there.

Reagan stumped for the enterprise zone idea during his election campaign. He returned to it in his January 26 State of the Union speech.

Meanwhile, an enterprise zone bill was already in the congressional hopper. It was introduced in 1980 by Jack Kemp, a right-wing New York Republican congressman. Kemp is a leading "supply-side" partisan of stimulating the economy by stuffing the pockets of big business.

Indian school threatened by cuts

ALBUQUERQUE — A unique and important school for Indian people in the United States may be forced to close its doors soon, another victim of Reagan's budget cutting.

The school is the Southwest Indian Polytechnic Institute (SIPI). SIPI is barely ten years old and is the only technical-vocational school run by and for Indian people in the United States.

It is funded by Congress through the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This bureau is itself a part of the Department of the Interior. Secretary of the Interior James Watt wants to cut funding for SIPI entirely.

Supporters of SIPI are encouraged to send telegrams protesting the cut off of funds to Secretary Watt and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Copies should be sent to SIPI, 9169 Coors Rd. NW, Albuquerque, NM, 87114.

After introducing the bill, Kemp made a shrewd move. He persuaded Robert García, a South Bronx Democrat, to cosponsor a revised version of the measure.

This gave a boost to selling what Stuart Butler calls "the idea of creating a Taiwan in the Bronx."

Hard hit area

Like Taiwan, the South Bronx is surely a potential source of a big supply of low-paid labor. Two-thirds of its 600,000 population is Black and Latino. Half are under eighteen. A third of the population is dependent on welfare. Over 3,000 businesses folded there in half a decade, with a loss of 10,000 jobs.

Representative García apparently would like to look like he's addressing himself to that problem.

The Kemp-García bill does not exclude maintaining the minimum wage. Criticizing Reagan's proposal to scratch it, Kemp said this "would turn off the whole coalition that we have put together — liberals, Northeastern Democrats, civil rights groups and conservatives."

But even without the minimum wage waiver proviso, the Kemp-García bill is nothing more than a handout to employers. Stuart Butler says, "the purpose [of the Kemp-García bill] was to create a climate conducive to enterprise."

Their bill would assertedly create new jobs by providing the most generous benefits for companies that hire local residents for at least half their work force.

In return, these companies would enjoy a variety of special tax benefits — reduction of corporate income tax, lowered capital gains tax, a big subsidy on social security payments, etc.

The proposed White House tax benefits are apparently even more generous and include not yet stipulated easing of operating regulations. These could well apply to health and safety.

The White House has not indicated if its proposal even includes the very modest Kemp-García proviso that half the workers be from the area. And there is no reason to assume this will be included in the administration version.



Militant/Barry Chann

Thousands of sweatshops like this garment shop in New York's Chinatown flourish across nation, flouting wage and hour laws, health and safety standards. 'Enterprise zone' plan would go a long way toward making such sweatshops 'legal.'

The Heritage Foundation found such a residency stipulation quite unpalatable. Stuart Butler writes that while its inclusion in Kemp-García is "well-meaning, it is alien to the very spirit of the enterprise zone concept."

"Nobody goes into business," Butler explains, "to hire people, and critics [of Kemp-García] felt that telling an entrepreneur whom he must hire would be the last straw for the kind of individualistic businessman being sought."

Organized labor should take a close look at this reactionary scheme. Reagan's opening move to use it as a club against the minimum wage is the surest sign that the whole proposition is designed to further hammer away at the wage levels of all workers.

But it goes further. The idea of creating "a Taiwan in the Bronx" is not limited to the Bronx. They aim for 10,000

American Taiwans where sweatshop rule would prevail.

To this, labor should counterpose the demand for a massive, crash program of public works for all the unemployed. And not at sub-minimum or the scandalously low minimum wage. Union wages are essential for all those involved in such a project as well as for the protection of the living standards of all working people.

An expensive program? Perhaps. But it wouldn't match the \$1.5 trillion already budgeted over the next five years for weapons of death.

The Kemp-García sponsorship of the enterprise zone bill is symbolic of what the Republicans and Democrats have to offer working people at this moment of deepening economic crisis. It underlines how urgently a labor party is needed in this country.

Calif. protest slams Reagan policies

BY JANICE LYNN

MONTEREY, Calif. — As Vice President George Bush addressed the state convention of the California Republican Party, a street outside the plush Doubletree Inn reverberated with chants of "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador" and "What do we want? — ERA, When do we want it? — Now."

The January 30 picket line was sponsored by a broad coalition of groups on the Monterey peninsula. The more than 150 protesters came to voice their opposition to the Reagan administration's attacks on women's rights and Black rights and to protest U.S. involvement in El Salvador, the deteriorating economic situation of working people, and the growing nuclear danger.

Members of the Seaside chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party displayed a large banner proclaiming "Make jobs not war." Members of the National Organization for Women carried signs and banners in support of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Other sponsors of the demonstration included the Reproductive Rights Coalition, which brought many picket signs declaring "Keep abortion safe and legal" and "Support MediCal funding for abortion," and the NAACP, whose members protested Reagan's budget cuts and attacks on civil rights.

Unionists from the Service Employees International Union, American Federation of Government Em-

ployees Local 2082, and Sugar Workers Union Local 180 also participated, as did local Latin America solidarity groups, antinuclear activists, Americans for Democratic Action, and others.

Anger at the Reagan administration's drive toward war was a predominant theme. Protesters carried homemade signs declaring "Build houses not MX missiles," "Serve the people not the Pentagon" and "U.S. troops out of El Salvador."

Supporters of the Mason for governor campaign distributed a statement at the protest. Mel Mason, a socialist city councilman from Seaside, has launched an independent campaign for

governor of California.

"What does the Reagan administration propose to do about the economic disaster we are living through?" Mason's statement asked.

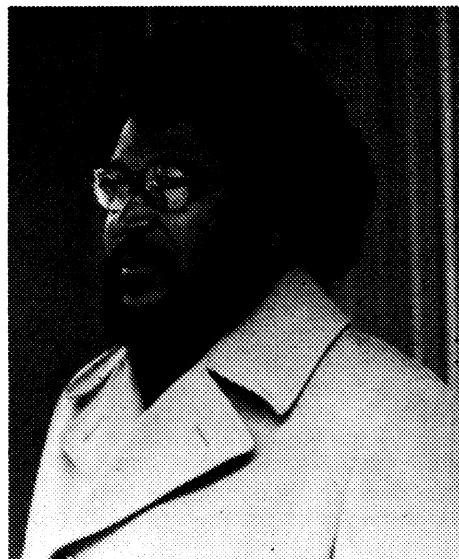
"In President Reagan's State of the Union Address, the answer was clear," the statement said. "We can expect more unemployment, more cutbacks in social programs, more moves towards war — in short more misery for working people."

Mason denounced Reagan's proposal to shift federally funded social programs to state and local governments as "a cruel hoax."

And he explained how the Democratic Party, despite its criticism of Reagan's policy, offered no fundamentally different proposals.

"Working people need a government run by and for working people — one that will look out for our interests," Mason declared.

Such a government, Mason explained, would launch a crash public works program to put millions of people to work; impose stiff taxes on the profits of big business; shorten the workweek with no cut in pay to spread the available work to more workers; implement preferential hiring policies for Blacks, Latinos, and women who have been hardest hit by the layoffs; take over all closed plants that refuse to open; and use its vast resources to fight to eliminate the billions of dollars now being spent for the military and use those funds for badly needed social programs.



Mel Mason

Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

The silver lining — "The cold and cough remedy industry



Harry Ring

laughs at winter, and the extreme cold wave rolling over the nation this winter has infused it with optimism. Winter means flu, and flu encourages sufferers

to give their colds to Contac, or Dristan, or NyQuil, or Comtrex, along with other pills, tablets and liquids in the \$1.3 billion business." — News item.

Including Bonzo? — Assailing contemporary films as too risqué, President Reagan said, "I liked it better when the actors kept their clothes on."

Maybe they mean over twenty-one — The Moral Majority's claim to represent a majority has as much substance as its claimed morality. According to the Gallup Poll, 55 percent of

the American people are aware of the outfit. Among those who have an opinion of it, it's better than two-to-one unfavorable.

And breathe shallow — Evacuation warning sirens are being installed near the Brown's Ferry nuke plant in Alabama. But a Civil Defense official assures that if there's just a small radiation leak, "We'd tell people to shut their doors and windows and stay inside."

Housing dept. — Singer Kenny Rogers bought designer Dino de Laurentis's Beverly

Hills pad. Thirty-five rooms on ten acres, including swimming pool, tennis court, and a four-passenger elevator. \$14.5 million.

Vacation tip — If you're tired of sleazy beachside motels, the late shah of Iran's St. Moritz chalet is available for rental on a weekly basis. Nineteen rooms, sixteen baths, and ten horses. \$10,000 a week.

Note to cattle lobby — We didn't think you could buy horsemeat in this country except as pet food, but a "progress

report" issued by the Androscoggin County, Maine, sheriff's office boasts that one way it reduced expenditures was by substituting "USDA approved 'horsemeat in place of beef. (50¢ per pound savings.)"

Let 'em eat lace? — "She's trying to help the fashion industry. . . . Our First Lady is American royalty. The British, even when they're dying of hunger, never criticize the opulence of the queen's clothes." Luis Estevez, a Hollywood fashion designer, defending Nancy Reagan's acceptance of free clothing as "loans."

—CALENDAR—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Voting Rights Act: From Selma 1965 to Pickens County. Speaker: Heidi Rose, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

San Jose

Poland and Reagan's Hypocrisy. Speaker: Kim Allen, Socialist Workers Party, member, International Association of Machinists Local 565. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 46½ Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO

Denver

Is There Life After Reaganomics? Speaker: Dick Roberts, author of *American Railroads* and *Capitalism in Crisis*, member, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 7, 7 p.m. reception and refreshments, 7:30 p.m. forum. Executive Tower Inn, 1405 Curtis St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA

Miami

Malcolm X: His Legacy Today. Speaker: Jerry Hunnicutt, Socialist Workers Party, member, Transportation Workers Union. Fri., Feb. 12, 8 p.m. 1237 NW 119th St., N. Miami. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

United Auto Workers Contract Talks: What the Negotiations Will Mean for the Entire Labor Movement. Speakers: Meg Hayes, United Auto Workers Local 600; Al Orr, United Auto Workers Local 145; Marie Rivera, United Auto Workers Local 558. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Crisis in Poland. Speaker: representative, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 13, 7 p.m. 4850 N. College. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

Malcolm X and His Ideas. Speakers: Lupe Ellis, Socialist Workers Party; Musa Baye, owner of MWA Afrikan Bookstore. Sat., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. 4850 N. College. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum Series. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Grenada: Revolution in the Caribbean. Tape of speech by Grenada Prime Minister Maurice Bishop following June 19, 1980, terror bombing in Grenada. Speakers: Bronson Rozier, visited Cuba in August 1981; Cathy Ball, chairwoman of Louisville Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sun., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 131 W. Main St. (2nd and Main). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Why Can't Everyone Have a Job? Speaker: Yvonne Hayes, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., Feb. 7, Reception at 6:30, program at 7:30. 2913 Green-

mount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Events in Poland: Their Meaning for American Workers. An exchange of views. Speakers: Howard Zinn, Boston University professor of political science; Donald Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; Marta Petruszewicz, lecturer in economics, Harvard; Joseph Schwartz, Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. Sun., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. Church of the Covenant, 67 Newburg St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Creationism vs. Evolution: In Defense of Scientific Thinking. Speaker: Peter Archer, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 7, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA

Twin Cities

Israeli Expansion, U.S. Threats: Is There Peace in the Middle East? Speakers: Bassem Kablaoui, Palestinian Student Organization, University of Minnesota; Gary Prevost, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 7, 4 p.m. 508 N. Snelling, St. Paul. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Mesabi Iron Range

In Defense of Socialism: An Answer to Time Magazine. Speaker: Les Evans. Fri., Feb. 5, 7 p.m. 1012 2nd Ave. S., Virginia. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Solidarity Bookstore Forum Series. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Hidden History of Blacks in America. Speakers: Abdul Jaami Salim, public relations representative, Islamic Center; Yasmeen Abdul Baaqee, director of school program, Islamic Center. Sun., Feb. 14, 7 p.m. dinner; 8 p.m. forum. 4715 Troost. Donation: \$3 dinner, \$2 forum. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

St. Louis

Evolution vs. Creationism: In Defense of Scientific Thinking. Speaker: Jim Foster, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Feb. 7, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

The Freeze of 82: Who Profits from the Cold. Speakers: Laura Moore, housing and community activist; Bob Zeffert, energy consultant; Jim Garrison, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sun., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 6223 Delmar Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

NEBRASKA

Lincoln

The Crisis of America's Railroads: How We Can Save Jobs and Services. Speakers: Dick Roberts, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks Lodge 1227, author, *American Railroads: The Case for Nationalization*; Paul Swanson, chair, Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees Lodge 1320; Carol Brt, United Transportation Union Local 305; Dee Roark, chair, International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers Lodge 736; Mike Carper, chair, Lincoln Coalition of

Rail Crafts. Sat., Feb. 6, 7 p.m. Labor Temple, 4625 Y. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (402) 483-6236.

Is There Life After Reaganomics? A Marxist Perspective on the Economic Crisis. Three classes by Dick Roberts. Sat., Feb. 6, 11 a.m. and 2 p.m.; Sun., Feb. 7, 1 p.m. Nebraska Union, University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (402) 483-6236.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas. Speakers: Mohammad Oliver, Socialist Workers Party; others. Film of Malcolm X. Fri., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

Creationism: A Poor Challenge to Evolution. Speakers: Susan Sturn, American Civil Liberties Union; Cliff Conner, author, *Evolution vs. Creationism*; slide show. Fri., Feb. 12, 6:30 dinner, 7:30 forum. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$4 dinner and forum, \$2 forum. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

Manhattan

Lecciones de la lucha obrera polaca. Orador: Martín Koppel, redactor de *Perspectiva Mundial*, visitó a Polonia en 1981 (English translation available). Fri., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 108 E. 16 St. 2º piso. Donación: \$2. Auspicio: Foro de Perspectiva Mundial. Para mayor información, llame al (212) 260-6400.

New York City

Night of Solidarity with the People of El Salvador. Film: *El Salvador: The People Will Win*. Sun., Feb. 7, 8 p.m. Arab Social Club, 89 Atlantic Ave., Brooklyn. Ausp: Farabundo Martí Solidarity Committee and Committee for Democratic Palestine. For more information call (212) 624-9628.

Schenectady

Nicaragua: Eyewitness report. Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, correspondent for *Intercontinental Press*, just returned from Nicaragua. Sun., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

Grenada: Black Revolution in the Caribbean. Slide show. Fri., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

NORTH CAROLINA

Winston-Salem

Eyewitness report: U.S. Foreign Policy vs. People of El Salvador. Speaker: Rev. Henry Atkins, recently returned from refugee camps in Honduras. Fri., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 216 E. 6th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (919) 723-3419.

OHIO

Cleveland

Socialist Campaign Rally. Ten Days That Shook the World, film by Sergei Eisenstein, and buffet dinner. Speakers: Alicia Merel, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senate; Kurt Landefeld, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Ohio. Sat., Feb. 13, 6 p.m., film at 6:30 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$5 dinner and film, \$2 film. Ausp: Ohio 1982 Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

Cincinnati

Tribute to Malcolm X. Film: *Malcolm X Speaks*. Speakers: Essie Hughes, cochair of Cincinnati National Black Independent Political Party; Rev. Daniel Buford, Black Campus Ministry. Sun., Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m. 2531 Gilbert Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 751-2636.

Toledo

Revolution on the March. Slide show and report on Nicaragua. Speaker: Caroline Fowlkes, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 2120 Dorr St., Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

OREGON

Portland

Defend the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speaker: Jim Leavitt, Socialist Workers Party, International Association of Machinists District 751, visited Nicaragua in 1981. Sun., Feb. 14, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

RHODE ISLAND

Providence

Nicaraguan Revolution: Eyewitness Report. Speaker: Matilde Zimmermann, correspondent for *Intercontinental Press*, recently returned from Nicaragua. Thurs., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. St. Michael Rectory, 239 Oxford St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (401) 726-3657.

TEXAS

San Antonio

STNP: What Texans Can Do To Fight Against Nuclear Power. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 12, 8 p.m. 337 W. Josephine St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

Reaganomics: The Real State of the Union. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 111 28th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Protest Reaganism: Hear the Socialist Alternative on How to Fight Racist Police Terror in Milwaukee. Speakers: Peter Seidman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Wisconsin governor; Cheryl Hidalgo, SWP candidate for U.S. Congress, 5th District. Sat., Feb. 6. Wine and cheese reception 7 p.m. Rally 8 p.m. 4707 W. Lisbon. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1982 Campaign Committee. For more information call (414) 445-2076 or 342-0696.

WEST VIRGINIA

Morgantown

Creationism vs. Evolution. Speakers: David Rosen, Young Socialist Alliance; Eileen Burk-Trent, lecturer. Fri., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 957 University Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (304) 296-0055.

SLIDE SHOWS: ON CUBA, GRENADA

Compiled from *Militant/Perspectiva Mundial* tours. 30 minutes each. Rental: \$25 for one week. Purchase: \$75. Order from Socialist Workers Party National Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. For more information call (212) 242-5530.

A discussion about jobs and immigrant workers

BY DIANE WANG

Anna and Connie were working at the same table, trimming threads on blouses, when talk turned to the immigrant workers and recent raids by the Immigration and Naturalization Service at a nearby job agency.

"Maybe it's bad to have these agents coming in and snatching folk," said Connie, "but something's got to

UNION TALK

be done about all these people coming over the border and taking our jobs."

"What are you saying?" said Anna in surprise. "You come here to New York every morning from New Jersey, you 'immigrant.' What's the difference whether you cross the Hudson River to get here or someone crossed the Rio Grande?"

"It's the difference between a commuter and an immigrant," Connie insisted.

"But what's the difference?" Anna pressed. "We all want to eat and live and raise our children decently. We all want more or less the same. And all of us have to work to get it. Face it. We aren't rich. We don't have a shop or land or anything to sell. All we can do is work. Work wherever we can, the best job we can.

"So what do you do if there are no jobs here? You go

where there are. Like my brother. He got laid off last year and just moved to Texas since there's supposed to be to be work there. What's the difference between him going there and some Haitians or Mexicans or whoever coming here?"

"Well, your brother and I are citizens," Connie answered. "We pay taxes."

"Well immigrants pay taxes too," said Anna. "Taxes come out of the check or get rung up on a sale whether you're a citizen or not. But when it's time to collect unemployment or Medicaid or anything — they get zip, zero. Either they aren't eligible or — I bet more often — they're too scared to apply."

But have you ever worked in a shop with some of these people just over here?" Connie asked. "They won't take breaks. They'll go hours on end and six days a week. And cheap; they work real cheap."

"It's gotten so every time you go to the bathroom here or punch in fifteen seconds late, Ralph [the owner] complains the business will all go to some sweatshop where the illegals will work cheap. And he's got a point!"

"But don't you see?" Anna shook her head. "That's all the more reason we should help these immigrants get better off. We should be all for them being safe and having the rights to go to the bathroom or whatever and earn as much as us. Then they wouldn't be 'cheaper' and wouldn't undercut us."

"No one's crazy enough to work like that unless they have to. If these immigrants weren't scared of

being picked up to be sent back they might be willing to sign a union card. And if absolutely everyone was in the union shop with decent wages you know it'd be easier for us to tell Ralph where to get off."

"I think you're just sensitive because you speak Spanish," Connie said, switching tactics. "But it's nothing personal against you. You're legal."

"Maybe you see a difference, but immigration isn't so fussy," Anna said. "You speak Spanish — you're suspect. You better have papers. We all look alike to them."

"You're Black, Connie. Tell me the truth. When they make so much noise about Haitians doesn't something deep inside smell it and whisper, 'This is racist, Connie?'"

"Well, maybe." Connie considered it.

"It's all the same arguments they use to say Blacks steal white jobs or women steal men's. Young steal old people's jobs. Next it'll be blue-eyed steal brown-eyed people's jobs and short steal tall people's jobs."

"It doesn't make sense. Because basically we're all the same if we have to work. So why draw lines?"

"Well, maybe that's true." Connie wouldn't admit more than that.

"Well, I think so," Anna laughed. Otherwise I'd have to complain about you stealing my job. And I'd just as soon work with you."

Diane Wang is a garment worker and a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Bradley is big business's man in Calif. governor's race

BY JERRY FREIWIRTH

LOS ANGELES — On January 27, Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley formally announced his campaign as the Democratic Party candidate for governor of California.

Bradley received national attention when he became this city's first Black mayor eight years ago. The possibility that he could become the first Black governor in the United States in more than 100 years has already sparked intense interest in his campaign.

Many working people in California are looking back over Bradley's record in office.

Where does he stand on the question of police brutality, for example? Bradley was a cop in Los Angeles for more than twenty years. Last summer when cops murdered Black athlete Ron Settles, Bradley did not lift a finger against them. He kept silent even after thousands of Black people marched in Los Angeles to demand justice.

As a candidate for governor, one of Bradley's first moves was to pledge more funds for the state's police agencies. And he repeated his long-standing support for the death penalty.

Where does Bradley stand on the question of school desegregation? He op-

posed the busing program which was the only way to desegregate the city's school system. Today L.A. schools are even more segregated than they were before Bradley came to office.

Bradley also supported the cuts in bilingual education programs which were vital to the thousands of Spanish-speaking students here.

In one of his first campaign appearances, Bradley flat out told the California teachers union, "I'm not here to promise more money for education." Instead, he said, as governor of California he would seek legislation to toughen laws against "young thugs" who "trespass" on school campuses. That is Bradley's program for education in California.

Bradley's politics — from his support for slashing social services, to his stand in favor of nuclear power — have made him a popular figure with big business in California. He begins his campaign with \$500,000 in contributions, including thousands of dollars from companies such as Northrup Corporation, and the Atlantic-Richfield oil company.

Bradley is considered the frontrunner in the governor's race. His opponents in the Democratic Party and those who are vying for the Republican Party nomination have mainly stressed personal

qualifications and have avoided the issues. This is not surprising since their platforms are mostly identical to Bradley's in their support to upholding the domination of big business.

The only exception to this is the independent candidacy of Mel Mason, socialist councilman from Seaside, California. In sharp contrast to Bradley, Mason, a longtime leader of the struggle for Black rights, has made clear his stand against police brutality. He is also for desegregating the schools by whatever means necessary, including busing and bilin-

gual-bicultural education, and for the right of working people to have a job and a decent wage.

"He has the support of the rich," said Mel Mason when asked to comment on Bradley's announcement to run. "And let all the rich vote for him. Meanwhile, working people need a candidate of their own. That's what I hope my campaign for governor can do — champion the interests of Blacks and working people. I want to encourage the idea that working people, who after all make California run, should run California."

Judge says Black, white don't mix

In a cruel display of racism and sexism, a Georgia Court of Appeals refused to review the appeal of Kathy Blackburn, who was fighting to regain custody of her three-year-old son, Nicholas, from the boy's grandmother.

Blackburn, who is white, has an eight-month-old Black child. Six weeks after that daughter was born, in November of last year, Judge W.C. Hawkins took away Nicholas, who is white, and gave him to her former husband's mother.

The judge used the pretext that Blackburn was not providing adequate medical and supervisory care for Nicholas. The local welfare agency, however, found no proof of either neglect or abuse on Blackburn's part.

In an interview this month, Judge Hawkins gave his real reason for taking away her child. "You've got a community here [Millen, Georgia] that isn't, shall we say, ready for that sort of integration, whether you like it or not."

DIRECTORY

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, 1243 E. McDowell. Zip: 85006. Tel: (602) 255-0450. Tucson: SWP, P.O. Box 2585. Zip: 85702. Tel: (602) 622-3880 or 882-4304.

CALIFORNIA: Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2211 N. Broadway. Zip: 90031. Tel: (213) 225-3126. 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: Gainesville: YSA, c/o Bill Petersen, 612 SW 2nd St. Zip: 32601. Tel: (904) 376-0210. Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 509 Peachtree St. NE Zip: 30308. Tel: (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Zip: 60605. Tel: (312) 939-0737.

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) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613.

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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) 875-5322.

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) 644-6325.

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NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 30221. Zip: 68503. Tel: (402) 483-6236.

NEW JERSEY: Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-

A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

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

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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) 536-0383.

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: 17105. 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, 5442 E. Grand. Zip: 75223. 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.

UTAH: Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 111 28th St. Zip: 23607. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 3106 Mt. Pleasant St., NW., Washington, D.C. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7021.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

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.

The real minority in El Salvador

Washington's puppet regime in El Salvador is in deep trouble. Despite escalated U.S. military aid, the guerrilla forces are steadily gaining ground. This lies behind the escalated sabre-rattling by the Reagan administration.

We will do "whatever is necessary," threatened Secretary of State Haig in a Senate appearance. "We have not ruled out anything."

Thomas Enders, an assistant to Haig, told a House committee that, "unless we act decisively now, the future could well bring more Cubas."

El Salvador, he added, is threatened with being captured by "a violent minority."

If indeed the rebel forces represented a minority of Salvadorans, no matter how "violent," the well-armed military dictatorship could certainly cope with them. But the problem for the regime in San Salvador, and its sponsors in Washington, is that the rebels are forging ahead precisely because they do enjoy broad popular support.

Powerful conformation of the truth has been provided in recent days by Raymond Bonner, a correspondent for the *New York Times*, who spent two weeks with guerrilla forces in a combat zone in Morazán province. His dispatches testify to the solidarity of the people of the area with the guerrillas.

It is interesting that the *Times* chose to print the Bonner dispatches. The record confirms that the paper is no partisan of the Salvadoran liberation movement. But it apparently feels that the administration's determination to bull ahead is fraught with difficulties. It seems to fear that sharpened escalation of U.S. intervention, at this point, could backfire.

In a February 3 report, correspondent Bonner describes a rebel attack on a fortified government position in the village of Jocoaitique in Morazán Province.

The guerrilla forces numbered about 120. The government troops are estimated at about fifteen to twenty, plus about fifty paramilitaries — villagers pressed into service by the government.



During the rebel attack on the fortified hilltop position of the government forces, they had to face fire from helicopter gunships that were called in.

But in an attack that began at dawn, they forced the government soldiers to flee by nightfall. Excepting those slain or captured.

Accompanying one rebel platoon during the fighting, Bonner reports:

"Shortly before noon, two unarmed peasants and a boy about twelve years old approached, leading donkeys laden with tortillas and kettles of beans wrapped in white cloths. Dodging sniper fire, they dashed across a small clearing with the guerrillas' lunch."

About three in the afternoon, with shooting still continuing on the outskirts of the village, residents began to cautiously emerge.

"We did not open our doors until the soldiers left and the comrades arrived," a forty-six-year-old villager told Bonner.

Bonner describes the scene further:

"In one house, a woman baked tortillas for the rebels.

"The owner of a general store gave them bananas. "Inside the store, a 17-year-old woman laid her G-3 automatic rifle on the counter and took out money to pay for a tube of toothpaste and two bars of soap. The man refused to accept her money.

"Nor would he accept money from the rebels who wanted to pay for bread rolls, cigarettes, candy and flashlight batteries.

"These are fresh," he said to one rebel, giving him a small bag of rolls instead of the two the rebel had asked for.

"When the rebels had left the store, a visitor returned and asked why he had not allowed them to pay.

"It's my satisfaction," he said. "They're fighting for us."

Could there be more moving testimony to a popular and just cause?

For the ruling rich in this country, such a people's cause may well constitute a threat to their "interests" — that is, their profits.

But American working people have no stake in trying to beat back this liberation movement. Indeed, in their struggle for a new and better life, the Salvadoran freedom fighters advance the cause of working people everywhere, including right here in the United States. They are "fighting for us" as well. We should respond by intensifying our opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

Gov't drops ban on Cuban periodicals

A gain for civil liberties was won when the government agreed to stop impounding publications coming here from Cuba and relaxed previous restrictions on subscribing to these publications.

The new policy also applies to Vietnam, Kampuchea, and North Korea.

In addition to papers and magazines, the order covers books, tape recordings, records, microfilm, photos, posters, and similar material whose free flow is guaranteed by the First Amendment.

The new regulations mark a substantial retreat in the face of a lawsuit by more than 100 individuals and organizations who charged violation of their rights under the First Amendment.

The suit was handled by the Center for Constitutional Rights, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the National Conference of Black Lawyers.

Last May, U.S. Customs began impounding copies of the Havana paper *Granma* and other Cuban publications arriving here. It was asserted that subscribers must have an import license to receive such material.

Regulations to that effect had been imposed against Cuban publications back in 1963. This was done under the 1917 Trading with the Enemy Act. A similar curb was placed on material from North Vietnam, Kampuchea, and North Korea.

But, despite restrictions and interference with the mail, the embargo was not strictly enforced until last spring. However, most of the subscriptions arriving here were complimentary since, under the law, they generally could not be paid for with U.S. currency.

Under the new regulations, a Treasury Department lawyer told the *Militant*, no license is required and subscriptions can be paid for directly.

The Treasury Department retreat on the issue actually began last July after a meeting with protesting civil liberties groups. But new regulations it issued at that time were vetoed by the State Department.

In November, court action was taken. In addition to numerous prominent individuals, the plaintiffs included the *Nation*, *Black Scholar*, *Guardian*, *Monthly Review*, and other publications.

The Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, and various Cuban studies and solidarity groups joined in.

The Justice Department was slated to file its response to the plaintiffs' complaint in federal court January 26. But it asked for more time.

Simultaneously, the Treasury Department announced it was issuing the new instructions to Customs.

This time, according to the Treasury Department, the State Department has agreed to the new regulations.

Clearly, the government realized it had put itself in an untenable position with its antidemocratic curb on the flow of reading matter. In addition to the substantial legal challenge posed by the suit, the curb undercut current Washington propaganda moves.

It added little to the credibility of its pious protests against reported jamming of Western broadcasts by Polish authorities. The same applies to its projected Radio Martí "freedom" broadcasts to Cuba.

According to the Justice Department, issuance of the new regulations renders the court challenge moot. Attorneys for the plaintiffs, however, said they are now determining if this is in fact so.

While they see the order as an important victory, they note it is an instruction to Customs under existing regulations and does not revise the regulations. And the order permits only single issue subscriptions, while still blocking organizations from ordering bundles of desired material.

Meanwhile, however, it is now possible for people in this country to subscribe to *Granma* and other important Cuban publications, as well as material from Vietnam, Kampuchea, and North Korea. This is a right that should be exercised.

Comintern on the struggle to liberate women

Below are excerpts from a resolution passed by the Third Congress of the Comintern (Third International) in July 1921, titled 'Methods and Forms of Work Among Communist Party Women.' The full text of this resolution is available in *Theses, Resolutions, and Manifestos of the First Four Congresses of the Third International*, Ink Links. It is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, for \$14.95 plus \$1 postage and handling.

The Third Congress of the Communist International, in conjunction with the Second International Conference of Communist women, confirms once again the decision of the First and Second Congresses that all the Communist Parties of the West and the East

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

need to increase work amongst the female proletariat, educating the broad mass of working women in Communist ideas and drawing them into the struggle for Soviet power, for the construction of the Soviet workers' republic.

The capitalist economic system has entered a blind alley; there is no scope for the development of the productive forces within the framework of capitalism. The sharp decline in living standards of the working people, the inability of the bourgeoisie to restore production, the rise of speculation, the disintegration of production, unemployment, price fluctuations and the gap between prices and wages, lead everywhere to the inevitable sharpening of the class struggle. This struggle decides who and which system is to lead, administer, and organize production — either a small group of bourgeois or the working class basing itself on the principles of Communism.

The struggle for the dictatorship of the proletariat is the most important question facing the proletariat in the capitalist countries. In those countries where dictatorship is already in the hands of the workers, the building of a Communist society is the vital question. The Third Congress of the Communist International maintains that without the active participation of the broad masses of the female proletariat and the semi-proletarian women, the proletariat can neither seize power nor realize communism.

At the same time, the Congress once again draws the attention of all women to the fact that without Communist Party support for all the projects leading to the liberation of women, the recognition of women's rights as equal human beings and their real emancipation cannot in practice be won.

The Third Congress of the Communist International points out to the working women of the whole world that their liberation from centuries of enslavement, lack of rights and inequality is possible *only through the victory of Communism*, and that the bourgeois women's movement is completely incapable of guaranteeing women that which Communism gives. So long as the power of capital and private property exists, the liberation of woman from dependence on a husband can go no further than the right to dispose of her own property and her own wage and decide on equal terms with her husband the future of her children.

The most radical feminist demand — the extension of the suffrage to women in the framework of bourgeois parliamentarianism — does not solve the question of real equality for women, especially those of the propertyless classes. The experience of working women in all those capitalist countries in which, over recent years, the bourgeoisie has introduced formal equality of the sexes makes this clear. The vote does not destroy the prime cause of women's enslavement in the family and society. Some bourgeois states have substituted civil marriage for indissoluble marriage. But as long as the proletarian woman remains economically dependent upon the capitalist boss and her husband, the breadwinner, and in the absence of comprehensive measures to protect motherhood and childhood and provide socialized child-care and education, this cannot equalize the position of women in marriage or solve the problem of relationships between the sexes.

The real equality of women, as opposed to formal and superficial equality, will be achieved only under Communism, when women and all the other members of the laboring class will become co-owners of the means of production and distribution and will take part in administering them, and women will share on an equal footing with all the members of the labour society the duty to work; in other words, it will be achieved by overthrowing the capitalist system of production and exploitation which is based on the exploitation of human labor, and by organizing a Communist economy.

1981 was the year of the farmer in Grenada

1981 was the year of "Agriculture and Agro-Industries" for the people of Grenada. During those twelve months a special campaign was launched to better the social wage of the farmers and to increase agricultural output. Agriculture is the country's main sup-



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

Melvin Chappell

plier of food, foreign exchange, and employment. Over 35,000 people, one-third of the nation's population, rely on the farms for their livelihood.

The Grenadian government, established by the workers and farmers in March 1979 under the leadership of the New Jewel Movement (NJM), inherited an economy beset with all the problems of colonial underdevelopment.

The NJM took on the task of surmounting many of these problems by turning to the farmer and the land. "Idle hands and idle lands equal an end to unemployment" became the slogan. The NJM has spent fifty-

four times more money on agriculture than was spent under the previous regime of Eric Gairy.

The government opened training schools for farmers. They are now experimenting with new crops and pest control. The Mirabeau Training School's student enrollment tripled last year, from fifty to 150.

New roads were constructed to improve transportation of farm products and decrease the isolation that existed between the country and the city.

In 1981 the Ministry of Agriculture, Agro-Industries and Fisheries was established to develop industry, which now accounts for only 4 to 5 percent of the nation's domestic product.

The opening of the Agro-Industrial Plant provides revenue for over 800 small farmers and for eighteen of the state farms. The plant produces tamarind nectar, guava-banana juice, nutmeg jam, and other items. The government has also nationalized the sugarcane industry. Last year it provided a record high income for the sugar farmers.

The NJM understands that all this could not have been possible if the workers and farmers were not brought into the process of decision making, and without the organization of the masses into youth, women's, and farmer's organizations, and trade unions. This is where the real strength of the revolution comes from.

The NJM has set up the Ministry of National Mobilization to aid in the development of parish councils, zonal councils, and workers parishes across the country. These bodies are where the people come together to discuss the problems they face each day, raise questions, and make contributions on how to advance the revolution.

Prime Minister Maurice Bishop said in his annual end-of-the-year address to the nation, "We have always declared that the mass participation of the people in all the major decisions that affect their lives, from budget to bananas, from planning to pest control, is the vital component of our development.

"People's participation is the blood supply of our revolution, not only because it seeks to release our people's submerged potential, creativity and genius, but because it is the only viable way which our economy can grow."

The people of Grenada have declared the year 1982 to be the "Year of Economic Construction." They will also launch the second phase of the Center For Popular Education, the adult education program for the illiterate. Workers and farmers around the world should join with the revolutionary process that is unfolding in Grenada as it moves "Forward Ever — Backward Never."

LETTERS

Murry Weiss

I was pleased to see the article on the life of Murry Weiss (*Militant*, January 22, 1982). George Novack appropriately credited Weiss as one of the early builders of American Trotskyism and someone who dedicated over fifty years to the movement. There were, however, a few errors and omissions I would like to rectify.

Weiss's correct title was the Chair of the National Committee of the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), a socialist feminist tendency in the Trotskyist movement, which he joined in 1979. The National Secretary of the FSP is Clara Fraser.

Weiss was also the Co-chair of the Committee for a Revolutionary Socialist Party (CRSP). In December 1980 he attended the World Conference of the Fourth International (International Committee) as an observer for the CRSP.

The memorial meetings which you listed in the *Militant* were sponsored by the Freedom Socialist Party as an opportunity for everyone who knew, loved, and respected Weiss as a revolutionary leader to recognize and honor his lifelong contributions.

Maxine Reigel
New York, New York

King Day march

Five hundred people marched in Denver in support of making Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday. The marchers were a broad section of the population which support this idea. Older people marched side by side with young people who are new to the civil rights movement but see the urgency of being visible in the fight against the Reagan administration and the whole capitalist class's attacks on their constitutional rights. Many high school students, who had been warned by their administrations not to take the day off, were there.

The march and rally were organized by a group of young workers called Umoja. Leading up to the rally, the local Denver United Auto Workers Community Action Program Council passed a motion to endorse the national holiday as well as the Denver January 15 demonstration.

Walter Carman from the American Friends Service Committee, and also of Umoja, said, "If the people at the Capitol think we're going to be quiet, they have another think coming. We need to make noise. . . . We need more actions like this, across the country, to respond to their attacks." This drew the most response from the crowd.

Eileen Thournir
Denver, Colorado

Black student wins

Last fall there were several articles in the *Militant* on rallies held throughout New York City to support the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, Wells Todd. Readers may recall that one of the speakers was Kenneth Nelson, a Black student activist at Queens College who had been dismissed from school for his militant defense of Black student rights.

Nelson, a member of the National Black Independent Political Party, fought his expulsion by taking the college to court and suing for reinstatement. In the courtroom the college offered to let Nelson come back to school if he refused to speak to the two SWP rallies he was scheduled to address. Nelson refused.

After a hearing was held on the matter, the college buckled under and agreed to reinstate Nelson as a student with no conditions other than those accorded all students.

Eric Poulos
Brooklyn, New York

For science

Militant readers will be glad to hear that Stephen Jay Gould, the noted Harvard paleontologist, has been chosen by the science magazine *Discover* as Scientist of the Year. In an article on Gould in the December issue, the magazine explains that one of the main reasons he was chosen for this award is his continuing defense of evolution and scientific thinking against the so-called scientific creationists.

The article also tells us that in October the National Academy of Sciences met to forge an appropriate strategy for combating the creationists. Among

other things, they plan to publish a brochure in popular language on the creation-evolution debate.

Daniela Dixon
Brooklyn, New York

'Street crime'

I read Nelson González's article on the Guardian Angels organization in the January 1, 1982, *Militant* with great interest, and I found the article helpfully enlightening.

The greatest problem I had with the article was the alternatives that were posed to working with the Guardian Angels. These included fighting for jobs, against the draft, against the U.S. support to the government of El Salvador, and against capitalism generally. This, unfortunately, seems to sidestep the issue of street crime.

Granted, street crime is ultimately not as important as suite crime. Also, granted, the ultimate solution to crime in the streets is to end the system that produces poverty, drug addiction, unemployment, racism, sexism, and alienation. But crime in the streets remains a mighty big problem. Up until recently, I worked for twelve years in various settings with the poorest of New York's poor, and to say that the poor are terrorized by the imminent threat of mugging, burglary, rape, and murder would be a gross understatement.

What solutions do you propose on a transitional basis for the here and now to this important problem? After all, we can't just abandon this field to rightist law-and-order solutions, can we?

Arthur Maglin
New York, New York

Canadian labor party

The January 1, 1982, issue of the *Militant* contains an excellent article by Cindy Jaquith on the political situation in Britain and in particular on the struggle of British workers to push the British Labour Party in a class struggle direction.

Jaquith notes that the struggle of the BLP "will have big repercussions on this side of the Atlantic where workers don't yet even have a labor party." Obviously Jaquith was refer-

ring to the United States and not to other countries on this side of the Atlantic, like Canada, which does have a labor party, the New Democratic Party.

This is important to keep in mind because the political activity of these unions in Canada can have an impact on the political course of the labor movement in the United States. The *Militant* has often pointed to the activities of the NDP as an example for the union movement in the United States.

A good way for *Militant* readers to keep up on developments in the NDP is through a subscription to the biweekly *Socialist Voice*. A subscription costs \$12 for twenty-four issues, air mail, from 1317 rue Ste-Catherine est, Montréal, Québec, H2L 2H4.

John Steel
Montréal, Québec

'Reds'—I

I agree with Harry Ring's positive evaluation of *Reds*. Any Hollywood flick that nearly gets an American audience to hum along with the "Internationale" has some big pluses.

There are a couple problems with the review. It's inadequate to simply gesture at the "tempestuous" Reed-Bryant relationship and the "corny moments" of its film depiction. We socialist males of course have our non-sexist heads screwed on splendidly. But perhaps some women, especially those who have experienced relationships with political heavyweights while trying to establish identities of their own, might register a different response to this "non-political" theme of *Reds*.

Second point: the film certainly hits a low during the Baku and train scenes. But Ring rang the wrong alarm. The anti-Bolshevik angle to the Baku episode that Ring spots is merely the icing. The more flagrant misrepresentation and twist of the political knife seems aimed at the Iranian revolution. First, we have Reed's reaction to the burning of an Uncle Sam effigy near Baku — a mixed reaction or sheer patriotic shock? Then we see him stunned and aghast at both the mistranslation of his speech ("holy war") and the audience's response to it.

Tom Robinson
Oregon City, Oregon



'Reds'—II

I have just finished reading your review of the film *Reds*. I certainly share your opinion that it "towers over the average commercial film and is definitely worth seeing."

There is, however, one error in your review. While certainly not major, it is worth correcting. And that is your statement, "Reed was buried in Red Square — the only American so honored."

There is one other American whose ashes (or half of them) are buried in the Kremlin Wall in Red Square — in fact, they are buried with the ashes of Reed. That American is William D. "Big Bill" Haywood.

Haywood was a founder of the Industrial Workers of the World and a fearless class-struggle fighter and working-class leader. He died in Moscow in 1928, where he had gone to escape frame-up charges and imprisonment in the U.S.

Garrett Brown
Atlanta, Georgia

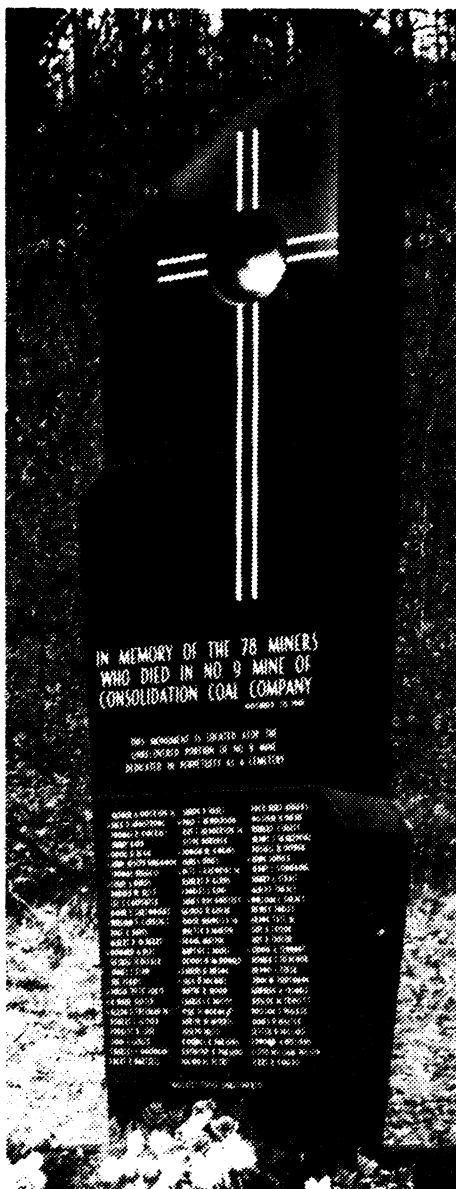
'Reds'—III

Great review of the movie *Reds*. It was perfect!
Gil Kudrin
Lakewood, Ohio

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

Consol declares war on UMW miners

Plans to open nonunion mine in strong union area of West Virginia



Monument in Mannington, West Virginia. Consol will open nonunion mine on same site.

BY NANCY MAKLER

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. — Consolidation Coal Company (Consol) announced January 27 that it was opening its new Dent's Run mine nonunion. This is a serious provocation against the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA).

Consol, the largest employer of unionized coal miners, is opening Dent's Run to replace the Farmington Number 9 mine. In 1968, seventy-eight miners were killed when Consol Number 9 blew up. Seventeen bodies were never recovered.

Miners are angry about Consol's move. One miner said, "What a fitting memorial for the men who died at Farmington. Consol is opening a scab mine over their bodies."

The 1968 disaster galvanized miners and their supporters. A movement was built that won strict federal and state mine safety laws. Black lung was finally recognized as an occupational disease, and an extensive benefits program was won for its victims and their families.

In the process of fighting for these health and safety protections, miners ran up against the companies, the government, and their own union leadership. The corrupt Boyle machine had to be overthrown in what amounted to a virtual revolution in the UMWA. In 1972 the Miners for Democracy movement elected Arnold Miller, a leader of the Black Lung fight, as international union president. Over the next few years they established democratic and militant norms unequaled today in the American union movement.

Virtually everybody who lives in northern West Virginia knows about Number 9 and what that disaster sym-

bolizes. The mine owners haven't forgotten either.

Attempting to open Dent's Run nonunion marks a big escalation in the attacks by the operators and the government against coal miners.

Until the 1981 national contract between the union and the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA), the UMWA contracts had required that BCOA companies recognize the UMWA as bargaining agent at any new mines they opened. The union won this important provision out of its bargaining strength.

The mine owners could not eliminate this provision without substantial outside support. Before the 1981 contract they got that support from the courts. The bosses won a ruling that the contract provision was a violation of anti-trust laws. Over very strong objections from miners, this provision was removed from the 1981 contract. The seventy-two-day strike they conducted was not enough to win it back against the stand of the operators backed by the courts.

The issue of Dent's Run mine has broken out into the newspapers in northern West Virginia. Consol spokesman Len Gross told reporters the company's position is: "the choice of which union, if any, will represent the men must be made by our employees in accordance with the law."

That means that Consol and the "law" will do everything possible to keep the UMWA out of Dent's Run.

People living around the mine site report that while it is being built by UMWA construction workers, the initial thirty to forty miners hired by Consol are state-certified foremen.

The miners' union recognizes the

challenge. Dent's Run is in the UMWA's District 31, a union stronghold. District 31 President Carroll Rogers says, "We're going in there and we are going to organize. There's no ifs, ands or buts — that's it. . . . If they want to fight, we'll fight. I know that there will not be any other union come in there."

The challenge Consol is throwing down to the union escalates the war against this ninety-year-old union. Non-union companies are opening mines in other strong union areas such as District 17 in southern West Virginia and District 12 in Illinois.

The government attacks against miners are taking a dramatic and tragic toll. Cutbacks in mine safety enforcement that began under the Carter administration have escalated under Reagan. The result is that underground accidents have taken the life of an average of one miner every working day since December 3. This is about what the rate was before the mine safety laws were won a decade ago.

The federal government is also chipping away at the Black Lung program.

Dent's Run escalates the attacks. It is the work of Consol, the company that leads the BCOA. It is being done on the site of Number 9, the disaster of fourteen years ago.

Miners who work for Consol in northern West Virginia report the company seems to be building up coal stockpiles the way it does prior to contract expirations. But the contract has over two years to go. They are preparing for a fight.

Nancy Makler is a member of UMWA Local 1702. She works at the Consol Blacksville Number 2 mine in northern West Virginia.

Voting rights march: 'Free Bozeman, Wilder'

BY ANDY ROSE

BIRMINGHAM — Civil rights supporters are marching from Carrollton, Alabama, to the state capital of Montgomery to demand freedom for Julia Wilder and Maggie Bozeman.

The 140 mile trek which begins February 6 is being organized by a newly formed national coalition to free the Black women activists and extend the Voting Rights Act.

Wilder and Bozeman were convicted by an all-white jury in 1979 on trumped up charges of vote fraud. Their real crime was registering Blacks to vote in Pickens County.

Wilder and Bozeman were jailed January 11 after exhausting all appeals. Circuit Judge Clatus Junkin denied them probation and ordered them to immediately begin serving sentences of five years for Wilder, now seventy years old, and four years for Bozeman, fifty-one.

Public outrage over the racist frame-up and vindictive sentences was voiced at several demonstrations of up to 300 people in Carrollton and at Martin Luther King birthday observances in Birmingham.

"Helping Black folks to vote and being born Black — that's all they're guilty of," Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), told a rally of 400 people here January 17.

"Shame on Alabama! We must not let Alabama rest until Julia Wilder and Maggie Bozeman are free," Lowery

declared. "Nobody here ought to be able to sleep knowing these women must lie down in prison."

Lowery and other SCLC leaders called on Governor Forrest (Fob) James to extend a full pardon to the women. Black members of the Alabama legislature also met with James.

A prison official admitted he had been besieged by phone calls from across the country. "I can't begin to tell you how many we received," he told reporters, "all of them asking us to release the women and asking if they could have visitors."

In an attempt to head off the developing protest movement, Governor

James ordered on January 22 that the women be placed in a "work release" program in Macon County to serve out their sentences. Although out of prison, they are still held under restrictive conditions, barred from continuing their political activity, and branded as criminals.

The "work release" concession has not satisfied supporters of the two women, who see their conviction as part of a far-reaching attempt to intimidate Blacks from registering, voting, and organizing politically. Without extension of the federal Voting Rights Act such intimidation is sure to spread.

The same day Wilder and Bozeman

were released from Tutwiler prison, some 100 representatives of national groups met in Montgomery to form the National Coalition to Free Maggie Bozeman and Julia Wilder and Extend the Voting Rights Act.

"We will not be satisfied until they are truly free and their convictions are overturned," Lowery told the group.

In addition to major civil rights groups such as SCLC, NAACP, the Inter-religious Faith Foundation for Community Organization, and the National Urban League, the coalition also includes representatives of the United Steelworkers, National Organization for Women, and the American Civil Liberties Union.

Racist frame-up of Black voting rights activists

The charge of "vote fraud" against Julia Wilder and Maggie Bozeman stems from a 1978 election in Pickens County, Alabama.

At the time, Wilder was president of the Pickens County Voters League and Bozeman was president of the local NAACP.

The women were leaders of a drive to register Black voters. Although Pickens county is 42 percent Black, it has no Black elected county officials.

As part of their efforts, Wilder and Bozeman helped house-bound, elderly Blacks, many of them illiterate, fill out absentee ballots. They were charged with fraud in connection with thirty-nine of these ballots.

The prosecution subpoenaed many of the elderly voters. The state court of appeals admitted that their testimony was "both confusing and conflicting, depending on who was examining them, their testimony was favorable to both the prosecution and the defense."

Only one woman said she knew nothing about an absentee ballot and never signed one. Supporters of Wilder and Bozeman believe her courtroom statements were the product of confusion and intense pressure from county authorities, who still wield considerable power over the lives of impoverished Blacks in Pickens County.

On this dubious evidence Wilder and

Bozeman were convicted and given harsh prison sentences.

The real nature and intent of the trial can be seen in comparison to another vote fraud case. The police chief of Haleyville, Alabama, was found guilty of actually rigging an election. The same judge who sentenced Wilder and Bozeman to four and five years in prison let the white police chief off with six months probation.

The conclusion is hard to avoid that, as Maggie Bozeman told a Carrollton rally last month, "Pickens County is a racist county and the reason we are charged is because of race and not anything we have done."