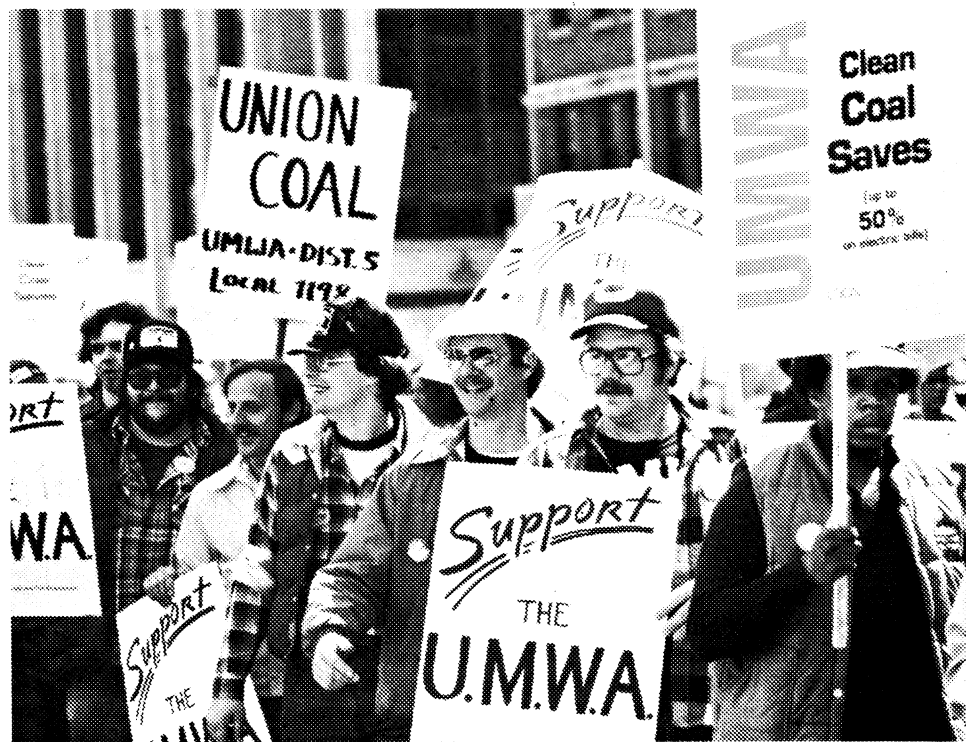


## Coal miners' election victory arms union for coming battles



Coal miners at 1981 antinuclear power demonstration

### Jubilant miners say: 'So long Sam'

BY JOHN HAWKINS

PITTSBURGH — "I voted for change," one Illinois coal miner told the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*.

He had just cast his ballot for insurgent candidate Richard Trumka and his running mates in the United Mine Workers (UMW) presidential elections November 9.

As the results of the UMW election show, tens of thousands of union coal miners share his sentiment, as they turned out in large numbers across the country to do as he did — vote for change.

By a ratio of more than 2-to-1 nationwide, UMW members voted to oust incumbent union President Sam Church and to make Trumka the next president of their union.

According to unofficial returns, the "Why not the best" slate, of presidential candidate Trumka, vice-presidential candidate Cecil Roberts, and secretary-treasurer candidate John Banovic carried 18 of the union's 21 districts in the United States and Canada.

In Illinois District 12, Trumka defeated Church by a ratio of close to 5-to-1.

In neighboring District 11 in Indiana, 63 percent of the vote went to Trumka, Roberts, and Banovic.

In UMW District 6, which covers Ohio and the West Virginia panhandle, close to 75 percent voted for Trumka.

Northern West Virginia's District 31 gave 82 percent of its votes to the Trumka slate.

Seventy percent of union miners in southern West Virginia's District 17 voted for the Trumka-Roberts-Banovic slate. And in neighboring District 29, Trumka and his running mates took 60 percent of the vote.

Although Church took District 19, which covers central Kentucky and Tennessee, the Trumka slate won in districts 30 and 23, which cover the eastern and western portions of Kentucky.

In Pennsylvania the Trumka-Roberts-Banovic slate carried all four districts.

Continued on Page 2

### Bosses stung by union democracy

Coal miners struck a blow against the employer takeback drive and for union democracy when they voted overwhelmingly for a new union leadership November 9.

Voting more than 2-to-1 to oust United Mine Workers (UMW) President Sam Church and to elect Richard Trumka, miners showed a determination to rearm their

### EDITORIAL

union in the face of intensified attacks on their rights and standard of living.

Church had been a symbol of cooperating with the employers and conceding to their demands for takebacks. Trumka — at 33 the youngest president of any major union — campaigned against giving up gains won by the union.

The capitalist class in this country is none too happy with the election outcome. The miner owners and other employers had favored a Church victory. The big-business media had tried to prejudice miners against Trumka, describing him as a lawyer in a three-piece suit, while portraying Church as a down-to-earth miner.

These efforts fell flat on their face. So did attempts to use red-baiting in the election. When Church made an election-eve move intended to frighten miners — publicizing a *Militant* article favorable to Trumka — it backfired.

Why the bosses are worried about Trumka's election was expressed in a November 11 *Washington Post* editorial. Pointing to the increased expectations among coal miners, the editorial stated:

"The election results suggest that UMW members refuse to accept the fact that the coal industry does not exist in a vacuum and that miners' wages ultimately depend on the competitiveness of the product they produce. It is a fact others like to ignore: the Chrysler workers who are striking in Canada, for example."

Continued on Page 18

## Salvador trade unionist on tour in U.S. coalfields

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

A prominent Salvadoran trade union leader began touring western Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio November 12. He is speaking to meetings of mine workers, electrical workers, steelworkers, and teachers, in addition to other organizations.

Alejandro Molina Lara is the former secretary-general of the Fishing Industry Union (SIP), which represents all the workers in that industry and is affiliated to the National Confederation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS). Both SIP and FENASTRAS are member organizations of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador (FDR).

Molina Lara's tour is being organized by the Pittsburgh Central America Mobilization Coalition, an affiliate of the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

His tour, which goes through December 20, includes meetings sponsored by unions, church organizations, as well as campus and community meetings. The purpose of the tour will be to tell working people in this country the truth about what is happening in El Salvador and the rest of Central America and the Caribbean; and to convince American workers to oppose U.S. intervention in Central America and support the liberation struggles of the people of that region.

An indication of the interest that the tour is generating is the success that solidarity activists have had, in a limited amount of time, scheduling meetings for Molina Lara in front of union gatherings.

For example, at the *Labor Notes* conference that took place November 12-13 in Detroit, Molina Lara was featured at an evening banquet as well as at their international solidarity workshop (see article, page 3).

On November 14 he spoke to a meeting of United Electrical Workers Local 506 in Pittsburgh. On November 18 he will address a seminar at Linden Hall in Per-

ryopolis, Pennsylvania, which will be attended by the editors of newspapers put out by Steelworkers locals from around the country. Later that same day he'll speak to a county meeting of the Service Employees International Union.

On November 20 he will be at the United Mine Workers (UMW) meeting in Cokesburg; later in the tour he will also speak to other UMW locals including UMW Local 1190. In addition he will speak to locals of the American Federation of Teachers and to the Allegheny Central Labor Council.

Molina Lara is scheduled to appear before Baptist and Catholic church congregations and a number of other organizations, such as the Democratic Socialists of America in Pittsburgh. Also included among numerous campus meetings is a city-wide rally at the University of Pittsburgh on November 17.

Interviews have been organized with radio and television stations, including the Ron Daniels Show, a popular talk show in Youngstown's Black community, on November 15. This will be followed by a news conference organized by Daniels the next day.

Molina Lara is uniquely qualified to describe the struggle of the Salvadoran workers and peasants to U.S. workers. A militant trade unionist since 1967, he participated in many of the bitter struggles waged by the Salvadoran labor movement in the 1970s.

In 1979 Molina Lara was a member of the Negotiations Commission for the powerful Electrical Workers Union (STECCEL). This union spearheaded the one-day general strike in 1979 that forced the government to make important concessions to the workers' movement.

As a result of his militant activity, Molina Lara has been arrested and imprisoned four times, most recently in January 1981, when he was captured by government security forces in San Salvador at the offices of FENASTRAS.

He was tortured, held incommunicado

Continued on Page 2

## Judge throws out draft law

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

The Reagan administration's efforts to convince hundreds of thousands of young men to register for the draft has been dealt a blow. On November 15 Los Angeles federal Judge Terry Hatter dismissed the charges against David Wayte, a 21-year-old Pasadena youth who had refused to register for the draft.

Wayte, who would have faced a possible \$10,000 fine and five years in jail if convicted, cannot be tried on the same charges again.

Judge Hatter ruled that the government failed to prove that it had not singled Wayte out to be selectively prosecuted because of his public and outspoken antiwar opposition to the draft. He also ruled that the draft law put into effect by the Carter administration was invalid. It went into effect 21 days after its publication in the *Federal Register* in July 1980, he said, rather than the 30 days required. However, the

law remains in effect pending the outcome of a government appeal.

Until the break in Wayte's case, government attorneys had successfully indicted 14 public draft resisters and convicted four. The clear intent of the government has been to especially go after draft resisters who have publicly stated their antiwar opposition to the draft. Officials want to gag their views and intimidate the more than 524,000 youth who have not registered.

However, in an initial ruling in September, Judge Hatter agreed with Wayte's defense attorneys that they had established a clear case of government selective prosecution. He ordered the government to turn over uncensored documents detailing the Selective Service's procedure for choosing those draft resisters that were to be prosecuted.

Owing to previous testimony that established the Justice Department's role in urg-

Continued on Page 2

# Jubilant coal miners say 'So long Sam'

Continued from Page 1

District 2 gave Trumka close to 60 percent of its votes and District 5, 82 percent of the vote. In District 4, Trumka's home district, more than 90 percent of those voting voted for the insurgents.

And in District 25, which covers the state's anthracite mining region, Trumka took close to 70 percent of the vote.

Colorado-based District 15 cast close to 60 percent of its votes for Trumka, and District 22, which covers Wyoming, Arizona, and Utah, gave him 76 percent. In Canada, initial reports show Church leading in District 18, and Trumka ahead in District 7 and District 26.

In Alabama-based District 20, Trumka and Church, according to initial reports, divided the vote almost evenly. In Church's home District 28, in Virginia, Trumka was leading 3,871 votes to 3,043.

The substantial turnout of miners for the election and the decisive victory they handed Trumka, Roberts, and Banovic, reflected the deep-going revulsion to the policies of the Church administration in the union.

But just as important, the election results show miners' determination to use the power of their union in defense of their rights and living standards, which are under increasing attack today.

That was the mood among more than

1,000 miners, primarily from District 4, who attended a candle-light parade and celebration the night before the election in Carmichaels, Pennsylvania.

Speaking to the enthusiastic crowd of miners, many on layoff from area mines, Trumka addressed a number of their concerns — the takebacks contained in the last contract, the thousands of miners laid-off, the increasing percentage of coal mined nonunion across the country.

"All we need is leadership to take us to the pinnacle," said Trumka. "We've taken our last step backward. Tomorrow is your day, the day of the rank and file."

"Tomorrow is the day the UMW is going forward to tell the coal operators, 'If it comes out of the ground, it's coming out UMW.'"

"Tomorrow is the day to take your union and put it back in your hands."

The same themes were struck the following night in Uniontown, Pennsylvania, when more than 500 miners showed up for a campaign victory celebration.

Throughout the coalfields, miners greeted the news of the Trumka victory with pride, knowing in the last analysis that it was their victory.

One 20-year veteran who works at Consolidation Coal's Blacksville No. 2 mine in northern West Virginia said, "It was a confirmation that the union was still alive, that

the younger miners were ready to decide something and ready to fight back."

At the Kitt No. 1 mine in Philippi, West Virginia, where UMW Local 2095 has been battling a concerted attempt by Standard Oil of Ohio to break the union, miners voted 381 to 120 for the Trumka slate.

Refrains of "So long Sam," rang out throughout the bath houses as miners waited to go into the mines the day following the election, reports one Kitt No. 1 miner.

Underneath the levity, however, serious discussion was going on about what has been happening to the UMW — the need to organize the nonunion mines, the give-backs forced upon miners in the last contract, company attacks on safety at the mine, and what to do about suits against the union by the companies.

In District 12, where 5,000 miners are laid-off and 12,500 working, a number of those voting for Trumka stated that the layoffs were a decisive issue for them.

They also pointed to Church's lack of initiative in pursuing coal as an alternative to nuclear power as one way to help provide jobs for miners.

In the west many saw Trumka as serious about bridging the gap between western miners and those in the east. Trumka made two visits to District 22. Church did not bother to campaign there in person.

"People view Trumka's election as a victory," one miner told the *Militant*. "They expect change, but not automatically."

Another miner said, "How go the miners, so go the rest of the unions in the United States."

Throughout the election campaign, Church centered his fire on Trumka's credentials and his "radicalism." Church went after Trumka's education and his training as a lawyer in an open "good-old-boys" appeal to anti-intellectual prejudice. Church also conducted a sometimes open, sometimes covert, red-baiting campaign against the Trumka slate.

On both counts, Church and supporters missed the mark; in fact this type of cam-

paigned backfired on them.

An announcement by Utah Senator Orrin Hatch on the eve of the union elections that his senate Labor and Human Resources Committee was going to investigate the activities of radicals in the unions, spurred a number of western miners to vote for Trumka as a way of standing up to Hatch.

In a last-ditch effort to bolster his ailing reelection prospects, Church held news conferences in Alabama and West Virginia in order to make one last stab at red-baiting the "Why not the best" slate.

The November 8, Birmingham *Post Herald* carried a report on the Church news conference in nearby Bessemer, Alabama. Church is pictured in the photograph displaying the back page of the November 12 *Militant*, which carried an article on the UMW elections. The *Post Herald* reported:

"Church . . . disputed charges that he has been red-baiting during the campaign. 'I've never called them communists or socialists.'"

"But he also brought an issue of a socialist publication to his press conference at the Best Western in Bessemer, and said that Trumka has the support of that newspaper."

"Recently they've been endorsed by the socialist newspaper, the *Militant*. Again, they judge you by the company you keep."

Similar stories were aired on radio and television stations throughout the coalfields.

In Pennsylvania several radio stations broadcast a response from Trumka, branding the Church statements as red-baiting.

Many socialist workers, inside and outside the mines, found miners curious about the *Militant* newspaper and the article that got Church so riled up.

More than anything else, the election showed that miners still consider the union *theirs*, still consider themselves masters of the union, and are turning to their union in preparation for the battles that lie ahead.

Exactly how the new leadership of the UMW will perform will be seen over time. But one thing is certain. Expectations are running high.

How to organize the nonunion mines out West and back East? How to take on the almost inevitable demands from the energy giants for concessions in 1984?

With the next UMW international convention scheduled to take place in December 1983 (less than a year before the expiration of the current contract), discussion on these questions will undoubtedly pick up.

And there again, the country's union coal miners, just as they did in this election, will exercise their right to decide.

*John Hawkins, a miner in Waynesburg, Pennsylvania, is a member of UMWA Local 2258.*

## Judge throws out draft law

Continued from Page 1

ing the Selective Service to prosecute only the "willful refusers" and the "most adamant," Hatter also ordered the special counsel to the President, Edwin Meese, to appear in court and testify.

Government lawyers refused to comply with Hatter's order, citing "executive privilege." But under pressure from a possible contempt citation they agreed on October 26 to give Hatter documents for his use only under the condition that they not be turned over to the defense.

Upon reviewing the documents Hatter again ordered the government to make White House and Pentagon documents available to defense attorneys and to instruct Meese to testify. When the government again refused, the judge dismissed the case against Wayte.

According to the November 16 *New York Times*, William Smith, a lawyer representing Wayte on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union, pointed out that the ruling would have a "psychological effect" on other draft cases. "Other defense attorneys have all our filings and will file the same motions," he said.

And in the same article the *Times* further noted that Judge Hatter's "decision passes a legal cloud over the draft registration process."

Even before this ruling more than a half million draft-age youth had refused to register. And despite the 14 indictments of draft resisters, despite the threat of fines, imprisonment, and other forms of harassment draft registration has not significantly picked up, according to spokespeople for the Selective Service System.

In this context David Wayte's victory will only advance the already powerful antiwar sentiment that exists among young workers.

## Salvador unionist tours coalfields

Continued from Page 1

for 60 days, and imprisoned for a total of four months. When a visiting delegation of the International Red Cross accidentally discovered him in the barracks of the National Police, he was sent to a regular jail. There, through the efforts of his mother and friends, he managed to get released and eventually escaped to this country.

Fact sheets that Molina Lara has made available reveal the incredible extent to which the murderous junta has gone in its attempts to destroy any opposition to its bloodsoaked rule by the organized workers' movement.

Of the 35,000 people killed and 7,000 who have disappeared in the junta's war against its own people, 5,000 of those murdered were trade unionists. In addition more than 2,000 unionists are among the missing and 500 are currently languishing in the military's jails. Among those in jail is the entire leadership of El Salvador's most combative union, the Electrical Workers Union.

The junta's terror against the civilian population and its leaders continues unabated as shown by the recent disappearance of 15 labor and political leaders, eight of whom the junta has admitted it is holding.

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Militant/Tamar Rosenfeld  
Anthony Mazzocchi, former vice-president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union addresses Detroit gathering.

# Unionists discuss antilabor attacks at Detroit conference

BY MALIK MIAH

DETROIT — What strategy should working people follow to fight the employers' demands for contract concessions? How can working people defend our wages, jobs, and working conditions in times of severe economic crisis?

These and other questions were discussed by 750 union activists attending a conference, "Organizing Against Concessions, Strategies for Labor's Survival," here November 12-14. The conference was sponsored by *Labor Notes*, a monthly newsletter published by the Labor Education and Research Project (LERP).

The LERP describes itself as an independent educational organization. Its goal is "to assist and educate rank-and-file trade unionists attempting to revitalize and reform the American labor movement." It was founded in 1978 in Detroit and is not affiliated to or associated with any union.

In April 1981 *Labor Notes* sponsored a similar two-day conference with the theme of "Rebuilding the Labor Movement in the 80s." That conference was attended by over 500 unionists.

Union activists at this year's conference came from 25 states, three provinces of Canada, including Quebec, and were members of 48 unions. Only a handful of the participants were Black or Latino. Most activists were in their mid-30s.

The unionists included steelworkers, auto workers, woodworkers, electrical workers, and public employees. There were a large number of laid-off industrial and nonindustrial workers.

## Discussion of strategy

The purpose of the conference was to allow union activists opposed to the new high in concession bargaining practiced by the top leaderships of the unions a chance to discuss alternative strategies. A wide range of views were presented; no decisions were made.

Most of the participants considered themselves progressives in the labor movement — that is, they favor a more militant union leadership.

Although billed as a conference for rank-and-file unionists, most of those present were low-level officials, including shop committeemen, grievors, secretaries, vice-presidents, and a few local presidents. However, unlike such top officials as Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers, or Lloyd McBride, president of the United Steelworkers, most of those present were workers. Thus they tended to know the concerns of workers on the shop floor and of those workers who attend union meetings. They know that workers are angry and looking for alternative ways to defend their jobs and oppose the attacks of the employers.

The conference also took place in the context of two important developments in the labor movement. The activists were greatly inspired by the news of Rich Trumka's victory over incumbent president Sam Church of the United Mine Workers and the decision of Chrysler workers across the river in Canada to strike.

## Different strategies

There were several strategies to fight the concessions and the bosses' offensive presented for discussion. These were discussed at plenary panels, workshops, union caucus meetings, and regional meetings.

One view was presented by Bob Weissman, president of UAW Local 122 at the

Chrysler plant in Twinsburg, Ohio. He said that the "basic answer to concessions is 'no concessions.'" He described making concessions as a "retreat, not a trade off." In referring to the UAW's concessions to Chrysler, he said it was a "strategic retreat." He said that "if retreat is a strategy, you want to be ready for the inevitable fight."

He blamed the demoralization that developed among Chrysler workers after the first contract concessions in 1979 on the false hopes given them by the leadership that concessions would save jobs. After suffering the results of this policy for three years, he said, many locals turned out old leaderships and rejected the company's last contract offer by a 70 percent majority.

Weissman's answers, however, did not go beyond rejecting concession bargaining as a strategy and arguing the need to prepare the membership for an inevitable fight.

Furthermore, he explicitly rejects the idea of labor building its own political party, "It is a false direction." Because, "if we had a labor leadership to build a labor party," he said, "it would be the Democratic party."

## Labor party question

Another strategy was offered by Tony Mazzocchi, former Health and Safety Director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW) and unsuccessful candidate for union president earlier this year.

Mazzocchi argued that opposing concessions as a strategy is not adequate. It is necessary for the labor movement, he said, to come up with its own economic plan to force corporate concessions. "It has to be a legislative program primarily since it can't be done through collective bargaining."

Furthermore, "we have to consider forming a party that doesn't run candidates. A party that doesn't run candidates can be part of this program."

The *Militant* asked Mazzocchi why he was now calling for a labor party without running candidates. He said this was the only realistic proposal that can win support from labor officials. The labor leadership, he said, is against forming a third party to run candidates against the Democrats.

## Strategy of reform

A third viewpoint was presented by the organizers of the conference in an article signed by Bill Parker, a laid-off member of Chrysler UAW Local 51 in Detroit.

In a three-page article in the October 26 *Labor Notes*, Parker correctly explains that big concessions in wages and working conditions don't save jobs. They weaken the unions and, once they start, they are hard to reverse, as the experience with Chrysler shows.

He summarized his proposals as a strategy to fight to win reforms. He argued that labor should educate the membership on why concessions don't save jobs; seek to get the unions to adopt a clear "no concessions" policy; and support demonstrations, lobbying, legislation, and other steps to win these reforms.

As far as political action outside of the two-capitalist-party framework, he said, "Ideally the U.S. labor movement should take a page from their Canadian brothers' and sisters' book. [This is a reference to the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party.] It should approach other groups in society who have no stake in protecting

corporate privilege — minorities, women, environmentalists, peace activists — and initiate the founding of a new political party which could fight for labor's rights in the legislative arena."

But he, and others that agreed with this view, contend that the "ideal" time has not yet arrived. This is why the strategy to win reforms, to oppose concessions, is not linked to an independent political perspective.

## A realistic perspective

At the conference the only speaker that pointed labor in a more effective direction was Paul Blackman, president of an independent steelworkers' union, the Directly-Affiliated Local Union 19806, AFL-CIO. Blackman explained, "the solution to our problems must be in the political arena. The two parties don't represent us. I'm for a labor party."

"The union leadership," he added, "is wedded to the system. They won't do anything until there is a groundswell from the rank and file." Further, he said, it is important for the labor movement to defend all workers and the rights of oppressed minorities, including outside the union framework. As an example, he referred to his active participation in the fight for Black equality in Milwaukee.

## Challenge for unionists

The AFL-CIO leaders, such as McBride and Fraser, all accept that what's good for the companies is good for the workers: "no profits, no jobs." This layer favors close labor-management cooperation as a policy. As Blackman pointed out, they are "wedded to the system." That's what it means to be a "labor's statesman."

The challenge for progressive union activists is to both chart a course against the bosses' attacks, as well as to demand that the top leaders of the unions start representing the workers. It is not enough to criticize Fraser's joining of the Chrysler Board of Directors. It means educating on why class collaboration — the policy of cooperating with the bosses — is dead wrong and why a policy of class struggle is needed to revitalize the labor movement. This means a policy of no concessions and no support to the

Democratic and Republican parties.

## International solidarity

One important aspect of the conference was international solidarity with workers in other countries. For example, support for the Canadian auto workers was 100 percent. Everyone saw the strike as not only a blow against austerity in Canada but a body blow against the class collaborationist policies followed by the Fraser leadership of the UAW. A collection of over \$1,300 was given to the striking workers. Activists were also urged to get resolutions of support adopted by their unions.

The Salvadoran trade union leader living in exile, Alejandro Molina Lara, also spoke at the conference. (See article on page 16.)

The keynote speaker at the Saturday night banquet was a Canadian leader, Jean-Claude Parrot, national president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. Parrot reported that 200,000 Québécois workers held a one-day strike on November 11 to protest the government's austerity policies. He explained the importance of American and Canadian workers staying united against the bosses' attacks.

Chris Hoepfner, a fired worker from Lockheed's plant in Georgia and a member of the International Association of Machinists Lodge 709, was able to speak to several workshops and to the conference as a whole from the floor. The Lockheed case won significant support.

Herbert Hill, the former national labor director of the NAACP, also spoke at the workshop on "Continuing the Struggle for Equality." He and other speakers stressed the need for labor to defend affirmative action, including during periods of massive layoffs. A weakness of the conference was the lack of discussion on how racial and sexual discrimination are used by the employers to divide the unions and why labor must champion the rights of Blacks and women.

Although the conference did not pretend to be a union convention, it turned out to be a useful opportunity for union activists to discuss the attacks on labor and strategies to fight back. And it reflected many of the discussions going on in the workplace.

# Support for fired workers

DETROIT — Two hundred and forty union activists at the *Labor Notes* conference signed endorser cards or petitions demanding the jobs back for 14 fired members of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 709 at Lockheed's plant in Marietta, Georgia.

These machinists were fired because of their union activities and socialist political views. They, and other members of their local, were the victims of extensive corporate spying. The unionists have filed a lawsuit in federal court against Lockheed demanding their jobs back.

Chris Hoepfner, one of the fired union members, attended the conference. He spoke from the floor to the entire gathering, at several workshops, and at a meeting of IAM members and unionists from the South.

Many union leaders, including the manager of the Central Alabama Joint Board of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), expressed interest in getting a representative from the

Political Rights Defense Fund, sponsor of the Lockheed defense effort, and-or a fired worker to speak before their union bodies.

Among those who joined the campaign to reverse the firings were Bob Weissman, president United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 122; Nick Builder, manager, Central Alabama Joint Board of ACTWU; Don Tormey, international representative, United Electrical Workers; Ralph Miranda, president of International Woodworkers of America Local 3-64; Charles Smith, vice-president UAW Local 740; David Della, secretary-treasurer, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union Local 37; Richard Gibson, vice-president, Michigan State Employees Association Local 1880; and Eric Hoffman, organizer for IAM District 115.

Jerry Gordon, a longtime antiwar activist and a leader in the movement against nuclear power plants and weapons, also signed a card.

A lot of literature on the case was distributed from the PRDF table.

Over the Top!



WEEK SEVEN: 48,784 sold to date

## Big step for 'PM' sales

In the last week we passed our national goal of introducing 45,000 new readers to the socialist press — one full week ahead of schedule!

One of the most rewarding aspects of this success is the big increase in circulation of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the revolutionary Spanish-language biweekly magazine that has the same political perspective as the *Militant*.

Of the 48,784 copies of the socialist press sold so far as part of this drive, 5,780 have been *PM*s. This represents 12 percent of the total.

Members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are selling an average of over 800 *PM*s a week, which makes this the most successful sales campaign ever for *PM*.

Thirty-three areas have adopted weekly goals for *PM* sales, six more than in our last drive in the spring.

While the *Militant* has been championing and helping to lead the struggles of working people for 54 years, *Perspectiva Mundial* is a much younger publication. It is only in its sixth year.

*Perspectiva Mundial* was

founded because of the need for a revolutionary Spanish-language workers newspaper in the United States. The working class in North America includes many Chicanos and Mexicanos, workers from the U.S. colony of Puerto Rico, and Spanish-speaking immigrants from other parts of our hemisphere.

The success of our *PM* sales reflects the fact that more working people are reading our press.

In Chicago, for example, where the giant steel corporations employ thousands of workers, one of the most important weekly sales spots for socialists is the bank where Republic Steel workers go to cash their checks after work. Each week about a dozen people pick up the *Militant* there, and several others buy *PM*.

In the western coal mining town of Price, Utah, *PM* is sold to coal miners. Price socialists report that the only other Spanish-language publication distributed in Price is a free paper put out by a right-wing Uruguayan in Salt Lake City, and *PM* is welcomed as a refreshing change.

Seaside, California, socialists took the campaign of city-councilman Mel Mason for governor of California to farmworkers in the

Salinas Valley by selling *PM*. Now that the election is over, they have decided to keep on selling the magazine there. Last week they sold 16 *PM*s in less than an hour in front of a grocery store where farmworkers shop.

In cities like New York and Los Angeles where Spanish-speaking workers are a large part of the population, *PM* accounts for a big proportion of our weekly sales. In Los Angeles, 45 percent of sales during this circulation drive have been sales of *PM*. In Manhattan, socialists have a goal of selling 100 copies of *PM* a week. They sell a large part of these to workers in the garment, electrical, auto, and other industries.

Socialists in other cities where the Spanish-speaking population is not so big have also discovered that they need to take *PM* with them when they sell to working people in their area.

In Harrisburg members of the SWP and YSA came to the conclusion that they needed *PM* in order to communicate with Spanish-speaking workers they met in the course of sales and campaigning. For the first time, they adopted a goal of *PM* in this sales campaign, and have met this goal six of the seven weeks of the campaign so far.

A socialist garment worker in Hoboken, New Jersey who isn't fluent in Spanish points out, "If I didn't have *PM*, I couldn't talk to my co-workers about politics." She sells 10 or 12 copies of every issue of the magazine in her shop of 80 workers.

Every place where *PM* is distributed, salespeople report that it is highly respected among Spanish-speaking workers, for its honest reporting of political events and for its uncompromising defense of the interests of workers here, in Latin America, and around the world.

— BY LEE MARTINDALE

## SALES SCOREBOARD

(Militant issue #42, PM issue #20)

Area	Militant Goal/Sold	PM Goal/Sold	Total Goal/Sold	%
New Orleans	100/428	0/2	100/430	430
Morgantown	85/116	0/0	85/116	136
Charleston	70/88	0/0	70/88	126
San Jose	110/135	30/34	140/169	121
Philadelphia	200/235	20/30	220/265	120
Seaside	50/58	15/20	65/78	120
Albuquerque	55/65	10/10	65/75	115
St. Louis	200/225	0/1	200/226	113
Los Angeles	125/96	40/88	165/184	112
Harrisburg	50/56	5/5	55/61	111
Miami	85/107	15/1	100/108	108
Cincinnati	90/97	0/0	90/97	108
Salt Lake City	90/97	5/5	95/102	107
Toledo	70/75	0/0	70/75	107
Piedmont	125/132	0/0	125/132	106
Tidewater	110/115	0/0	110/115	105
Dallas	45/44	30/34	75/78	104
Indianapolis	90/93	0/0	90/93	103
Seattle	105/108	5/5	110/113	103
Phoenix	150/151	55/59	205/210	102
Baltimore	300/307	0/0	300/307	102
Newark	145/153	45/41	190/194	102
Atlanta	120/127	5/0	125/127	102
Birmingham	110/111	0/0	110/111	101
Schenectady	100/100	2/2	102/102	100
Iron Range	50/50	0/0	50/50	100
Louisville	80/80	0/0	80/80	100
Oakland	100/102	10/8	110/110	100
Price	55/58	5/2	60/60	100
San Diego	65/65	15/15	80/80	100
Wash., D.C.	200/211	50/28	250/239	96
Houston	90/80	25/26	115/106	92
Tucson	35/43	25/12	60/55	92
San Francisco	100/100	40/28	140/128	91
Portland	60/54	0/0	60/54	90
Boston	135/124	15/6	150/130	87
Kansas City	90/82	5/0	95/82	86
Pittsburgh	225/190	0/0	225/190	84
Manhattan	300/206	100/126	400/332	83
Lincoln	60/49	0/0	60/49	82
Twin Cities	195/159	5/2	200/161	81
Detroit	90/62	10/16	100/78	78
Cleveland	105/86	10/2	115/88	77
Chicago	140/109	20/13	160/122	76
Brooklyn	175/139	50/31	225/170	76
Milwaukee	185/133	15/3	200/136	68
Gary	65/46	5/1	70/47	67
Denver	100/60	10/0	110/60	55
San Antonio	60/0	50/25	110/25	23
Totals	5,540/5,607	747/681	6,287/6,288	100

## Atlanta socialist worker fights for ballot status

BY SARA JEAN JOHNSTON

ATLANTA — State officials in Georgia ruled November 1 that Maceo Dixon's name will not appear on the ballot in a special election here November 30.

Dixon, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the 5th Congressional District, is fighting this decision. He is a chemical worker and a member of Teamsters Local 528.

To be placed on the ballot, Dixon needed 4,039 signatures of registered voters. Dixon turned in 7,821 signatures. But the state said Dixon was 600 signatures short.

"The government," Dixon charged, "flagrantly discriminated against our petitions. Signatures were thrown out if the signer recently moved within the district, or if middle initials were omitted. Students at the Atlanta University system, who signed for me, weren't counted if they used a post office box number, but those were counted who signed for another candidate. And then there were signatures chucked out for no reason at all."

Dixon filed suit in Fulton County Superior Court on November 5 demanding that his name be placed on the ballot. Normally a hearing date would be set within a few days. But so far no date has been set.

When it became clear that the secretary of state was moving ahead to print the ballots, Dixon went to court again, this time to ask for a temporary restraining order to stop the printing of the ballots until he could obtain a hearing.

On November 12 Judge Fryer heard the arguments for the restraining order. Under questioning Assistant Attorney General Thomas Watry, representing the secretary of state's office, admitted that the ballots were being printed right at the moment that the hearing was taking place.

Torin Togut, attorney for Dixon, then asked the judge to order the secretary of state not to distribute the ballots until Dixon could get a hearing on his case.

This prompted the judge to expound on his views of ballots and elections. Earlier that week this same judge had ruled a nuclear freeze referendum off the November 30 ballot. He explained that it was ridiculous for Atlanta citizens to discuss and express an opinion on "international issues." He continued, "the next thing you know we'll be having referenda on abortions in Kentucky."

He then refused to stop the distribution of the ballots.

The special election is being held because of a year-long battle in the state legislature to create a majority-Black congressional district. Today, Georgia has no Black members in Congress, while the state is nearly 40 percent Black, and Atlanta is 66 percent Black.

Black Democrats in the state legislature began legal proceedings to restructure the districts that include the Black population in order to ensure a Black be elected. Governor George Busbee, and other state officials, spent \$1.5 million to quash this just demand.

The racism in the state legislature was so virulent that one official, Joe Mack Wilson, publicly proclaimed that he'd fight "to the end" to prevent a "nigger district."

But reapportionment prevailed. Two districts were created, the 4th and 5th. The latter is majority Black.

Dixon explained, "This was a victory for the Black community. Having a Black representative for Blacks is a matter of simple justice. Not having a Black from Georgia in Congress is just another example of the racism of this society. But when we speak of Black representation, the question of skin color isn't enough. A Black Democrat or Black Republican elected to Congress would not be a representative of the Black community. He or she would be a Black representative for the capitalist class."

Dixon continued, "We need Black representation. But we need representation of the working class, Black and white. This is

the real reason I was ruled off the ballot. I kept hammering away at the fact that Democrats and Republicans, Black or white, represent, make proposals for, and work for the interests of the profit-hungry capitalists. Our campaign has explained that the socialist proposals to get out of this present crisis is geared toward the betterment of the workers and farmers, not the rich."

Dixon reports that working people in Atlanta have received the socialist campaign warmly. More than 10,000 campaign statements have been distributed, and signatures were gathered at plant gates, shopping centers, churches, street corners, and inside factories.

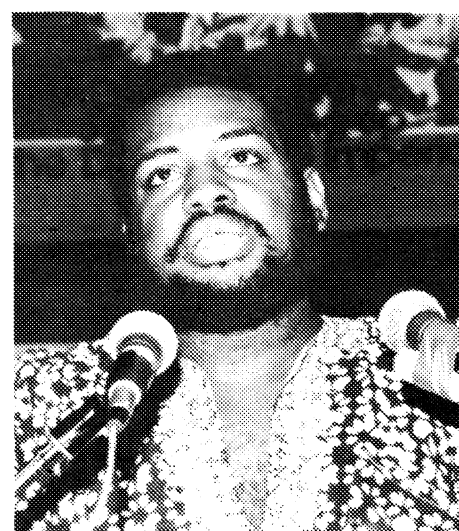
About half of Dixon's co-workers at Oxford Chemicals signed his petition. A number of workers at Empire Manufacturing Company, a garment factory, also signed.

Anna Schell, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for the 4th C.D., works at Empire as a seamstress. She and other socialist workers have been campaigning at Empire, selling the *Militant* and obtaining new subscribers.

When the company fired and reprimanded some of Schell's Black co-workers, she denounced this racist attack.

Dixon recently debated William McKinney, a Black Democrat who is running as an independent to avoid the Democratic primary on November 2. The meeting was organized by the Atlanta Association of Black Journalists.

Dixon described the meeting as "remarkable." It was "plain to most people who were there," he said, "that all McKinney's answers to unemployment, war, and racism were beneficial to the rich. This was in sharp contrast with our campaign of explaining that workers should run the country since we are the ones that keep it running; that the laboring masses should fight for a workers and farmers government; and that workers must form a labor party."



Militant/Lou Howort

SWP candidate Maceo Dixon

Dixon supporters have launched a campaign to get messages sent to the secretary of state demanding that Dixon be placed on the ballot. Messages can be sent to David Poythress, Secretary of State, State Capitol, Atlanta, Georgia 30334.

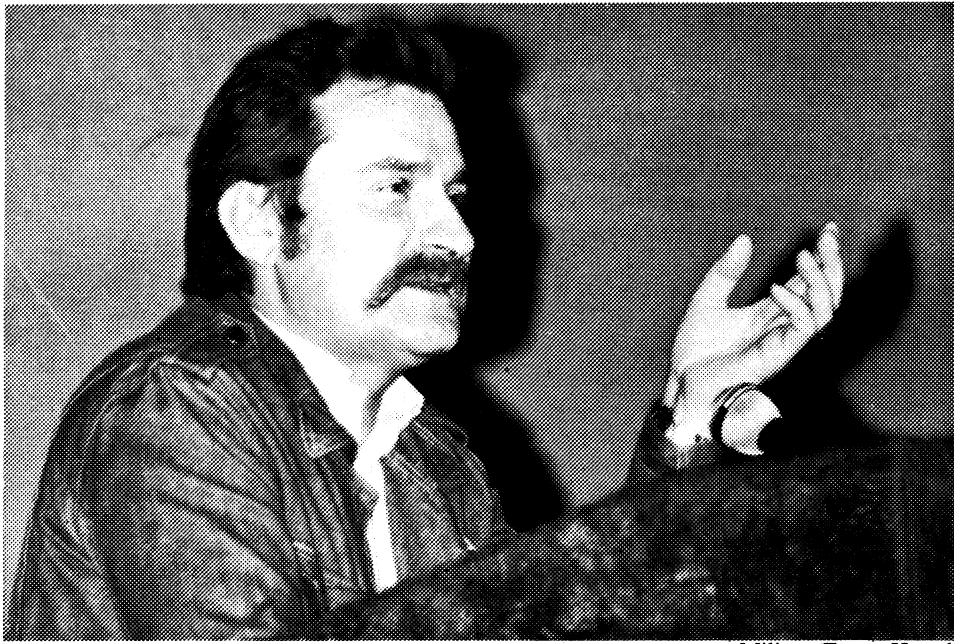
A rally to protest this attack on democratic rights is set for Saturday, November 20, 7:30 p.m. at 504 Flat Shoals Avenue SE.

## Labor News in the Militant

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



# Crowds cheer Polish union leader's return



Militant/Ernest Harsch

National chairman of Solidarity union movement, Lech Walesa. Welcome he received on his release from prison shows depth of support for Solidarity, and unpopularity of government.

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Eleven months after he was interned by Poland's military authorities, Lech Walesa returned home to Gdansk November 14 to a tumultuous welcome from crowds of hundreds of supporters.

The national chairman of the Solidarity union movement was greeted by chants of "Lech! Lech!" and "Solidarity! Solidarity!"

Apartment buildings around his home in the Gdansk suburb of Zaspka were decorated with Solidarity flags, banners, and slogans, despite the fact that Solidarity is now officially banned and the display of Solidarity insignia is illegal. "Solidarity lives," declared one such banner.

When Walesa pulled up in a car driven by security police, he was mobbed by supporters, some of whom had been waiting outside his home for three days. He was carried up the stairs by the jubilant crowd, flashing a V-for-victory sign.

Walesa spoke from the balcony of his apartment. Assuring his listeners that 11 months of detention had not altered his views, he declared, "I promise you that I

won't leave the road and ideals that we came up with in August," referring to the August 1980 strike wave that led to the emergence of Solidarity.

"I will assuredly speak out on all matters which interest us in the very near future," he said. "I will talk and act, not on my knees, but with prudence; you can rest assured of that."

Walesa said that unity among the workers was needed now as much as during the August 1980 strike. "We must win — of that there is no doubt."

The next day, speaking to reporters, Walesa noted that he was "walking on a tightrope." If he did not watch his words, he implied, he could be reinterned.

The government's announcement that Walesa would be released came November 11, a day after a call for a countrywide general strike by Solidarity's underground leadership failed to win much support. The strike had been called to protest the government's outlawing of Solidarity.

There were protest demonstrations in some cities and partial strikes and strike attempts in several workplaces on November 10, but the response fell far short of the organizers' expectations. There were several reasons for this:

- The government, which reacted to previous demonstration and strike calls with massive force, warned that it would use "all necessary means" to break any strikes. In factories around the country, those known as the most active Solidarity supporters were personally warned that they would be fired if strikes occurred. Some were detained. In Wroclaw, a key union stronghold, 18 underground activists were arrested, including Piotr Bednarczyk, a member of Solidarity's five-man Provisional Coordinating Committee.

- There were differences among Solidarity supporters over the strike call. Pointing to the government's readiness to use massive repression, many argued that the union was not sufficiently organized to carry out such an ambitious action as an eight-hour general strike.

- The hierarchy of the Catholic church, which has wide influence in Poland, came out explicitly against the strike. In response, the government announced November 8 that an agreement had been reached with the church officials for a visit to Poland by Pope John Paul II in June 1983.

But fear of being arrested or fired was the main factor that kept most workers from participating.

Nevertheless, thousands defiantly expressed their continued support for Solidarity by turning out for demonstrations in Warsaw, Wroclaw, Poznan, Nowa Huta, and other cities. Riot police attacked the protests, and some 800 people were arrested around the country. Several strike actions were reported as well.

The authorities seized on the failure of the November 10 strike to proclaim that Solidarity was finished. But they know better. Support for the union remains widespread, and the government has never been so unpopular.

That is why they have now decided to combine their repression with some concessions, to try to defuse the extremely tense political situation. But as the response to Walesa's return to Gdansk showed, that may not be so easy to accomplish.

## Iranian workers hail victories against Iraq

BY FRED MURPHY

In new fighting that began November 1, Iranian forces have succeeded in regaining more than 200 square miles of territory occupied by Iraqi units since Iraq invaded Iran in September 1980.

Socialists in Tehran report that when the new victories were announced, thousands of residents of the capital's poor and working-class neighborhoods went onto their rooftops to chant "God is great!"

So many workers and government employees have responded to a call for further volunteers that top officials have gone on television repeatedly to say that no more are needed for the war front at present.

### 'Fight for oppressed of world'

For the first time in many months, reporters from major U.S. dailies and wire services have been allowed to visit Iran. R. W. Apple of the *New York Times* reported November 6 on his encounter with members of the Pasdaran, or Revolutionary Guards, at the frontline village of Musian:

"They wear no insignia of rank and never salute, and they talk frequently of their willingness to be 'martyrs.' On their left breast pockets, they wear a blue and gold patch that shows a globe, an arm and an AK-47 assault rifle — a symbol, one 23-

year-old explained, of their eagerness to fight overseas 'for the oppressed of the world.' He mentioned El Salvador as the kind of place where he would like to fight."

The high morale among the Iranian forces is in marked contrast to the mood in the Iraqi ranks. Iranian soldiers returning from the front report that most Iraqi infantry units surrendered with little resistance when the latest Iranian advance began. A captured Iraqi colonel interviewed on television in Tehran said that "the first thing that happened when the Iranian forces approached was that all the generals fled."

More than 2,000 Iraqi soldiers were taken prisoner in the Iranian offensive, in which several Iraqi brigades were routed from the area around the Iranian towns of Musian and Dehloran.

By routing the Iraqis and moving on to occupy some 120 square miles of Iraqi territory, the Iranian forces have been able to put a stop to continued shelling of towns and highways in Iran from the heights around Musian.

In one such attack from Iraq in late October, 21 Iranians were killed and 107 injured in the city of Dizful, 62 miles east of the border. The dead were mostly women and children killed when an Iraqi ground-to-ground missile hit the city's main shopping district.

The original aim of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, when he launched the invasion of Iran in September 1980, was to topple the regime of Ayatollah Khomeini and weaken the Iranian revolution. Hussein feared the impact the anti-imperialist upsurge of the Iranian people could have on the toilers of Iraq and other Arab countries. Washington and other imperialist powers shared this concern, and they welcomed the Iraqi invasion.

But the Iranian people have rallied to defend their revolution. The Iraqi occupiers have now been driven from virtually all the Iranian territory that they had captured in the early weeks of the war. Hussein's own regime is growing more shaky, and Washington has been encouraging proimperialist Arab rulers like King Hussein of Jordan, Mubarak of Egypt, and the Saudi royal family to step up aid to Iraq and stave off an Iranian victory.

### Economic situation

The U.S. capitalist press has in the past claimed that Iran's economic difficulties were leading it to the brink of collapse. This idea has also been echoed by much of the U.S. radical press. They have opposed Iranian troops moving into Iraq, charging that this defensive military operation is just a maneuver by the Khomeini government to divert workers' attention from economic problems at home.

But reporters for major U.S. dailies now in Iran report a different picture. They indicate that in spite of the U.S. imperialist economic blockade of Iran and the hardships of the long war with Iraq the revolu-

tion has not been stifled.

"There is ample food for everyone," R. W. Apple reported from Tehran in the November 15 *Times*, "although many items, including such staples as cooking oil and meat, are rationed." "Shops here are reasonably well stocked with goods," wrote Youssef M. Ibrahim in the November 9 *Wall Street Journal*. "Some foods are expensive, but Iranians aren't starving." Ibrahim even quoted a senior Western diplomat as saying, "The bulk of the people in this country are better off today than they used to be before the revolution."

Iran's oil minister announced in early November that despite the continued needs of the war effort, the rationing of home heating oil was being ended.

### Advances for peasantry

In the countryside, Iranian peasants have organized in village committees, or *shoras*, and have demanded land-reform legislation and credit and technical aid from the state. While the land-reform law remains stalled in parliament, considerable aid has been distributed. Ibrahim's report in the November 9 *Wall Street Journal* says that fertilizer has been "given free of charge to farmers since the current regime came to power," and that its use has increased 76 percent over the past five years. "Tractors, also given free to farmers, have increased by 52 percent, government officials say."

In many areas, peasants have seized idle holdings from landlords without waiting for the land-reform law. With more land in production, harvests of grain, rice, and fruit are considerably larger this year.

The peasant movement scored an important victory in late October when the parliament passed a law legally authorizing the formation of village shoras. The Tehran press now reports that such bodies have been set up in 20,000 of Iran's 70,000 villages.

That advance will encourage urban workers to pursue their fight to gain such legal recognition of factory and workplace shoras. Socialists in Iran report that seminars, or conferences, of shora representatives have been held in recent weeks in a number of industrial areas of Tehran.

These meetings have been extensively reported in the major newspapers for the first time. They have discussed the labor law now being drawn up by the authorities and have demanded that the workers be fully involved in its preparation. In particular, workers are demanding that Article 33 of the shah's labor law, which is still in force, be eliminated. That article authorizes arbitrary firings by management.

In some of the shora seminars, workers have sharply criticized the regime's Labor Ministry. When a ministry official appeared at one meeting, the workers told him that the ministry should be disbanded and its building converted into a hospital for war invalids.



Iranian soldier. Working-class youth, many of them volunteers, have been backbone of military drive against Iraqi aggression.

### For further reading . . .

#### Poland: Workers in Revolt

By Dave Frankel, DeAnn Rathbun, and Ernest Harsch, 46 pp., \$1.25.

#### Imperialism vs. the Iranian Revolution

Which Side for Working People? By Janice Lynn and David Frankel, 39 pp., \$.95.

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

# Quebec one-day strike: 'No to takebacks'



Quebec public sector workers protesting Parti Québécois government's antiworker policies. Banner reads: 'No to the PQ's budget. Jobs for all.'

BY JEANNE ANDRÉ

MONTREAL — Hundreds of thousands of Quebec public sector workers went on a 24-hour strike November 10. They were saying "no" to the enormous takebacks demanded by their employer, the Quebec government.

Defying injunctions brought against them by the government and the Montreal Transit Commission, the public sector workers and members of the Montreal transit union (maintenance) paralyzed the entire education system and about half of Quebec's health care facilities. The Montreal transit system was also tied up.

Faced with offers that would "take us back 20 years," the strikers — a majority women — made up an impressive demonstration of power, determination, and solidarity. Their action was the first response by Quebec workers to Prime Minister Elliot Trudeau's two-year public-sector wage freeze. In June the federal government announced that wage increases in the next year would be limited to 6 percent and to 5 percent in the following year. With inflation running nearly 12 percent, this measure represents a big cut in real wages.

The protest strike was a resounding rejection of the Quebec government's offer, which in addition to demanding the wage cut, attacks job security and demands an

increased work load. This proposal, if implemented, would also lead to a deepening of the oppression suffered by women in Quebec.

"This action is a warning; it could be the first stage in an extremely important struggle," said Yvon Charbonneau, president of the Quebec teachers federation. He was addressing some 9,000 striking teachers on the lawn of Quebec's national assembly in Quebec City. The leadership of the Com-

mon Front — the coalition of unions in the public sector — has been authorized by its members to call an unlimited general strike if necessary.

"We have a golden opportunity to wage a common struggle with the public and parapublic sector workers to get rid of Law 72," declared Jacques Morrisette, president of the Montreal transit union. Law 72, adopted by the René Lévesque government in Quebec, more or less eliminates the right to strike in hospitals, schools, and public transportation under the pretext of maintaining "essential services."

Morrisette urged his members to defy the court order prohibiting them from striking. "More than ever we must unite and strike together." The 2,050 maintenance unionists are the only workers employed by the Montreal Transit Commission who have not signed an agreement with the commission. The motion to defy the law was adopted by a large majority.

The strike is important for workers throughout Canada. The Quebec public sector workers face takebacks of millions of dollars in wages and the threat of fines of up to \$100 per worker, \$50,000 for the union, and \$10,000 and/or imprisonment for union leaders. But they are holding firm.

Their defiant action, like that of the striking Chrysler workers in Ontario, is a powerful declaration that working people are prepared to fight to defend their living standards and their rights; and not just in good times, but also in times of economic hardship.

The maintenance workers' action in joining the strike is of particular importance. Their union was the only one of three transit unions to turn down a concession contract with the Montreal Transit Commission this year. Maintenance workers are determined to negotiate a contract that includes neither takebacks of already won benefits, nor any wage cuts.

The maintenance workers have strengthened their own position by joining forces with the Common Front. And they've strengthened the Common Front as a whole. That was clearly shown when their action paralyzed public transit in Montreal November 10 and thereby increased the pressure on the government.

Such unity will be very important in the event of a general strike.

Government repression before and during the strike is only a small foretaste of what the unions that have defied the injunction can expect. Quebec Justice Minister Marc André-Bédard has already publicly stressed that the labor code will be applied "rigorously and fully and that under the circumstances any work stoppage will bring application of the penalties provided for in the code." The maintenance union has already been told to appear in court on December 13.

Solidarity from the entire labor movement in the face of this threat will be an important element in preparing for a general strike. Building protest actions against the threatened victimization of public sector and maintenance workers is now a central and immediate task of the workers' movement.

## Kampuchea conference hears State Dept. line

BY SUZANNE HAIG

PRINCETON, N.J. — A conference, "Kampuchea in the 1980s: Prospects and Problems," was held here November 12-14, hosted by the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University. About 150 people attended.

This was the first time that such a broad group had assembled to discuss Kampuchea. Journalists, scholars, and relief workers attended, as did State Department and CIA officials, immigration officers, ambassadors and representatives from Singapore and Thailand, and an assortment of

anticommunist exiles from Southeast Asia.

A small minority of supporters of the Vietnamese revolution and defenders of the current government of Heng Samrin in Kampuchea were also present.

The conference brochure claimed that the gathering did "not seek to promote any particular point of view." This was not the case, however.

The conference, in fact, was used by Washington as another step in its campaign to discredit the Heng Samrin regime and legitimize the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea. This is a reactionary outfit composed of the remnants of three procapitalist factions (former Kampuchean monarch Norodom Sihanouk, his former Prime Minister Son Sann, and Pol Pot, under whose regime some three million Kampucheans were killed).

Currently, Washington is aiding this coalition, whose forces conduct periodic raids into Kampuchea from bases in Thailand.

The conference came just 18 days after the United Nations General Assembly, pressured by a massive lobbying effort by Washington and its allies, again voted to give the UN Kampuchea seat to Democratic Kampuchea.

Through heavy participation on conference panels, government officials and state department academics argued in favor of support for this coalition and continued the propaganda campaign against the Vietnamese revolution. This effort was aimed at rolling back antiwar sentiment in the U.S. and justifying Washington's continued attacks against Vietnam.

Representatives of the three factions in the coalition opened the conference.

Son Sann, the coalition's prime minister, speaking on videotape, asked the American people to lay aside their opposition to further U.S. military intervention in Indochina and "please let your administration liberate our country."

Thionn Prasith, representing the Pol Pot forces, was met with boos. Also on videotape, Prasith reassured his supporters that Pol Pot is not communist.

"The construction of socialism is not possible in Kampuchea for many generations to come," he stated. His grouping favors "the model of an ASEAN country [proimperialist regimes like Thailand and Singapore], a society with the freedom to profit for all . . . [with] all kinds of enter-

prises . . . and close economic cooperation with western and ASEAN countries."

Opposition to opening the conference in this one-sided way was raised by Chan Bun Han, a Kampuchean and a leader of the Committee in Solidarity with Viet Nam, Kampuchea, and Laos. Han, who was excluded from formal participation in the conference, stated from the floor that the coalition government did not represent the Kampuchean people, but was a conspiracy of Washington, the ruling Chinese bureaucracy, and the government of Thailand. He demanded that "Washington end its attempts to start a new war with Vietnam and allow the Indochinese people to live in peace."

On the following morning, Vietnam's ambassador to the UN, Hoang Bich Son, made a presentation on videotape, defending the current government of Kampuchea.

He had been denied a visa to travel the few miles from New York City to attend the conference. Conference organizers had also been informed that if any representative of the Heng Samrin government chose to attend the conference, they would be denied a visa to enter the country.

A major theme of the conference was sounded by Chhut Chhoeur, who was Cambodia's U.S. ambassador under the U.S.-backed Lon Nol dictatorship. Chhoeur charged that the Heng Samrin regime is "a puppet regime kept in power by Vietnam occupiers."

Desaix Anderson, director of the U.S. government's Office of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, asserted that "the domination of Indochina is the political goal of Vietnam." State Department official Jerry Helman rehearsed the discredited charges of Vietnam's use of chemical and biological weapons in Kampuchea.

To this company, William Shawcross, author of *Sideshow: Kissinger, Nixon and the Destruction of Cambodia*, must also be added. Shawcross's "even-handed" presentation spent a lot of time slandering the Vietnamese regime.

Others were more honest about Washington's role.

Responding to workers from volunteer aid agencies — who were attacking Washington's economic embargo against Kampuchea — Jeff Millington, senior program officer for Asia, Bread for the Refugee Program, stated, "You say it is best for the U.S. to accept the current regime

Continued on Page 16

## Nicaragua steps up its defense

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MATAGALPA, Nicaragua — In the wake of the White House's admission that it is directly organizing military attacks on Nicaragua by counterrevolutionaries in Honduras, the Nicaraguan government has stepped up defense preparations.

A mass meeting of more than 10,000 here November 7 capped a week of intensive activities.

Mobilizations, factory meetings, and militia and neighborhood defense committee meetings focused on explaining the aims and gains of the revolution, the inevitability of increasing conflict with the warmakers in Washington, and the political understanding needed to prepare for this conflict.

The week's activities were based around commemoration of the anniversary of the death of Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) founder Carlos Fonseca, killed in battle by National Guard troops November 8, 1976. Next to Augusto Sandino, Carlos Fonseca is Nicaragua's most prominent revolutionary figure.

The masses' voluntary participation in the week's events took on the character of standing up to be counted. In one activity or another, hundreds of thousands took part to show their support for the revolution.

The reactionary daily *La Prensa*, mouthpiece of Nicaragua's capitalist class, understood perfectly the significance of these meetings, assemblies, and marches. It printed not one word about them.

Commander Henry Ruiz, minister of planning, spoke for the FSLN national leadership at the mass meeting here in Matagalpa, birthplace of Carlos Fonseca.

He pulled no punches in describing what Nicaragua is up against.

"The counterrevolution," he said, "is advancing, step by step as the revolution deepens. As the masses of people gain consciousness of a better destiny, of a secure future, it sends shivers down the spines of the local and regional oligarchies. Our country's old exploiting classes, displaced from power, are regrouping abroad," where they are "organizing terror against our people."

Economically Nicaragua faces two years of "extreme difficulty," Ruiz said. Workers' jobs are threatened because "We do not have sufficient hard currency to import the raw materials and commodities we need." The imperialists abroad "are paying us less and charging us more." The big cotton farmers at home "are each day planting less and complaining more."

Just paying interest and principal on the foreign debt, Ruiz said, "will take more than 90 percent of next year's export earnings."

The reactionaries charge the FSLN with "betraying the principles of the revolution." But the real crime in their eyes is the radical social change the revolution has brought about.

"That is why they hate us. . . . They know we are fighting to create an economic, social, and political system in which the exploitation of man by man is eliminated, in which peoples can live in peace!" Ruiz said.

Ten thousand workers and farmers, students and soldiers' standing in the scorching midday sun, showed with applause and cheers that this is their goal too.





Militant/Antigona Martínez

Driving land reform forward while defending revolution is key task

# Nicaraguan peasants and government discuss war and land reform

BY JEFF MILLER

RIO BLANCO, Nicaragua — It was late when we started in a jeep to Rio Blanco. The lush and craggy mountain valleys along the 125 kilometers from Matagalpa made us forget the bumpy ride.

The sub-director for Nicaragua's Agrarian Reform Agency sat across from me. He had pulled out the shoulder brace on the Uzi submachine gun he held in his lap.

"It's a special situation in Rio Blanco," he told me, "because of the bands."

"The bands" are the counterrevolutionary military units that continually cross over the Honduran border and attack Nicaraguan peasants and soldiers. Made up in large part of national guardsmen from the regime of ousted Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza, these killers are being trained and financed by the CIA.

As we were riding along in our jeep, one of these bands was conducting a massacre in another part of Nicaragua. But we didn't know anything about that. Not until we read the papers the next morning.

When we had left the office of the Agrarian Reform Agency (MIDINRA) in Matagalpa Francisco, the director, said, "We're going to give an informational report on the agrarian reform to the land cooperatives in Rio Blanco." I don't think anyone was expecting the kind of meeting that took place.

When we arrived at the meeting in Rio Blanco, 50 peasants were sitting on benches along two large rough-hewn tables. Others stood on the dirt floors, filling the back of the small room. Army members were also participating.

Assembled in front, seated in school chairs, were the representatives of the government and mass organizations: from the Junta of Reconstruction for the province; the bank; PROCAMPO (which provides technical aid to agricultural producers); the Nicaraguan Institute of Basic Foodstuffs (ENABAS); the National Farmers Union (UNAG); the Popular Sandinista Army (EPS); the Popular Sandinista Militias (MPS); and the Agrarian Reform Agency.

A cooperative member stood up and read very slowly and deliberately from a piece of paper.

"A question for the *compañero* responsible for the militias: We of the cooperatives all belong to the militias, and we need arms."

There was a pause. The militia representative stood up.

"Once the cooperative's organized, you need to meet and discuss your problem with the militias."

"We're already organized. What we need are arms," said the peasant.

"Let's have a meeting and discuss the problem."

Another peasant stands, speaking for one of the five cooperatives represented here.

"I have a question for the army representative. The threat of the counterrevolution is holding up production. We need protection."

"If there is a threat," the army representative responded, "we have troops. But we don't know the area well. If you know where we need to send the troops, that's where we'll go. You are the ones in charge here."

"Crops are being lost. We need roads to the cooperatives."

"They had the machinery ready for the roads, but the construction never began because of the problem of the bands. If we wait too late now, the winter rains will make it impossible."

"Here's the problem," says a peasant. "Everybody belongs to the militias, but many are also army reserve members. When the *reservistas* are mobilized for assignment, the militias need to be reinforced."

"There's a need for coordination," says the representative of the Junta of Reconstruction for the province. "Between the militias, the army, and the cooperatives, to guarantee the safety of the cooperatives."

"I have a question for ENABAS: We have a hundred and fifty *quintales* (one *quintal* equals 100 pounds) of corn ready to harvest and no way to get it out."

"*Compañero*, ENABAS can't build the roads. We need the help of the comrades from the Area of Public Ownership."

## Some criticisms

During a break in the questions, Francisco gives a report, critically assessing some of the government's shortcomings.

"*Compañeros*, we have used the bands as a permanent justification. The truth is that we from the state have not fulfilled our commitment to this zone. ENABAS, the bank, PROCAMPO, the Agrarian Reform need to be at the side of the army. The efforts of the army alone will do us no good. The peasants will leave for other parts."

"We have seen in the past where our technicians would not come out here, using the bands as the excuse. We have to have faith in our army, and also train ourselves to defend production."

Francisco promises to go before the Sandinista regional council to explain the need for better use of the government's resources for the benefit of the cooperatives in Rio Blanco.

He describes some of the background of the problems that have surfaced.

"This zone is one of small and medium producers. Above all, in cattle-raising, and some cultivation of basic grains. It was an area of capital flight, and it was one of the last zones where the agrarian reform took hold," he added.

"Bands of ex-members of Somoza's National Guard have operated here since the revolution."

(Rio Blanco, one Agrarian Reform official explained, was the scene of a massacre of about 1,000 peasants by the National Guard during the revolutionary war. "It was a Beirut.")

## Agrarian reform

"The agrarian reform is for the peasant with land, and those without land. We want to encourage cooperatives for those who want to return to the lands they left because of Somoza's guard. These cooperatives must be cooperatives of defense and production. That's what we need here."

"For the *compañeros* who are without land or are semi-proletarians, which are not many in this zone, we are going to give you land," he said.

"As a first step, we need a better coordination between UNAG and the organizations of the state, like the Agrarian Reform."

"There is a problem of a lack of technicians. We lack the capacity. We need probably 15 technicians here, and we have six between three different agencies. We need to coordinate the work of these agencies to make the most effective use of these technicians."

He indicated that there are two important projects planned for the area. One is opening a road to Siuna. This has as its purpose access by land to the Atlantic Coast, as well as permitting the development of an agricultural infrastructure where this road passes. The other is a dam to generate electricity.

After his report, the questions resume, this time unraveling another problem. A grey-haired peasant explains:

"This superintendent is using his authority to parcel and sell land that is not his. He's already sold one parcel of 15 manzanas and one of 20. We are 18 families, and we have organized a cooperative. We want to know, yes or no, whether this land is covered by the agrarian reform. We have been working the land for a year now."

Another adds, "This is a farm of 1,200 manzanas. The owner doesn't live there. He lives in Chinandega. He is not working the land. There are people who want to work it. But he has sent this superintendent to parcel and sell the land."

"This farm is covered," says the Agrarian Reform director.

"That's what we want to make clear here, because this land is abandoned," says another cooperative member. "The owner has a house there, it was a nice house, and it's all fallen apart. He has cattle, and they are dying from neglect."

"The land is covered by the Agrarian Reform Law. You should arrange a delegation to go Monday to Matagalpa to the Legal Department, so the law can be enforced. We will give you land titles."

To end the meeting, the chair reads a list of the problems discussed. He stops at each one, waiting until the concrete measures to answer the problem are agreed on.

## Achievements of revolution

Before the meeting can end, an army member stands, seeking to speak.

"Before three years ago, the peasants and workers of this area never had the opportunity to present their problems, concerns, and criticisms to their government representatives. We have seen here the democracy that we have, and we have found in the government, revolutionaries, in the face of all our difficulties."

"For us, it is not only the need to increase production, but to defend that production, too. Not just against the bands. You all know that to produce we need money. And you also know that our enemies want to cut off loans to Nicaragua. What we have achieved here tonight strengthens our desire to defend our gains."

"There are many tasks ahead. The government has to rationalize its resources. For the armed forces, we are here to do as you say."

The meeting ends with applause and slogans.

"With the cooperatives and culture, we will bury imperialism!"

"Sandino lives, and the fight continues!"

\* \* \*

That same night in the northern province of Nueva Segovias two Agrarian Reform technicians were traveling by jeep. They were ambushed by at least 70 well-armed counterrevolutionaries.

The technicians' throats were slit. Five others who were in the jeep behind theirs were wounded in a hail of bullets. According to one of the survivors, the assassins had screamed: "These sons of bitches, they are the ones who have taken our land from us!"

## Meeting hits Guatemala regime

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — More than 100 Latin American scholars, students, and human rights activists attended a one-day conference on "Human Rights in Guatemala" here on October 21.

The conference was sponsored by the School of Advanced International Studies of Johns Hopkins University and the Washington Office on Latin America.

Among the speakers who addressed the gathering were Craig Nelson from the Institute for Policies Studies and Patt Derran, former assistant secretary of state for human rights during the Carter administration. Presenting a first-hand account of the situation was José Efraín Rosales Marroquín, a Quiche Indian and peasant leader.

Speaking about the village that was his home, Marroquín pointed out, "Before, there were about 2,000 people in La Estancia; today many of them are dead, killed by

the army." Five members of Marroquín's family were murdered by the army under the previous regime of Gen. Lucas García.

During a news conference, Bishop José Antonio Ramos of the Latin American-Caribbean Office of the National Council of Churches announced that the Guatemalan army has surrounded the village of San Martín Jilotepeque since October 4 and is threatening the lives of 5,000 Indians. Previously 300 Indians in that village had been murdered.

In addition to the talks, conference participants viewed a new slide show, shown for the first time, called *Guatemala: The Gathering Storm*. It highlights the role of the United States in Guatemala starting with the 1954 CIA organized coup overthrowing the Arbenz regime. It is available for purchase or rent from GCR Media Arts, 24A Maple Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02139.

## From Pathfinder

## Nicaragua: An introduction to the Sandinista Revolution

By Arnold Weissberg

A clearly written description of pre-revolutionary Nicaragua, the insurrection, the far-reaching social measures taken by the Sandinista government, and the U.S. response.

48 pp., \$.95. Add \$.75 for postage. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

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# Unionists fight employer, government spying

**Attack on Workers' Rights: The Fight Against Government/Company Victimization**, by John Studer. Pathfinder Press, 24 pages, \$.75.

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

As the Reagan administration prepares to escalate its military intervention in Central America and the Caribbean and elsewhere, it has also launched a secret war against American workers.

This war, led by Washington's political police, involves spying on, framing up, blacklisting, and firing

## PAMPHLET REVIEW

trade union militants who speak out against Washington's domestic and foreign policy.

Bringing this hidden war to the attention of American workers, as the first step in mounting an opposition to it, is the purpose of the pamphlet, *Attack on Workers' Rights*, written by John Studer.

This 24-page pamphlet offers a detailed account of how the employers in the giant war industries — in collaboration with the FBI, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, and other cop agencies — use company finks to try to divide and weaken the union movement. They carry out their antilabor activities under the guise of protecting "national security."

Trade union activists opposed to imperialist war, wage cuts, racism, and worsening working conditions are branded as "subversives." They are interrogated and harassed in order to create an atmosphere of fear and intimidation in the plants. The goal is to prevent workers from uniting and developing a strategy to combat the combined government-employer offensive against working people.



Militant/Tamar Rosenfeld  
**Chris Hoepfner (right), plaintiff in suit against Lockheed-Georgia, talks to fellow unionist at recent 'Labor Notes' conference. New pamphlet documents Lockheed and other political firings.**

Studer, for example, points out, "According to the National Labor Relations Board, in 1981 over 10,000 workers were illegally fired for engaging in union activities."

In addition the Defense Investigative Service (DIS), the investigative arm of a little-known program called the "Industrial Personnel Security Clearance Program" of the Department of Defense, maintains a huge computer in Columbus, Ohio, that contains the personal history, union activity, and political views and affiliations of mil-

lions of U.S. workers. More than 15 million workers in private industry, whose employers have military contracts, are watched carefully by "Big Brother" DIS.

But not only do DIS and company stooges watch; but at the slightest hint that workers are beginning to discuss politics, company agents swoop in and find any pretext to get them fired.

Studer documents a number of such cases. At Lockheed-Georgia in December 1980 and January 1981 security officer Robert Lang developed a profile of workers he deemed suspect. He used such criteria as whether they had a college diploma or if they came from California. As a result 15 unionists were fired, all of them members or supporters of the Socialist Workers Party. Among them were workers who had received good job evaluations.

Similar moves against socialist and antiwar trade unionists have been made at the McDonnell Douglas aircraft plant in St. Louis; the Tenneco Shipyards in Newport News, Virginia; General Dynamics in Groton, Connecticut; and other plants.

*Attack On Workers' Rights* makes the case that the government's attempt to place spies in the union movement to gather information, finger militants, and find ways to harass and fire them is an attack on all workers.

This highlights the importance of labor supporting workers at Lockheed in Atlanta who filed a suit in September 1982 against the company for illegally violating the union contract and the workers' civil rights by spying on them. Other union activists are filing grievances against this kind of spying. Thousands of unionists have signed a petition being circulated by the Political Rights Defense Fund on behalf of the fired unionists at Lockheed and McDonnell Douglas.

Distributing *Attack On Workers' Rights* to as many unionists as possible is an important way to alert working people to the covert attack against them and to help arm them in the fights to come.

## 'In full — on time,' goal for fund drive

BY HARRY RING

All things considered, we're doing fine. We have now raised \$172,000 toward our \$250,000 Socialist Publication Fund. The fund effort is the biggest of its kind in our history.

A few weeks ago, the fund was several percentage points behind schedule. We proposed Thanksgiving week as a target date for catching up and even inching a bit ahead to ensure successful completion of the drive by New Year's.

Now, as the chart confirms, we are virtually caught up. So, even with a moderate push, we can actually be ahead of schedule

by the time the turkey (or hash, depending on your situation) comes out of the oven.

The need is, of course, immediate. We launched this very large fund effort because we and our sister publications, *Perspectiva Mundial* and *Intercontinental Press* have been hard hit by the inflationary crunch. Our printing costs alone jumped by more than 20 percent this year and other publishing and mailing costs increased even more.

The publications fund was launched last summer at a national educational conference of members and supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist

Alliance. The response to the appeal for this fund was genuinely inspiring. There were no well-heeled "angels" present who could underwrite any large share of that quarter of a million dollars we were aiming for. We knew that the key to the success of the drive depended on the response of socialist industrial workers and their willingness to dig down deep, even in a period of heavy layoffs and job insecurity.

And respond they did. Some of them — oil refinery workers, coal miners, others — work in industries where the unions have won pay standards that approach a living wage. But others who pledged for the drive — like garment workers — labor for outrageously low wages.

Yet in all these categories, the pledges to the fund clearly represent extra effort — particularly for times like these.

For example, a group of oil refinery workers pledged a total of more than \$26,000 to the fund. Coal miners neared the \$24,000 mark. And, proportionate to income, garment workers matched them all with pledges totaling nearly \$10,000.

When they made their substantial pledges, these socialist workers were demonstrating that they're not unduly influenced by the money fetish that's so pervasive in this capitalist society. Even more important, their experience on the job had confirmed that a fightback is developing among working people against increasingly intolerable conditions.

They were determined that they would not let a lack of money prevent us from reaching these workers with our socialist ideas at the very moment when it's so important to do so.

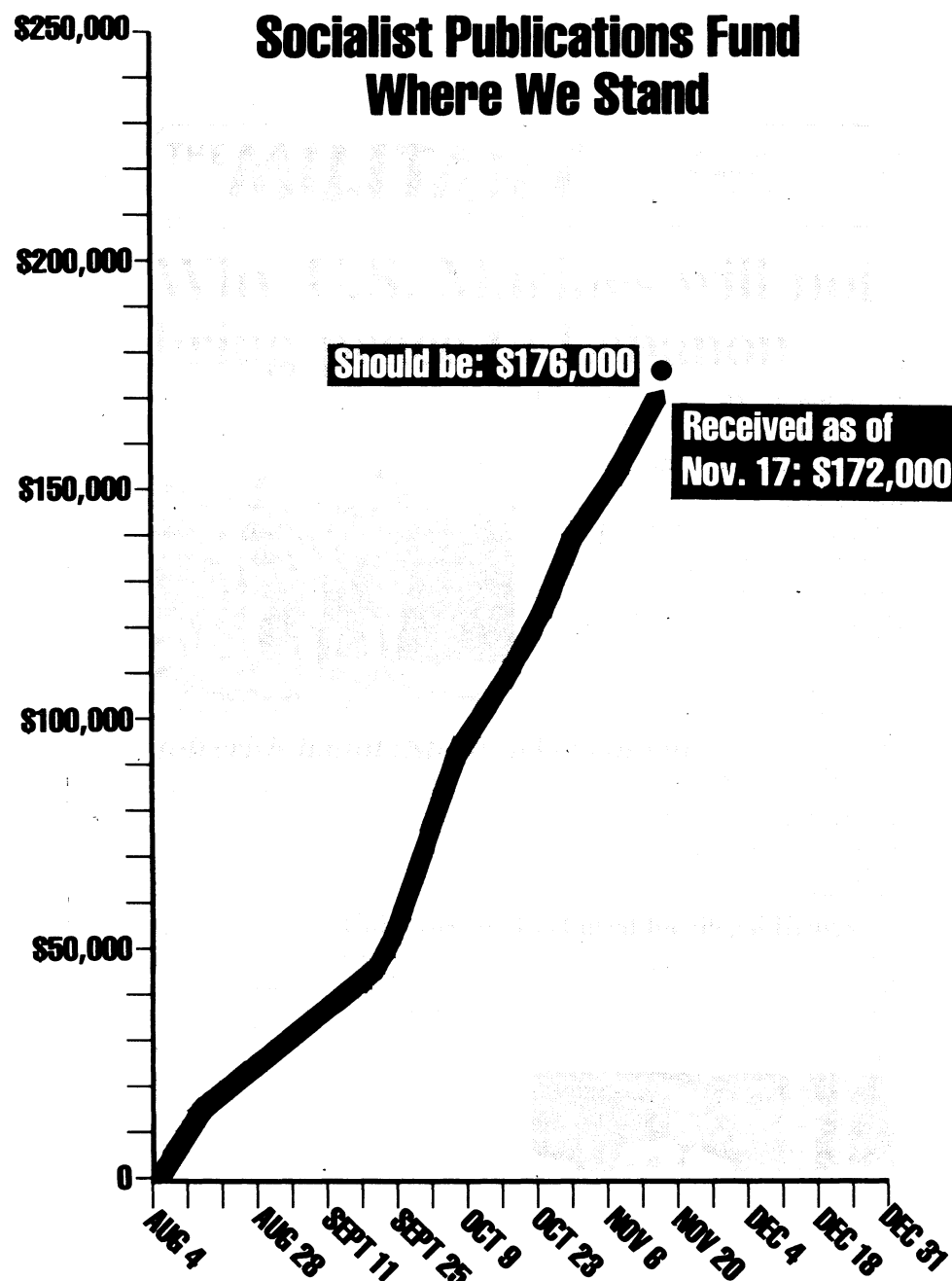
But now we come to the last third — and in some way the most difficult — part of the drive.

The inescapable added expense of the holiday period is soon upon us. A number of those pledging have been hit by layoffs. Others are not getting the overtime they were counting on to meet their pledges.

Yet, from all reports, these workers remain determined to catch up and to meet their commitment to the fund. That will be necessary for us to make our goal.

One thing we're hoping for is that some of those who completed their payments ahead of schedule will consider making an added contribution to compensate for the difficulties others may find themselves in.

Setting goals that meet the needs of a situation and then meeting those goals is the hallmark of a revolutionary workers movement. That's why we're confident that by December 31 we'll reach our goal—in full and on time.



Militant/Osborne Hart  
**Rafael Cancel Miranda**

## Meeting commemorates Puerto Rican uprising

BY MICHAEL FITZSIMMONS

ALBANY, N.Y. — On October 28, two hundred people participated in a meeting held at Albany State University to commemorate the October 1950 nationalist uprising in Puerto Rico.

The featured speaker at the event was Rafael Cancel Miranda, one of the five freed Puerto Rican Nationalists held in U.S. prisons for more than 25 years for refusing to end their struggle for the independence of Puerto Rico.

Sponsors of the meeting included the Puerto Rican, Caribbean, and Latin American Studies Department, Fuerza Latina, and the Puerto Rican Independence Solidarity Alliance.

Miranda's presentation focused on U.S. imperialism's exploitation of the Puerto Rican people and the struggle for Puerto Rico's independence. Miranda also spoke about his opposition to the draft during the Korean War, for which he spent two years in jail. He pointed out, "I would fight for the American people, but I would not kill or die for the big corporations."

In an interview with this reporter, Miranda noted that many Puerto Rican youth, more than one-fourth of whom are unemployed, have refused to register for the draft. If the draft is reinstituted, they face being drafted to fight against their brother and sister Latinos in El Salvador and Nicaragua.

Miranda said that meetings were being organized to actively oppose draft registration by the Pro-Independence Student Federation and other groups.



# Did protectionism save jobs in '30s?



Bettmann Archive  
Soup kitchen during the Depression. Protectionist measures in 1930s didn't stop massive layoffs.

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

As the recession drags on, certain corporations are demanding protection against imports. These capitalist interests hope to keep prices and profits high in the face of slack demand for their commodities. Unfortunately, certain sections of the union officialdom are echoing support for these protectionist schemes. These misleaders claim that higher tariffs, or other limits on foreign imports, are the answer to the problem of plant shutdowns and double-digit unemployment.

Protectionism is hardly a new idea. During the Great Depression of the 1930s protectionist devices were widely resorted to by the employers and their government. A review of this experience proves that the results were disastrous.

In 1929, as the world-wide depression was developing, pressure mounted to build a huge tariff wall around the United States. The most important section of this wall was the Smoot-Hawley tariff which was supposed to protect U.S. businesses from stiffening international competition.

An article in the December 7, 1929, *Militant* commented on the proposed tariff legislation: "It will signify . . . the jacking up of the United States tariff wall in a desperate endeavor by the American boss class to broaden the basis of their own narrowing home market by keeping out the more cheaply produced goods of Europe,

## New Indian paper started in Minnesota

A new Indian paper, *The Leading Feather*, has begun publication in White Earth, Minnesota. It is being prepared and produced by the White Earth Oral History Project. The White Earth Reservation is one of several Chippewa reservations in Minnesota.

The first issue includes an article on the "Last Indian War in the U.S.," an account of a battle fought at Leech Lake in Minnesota, between federal troops and Chippewas in 1898.

Another article reports on the investigation by the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe into how most of their tribal lands, as recognized by treaty, were taken away from them.

Copies of the paper can be obtained by writing to: White Earth Oral History Project, P.O. Box 356, White Earth, Minn. 56591.

and, inversely, cutting down the meager share they have allotted to the poor relatives across the sea."

The *Militant* pointed out that the tariff would not improve conditions for workers. "That the raised tariff schedules will not bring with them any increase of wages in compensation is obvious from the whole past tariff history of the country.

"What is clear for the workers is that their wages have been cut, their working day lengthened, their 'efficiency' increased by the crack of the foreman's whip, and their unions smashed through, under the hitherto prevailing Fordney-McCumber rates, and that their situation will not be improved one iota under the higher Smoot-Hawley bill."

### Tariffs of 1930 highest ever

In June 1930, President Herbert Hoover signed the Smoot-Hawley tariff bill. Under the terms of the new law, tariffs were raised to their highest level in U.S. history. For example, the tariff on dutiable imports in 1921-1925 was 25.9 percent of their value, in 1931-1935 it rose to 50.02 percent.

Canada, the United States' largest trading partner, promptly retaliated. In 1930 the Canadian government raised tariffs on commodities produced in the United States. Later the same year, the Conservative Party led by Ricard Bennett was swept into power on a protectionist platform. Tariffs were jacked up further and the minister of national revenue was given sweeping new powers to control imports.

The Canadian tariffs proved to be the prelude to an historic shift by Great Britain away from free trade. Considering that together the British and Canadian markets represented almost 35 percent of U.S. foreign exports this was a massive blow to American employers.

In 1931 Britain passed the Abnormal Importations Act which gave the president of Britain's Board of Trade authority to impose tariffs on a wide range of commodities. The Horticultural Products Act passed the same year gave the minister of agriculture similar authority to raise duties on fruits and vegetables.

Then, in February 1932, the Import Duties Act was adopted establishing a tariff of 10 percent on nearly all imports into the United Kingdom. The act also set up an Import Duties Advisory Committee, a body which recommended tariffs in excess of the general 10 percent level. By 1938 almost 180 commodities were covered.

The Ottawa Conference was held in 1932 by countries belonging to the British empire (Britain, South Africa, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the British colonies). The response then to the Smoot-Hawley tariff was a trade war in which a sizeable portion of world trade was directed away from the United States.

For example, in 1929 more than 16 percent of Britain's imports were of U.S. origin; by 1936 the figure was only 11 percent. In 1931, when the shift toward protectionism was just beginning, 18.7 percent of Britain's imports came from within the British empire; by 1937 nearly 40 percent did.

### Competitive devaluations

Then in 1931, the worsening economic crisis forced Britain to devalue the pound. The effect of this was to lower the price of British exports on the world market and raise the price (in terms of pounds) of imports into Britain. This was a further blow to trade between United States and British capitalists.

The devaluation of the pound put massive pressure on Washington to do likewise in relation to the U.S. dollar. President Hoover, fearful of further aggravating the United States' already strained relations with Britain, resisted. But private capitalists and central banks forced the issue. When President Roosevelt was inaugurated in early 1933, he suspended gold payments and devalued the dollar.

Competitive devaluations and trade barriers swept across the globe. The German government, in response to the banking crash of 1931, began to surround Germany by a system of foreign exchange controls that was to characterize Hitler's Third Reich. That is, Berlin assumed control of Germany's scarce reserves of gold and foreign currencies in order to severely limit the importation of commodities into Germany.

In the summer of 1933 the representatives of the capitalist powers gathered in London for the World Monetary and Economic Conference. A truce in the further raising of tariffs was declared and an attempt was made to work out a new schedule of exchange rates among the major currencies. But the conference failed when President Roosevelt made clear that he intended to further devalue the dollar. The tariff truce collapsed. World trade remained strangled until the outbreak of World War II.

In 1934, the year following the aborted London Economic Conference, the dollar value of total world trade was only one-third what it had been in 1929. The foreign trade of U.S. big business was hit even harder. It was only about one-fourth what it had been in dollar terms.

## Steelworkers lose COLA raise

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

BALTIMORE — Steelworkers will not receive the nine cents an hour cost-of-living adjustment (COLA) that was due on November 1. This is the result of a deal reached between United Steelworkers (USWA) President Lloyd McBride and top labor negotiators for the U.S. steel industry. The hundreds of thousands of dollars that are involved will be put into an escrow account until December 1.

This decision is part of an attempt by McBride and the steel industry to reach agreement on a larger deal that would renegotiate the current basic steel contract that expires August 1. A previous effort failed over the summer when the USWA's Basic Steel Industry Conference (BSIC) unanimously rejected company demands for \$6 billion in concessions.

Since that time McBride has been trying to make a deal that he could persuade local union presidents to accept. In an August 12 letter sent out to all workers in basic steel, only two weeks after the talks collapsed, McBride said, "I am convinced that the steel industry has many problems and that our union should help alleviate these problems in the areas over which we have control."

At the recent USWA convention in September the leadership pushed through a res-

What was the impact of all this on workers and farmers?

Roosevelt wanted to raise prices. He claimed that higher prices were necessary to restore employment for workers and prosperity to the farmers. The administration's protectionist policies were designed to do this. While higher prices might have been good for the bosses' profits, the last thing that depression-clobbered workers needed was a higher cost of living.

Did the protectionist policies of Hoover and Roosevelt at least check unemployment? The figures speak for themselves.

In 1930, when the Smoot-Hawley tariff went into effect, unemployment was already 8.7 percent. Sounds high. Almost as bad as today. But U.S. workers weren't to see such low unemployment figures again until the bloodbath of World War II. In 1931, the year after Smoot-Hawley went into effect, unemployment had reached 16 percent of the workforce. By 1933 the figure hit 25 percent.

In 1937, after four years of Roosevelt's "New Deal," unemployment was still above 14 percent. And that proved to be a year of "prosperity." The following year unemployment was back up to 19 percent. Even in 1941 when war orders were beginning to revive industry, unemployment was still around 10 percent — that is more of the workforce was without jobs than when Smoot-Hawley was passed more than a decade before.

Nor did farmers do well.

Smoot-Hawley did not prevent forced sales of farms from rising from 20.8 per thousand farms in 1930 to 54.1 in 1933. The number of forced sales of farms did not fall below the 1930 level until 1938.

### Protectionism threatens depression

Today a return to protectionism would be even more disastrous. World trade is much greater and the planet's economy is far more integrated economically. The international banking system ties the world economy together and rapidly transmits any shock. Any major disruption of world trade threatens to trigger a world banking crash that would lead to a cataclysmic depression like that of the 1930s. Even the capitalists are aware of the danger. While demanding protection for certain industries, they are trying to avoid, for their own reasons, the chain reaction protectionism and retaliation that did so much to ruin world trade in the 1930s.

History clearly proves that protectionist devices are not the answer to the effects of capitalism's crises on working people.

All that protectionism means for workers is higher prices, fewer jobs, and the undermining of international solidarity of the working class.

olution authorizing McBride to resume concession negotiations. Since that time McBride has been meeting with U.S. Steel's J. Bruce Johnston under what *Business Week* refers to as a "tight news blackout."

The COLA wage increase has been deferred to December 1 because McBride and the steel industry hope to have a complete concession package arranged by that time. Getting rid of COLA payments has been one of the industry's goals from the beginning. If this is agreed to, steelworkers will never see November's payment.

This action was taken by McBride on his own. The local union presidents who make up the BSIC were not consulted, much less the rank and file of the union, which has no right to vote on the contract. Some steelworkers even question whether McBride has the legal authority to make such a decision on his own.

In any event it is clear that a bigger deal is in the works. If so, a meeting of the BSIC will have to be convened in Pittsburgh to vote on a new contract proposal. It remains to be seen whether McBride and the industry will have any better luck than they did last summer in convincing local union officials to go along.

# Young Socialists discuss fight against war, company takebacks

## Excerpts from YSA political resolution

The Young Socialist Alliance is holding its 22nd national convention in Chicago December 30-January 2. The convention will assess the political situation in the United States and the world and adopt perspectives for the YSA's activity in the coming year.

The YSA membership is currently carrying out a preconvention discussion — both at local YSA chapter meetings and through a national discussion bulletin — on the major political questions facing the working-class movement.

We are reprinting here excerpts from the draft political resolution proposed by the YSA National Executive Committee for adoption at the convention. It is titled *The deepening proletarianization of U.S. politics: The tasks of the YSA*.

The convention agenda includes reports on the U.S. political situation, U.S. intervention against Nicaragua, the fight for Black rights, the struggle for women's liberation, and organization of the YSA.

Jack Barnes, national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party, will present a public talk on "Their Trotsky and Ours: Revolutionary Continuity Today." A public rally, workshops, and other events are also planned.

For information on attending the convention, clip and mail the coupon in the ad below, or contact the YSA chapter nearest you (see directory, page 17).

After three years of agreeing to go along with wage cuts and other concessions, Chrysler auto workers voted this October to reject the contract negotiated by the company and the union by a ratio of more than two to one.

This vote was a defiant message: "Enough of concessions! They don't get us anything."

Chrysler workers accepted a contract three years ago granting big concessions to the company when Chrysler claimed it was on the verge of bankruptcy and demanded the workers help bail it out.

Today, Chrysler workers see the result of their sacrifices: the Chrysler workforce has declined from 76,000 to 45,000. Eight plants have been shut down since 1979. And wages stand at \$2.68 an hour less than at Ford or General Motors. All this while the company announced standing cash reserves of \$1 billion and second quarter profits of \$107 million.

The new contract promised more of the same: no guarantees of wage raises or job security, more speedup, and worse job rules, including harsher penalties for absenteeism.

The vote against the contract indicates that Chrysler workers have begun to question and reject the class-collaborationist policies of the UAW tops.

A layer of Chrysler workers has begun to see themselves as a part of a class with interests antagonistic to that of the bosses. Many have come to understand that there is no "Chrysler family" with common interests.

A layer of auto workers is beginning to understand the need to reclaim their union as a fighting tool in their interests. They are rejecting the idea that their union should concern itself with policing workers on the job.

These workers don't necessarily believe that they can prevent concessions by voting down the contract. But they are learning from their own experiences that without a fight against the company they will lose even more.

Working people, women, Blacks, and others are watching the developments at Chrysler Corp. The experiences and conclusions of the Chrysler workers will inspire millions of others and help them draw the lessons of how to fight the bosses' offensive.

Workers who see the need for a class-

struggle perspective on the job can also be won to a class-struggle perspective in the political arena — independent political action by the working class, a labor party.

These workers have watched millions of dollars of union funds go to capitalist party politicians. These same politicians demand more sacrifices from the workers; more concessions to the companies; more cutbacks in unemployment benefits, food stamps, and other necessary social services — while they vote over and over again to increase the war budget.

The example being set by the ranks at Chrysler will be an inspiration and an aid to those fighting to defend Black rights and to advance women's equality, to working farmers, immigrant workers — the working class and its allies as a whole.

This is what we look forward to in the coming year.

The Young Socialist Alliance began to note during the spring and fall that a layer of the working class and the oppressed is beginning to look for new solutions to the problems they face. The tremendous response to our petitioning efforts to get Socialist Workers Party candidates on the ballot indicated something new. We saw this again during the opening weeks of the fall sales drive when the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist* were sold to thousands of new readers, with particularly good responses coming from sales on the job and at plant gates.

The YSA sees U.S. politics today as in a preparatory period — a time when working people and the oppressed are discussing the big questions posed by the current crisis — a time for drawing the lessons of today's battles and of preparation for the big battles to come.

### Deepening proletarianization

In the last year, the YSA has deepened the proletarianization of our organization. This is reflected in three important ways:

1) We have gained a better appreciation of how the turn to industry has strengthened our work in the fight against the wars at home and abroad, in the fight for Black rights, women's rights, and everything we do to build the YSA.

2) We have continued to build, through recruitment and hiring, all eight of the national fractions in the industries and key unions that we have voted to prioritize: the UAW in auto; the USWA in steel; the UMWA in coal; the United Transportation Union in rail; the International Association of Machinists in aerospace and machine tool industries; the International Union of Electrical Workers in electrical; the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers in petrochemical; and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and Amalgamated

Clothing and Textile Workers Union in the garment and textile industry.

Although we have experienced some layoffs in targeted industries, today more YSA members are working in industry or looking for industrial jobs than one year ago. This includes taking jobs in nonpriority industries.

3) We have learned what it means to go through the experiences of our class as part of its politically-conscious vanguard.

In August of this year, our eight national fractions met. These joint meetings of YSA and SWP members working in these industries were meetings of confident, thinking socialist workers who are convinced from their own experiences that a growing layer of vanguard workers are responsive to socialist ideas.

Fraction members discussed the discussions and fights they have been a part of on the job and in their unions. Socialist workers discussed the Chrysler contract and the collapse of steel negotiations in July. New York garment workers reported shop floor struggles around deportations and working conditions. Socialist miners reported walkouts and other protests against safety conditions.

Socialist workers described their co-workers' response to discussions over why the unions should support struggles around desegregation, abortion rights, deportations, farm foreclosures, and all other issues affecting the interests of working people. Socialist workers from Louisville reported on the successful on-the-job petitioning campaign protesting efforts by the Klan to push back desegregation in that city. Workers from Miami explained the success they had in organizing support for Haitian refugees. Socialist garment workers from the East Coast explained the excellent discussions they had while building an abortion rights demonstration. And workers, especially in the Midwest, reported on experiences they had talking politics with farmers they met on the job. The fraction meetings discussed our efforts to get out our ideas through SWP election campaigns, sales of the socialist press, and our forums. They discussed the \$250,000 Socialist Publications Fund and collectively decided goals for fraction members. These pledges are the backbone of this fund.

These meetings reflected the mood of confidence of our whole organization. The entire YSA membership is having similar experiences in other jobs, on campus, in high schools and everywhere we go to build the YSA.

We have actively participated in discussions and fights unfolding in the American working class.

Elizabeth Ziers, a member of UAW Local 600 and of the YSA, was the SWP candidate for lieutenant governor of Michigan.



Striking Chrysler workers in Canada; New by employers at home and opposition to w

She explained in a statement distributed in Detroit the need for a labor party based on a militant and democratic union movement to give workers and their allies "a vehicle to fight for our rights." Such a labor party is needed to carry out the fight for a workers and farmers government that will mobilize working people to end this rotten system of capitalism.

When the railroad engineers went out on strike this fall, YSA members in Chicago went out on the picket lines, sold our press, and distributed a campaign statement in support of the strikers. One YSAer, a striking engineer, was able to get on the radio and defend the strike. He explained that workers need their own party to fight the antilabor laws such as the one that was used to end their strike.

This fighting program and perspective is becoming more real for us as we participate in the battles and skirmishes taking place, both the victories and the setbacks. It is from these experiences that a new leadership for our class is being formed. We are going through the experiences our class is going through, helping to draw the lessons from them and point the way forward. We are stronger, more conscious of our goals, and capable of meeting them as a result of this progress in deepening the turn to the industrial working class.

Our perspective remains to deepen the proletarianization of the YSA. It is as a working class organization in program and composition that we think out all our political campaigns, such as the fight against imperialist intervention or local antiracist struggles. We act as socialist workers who reach out to the fighters of the Black movement, women's liberation struggle, the struggles of Chicanos and Puerto Ricans, and the battles to defend democratic rights.

### Building national fractions

Some of our fractions have been hit with layoffs, especially steel, auto, and rail. But we continue to try to reach the workers in these key industries. We continue to be alert to any job openings in these industries, and to follow developments in these unions, to hold forums about questions confronting workers in these industries, and carry out sales and campaigning at these same plant gates.

Today, because of the experiences of our class over the last several years, we can influence and recruit more workers than when we first began to build the fractions. We can also win workers in other industries and unemployed workers today.

Central to this perspective is organizing regular weekly sales to workers. We can maximize our impact by involving our entire membership in this.

We want to move toward a norm that all members of the YSA sell at targeted industries, other plants where YSAers work, or unemployment lines on a weekly basis.

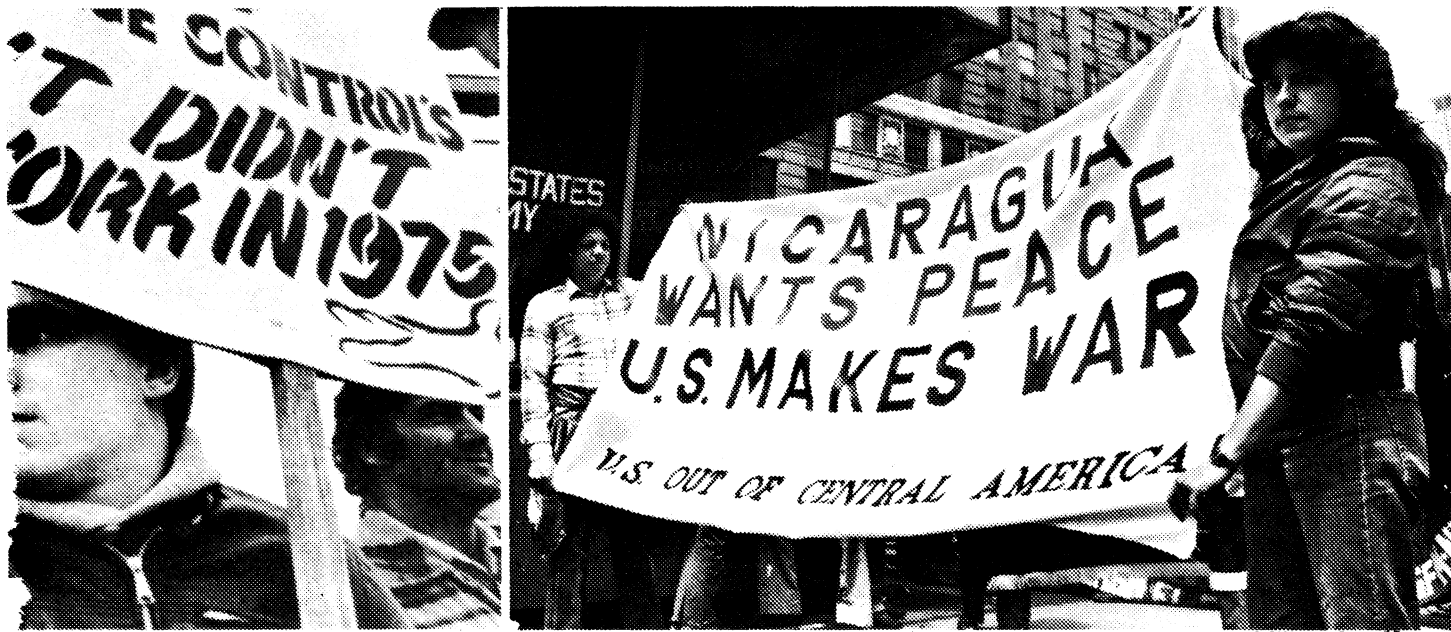
These sales will involve the whole chapter — industrial workers, students, non-industrial workers, and unemployed members.

These sales provide an opportunity for members who are students to meet and talk to industrial workers. They provide an opportunity for socialist workers from one industry to discuss politics with workers in other key industries. For example, members who are students or workers can meet fraction members at a targeted plant



Socialist literature table in Baltimore's Pimlico community. Sales at work sites and in working-class neighborhoods are major task outlined in resolution.





Militant/Lou Howort

York protest against U.S. war on Nicaragua. Young Socialist resolution highlights growing resistance to sacrifices demanded abroad.

or a sale before going to work or school. This approach helps to generalize the experiences the YSA is having to our entire membership.

In the context of a deep recession, the YSA has been able to maintain our perspective of getting members into our eight national industrial fractions and into other industrial jobs.

Functioning jobs committees are an essential part of organizing our members to get industrial jobs. These committees can search job openings and organize our members to respond to them.

Finding jobs will also be facilitated by our regular sales at plant gates, which will enable us to learn about openings in the plants.

At the time of the YSA National Committee plenum in August 1982, we had 71 percent of our members in industry or actively looking for industrial jobs. We also made progress in meeting the projection of building a national fraction in garment and textile. At the time of our plenum, 62 members of the YSA were working in the garment and textile industry.

As the U.S. government pours billions of dollars into war production, and the bosses wring greater sacrifices from working people, more American workers are recognizing that there is a connection between the wars abroad and the attacks against working people at home. This sentiment has been expressed in the popular slogan, "Jobs not war."

The struggle against imperialist war is an important part of the fight working people must wage to defend our class interests. In this struggle, the workers must stand with the oppressed against the oppressor.

At the center of the U.S. war policies is the drive against the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean. The attacks against the Sandinista-led revolution in Nicaragua by counterrevolutionaries operating from Honduras and within Nicaragua itself are organized and financed in Washington.

The imperialists must attempt to turn back the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions. They seek to prevent the victory of the insurgents in El Salvador. Ultimately, they seek to overthrow the Cuban revolution as well. They must try to reverse his revolutionary process, because it represents the further extension of the socialist evolution in the Western Hemisphere.

#### Opposition to imperialist war

The U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon had a big impact on American workers. The Israeli invasion and terror against the Palestinian and Lebanese people exposed the real face of Israel. The heroic resistance of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) resulted in new respect and recognition for the PLO.

This resistance, and the revulsion among Israeli workers to the slaughter of unarmed citizens, gave an impetus to the struggle within Israel against the war policies of the Israeli state.

In the United States, the invasion was one of the biggest topics of discussion on the job. Socialists in the plants reported widespread opposition to the invasion. Some workers began to identify with the PLO. YSA members pointed out the U.S. role in supporting the Israeli regime.

We were able to bring co-workers to Militant forums and demonstrations protesting the invasion. The *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist* were the main sources of information for young workers interested in finding out the truth about the Mideast war. In the General Electric Riverworks plant in Lynn, Massachusetts, socialist workers helped collect over 250 signatures of IUE members against the invasion.

The indictment and jailing of young men who have refused to register for the draft is part and parcel of the wars imperialism is carrying out against working people around the world. We stand in full political solidarity with the right of American youth to reject the unconstitutional and immoral draft registration. The direct purpose of registration is to pave the way for a brutal imperialist attack on the people of Central America and the Caribbean and to send American youth to be maimed and killed in this new Vietnam. The government is attempting to terrorize these young fighters into complying with the hated draft registration law. The YSA is participating in committees in defense of victimized youth that exist in Los Angeles, San Diego, Milwaukee, and Des Moines.

Hundreds of thousands of youth, including many of our draft-age members, have so far refused to register. The continued refusal of these youth is a reflection of the deep opposition to imperialist war in this country.

On June 12, 1982, one million people came to New York City to march against nuclear weapons and for peace. It was the largest political protest demonstration held in any city in U.S. history. The New York action was preceded by events from town hall meetings in New Hampshire to concerts in California, which involved hundreds of thousands of people.

This tremendous outpouring reflected people's anger at the danger of war, their support for nuclear disarmament, and opposition to the rulers' offensive at home.

The YSA participated in building the June 12 demonstration. In our discussions in coalition meetings and with these activists, we attempted to expose the lies of the U.S. government and to explain the truth about who is really responsible for wars against workers and farmers the world over — the U.S. ruling class, which must be disarmed if there is to be peace.

We have been involved in countless other activities — everything from marches for nuclear disarmament to Nicaragua flood relief to antidraft and anti-registration protests. Almost every YSA chapter participates in a committee in solidarity with the revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean. We have been active builders of coalitions around these issues, seeking to win activists we work with on the questions of the importance of a working-class orientation, as well as involving co-workers in these coalition meetings. We have won many of these antiwar fighters to join the YSA.

In all the activities we are involved in protesting imperialist war, we take as our starting point the fact that the struggle against war forms an integral part of the broader program the workers and farmers need in the fight to transform the unions, build a labor party, and establish their own government and carry out the socialist transformation of society.

Over the past year there has been a big increase in government attacks on immigrant workers. The Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) stepped up raids this year in the factories and fields under the code name "Project Jobs." The Simpson-Mazzoli bill before Congress would beefup racist INS border patrols, limit access to courts for those seeking political asylum, create an internal passport system, and give legal cover for employers to step-up discrimination against all Latino workers. This bill would be used to coerce and intimidate all workers.

The YSA has aggressively protested the attacks on immigrant workers through participating in activities with other organizations and through sales of our press, forums, and socialist election campaigns. We have explained that the INS raids are used to target militants and terrorize the entire workforce. The deportations are also a blow against the freedom struggles in Central America, as the government seeks to deport political refugees. These attacks are used to scapegoat immigrant workers for the ills of capitalist society such as unemployment. And they are aimed at dividing and weakening the entire labor movement.

Winning support for the case of Héctor Marroquín is part of our work in defense of undocumented workers. The government is trying to deport Marroquín, a leader of the YSA, to Mexico because of his socialist views. We have been able to win important union support for Marroquín's case.

Attacks on democratic rights have included government-inspired violence and discrimination against lesbians and gay men.

In Lincoln, Nebraska, a bill was defeated that would have guaranteed equal rights in housing and employment to homosexuals. YSA members and other supporters of the SWP campaign of Joe Swanson for governor participated in activities in support of the referendum.

#### Black struggle

The YSA unconditionally supports the fight for Black equality and actively participates in the fight for Black rights. We understand that every advance in the fight for Black equality is an advance for the working class as a whole.

Blacks are the largest oppressed nationality in the United States. Blacks face discrimination in every facet of life — employment, health care, housing, education.

The government and employers have supported and encouraged racist attacks on Black rights. These racist attacks are a central part of the ruling-class offensive. The current offensive of the ruling class falls hardest on Blacks.

#### The struggle for desegregation

Busing continues to be a central issue in the fight for Black equality. This year the busing plans in Louisville and Boston have been the focus of vicious attacks.

Bill Wilkinson, Imperial Wizard of the Ku Klux Klan, spoke at a Klan-organized antibusing rally in Louisville. The next day the Klan held a march to protest the seventh anniversary of school busing to desegregate Louisville schools.

Opponents of racist attacks in Louisville organized a counter-rally. Despite pressure from the Democratic city government against holding a counterprotest, Louis-

ville antiracist activists organized the Ad Hoc Coalition Against the Klan. This coalition won broad support throughout Louisville, including from high school students, local ministers, and others.

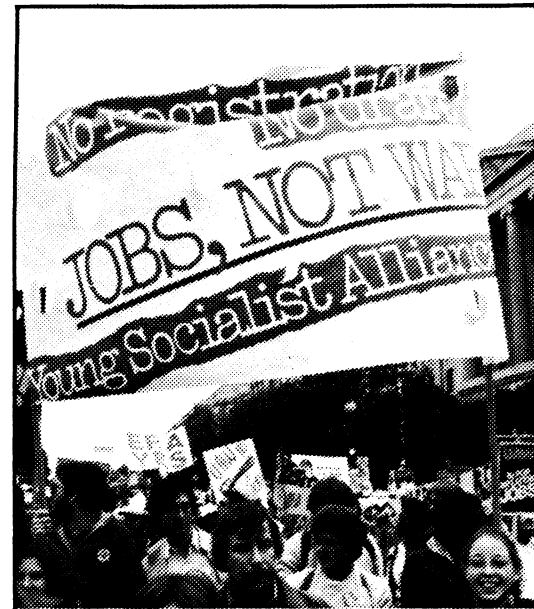
Particularly notable in this struggle was the participation of the Louisville labor movement. Sections of the local labor movement had actively opposed busing when it began in 1974-75. But the struggles waged by the Black community for busing and the impact of the antilabor offensive faced by the union movement had by 1982 resulted in deepening support for Black rights. Today, antiracist activists in the unions are able to win official labor support for rallies against the Ku Klux Klan and in support of efforts to make Dr. Martin Luther King's birthday a national holiday.

YSA members played an important role in helping to organize the probusing, anti-Klan protest. YSA members helped circulate petitions in factories. Through the campaign of SWP congressional candidate Craig Honts, we were able to explain the stakes for the labor movement in defending desegregation and opposing both the Klan and the city officials who act in collusion with them.

The hard-won school desegregation in Boston is under attack again. The YSA has been among those who spoke out in defense of busing. We have utilized our forums to expose the racist lies that the real issue is "freedom of choice." Our candidate for Congress, Valerie Eckart, has used her campaign to protest the assault on Black rights.

The fight for school desegregation in Boston in 1974 also won the right to affirmative action in teacher hiring. The court busing order mandated the Boston school system to bring the proportion of Blacks

Continued on next page



## Come to YSA convention

For more information on the YSA and its convention, clip and mail this coupon to: YSA, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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# Young Socialists on war and takebacks

Continued from preceding page

and other oppressed minority teachers up to 20 percent.

The court also ordered that affirmative action quotas be maintained during periods of layoffs. After the big teacher layoffs in 1981, the leadership of the Boston Teachers Union (BTU) sued to reverse the affirmative action program.

At the July convention of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT), Black teachers took the floor to expose the racist position of the labor fakers, and they denounced the stand of AFT President Albert Shanker, who supports the BTU suit.

## Chicanos and Puerto Ricans

Chicanos are the largest group of Latinos in the United States — the overwhelming majority of them live in the Southwest. Puerto Ricans are the second largest grouping of Latinos in the United States, concentrated in their majority in the Northeast.

Both Chicanos and Puerto Ricans face discrimination in housing, unemployment, and education. Latinos, as a whole, have a lower level of unemployment than Blacks, but also tend to have lower incomes.

For both groups — Chicanos and Puerto Ricans — bilingual education remains a central question in the fight for equality in education.

The Chicano-Mexicano communities of the Southwest continue to be terrorized by INS raids, and deportations remain a central issue for them in their fight for democratic rights in this country.

The status of Puerto Rico as a colony of the United States is a central question for Puerto Ricans living in this country who retain ties to the independence movement on the island. We have participated in pro-independence activities and in the fight to stop the U.S. Navy from using Vieques, a small island off the coast of Puerto Rico, as a target area.

There has been continued government harassment and terror against activists for Chicano and Puerto Rican rights. Puerto Rican activists have been victimized by the government under the guise of a grand jury investigation of the Armed Forces for National Liberation (FALN). These fighters are being held indefinitely without trial for refusing to cooperate with this witchhunt. This mirrors stepped-up repression in Puerto Rico against unionists and independence fighters.

A discussion is developing among Chicanos and Puerto Ricans on how to defend themselves in the face of the ruling-class offensive. Recently, for example, the Chicano caucus in the Democratic party in Colorado walked out of the state convention there because of the stand of the candidates on the issue of deportations.

We want to participate in this thinking-out process going on among Chicanos and Puerto Ricans through stepped-up sales of our press and participation in activities related to these struggles.

Today, we are learning more about Asian-Americans, primarily through building the national garment fraction. We work side by side with many Chinese and other Asian workers. We participated in an ILGWU-organized protest in New York's Chinatown for a decent contract.

Native Americans, especially those living on reservations, are at the bottom of the

economic ladder. While they are only a small percentage of the population, they have important political weight in the United States.

Native Americans continually face land-grabbing attacks by the state and federal governments. In Arizona, there is a new attack on Indian land and water rights in the form of transferring federal land to state control.

The YSA defends the basic social, political, economic, and democratic rights of Native Americans.

Native Americans make up an important part of the work-force, especially in copper, cobalt, and coal mines in the Southwest. As these mines close down, they have a big impact on the employment of Native Americans.

Native Americans, like other oppressed peoples in the United States, have shown great international solidarity with the revolutionary fighters around the world. They have played an important role in defense of the Nicaraguan revolution.

## Other oppressed minorities

There are many oppressed minorities living in the United States — including Dominicans, Colombians, Salvadorans and other Latinos; Haitians, Jamaicans, Asian-Americans, and others.

The treatment of Haitian refugees — which led to the death of dozens of people and the imprisonment of others — exposed the racist nature of the U.S. government. The Haitians won support among the working class — particularly among Black Americans and other oppressed peoples.

Since the U.S.-backed Israeli invasion of Lebanon, there have been many protests throughout the United States which have involved the Arab communities. The demonstrations held September 11 around the country were some of the biggest pro-Palestinian protests to date. Arab groups in the United States are taking a leading role organizing defense of the Palestinian people. Through these activities, YSA members have worked with leaders and activists of these groups.

## Women

The oppression of women is a fundamental pillar of capitalist society.

As the economic crisis has deepened, the ruling class has put women's rights on the chopping block in order to try to reverse some of the gains won by the feminist movement. The ruling class has carried out its assaults on women in a way calculated to divide the women's movement and undercut its resistance. These attacks fall hardest on poor and working women — especially Blacks and Latinas.

The bosses use sexist discrimination to try to divide the working class. The fight for women's rights helps to strengthen the unity of the working class in the face of the bosses' offensive. The demands that women have fought for — including abortion rights, equality under the law, and affirmative action — must be championed by the labor movement as in the interests of all working people.

The fight for abortion rights is the cutting edge of the fight for women's rights. The ability of women to control their own bodies is a precondition for their full emancipation. As long as women are vulnerable to unwanted pregnancies, they can not



Militant/Lou Howort

Fight for abortion rights is at heart of women's liberation struggle

break down the social and economic barriers they face on the job, in education, and in the home. Women remain chained to society's tradition that the role of women is defined by and limited by their biology, destined first and foremost to produce and care for children.

Since the Supreme Court decision in 1973 legalizing abortion, the government has sought to chip away at abortion rights. In the past year, the ruling class has stepped up attacks on abortion rights. This spring, a bill was narrowly defeated in the Senate that would have led to the virtual outlawing of abortion altogether.

The Supreme Court will rule this term on the constitutionality of several state and local antiabortion laws.

Congress is expected to vote this year — for the seventh year in a row — to deny federal funding for abortion. This remains the most serious attack on abortion to date. This attack is aimed squarely at poor women who depend on Medicaid funding for abortion.

Violence against abortion clinics is on the rise, encouraged by the government's attacks on abortion rights.

Despite this campaign, support for abortion rights remains high. A recent survey conducted by *Family Circle* magazine found that 62 percent of those polled support abortion rights.

The YSA participated in and built several activities in defense of abortion rights this year. We were active in the July 17 action in defense of abortion rights called by New Jersey National Organization for Women (NOW) and endorsed by the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) and other organizations. We have organized forums and participated in other activities around this question as well.

## Affirmative action

The government-employer attacks on affirmative action hit women, along with the oppressed nationalities. Many women who

have previously fought their way into industrial jobs traditionally closed to women — coal, rail, steel, auto, machinists, oil — have been laid off because they have the lowest seniority. Nevertheless, women have not been totally driven out of any of these industries. And in many industries, such as oil, women are still getting jobs through affirmative action programs.

The fight against discriminatory layoffs — when layoffs reduce the percentage of women and minorities — has been a topic of discussion among women unionists. A recent UMWA-organized women coal miners' conference discussed this question.

The YSA must be alert to any opening to reach the women who are questioning how to fight back. We can participate in these very important discussions that are taking place in our local NOW chapters, chapters of CLUW, and other women's organizations.

Women we work with on the job and in our unions must be a central component of any perspective for fighting for women's rights. Our industrial fractions and the YSA as a whole must think out how we can bring our co-workers into this fight.

## Winning students to socialism

We have noted an increased level of political activity on the campuses — particularly around the war and draft. We have increased sales, set up literature tables, and organized YSA forums on campus.

For example, the Philadelphia YSA organized forums on the draft on the campuses in their area and recruited two students.

We want to continue this work. Through this activity, we will continue to recruit students. In many places where we have student members now, we may want to organize campus fractions.

We have also begun to do more regional work. This has included both spreading our ideas in areas near where we have chapters and working more consciously with YSA members who live in places without chapters of the YSA or branches of the Socialist Workers Party.

Our experiences in the past year have shown that if leadership attention is given we can recruit in regional areas and strengthen the YSA nationally.

# Government quashes farmers' penny auction

The following article is reprinted from the November 2 issue of *American Agriculture News*.

BY DON DEICHMAN

The steps of the Harrison County Courthouse at Bethany, Missouri, was the scene October 25 of a farm foreclosure auction brought by FmHA [Farmer Home Administration].

Ivan and Mary Gates and their two children were backed by about 40 supporters who asked potential bidders on the Gates farm to not bid more than a penny with the idea of stopping the sale.

There was only one potential bidder who actually bid more than a penny, and that was the FmHA itself, whose acting assis-

tant supervisor for the county entered a bid of just over \$160,000, apparently the amount of principal and interest the Gates still owed on the 200-acre farm which includes their home.

The district supervisor for FmHA in that area, John Garnett, conducted the auction.

Garnett refused to look at the list of grievances and went ahead with the sale over shouts of protest from the crowd. One complaint was the fact that the Gates were not advised of the sale until it had appeared in their local paper.

After the land was declared sold, the 11-year-old Gates daughter broke into tears. The crowd chanted "Negate the sale. Return their home."

The FmHA officials in conducting the sale ignored the fact that legal papers had been filed that morning by Gates which makes them part of the class-action suit by Missouri farmers against FmHA. The papers also cloud the title, possibly making the sale illegal.

Supporters of such suits and penny auctions to stop foreclosure sales contend that fundamental policy changes must be made to keep so many farmers from going out of business. They maintain that even farmers who appear to be doing well, because of their visible large equipment, are not, but are instead stretched out on borrowed money, forced into intensive cropping as a short-term expediency that causes excessive soil erosion.

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# Election campaign puts socialists on map in W. Va.

BY LOUISE GLOVER

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — On November 2, white-haired Cliff Bryant, a retired rail worker and native of Cabin Creek, went to the polls to vote socialist.

"I've been waiting for decades to vote for working-class candidates," Bryant said. "The Democrats and Republicans are really two heads of the same monster against the laboring man. I tell my friends to look for a Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor in 1984."

Bryant was not alone. More than 4,000 West Virginians from virtually every county turned out to vote for SWP candidates Bill Hovland for U.S. Senate and Adrienne Benjamin for U.S. Congress in the 3rd District. This was the first race where socialists appeared on the ballot in more than 45 years.

Hovland and Benjamin are both coal miners and members of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA).

During the campaign thousands of people met socialist campaigners, heard Hovland and Benjamin on radio and TV, and read the campaign platform. Hundreds of articles appeared in West Virginia newspapers on the socialist campaign, and in the final weeks the *Charleston Gazette* and *Daily Mail* ran regular election polls including the tallies of support for Hovland and Benjamin.

"This election campaign put socialists on the map in West Virginia," says Brian Williams, Charleston campaign manager. "Starting with petitioning in April, we ran into continuous obstacles from state and county officials, but each problem was turned back by supporters and other working people who wanted to hear what two socialist coal miners have to say."

During the spring petition drive, Secretary of State A. James Manchin, a Democrat, slandered the campaign, charging

petitioners were "unethical and misleading." He made an appeal for signers to write in to have their names struck from the petitions.

When this attack, combined with harassment by state and city police, failed to halt petitioning, Manchin "rewrote" the state election code. He arbitrarily threw out hundreds of valid signatures for Benjamin in counties where petitioners weren't granted credentials by county clerks.

A broad protest of petitions, letters, and media coverage was mounted, and with the aid of the West Virginia Civil Liberties Union, the socialists filed a lawsuit against Manchin.

In late September, the West Virginia Supreme Court ruled that Manchin's action contradicted a 1980 court decision declaring parts of the law unconstitutional. The court mandated that Benjamin be placed on the ballot.

"Getting Hovland and Benjamin on the ballot was a big victory," says Williams. "State officials wanted to silence us and to set an example for future working-class candidates who will run against the capitalist political parties. Despite right-wing attacks on our campaign headquarters and Manchin's dirty tricks, we found that support for our campaign kept growing."

One signal was the response to the West Virginia Chamber of Commerce's decision to exclude Hovland from the debate between the senatorial candidates. Editorials in the *Charleston Gazette* and *Raleigh Register* and letters in several papers urged that Hovland be included. Following the debate, Channel 33, the public television network, ran a 10-minute rebuttal by Hovland, explaining the socialist platform to end unemployment and the war drive. In addition, his views were covered in the news programs of the major radio and TV stations in the state.



Militant



Militant

SWP candidates Adrienne Benjamin for U.S. Congress and William Hovland for U.S. Senate were first socialists on ballot in West Virginia in decades.

In October, Hovland and Benjamin each were featured in hour-long call-in public radio programs. After Hovland's speech, every caller — from a senior citizen to a laid-off carpenter — said they planned to support his campaign. And a Lincoln County resident wrote to campaign headquarters requesting to join the Socialist Workers Party.

Campaign supporters who traveled to McDowell County for a congressional hearing on unemployment met a laid-off miner who wanted campaign platforms to give out to other miners in his UMWA local. Laid-off miners canvassed Boone, Cabell, and Kanawha counties and a UMWA Labor Day picnic. Campaign supporters targeted 12 District 31 mine portals, steel plants, rail yards, and several campuses.

"Everywhere these teams went they found workers who knew about and said they supported Hovland and Benjamin," recalls Williams. "At Solidarity Day II, a guy from Jackson County told us he finally got smart after 20 years of working for the Democratic Party; he planned to vote SWP."

Besides door-to-door and plant-gate campaigning, the candidates and their support-

ers spoke on seven campuses, at the West Virginia National Organization for Women conference, the Charleston and Huntington NOW meetings, community candidate events, and on WSAZ-TV (NBC). They held widely covered news conferences on West Virginia's unemployment and on Hovland's fact-finding tour of Nicaragua and the U.S. government's effort to destabilize the popular Sandinista government. A full page interview with Hovland and Benjamin was run in the *Charleston Daily Mail*.

At hearings on utility rates and public education, the socialist candidates got an especially warm response.

At the Public Service Commission hearing, Adrienne Benjamin called for the nationalization of the energy monopolies under a publicly elected board with workers' control on the job. She got thunderous applause from the angry crowd.

In the last weeks of the race, Hovland and Benjamin requested leaves of absence from their coal mining jobs to hit the campaign trail. Their employers, Exxon and SOHIO, denied the requests. SOHIO tried to fire Hovland and Bill Boyd, Hovland's campaign treasurer.

These discharges occurred in the midst of an on-going battle between the company and the union over safety and work conditions. UMWA Local 2095 members saw the trumped up charges as part of this bigger battle to defend their union. They fought back, and Hovland and Boyd were reinstated just before the election.

The final move to discredit the socialists came in the last week of the race. At the request of Secretary of State Manchin, Jackson County prosecutor Samuel Snyder convened a grand jury to determine whether or not 30 people who signed socialist nominating petitions and then voted in the June primary had violated the state's election law.

The grand jury refused to return indictments, halting the effort to intimidate the socialist candidates and their supporters.

"The grand jury proved that the law, which carries a one-year jail sentence and \$1,000 fine, is not only blatantly unconstitutional, but also unenforceable," observes Williams. "More important, campaign supporters who traveled to Ravenswood, where thousands of steelworkers have been laid off, said that Manchin's latest scam boomeranged. Many residents of Ravenswood and Ripley said they knew the law was being used to harass us. They resented Manchin's violation of free speech."

There is other evidence that state officials' dirty tricks in West Virginia backfired: the young people who are attending introductory classes on socialism and two who joined the YSA, the Cliff Bryants who voted SWP, the Palestinian students who saluted Hovland and Benjamin at a campaign rally, the requests for new chapters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance around the state, the miners who arranged for Hovland to campaign at their portals, and the workers who are buying the campaign newspaper, the *Militant*, and seeking out the campaign headquarters in Morgantown and Charleston.

Louise Glover is a laid-off miner from UMWA Local 2236.

## Why did Wallace win Alabama governorship?

BY HEIDI FISCHER

BIRMINGHAM, Ala. — George Wallace, the man who stood in the schoolhouse door to block desegregation, has been elected to a fourth term as governor of Alabama. He was elected by a large majority in an election with a record-high turnout.

Polls show some 90 percent of Blacks voted for Wallace.

To many people throughout the country, Wallace's election seems outrageous — the more so because he ran with the support of civil rights organizations and the labor officialdom.

While campaigning for Martin Boyers, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, in a small coal town near here, I met a disgruntled young Black who recently moved to Alabama from the Northeast. He couldn't understand what was going on. "Have these folks gone crazy that they're going to vote for Wallace?"

His neighbors explained they didn't see Wallace's past as making him any different from other politicians. "They were all racist," they told me, "and Wallace says he's changed." Not that they put much stock in

the "new" Wallace. But, they said, they sure didn't want Republican Emory Folmar as governor.

Folmar, though not nationally known like Wallace, has a thoroughly racist, anti-labor, Reaganite reputation in Alabama. Last spring when voting-rights activists tried to retrace the historic 1965 Selma-Montgomery march, Folmar, as mayor of Montgomery, steadfastly refused marchers permission to follow the same route. He boasts of packing a pistol himself and made crudely racist "anticrime" demagoguery a centerpiece of his campaign.

Folmar vied with Wallace to show who was more consistently antiunion. He declared he would veto any attempt to weaken or repeal the state's "right to work" law.

Meanwhile the Wallace machine was busy painting him with a new image. He is "sorry about past mistakes." Wallace explained he was misunderstood — he wasn't really fighting against Blacks, just trying to protect "states' rights."

Perhaps most important, Wallace claimed the prosperity of the 1970s in Alabama — with more jobs available, trade schools established, and social services expanded — was due to his administration. He contrasted this to Folmar's support for Reaganomics.

In reality, no meaningful difference on any issue separated the Democratic and Republican candidates. Neither Wallace nor Folmar offered any program for jobs except to attract business with tax giveaways. Both oppose affirmative action, busing for school desegregation, the Equal Rights Amendment, and the Voting Rights Act.

Wallace would have had a hard time palming himself off as a lesser evil to Folmar — except for the backing he got from the union officialdom and traditional Black leadership.

The Alabama Democratic Conference

(ADC), the main organization of Black politicians, voted narrowly to endorse Wallace over Folmar. Knowing how little enthusiasm this stand would arouse, ADC leaders stressed they were supporting "the Democratic slate" rather than "Wallace the man."

The same subterfuge was resorted to by the leadership of the United Mine Workers District 20, which, without making an explicit endorsement for governor, called for a vote to virtually every Democratic Party candidate in the state. Many miners remember how Wallace sent state troopers to attack pickets during the 1977-78 coal strike.

Socialist campaigners found that many working people, especially Blacks, were disgusted by the Wallace-Folmar "choice" and were glad to find out they had another alternative. Some told us they wished we were a bigger force and stood a chance of winning. But the closer election day drew the more people were pressed to choose between the two evils and entreated not to "waste" their vote.

Speaking to an October 23 campaign rally in Birmingham, Boyers explained why the lesser-evil strategy is a loser. He pointed out how Wallace bragged to a business executives meeting that Alabama Labor Council leaders have come to agree that repeal of "right to work" is a dead issue.

"Instead of unionists, women, and Blacks using the Democratic Party to fight for our program," Boyers said, "what inevitably happens is that we get used and find ourselves abandoning our program in favor of the anti-labor, racist, and sexist one of the Democrats and Republicans."

The election of Wallace does not represent any turn to the right by Alabama working people, Black or white. What it does show is the dead end of two-party "lesser evilism" today.



1963: Wallace denies Blacks entrance into U. of Ala.

# Nicaraguan leader addresses problems facing women

BY MARGARET JAYKO

"We can assure you we are not going to consider anyone a revolutionary who is not ready to fight the oppression of women."

That was how Commander Tomás Borge Martínez, Nicaragua's minister of the interior and a leader of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), concluded his recent speech marking the fifth anniversary of the women's movement in Nicaragua.

This was the first major speech specifically on the question of women's liberation by a central government leader since the Nicaraguan workers and peasants overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Anastasio Somoza in July 1979, and established their own government.

The speech was delivered on September 29 in the city of León to a rally of 2,000 women, many of them activists in the Association of Nicaraguan Women — Luisa Amanda Espinosa (AMNLAE), Nicaragua's mass women's organization. Thousands more who were unable to enter stood outside.

The choice of León, the country's second-largest city, as the site for the celebration was no accident. The government minister pointed out that it was there that Luisa Amanda Espinosa, the first woman member of the FSLN to die fighting the dictatorship, was murdered by Somoza's National Guard in 1970. Many of the leaders of the FSLN military detachments that fought against Somoza in León were women.

In fact, women played an outstanding role as combatants in the entire civil war. By the time of the final offensive, women made up 30 percent of the Sandinista Army and held important leadership positions.

The speech was broadcast live on national radio and reprinted in full in the FSLN's daily paper *Barricada*, reflecting both its importance and the interest about this question in Nicaragua.

## Marxist view of women's oppression

The speech contains a Marxist analysis of the origins, history, and features of women's oppression, and explains the need for a socialist revolution to lay the basis for eradicating that oppression. The bulk of the talk is an evaluation of where Nicaragua is at in this process and where it has to go.

Borge does little in the way of reviewing the many impressive accomplishments of the revolution in relation to women, such as the literacy campaign, the establishment of production cooperatives, community kitchens, maternity leaves, and constitutional guarantees of women's rights. In fact, the entire FSLN program on the emancipation of women, written in 1969, is beginning to be put into practice today.

Much of the talk is directed toward the vanguard women present at the meeting and discusses what must be done to make further advances toward full equality for women in all spheres of life. It is also an educational presentation to raise the consciousness of the entire country on this question, as well as to make clear the government's and FSLN's total support for women's emancipation.

This point was captured in the title of *Barricada*'s news story on the speech: "At whatever cost . . . we will fulfill our responsibilities to women."

## Revolution of women

Borge begins by explaining that in Nicaragua, where "we are winning national liberation through the Sandinista revolution," that it's "normal, absolutely logical that we now speak of a new revolution — that is a revolution of women, a revolution that will complete the process of national liberation."

A brief exposition of the Marxist view of women's oppression follows.

"Woman was the first enslaved human being on earth," Borge declares. He hits on

a theme repeated throughout the speech: "Women — all women in general — were oppressed, but working women were oppressed and exploited both as workers and as women."

Women, like men, became conscious of their exploitation as workers, "but it was a much slower, more complicated process that led them to realize their degree of oppression as women."

The basis of women's oppression is that "woman was economically dependent on man even before class exploitation arose." Borge affirms the existence in prehistory of matriarchal societies where women "fulfilled the principal role inside the family."

In discussing the solutions to women's oppression, Borge explains, "The woman question is nothing more than an aspect of social reality in its totality. The definitive answer to the liberation of women can emerge only with the total resolution of the class contradictions, of the social diseases that originate in a society like ours — politically liberated but with the rope of economic dependence still around our neck."

Experience has shown that relations between the sexes, like those between classes, "are transformed in the process of transforming the means of production and the means of distribution" of what is produced.

## Somozaism

Borge spends little time on the miserable position of women in Nicaragua before the revolution, since his listeners lived it. (*Militant* readers who want to fill in that part of Nicaragua's history, as well as the inspiring role that women played in the liberation struggles, should pick up a copy of *Sandinista's Daughters*.)

"Before the revolutionary triumph, the incorporation of women in productive work was minimal. The great majority of women were condemned to slavery in the home. When women could sell their labor power, in addition to fulfilling their obligations on the job, they had to fulfill their duties in the home to assure the upbringing of their children. All this in a regime of political oppression and misery imposed by a dependent capitalist society. And subjected, on the other hand, to exploitation by man — the male of the species — who placed on the woman's shoulders the fundamental weight of household chores, thereby endlessly prolonging her working day."



Militant/Arnold Weissberg

Tomás Borge explained that in spite of great economic difficulties the Nicaraguan revolution should do as much as it can today to liberate women.

Borge poses the question: "Did this end with the triumph of the Sandinista People's Revolution?" He explains that the revolution "eliminated terror and opened the way for the process of national liberation, initiating at the same time economic and social transformations that represented a qualitative advance in the conquest of freedom and development."

"It can't be said, therefore, that the situation of women in Nicaragua has in no way changed."

## Superexploited

But, he says, "all of us have to honestly admit that we haven't confronted the struggle for women's liberation with the same courage and decisiveness," as the struggle for national liberation.

"The burden of housework, and discrimination, still relentlessly weighs down" upon women. "From the point of view of daily exertion, women remain fundamentally in the same conditions as in the past."

The main reason for this is not lack of political will, however, but Nicaragua's position as a country just beginning to wrest itself free of the impoverishment imposed by decades of imperialist domination. This is why women still are superexploited. "They are exploited in the workplaces, if they work; they are exploited by lower wages and exploited in the home. That is, they are triply exploited."

Borge then poses the key question

"What can be done to eliminate this dramatic plight of women?"

"There is no other alternative except to change the basic economic structure of society." He points to the need to develop an economy based on human needs, not private profits. He points out that it "is complicated, difficult, and will take place over time."

"But are we going to wait until economic development and social transformation have reached their culmination before we begin to think out the woman question?"

The answer is no, and the rest of his speech — more than half — is devoted to discussing what should be done.

## Women as leaders

The commander first gives a number of statistics on women's integration into leadership positions in the revolution.

- Women make up 22 percent of the FSLN.

- "Of all the positions of political leadership in the FSLN, in the regions and provinces, women hold 37 percent. In intermediary leadership positions and the supporting apparatuses, the figure is 24.6 percent."

- Of the 51 representatives in the Council of State, the legislative arm of the government, only seven are women.

- In the militias, Borge says the presence of women varies geographically. "In Managua [the capital city], women are 14 percent of the militia members, but in places like León, their participation is very low."

Borge sums up the situation critically, saying that in spite of the accomplishments of the revolution on this level, "women are not yet massively incorporated into the governmental and political tasks of the revolution."

## Women workers

Borge then goes on to look at the integration of women into the workforce, which is the key to women winning economic independence. Women workers are 40.5 percent of the Nicaraguan workforce, which means 183,448 women work outside the home.

But, he warns, these figures are not exactly what they seem: "At first glance, this seems like a very high proportion and could bring us to the conclusion that women's participation in production is very significant. Yet, if we analyze the type of work women carry out, we see that a high percentage of these women are really underemployed, and that another large layer is employed in domestic service — work that is not productive and that will have to be regulated and limited in the future."

He adds another statistic — one that isn't usually compiled — "What reflects the difficult situation of women is that 83 percent of women who work also carry on their shoulders the weight of economically maintaining their household, raising the children, and doing the household chores."

## For further reading

### Sandinista's Daughters

Testimonies of Nicaraguan Women in Struggle

By Margaret Randall, 220 pp., \$6.95.

### Women and the Cuban Revolution

Speeches and Documents by Fidel Castro, Vilma Espín, others

Edited by Elizabeth Stone 156 pp., \$3.95.

### Intercontinental Press

The full text of Tomás Borge's speech was carried in the Nov. 1, 1982, issue of *Intercontinental Press*. This can be purchased for \$1.25. A six month subscription to the biweekly *IP* is \$12.50; one year, \$25.

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







Militant/Jane Harris

**Nueva Nicaragua Cooperative in Managua. Government sees bringing women into workforce as important to the full liberation of women.**

Eighty-three percent — that's barbaric!"

Borge explains the FSLN's approach to advancing the status of women in Nicaragua, given the big contradiction the revolution faces: a far-reaching and necessary program to bring about women's total emancipation, but one which lacks the economic basis to carry much of it out immediately.

Thus, Borge urges, "We must look for audacious answers, I believe — answers based not so much on purely budgetary considerations but on the initiative, organization, and strength of the masses."

He then takes up the different ways of providing these audacious answers.

"We took, as we said, the first step, which was national liberation. Now we must take concrete steps to legally guarantee in daily practice full equality between the sexes." Borge points to the importance of enforcing the laws that have already been enacted.

#### Law on nurture

He focuses on the draft Law on Nurture. An important provision of this law, which is currently under discussion in Nicaragua's mass organizations and its Council of State, stipulates parental (including divorced, separated, and unmarried fathers') responsibility toward children. This includes not just food, but also education, shelter, and clothing. The draft law also outlines children's responsibilities toward their parents.

The main point of the law, however, is "that men who father children have to pay their children's upkeep. This is what the Law on Nurture is about!" Borge declares.

Borge's first standing ovation comes when he vows, "As for those men who don't comply with the Law on Nurture — the Sandinista Front and the National Directorate will respond in full force, and the Ministry of the Interior is right here to take the necessary measures."

"I see that the men aren't applauding with much enthusiasm and some aren't even applauding and over there I see some who look downright worried. And concerning this there will be no exceptions no matter who is involved."

The response by the women indicates how important this question is to them.

Large numbers of women in Nicaragua are single parents. The fathers of their children often don't pay child support. These women are forced to support themselves and their children, frequently on meager earnings.

Thus this provision of the law, if enacted and enforced, would better the lives of thousands of women and children. Borge also announces that the government will aid AMNLAE in setting up a legal aid office for women, which can help enforce the law when it takes effect.

The government also pledges that as a government of the workers and peasants, it

unconditionally supports women's equality, and that it will actively take the side of women fighting for equality. It pledges to uphold women's rights even in the face of opposition from backward elements, who still retain many of the prejudices inherited from the prerevolutionary days.

It's a pledge that revolutionary words will be backed by deeds. Borge points to the goal of the revolution being to ensure that women can be political leaders, workers, students, and artists at the same time that they are mothers. But to really ensure full equality for women and their participation in all aspects of the revolution, "the individual tasks of women" must be socialized. "It is society that has to provide the necessary daycare centers, laundries, people's restaurants, and other services that will, in effect,

free women from household work. This is not easy."

So far, the revolution has built 20 childcare centers, which Borge says is "obviously an insufficient number."

The government has also enacted laws guaranteeing equal pay for equal work in agriculture.

In addition, the revolution must "open the doors of production to women's participation in new fields of development — in industry as well as in agriculture."

#### Ideological struggle and AMNLAE

The other side of overcoming the contradiction between what is possible and what is necessary is "to struggle against the habits, customs, and prejudices of men and women. We have to embark upon a difficult and prolonged ideological struggle — a struggle that equally benefits men and women."

This leads to a balance sheet on AMNLAE, and a discussion of the direction it needs to take.

Borge outlines a dual role for AMNLAE: "Right now AMNLAE should be more a great movement than an organization — a great movement that encourages the participation of women in the various mass organizations, in the CDSs [Sandinista Defense Committees], in the Sandinista Youth, in the ATC [Rural Workers Association], in the CST [Sandinista

Workers Federation] — and that at the same time groups women together in their common bond, which is their status as women."

"The central task of AMNLAE should be the integration of all women into the revolution, without distinction. It should be a broad and democratic movement that mobilizes women from the various social sectors, so as to provide a channel for their political, social, economic, and cultural demands and to integrate them as a supporting force in the tasks of the Sandinista People's Revolution."

AMNLAE should work to integrate women into the workforce, the government, the mass organizations, and the FSLN.

#### Counterrevolutionary attacks

The importance of strengthening the revolution through the participation of masses of women was underlined by Borge's listing of the recent armed attacks by U.S.-backed rightists against Nicaragua: "It's important that the imperialists know, that the National Guard murderers know, that the nation's traitors know, that in Nicaragua they will be confronted not only by men but by the women as well."

This speech marks an important step forward in the "revolution within the revolution" in Nicaragua — the emancipation of women.

## Nicaragua continues to battle U.S. sabotage

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Thousands of Sandinista youth group members marched to the Honduran embassy here November 10 demanding the immediate return of 42 coffee pickers who had been kidnapped by counterrevolutionaries and taken to Honduras two days earlier.

The following evening their chants were echoed in the northern border town of Ocotal by mothers of coffee pickers in another demonstration.

So steady have been the attacks coming from Honduras that Nobel Prize novelist Gabriel García Márquez declined an invitation from Honduran President Roberto Suazo Córdova, explaining that he would never travel to the country as long as it was being used as a base of operations to attack Nicaragua.

Meanwhile, on November 12, Honduran Foreign Minister Edgardo Paz Barnica came here for a day of talks with Daniel Ortega, coordinator of the Nicaraguan government junta. The meeting came after Nicaragua had sent 52 letters of protest to Honduras concerning border attacks and other aggression. In the meeting, Ortega repeated the Nicaraguan government's readiness to hold discussions with the Honduran government to achieve peace.

Besides the military war which Nicaragua is forced to fight, an economic war must be fought as well. In that regard, Nicaragua scored an unexpected victory this month.

When Standard Fruit, the U.S. banana monopoly, pulled out of Nicaragua October 26 — violating a 1980 agreement to market the fruit for five years — it put an enormous question mark over the jobs of some 4,000 banana workers and \$24 million a year in badly needed export income.

Two weeks later Nicaragua succeeded in finding 17 U.S. distributors willing to establish a new market for the fruit on the West Coast of the United States at almost one-third higher prices than Nicaragua had been receiving from Standard.

The minister of agrarian reform, Commander Jaime Wheelock, warned that the opening of this new market could produce a banana price war, because Standard will do everything in its power to maintain its monopoly.

However, he said, if the country is able

to do nothing more than save the banana workers' jobs, this should be seen as a victory.

This economic war, created by the United States' ability to block loans and aid for Nicaragua, has resulted in a scarcity of hard currency here. The revolutionary government has adopted a number of measures to confront this problem.

To continue foreign trade without dollars, a special law was enacted to facilitate direct exchange of goods with other countries in Central America, many of whom face dollar shortages too. Forty-four barter operations, securing the equivalent of almost \$15 million in imports, have already taken place this year. Under the new law, the transactions will be regulated and organized by the Central Bank of Nicaragua.

The president of the Council of State, Commander Carlos Nuñez, pointed out that even if U.S. pressure had driven Nicaragua back to precapitalist forms of economic exchange, the country would survive by taking this and other emergency measures.

Action has also been taken to aid the

thousands of workers who have been thrown out of jobs here by the closing of plants unable to get raw materials or replacement parts for lack of U.S. dollars.

The revolutionary junta announced in late October an \$18 million crash program that will create jobs for some 8,000 workers. The jobs will be mostly in road construction, coffee plantation renovation, reforestation projects, and a new agricultural cooperative.

Members of Nicaragua's military reserve battalion — all voluntary and unpaid — were understandably having grave difficulties paying their rent, loans, and bills. Legislation was therefore passed in the Council of State forbidding legal proceedings from taking place against activated members of the reserves.

Additional relief from money worries — especially for the unemployed — came on November 10 when the Council of State suspended for 60 days all evictions. A law which is expected to do away with rent altogether, converting it into a form of mortgage payment, is expected sometime in the next two months.

## Artists oppose U.S. aggression

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Twenty-nine American film makers, writers, and clergy who just completed a week's factfinding visit to Nicaragua have pledged to fight U.S. intervention upon their return to the United States.

The delegation, headed by California solidarity activist Blase Bonpane, included director Haskell Wexler; Oscar-award winner Bruce Schneider (*Hearts and Minds*); screen writer Alvin Sargent (*Julia*); and Chris Brennan, director of the California Catholic Television Network.

In a news conference at Sandino Airport November 12, before boarding their plane home, they issued the following joint statement:

"We are a delegation of American citizens returning from Nicaragua. We met openly with leaders of the government, industry, agriculture, defense, the church, and the press.

"We visited plantations, neighborhoods, prisons, and the Miskitu Indians on the At-

lantic Coast. We talked with the people.

"We visited border villages that continually suffer brutal attacks from Honduran territory, supported by the United States.

"We believe that Nicaragua does not in any way represent a threat to the United States. Nicaragua desires stable and friendly relations with our country and with its neighbors in Central America.

"The only place in Nicaragua where we were not allowed to use our cameras and tape recorders was the American embassy.

"The fundamental aims of the Nicaraguan government are to feed and to educate the people.

"We strongly oppose the actions of the United States — openly authorized by the White House — seeking to destabilize the government of Nicaragua through economic pressure and privation and through military intervention. . . .

"Our government was founded on the principles of independence and self-determination. We will not accept this denial of these rights to others."

*Barricada Internacional*, the weekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is now available in Spanish and English. The price is 6 months for \$12. Send check or money order to: Barricada Internacional Apdo. No. 576 Managua, Nicaragua.

**Identity crisis** — Writer Studs Terkel reportedly has the following news item on his bulletin board: "BANGKOK, Thailand



**Harry Ring**

(UPI) — Police battled a band of pirates in South Thailand Saturday. One bandit was killed. A police spokesman said the battle

began when the bandit gang, disguised as policemen, challenged a group of policemen disguised as bandits."

**All in a day's work** — Drug Enforcement Agency officials came up with a phony charge that Cuban officials were involved in drug running into the United States. Meanwhile, a top DEA supervisor was indicted for running marijuana. A Georgia sheriff was convicted of ensuring safe airport landings for smugglers and six Miami cops and 10 in Chicago were convicted of drug bribetaking.

**We all sacrifice** — So deep is the slump that the Rolls Royce company is laying off 15 percent of its workforce. Explaining the sales drop, a spokesperson said, "Executives are reluctant to replace their Rolls with a new one at the same time they are posting redundancy notices for their workers."

**Morality, Inc. (I)** — "Presidential storytelling is a time-honored sort of folk art in American politics. These stories tend to have parable-like qualities to them." — A presidential aide explaining factual flaws in Reagan's anecdotes.

**Morality, Inc. (II)** — NEW YORK (AP) — A president is not always "lying in an immoral sense" when he says something he doesn't believe says former President Richard Nixon.

**This side of a tape recorder** — Richard Nixon is "the most honorable man this country ever produced," says Rose Mary Woods of 20-minute tape-gape fame.

**Neither does anyone else** — "In their climb to the top they have certain fantasies having to do with creating a new world. . . . For instance, the author often wants in

a novel to remake the world with pain ameliorated. I think a lot of businessmen at that level have that same sort of artistic feeling — except they don't know it." — A Harvard prof on the psychology of corporate execs.

**Check it out** — Abercrombie & Fitch, the plush sporting goods store which folded in New York, reopened in suburbia and is returning to New York. It is now offering more down-to-earth items. But you can still pick up a king-size hassock in rhinoceros leather for \$1,200, or a 1910 pool table for \$35,000.

## —CALENDAR—

### INDIANA

#### Indianapolis

**Young Socialist Alliance Midwest Educational Conference: Freedom Only Comes If You Take It.** Speakers: Andrea González, leader of YSA; Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate; slideshow. Nov. 20-21. 4850 N College. Donation: \$3.50. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

### KENTUCKY

#### Louisville

**Nicaragua.** Speaker: Vernon Bellecourt, American Indian Movement leader, recently returned from Nicaragua; reception to follow. Sun., Nov. 21, 8 p.m. St. Williams Church, 1226 W Oak St. Ausp: Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**The Fight Against the Draft.** Speakers: Ed Hasbrook, indicted draft resister; Don Gurewitz, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor in 1982. Sun., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. George Sherman Union, Boston University. Ausp: Boston University Free School, Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Chrysler Workers Fight Back: Canadian Workers Need Solidarity.** Speakers to be announced. Sun., Nov. 21, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**Film Festival and Chili Supper.** Films: *Harlan County, USA*; *The Dispossessed*; *Day After Trinity*; *El Salvador: Another Vietnam*; and *The Ideas of Karl Marx*. Sat., Nov. 20, 2 to 9 p.m. 42A Troost. Donation: \$2, includes supper. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

#### St. Louis

**Two Classes on Marxism and the Struggle for National Self-determination.** Speaker: Andrea González, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 20, 11 a.m. 6223 Delmar Ave. (near Skinker). Donation: \$1. For more information call (314) 725-1570.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**The Draft: Fuel for U.S. War Machine.** Speakers: representative of Montclair Students for Social Responsibility; Charles Pollack, Vietnam veteran; representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Translation into Spanish. Fri., Nov. 19, 7:30 p.m. 11A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW YORK

#### Manhattan

**Why the U.S. Wants to Go to War With Nicaragua.** Slide show, eyewitness account. Translation into Spanish. Fri., Nov. 19; dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

### NORTH CAROLINA

#### Winston-Salem

**U.S. Out of Central America: Americas in Transition.** Film. Sat., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. 216 E 6th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (919) 722-8163.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**The Nuclear Threat.** Norman Solomon, author of *Killing Our Own: The Disaster of America's Experience With Atomic Radiation*. Sun., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Philadelphia

**Party to Raise Funds for Young Socialist Alliance Convention.** Music, food, dancing, and auction. Sat., Nov. 20, 8 p.m. 5811 N Broad St. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

**Independent Black Political Action — Revolutionary Perspective.** Speaker: Mel Mason, socialist city councilman from Seaside, California, independent candidate for governor of California in 1982. Translation into Spanish. Mon., Nov. 22, 12:45 p.m. SAC room 309, Temple University, 13th St. and Montgomery Ave. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance, Pan African Studies Department. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

### TEXAS

#### Dallas

**The Struggle in Northern Ireland Today.** Speaker: Martha McClelland, member of Sinn Fein National Committee. Translation into Spanish. Wed., Nov. 24, 8 p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Ausp: Francis Hughes Unit of Irish Northern Aid. For more information call (214) 521-9333.

### Houston

**Crisis Facing Workers: What Are the Problems, What Are the Solutions. An educational weekend.** (1) "Working Women Fight Back." Speaker: Willie Reid. Sat., Nov. 20, 3:30 p.m. (2) Rally. Speakers: Andy Rose, National Committee, Socialist Workers Party; Peggy Brundy, N.C. of SWP. Sat., Nov. 20, 7:30 p.m. (3) "Taxes, The Socialist View."

## Palestinian coalition to join anti-Klan protest in D.C.

The location for the November 27 march in solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese people, originally scheduled for New York City, has been changed to Washington, D.C.

The November 29 Coalition, which had been planning the march for several months, issued a statement explaining that the change was made in order to make it possible for marchers to also participate in the demonstration against the Ku Klux Klan in Washington on the same day.

The anti-Klan protest is in response to a march on Washington by the Klan that same day.

The U.S. Department of the Interior has granted a permit to the KKK.

"In light of these developments," the statement said, "the Coalition immediately considered plans for joining forces against racism in all its forms, whether by the Ku Klux Klan in the United States and Canada, or by the discriminatory policies carried out by the Israeli government against the Palestinian people in the name of Zionism."

Plans are being made for a rally by the November 29 Coalition to protest the U.S.-Israeli aggression against the Palestinian and Lebanese people at 10 a.m. Following the rally, the coalition will join the demonstration against the KKK.

## Salvadoran unionist gets good response at Detroit conference

DETROIT — "We fight for a democratic government that would eliminate the exploitative oligarchy and put an end to military dictatorship that has murdered 30,000 people." This is what Alejandro Molina Lara, the former general secretary of the Fishing Industry Union told a cheering audience of 700 people at the *Labor Notes* conference November 13.

Molina Lara received two standing ovations before and after his brief but inspiring speech. The audience then stood for a moment of silence in respect for the fallen workers and peasants of El Salvador.

Molina Lara had an opportunity to speak individually with scores of trade union activists and leaders. Many asked if he could

come and speak before their locals.

At the International Labor Solidarity workshop of 60 people, Molina Lara was able to give a longer presentation on the struggles of workers in El Salvador. During the discussion many participants stressed that the U.S. labor movement should be a central component in the fight against Washington's intervention. It was stressed that the tour by the Salvadoran trade unionist opens up many opportunities to speak before union locals and central labor councils.

The strong support for the struggle of the Salvadoran people against Washington's war was evident at the literature table of the Pittsburgh Central American Mobilization Coalition, the sponsor of Molina Lara's tour, and the Detroit chapter of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador.

Two hundred and fifty people also signed petitions demanding the freedom for 11 jailed Electrical Workers Union leaders in El Salvador.

## U.S. government pushes line on Kampuchea

Continued from Page 6

and the Vietnamese presence and aid the country."

"I and the government say that the best approach is to concern ourselves with the question of political liberty. This is not a lessening of interest but a different approach."

Martin Herz, a former ambassador and currently director of the Institute for the Study of Diplomacy at Georgetown University, complained about "the legacy of the Vietnam War" which was making it difficult for Washington to arm the "Cambodian resistance."

A minority of panelists, such as Ben Kiernan of the Center of Southeast Asian Studies Monash University, and John McAuliff, of the American Friends Service Committee, along with a few members of the audience, countered Washington's lies. The applause and support their remarks received showed that not everyone was buying Washington's line.

Chan Bun Han showed *Back to Kampuchea*, a documentary film on his trip to his native country in 1981. The film shows the legacy of imperialist domination in Kampuchea and the gains that the people are making under the new regime.

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# Class struggle in early years of Cuban revolution

**Polvo Rojo (Red Dust), 1982, color, 105 minutes, written and directed by Jesús Díaz. Produced by Ricardo Avila for the Cuban Film Institute.**

"I'm very curious myself about the relationships between class struggle and individual lives. . . . Nineteen fifty-nine to 1962 . . . those were the years of harvest . . . of clash among classes in Cuba."

— Jesús Díaz

**BY BRENDA BRDAR**

Cuba. The first stormy years of the revolution. The workers and farmers are engaged in a life-and-death struggle with the old order — the U.S. companies, the church, the wealthy.

This is the backdrop of documentary film maker Jesús Díaz's first dramatic work, *Polvo Rojo* (Red Dust).

The New York premiere of this new Cuban film, attended by nearly 1,000 people, opened the impressive

## FILM REVIEW

festival "A Decade of Cuban Documentary Film: 1972-1982." The festival was sponsored by the Young Filmmakers Foundation in association with the Cuban Film Institute.

Harry Belafonte, introduced as a "longtime friend of Cuban cinema," said a few words before the film began. He stressed the importance of this unprecedented Cuban film festival which would "help develop a free flow of information" between the Cuban and U.S. people. He urged the U.S. government to recognize Cuba's "sovereignty and existence" instead of "heaping animosity" upon it.

In *Polvo Rojo* — an honest, insightful portrayal of the early years of the Cuban revolution — two levels of dramatization are skillfully woven together. The changes taking place in Cuban society are examined both through the takeover of a U.S.-owned factory and through the personal struggles of the main characters involved.

The film opens with Batista's army executing guerrilla fighters in the mountains. José Arias, the only survivor, is next seen riding triumphantly into his town after Batista is overthrown. He and the other revolutionary fighters are received joyously in the small industrial town of Toa, to the shouts of "Long live free Cuba." In this setting, the conflicts unfold.

José, who becomes an assistant administrator of the ultra-modern U.S.-owned nickel mill in Toa, confronts a difficult personal situation. His wife Fabiana, presuming he has died in the guerrilla fighting, has remarried. She decides to take their two young children and leave for the United States with her new husband, a well-off engineer. Confused by the social upheaval, she chooses what seems to be the safe path.

A struggle over child custody then develops. José wants the children, the future of the new, free Cuba, to remain.

Meanwhile, the drama unfolds at the nickel mill. Faced with a revolutionary government and new laws, which protect the workers, the U.S. owners of the Toa Bay Mining Company threaten: "We'll respect the law as long as it respects us." They secretly decide to shut down their operations, and to dismantle the mill.

Their planned sabotage takes place in the context of CIA-organized counterrevolutionary activities against Cuba, such as explosions in Havana Harbor, which are flashed across the screen.



Militant/Harry Ring  
**Harry Belafonte introduced 'Polvo Rojo' at its New York opening. Belafonte, recently banned by pro-U.S. government in Jamaica from completing film there, called on Washington to recognize Cuban sovereignty instead of "heaping animosity" upon it.**

When the union hears of the company's plan to dismantle the mill, they take the only logical next step.

"Cuba sí, Yankees no . . . We're the bosses now," the workers chant as they march on the plant, led by a Black union leader.

In one of the most dramatic moments in the film, several workers at the head of this demonstration scale the fence around the entrance gate. The American eagle which sits atop the gate is lassoed and topples to the ground. It is replaced by the Cuban flag.

The gates are thrown open and the workers advance triumphantly. This action takes place in slow motion, amidst the enthusiastic cheers of the workers. This scene is one of the high points of the film.

Following this takeover, the company representatives confront Pedro Rojas, a former guerrilla leader and now the new plant administrator. They think they're still in charge, and demand that Pedro order the army to retake the plant. "This army doesn't take orders from you!" Pedro shoots back.

Much of the film is devoted to the post-takeover period. It is at this point that the battle really begins.

How is this nickel mill, the most modern in the world, to be operated? Only two out of 50 engineers have decided to stay. One of these is Fonseca, the chief engineer. He enjoys a standard of living higher than the average Cuban worker. But he is a mulatto (racially mixed), and has experienced racism while being educated in the United States.

The company representatives try to bribe him into leaving with them. But he tells them, in no uncertain terms, that he's not for sale. He explains, "I've taken off a mask I've worn for 50 years."

The importance of *Polvo Rojo* rests in its struggle with a question so central to our era: Once political power has been wrested from the hands of the old ruling class, how do the workers run the economy? This is a life-and-death question for the revolution. Then in Cuba, today in Nicaragua.

In the case of the Toa nickel mill, the new revolutionary plant administrator and workers had to deal with such problems as where to obtain spare parts. These could no longer be obtained from the United States, so the workers had to learn how to do their own repairs.

A young worker at the plant, Pancho, is given an exacting task of repairing a broken pump. He becomes frustrated, after having worked on a part for 17 days and still not having it quite right.

He is told by José that it doesn't matter if it takes 50,000 times to get it right. Determined, Pancho finally succeeds.

And, in fact, the workers succeed in operating the plant, after several false starts. It took leadership, teamwork, patience, and the revolutionary will of the workers to succeed. As Eduardo, the army major who has stepped in to aid this project explains, the greatest success is knowing that the imperialists know we did it.

The children receive special attention in this film, as they do in Cuban society. We see the confusion and conflict through the eyes of the children of José and Fabiana, especially their little girl.

She explains to her teddy bear, in an effort to comfort herself, that they will be going away, and everything is changing.

As it turns out, the children end up remaining with their father.

This realistic and moving portrayal of the first years of the revolution is important for Cuba's young generation. Understanding this period of their history and appreciating the struggles which advanced the revolution, will better prepare them for today's tasks both inside Cuba and around the world.

For U.S. audiences, which rarely get a glimpse of Cuban society, this film will help the "free flow of information" to which Harry Belafonte pointed.

## Cuban film festival

The film festival "A Decade of Cuban Documentary Film: 1972-1982" will play in 10 to 15 major North American cities in coming months.

The festival in New York lasted 10 days and was attended by some 3,700 people, a near box-office record for the sponsors.

In addition to *Polvo Rojo*, the festival featured the works of several other Cuban documentary film makers. Among them was Santiago Álvarez, the director of the Latinamerican Newsreel Division of the Cuban Film Institute since 1959. "An Evening with Santiago Álvarez" was a feature of the festival. An entire day was devoted to his films.

The Álvarez films shown included: *79 Primaveras* (79 Springtimes), a homage to Ho Chi Minh; *El Desafío* (The Challenge), a record of Cuban leader Fidel Castro's speech to the United Nations in 1979; and *Now*, a documentary on the U.S. civil rights movement set to Lena Horne's recording of "Now."

*Controversia* (Controversy), by Rolando Díaz, examines changing sexual roles and pokes fun at *machismo*; and *De Cierta Manera* (One Way or Another) is by the first woman to direct a feature film in Cuba, the late Sara Gómez. This film combines drama and documentary in its portrayal of Cuban urban life in the early 1970s, and is considered a landmark in Cuban film.

For information on *Polvo Rojo* and the entire film festival, write to Young Filmmakers Foundation, 4 Rivington St., New York, N.Y. 10002, attention Rodger Larson.

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# Viet vets need labor's support

Tens of thousands of Vietnam veterans — many on crutches and in wheelchairs — gathered with families and friends in Washington, D.C., November 10-14 to see the 57,939 names etched in black granite.

This is the new monument to the young workers and farmers of the United States who were killed fighting Washington's war in Vietnam.

The two slabs of stone and the related ceremonies were organized and paid for by the vets themselves — the government refused to shell out a penny. The military brass was noticeable by its absence.

Both President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger put in token appearances during the week.

Weinberger explained that the "terrible lesson from the Vietnam War — a lesson we must never forget," was "that we should never again ask our men and women to serve in a war which we do not intend to win."

Weinberger was simply echoing Reagan's words of the previous day: "The tragedy was that they were asked to fight and die for a cause that their country was unwilling to win."

But the real tragedy of Vietnam was that more than 3 million young workers and farmers were forced to kill and be killed, maim and be maimed, in a war whose sole purpose was to defend the profits of U.S. corporations.

The big-business media has been busily pointing to the antiwar movement as the enemy of Vietnam vets.

But this is false.

It was the anti-Vietnam War movement, which eventually won the support of a majority of people, that demanded that the government "Bring our boys home now!"

And it was the antiwar movement, along with the Vietnamese people, that finally forced the blood-soaked U.S. government to do just that.

It's the employers and their government who are the biggest enemies of the Vietnam vets.

It is the bipartisan policies of the U.S. government that sent troops to Vietnam to begin with.

It issued the less-than-honorable discharges to the 800,000 GIs who were rebelling in their own ways

against the war. It hooked the GIs on heroin to keep them in the war. And it continues to refuse to give the necessary jobs and benefits to these vets. In fact, the Reagan administration, with the help of Democrats, is cutting back the stingy programs that do exist.

And it's the government that is refusing to conduct a serious study into the effects on vets of Agent Orange, a chemical defoliant used widely in Vietnam.

During the week of memorial activities, about 300 people attended a forum on Agent Orange. Vet after vet took the floor, and choked back tears as they described to the stony-faced Veterans Administration officials their medical problems or those of their children.

One ex-marine, who now has five deformed children, yelled "We don't want money. We want an admission that they did this to us over there! We don't trust you!"

Many vets suffer from drug abuse, alcoholism, "delayed stress syndrome," and have a high suicide and divorce rate.

The labor movement should step forward and champion the demands of these fellow workers. These demands include:

- Government training and jobs for Vietnam-era vets, at union scale. Employers should be forced to give preferential treatment in hiring and training to these vets.
  - A GI bill that provides full higher education subsidies adequate for a decent living standard.
  - Adequate benefits, with cost-of-living escalators, to assure a decent living standard for fully and partially disabled vets.
  - End the stonewalling on Agent Orange! Treatment and compensation for all Agent Orange victims and their children.
  - Upgrade to honorable discharges the less-than-honorable discharges that were meted out arbitrarily to GIs, especially Blacks and Latinos.
  - No more Vietnams — in Central America, the Middle East, or anywhere else.
- A fight against the war on veterans at home, and U.S. intervention abroad, is the best way for the labor movement to honor the memory of its sons and daughters who died in Vietnam.

# Bosses stung by union democracy

Continued from Page 1

Like the Chrysler strikers, miners have also fought for their interests first, spurning company arguments that profits must come before their health and safety or their right to a decent living.

Right now, miners face a stepped-up drive by the employers, with tens of thousands of layoffs, more speedup and cutbacks on safety, increased use of nonunion coal, and efforts to gut federal health and safety legislation. These issues will come to a head as the deadline approaches for the union's next contract battle. The current contract expires in September 1984.

It was with this in mind, and the experience of the 1981 contract battle under the Church misleadership, that miners turned out to elect the Trumka slate. They viewed it as a step to strengthen the union for the struggles to come; to be in a better position to wield union power in their own interests.

From the beginning of the current employer offensive against the labor movement, the miners have been in a stronger position than other workers. This is because of their conquests for union democracy. It is precisely these conquests — and the miners' ability to use them — that have made the UMW the biggest single obstacle to the employer austerity drive.

In 1972 the miners ousted from union office the corrupt regime of Tony Boyle, notorious for sweetheart deals with the mine owners and gangster-style terror against the union ranks. The Miners for Democracy slate was elected on a platform of democratic rights for the membership, defense of miners' health and safety, and rebuilding the union.

For the first time in the history of the UMW, miners won the right to vote on their contract, and the right to see and discuss the full contract terms before making a decision (something denied to most other unionized workers).

As miners began exercising their rights, including the right to walk out of unsafe mines, the coal bosses began screaming about "anarchy in the coalfields." The collaborative arrangement with the union they had grown accustomed to was severely undermined.

A major test of strength came in the 1977-78 coal strike. The U.S. rulers saw this as a chance to crush the UMW and the example it offered other unionists. They

The mine owners proposed what UMW members called the "ball and chain contract." It had tough provisions against the right to strike, drastic curbs on the power of union safety committees, and sharp reductions in health and retirement benefits.

Although recommended by UMW President Arnold Miller, the contract proposal was overwhelmingly rejected by the membership, which struck for a full 111 days to get a better deal. Democratic President James Carter tried to break the strike by invoking the Taft-Hartley Act, but miners paid no attention.

The strike was seen by other working people as the first big battle against what was becoming a generalized offensive by the employers. Strike support actions by unions across the country, as well as by farmers and students, expressed solidarity with the miners and inspiration from their fight.

When Miller retired in 1979, Sam Church assumed the top office (he had been vice-president). Church vowed to return to cooperation with the mine owners. The U.S. rulers hoped he would curb the rebellious mood in the union.

But Church never succeeded.

In the UMW's 1981 contract fight, the miners blocked a company attempt to cripple the union and push nonunion coal. They voted down the first contract proposal — endorsed by Church — and struck for 77 days before a settlement was reached.

The 1981 contract battle occurred as other unionized workers — especially auto workers — were taking big blows with the imposition of takeback agreements. While the mine owners forced some takebacks, they weren't able to force the same kind of contract on the miners.

A year and a half later, the movement that began with Miners for Democracy is still alive and kicking. The employers have been unable to crush it.

This poses an enormous problem for the U.S. rulers, especially as other workers, like those at Chrysler, begin resisting attacks on their rights. The employers must continue to drive down workers' standard of living and job conditions in order to raise their rate of profit to compete with big business abroad. To do this means cutting back on wages, taking away safety and environmental protection, closing down plants, and increasing the amount of labor they squeeze out of those workers still employed.

They cannot hope to achieve this unless at the same time they continue to undermine union power and cut away at workers' democratic rights — the right to organize, to strike, to demonstrate, to speak out on domestic and foreign policy, to run for office and organize political action independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

That's what makes the stakes so high in preserving and extending union democracy in the UMW and expanding the gains won by the miners to the rest of the labor movement.

# 'Lenin on trade unions': a valuable selection

BY K.C. ELLIS

The book *Lenin on Trade Unions* is a compilation of writings and speeches that form the bulk of Lenin's teachings on the importance of trade unions and the tasks of revolutionary socialists in them. These articles often take the form of polemics against proponents of non-Marxist ideas that found expression in the working class.

One particularly virulent strain of non-Marxist ideology, long a favorite of the labor bureaucracy, was known as "economism." Its proponents strove to narrow the class struggle to a fight for immediate economic gains. These economists, as they were called, focused attention on shop floor issues and on capitalist excesses. Lenin recognized the value of exposing capitalist exploiters as a way of educating the workers. "In a word," wrote Lenin, "economic (factory) exposures were and remain an important lever in the economic struggle. And they will

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

continue to retain this significance as long as there is capitalism, which makes it necessary for the workers to defend themselves."

But Lenin also pointed to the limitations of the purely trade union economic struggle and explained that this strategy will not by itself lead the workers to recognize the need for a socialist transformation of society. Lenin explained that a revolutionary party "represents the working class, not in its relation to a given group of employers alone, but in its relation to all classes of modern society and to the state as an organized political force."

"Hence, it follows that not only must Social-Democrats not confine themselves exclusively to the economic struggle, but that they must not allow the organization of economic exposures to become the predominant part of their activities. We must take up actively the political education of the working class and the development of its political consciousness."

This political consciousness must begin with the recognition that there is an irrepressible antagonism between the interests of the bosses, including their government, and the interests of the workers. There are no points of common interest, no basis for collaboration.

When the Russian workers and peasants came to power in October 1917 under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, the trade unions, as organizations of the advanced layers of workers, were faced with tremendous tasks and responsibilities. A different dynamic took over when state power was no longer in the hands of the capitalist class, but instead came under the control of the working class.

On this question Lenin wrote, "... it is obvious that under capitalism the ultimate object of the strike struggle is to break up the state machine and to overthrow the given class state power. Under the transitional type of proletarian state such as ours, however, the ultimate object of the strike struggle can only be to fortify the proletarian class by combating the bureaucratic distortions, mistakes, and flaws in this state, and by curbing the class appetites of the capitalists who try to evade its control, etc.

"Hence, the Communist Party, the Soviet government and the trade unions must never forget and must never conceal from the workers and the mass of the working people that the strike struggle in a state where the proletariat holds political power can be explained and justified only by the bureaucratic distortions of the proletarian state and by all sorts of survivals of the old capitalist system in the government offices on the one hand, and by the political immaturity and cultural backwardness of the mass of the working people on the other."

Later in the same article, Lenin stressed "The trade unions must collaborate closely and constantly with the government, all the political and economic activities of which are guided by the class-conscious vanguard of the working class — the Communist Party. Being a school of communism in general, the trade unions must, in particular, be a school for training the whole mass of workers, and eventually all working people, in the art of managing socialist industry (and gradually also agriculture)."

This volume includes many more writings and discussions from the 1890s to the 1920s, including the extremely valuable trade union debate of 1920-21. They can serve as a useful tool for communist workers interested in learning the method for developing a class-struggle approach to the unions today.

*Lenin on Trade Unions* is available from Pathfinder Press for \$2.95. Write to 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage and handling.



# Amtrak workers fight search of personal baggage

BY KATHE LATHAM

OAKLAND — Over the past year, Amtrak has dramatically stepped up its little-known policy of searching the personal baggage of entire crews of waiters, porters, and cooks — without any cause or suspicion of wrongdoing. Amtrak has persisted in this humiliating and

## UNION TALK

unconstitutional policy despite repeated, vigorous protests by the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks (BRAC).

The conflict created by the Amtrak bag searches goes back to 1975 when two rail unions, the Dining Car Cooks and Waiters and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, filed written protests against the searching of female employees' bags by male supervisors in Los Angeles.

This fight has now entered a new and critical stage here in Oakland. Amtrak is countering the protests with disciplinary actions, threats of firings, and firings.

In an attempt to get Amtrak to the bargaining table on the issue, Daniel Biggs, chairman of BRAC District 1909, prevented a bag search of a lounge car attendant

when Amtrak could not show cause. Amtrak has threatened to fire the union representative for "insubordination." The union is now waiting to hear the result of a recent six-hour investigation of Biggs.

Angry Amtrak workers and supporters held a rally and picket line here to protest this union-busting action. The members feel that if Amtrak is successful in firing our union representative for his union activity they will be denying us the right to select our own representatives.

The union explains that the baggage search policy is an invasion of privacy and that the policy, as applied, is racist and discriminatory, because only porters and waiters are subjected to the searches. Porters and waiters are predominantly minority workers.

Amtrak tries to justify the searches as a way of preventing theft of company property and to curb drug use among employees. But the union points out that while three employees have been disciplined or fired over bag searches in recent weeks, none of them had company property or drugs in their possession. All three are minority workers, and in each case Amtrak refused to show cause or suspicion prior to the searches.

One of the rally speakers was Sally Spoon, assistant chairperson of BRAC District 1909. She told the rally, "I say to you that Amtrak is perpetuating the policies of ra-

cial discrimination that began 100 years ago when Pullman porters were told that it was a condition of employment that they maintain a smile on their faces at all times.

"There are on-board-service workers here today," she said, "who have been subject to harassment, intimidation, and repeated invasion of their privacy. But we are not intimidated. The workers here at the Amtrak plantation are not happy or servile."

Norman Bradley spoke on behalf of all Amtrak on-board-service workers. He urged a united stand against Amtrak. Supporters of the union also spoke, including Mayor Gus Newport of Berkeley, and a representative of U.S. Representative Ron Dellums.

One worker told me how hypocritical this government is to act so concerned about workers' rights in Poland when "they're out to destroy the unions in this country. If we don't stand together we'll lose everything we've fought for."

The spirit of the rally was reflected in the picket signs which read: "Take this bag and shove it," "Welcome to the Amtrak plantation," and "Tax dollars for service — not searches."

*A coach cleaner, Kathe Latham is a member of Brotherhood of Railway Carmen, Local 140.*

## LETTERS

### Teach-in

On the weekend of October 22-23, several hundred people participated in a conference at the University of Michigan called "The Widening War: A Teach-in on Central America." It was sponsored by the Latin American Solidarity Committee, an affiliate of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador. Featured were speakers from El Salvador and Guatemala, as well as North Americans who have recently been to Nicaragua.

An audience of more than 300 attended the opening session at which a keynote address was given by Victor Rúbio, a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador. Also presented were two films: *Americas in Transition*, a PBS documentary narrated by Ed Asner, and *From the Ashes*, a film about the Nicaraguan revolution.

One of the most successful workshops was called "Nicaragua: The Revolution Besieged," at which several University of Michigan biologists discussed their experiences of providing technical assistance in Nicaragua and of life in the countryside. At a workshop on Guatemala, Domingo Hernández Ixcoy of the Committee for Peasant Unity of Guatemala, charged the government of Guatemala with committing genocide against the Indians in order to confiscate their land. Philip Wheaton, a member of the Ecumenical Program for Inter-American Communication and Action, and Jeffrey Paige, a University of Michigan professor specializing in Third World revolutionary movements, led a workshop on "Agrarian Reform and Agrarian Revolution" in which they argued that authentic land reform cannot be achieved without social revolution.

Other workshops were held on "The History of U.S. Policy in Central America," "The Church in Central America," and "El Salvador After the Elections." A final session on "Building the Solidarity Movement" discussed tactics for mobilizing the North American people against U.S. military intervention.

Alan Wald  
Ann Arbor, Michigan

### ACLU tribute

Attorney James Lafferty was honored last month by 250 people at a dinner sponsored by the Oakland County, Michigan, chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Some *Militant* readers will remember Jim as one of the coordi-

nators of the National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC), the organization that pulled together several mammoth antiwar demonstrations in Washington, D.C., that helped force the government to withdraw troops from Vietnam.

Speakers at the tribute recalled other aspects of Lafferty's political activities. As national secretary of the National Lawyers Guild he did civil rights work in Mississippi in the mid-60s.

He was one of the early advocates and workers for free legal services for poor persons, working in a program which became a prototype for the Legal Services Corporation.

In the late '60s he became an expert in draft law. He helped found a firm of seven radical attorneys who represented draft resisters, antiwar GIs, and just about every movement group in Detroit.

Recently Jim has been involved with the Committee Against Registration and the Draft. He successfully fought against a government plan to build segregated senior citizen housing in his home town of Birmingham. Last year he founded an ACLU chapter in Oakland County and has guided it to where the organization is now the second largest in Michigan.

Jim is a good lawyer, very good indeed. But he has always recognized that in the final analysis lawyers play an auxiliary role. He understands that it is masses of people in motion against the status quo that is fundamental.

Michael Smith  
New York City, New York

### 'Cinderella Complex'

The family system, the cornerstone of class society, foists responsibility for reproducing the working class on individual women. Naturally, the woman is taught to be conservative, cautious, dependent, passive, and to assume blame for the failure of the doomed family system.

On the other hand, capitalist bosses peg women as incompetent to handle jobs of much narrower scope — pushing a broom across a factory floor, for example; or, jobs which are hard on men, also, such as shoveling dams in and out of furnaces. Clearly, these contradictions cannot be solved by individual female or male workers. They must be solved by working people and their allies acting together as a class.

A good test of Colette Dowling's thesis in her book, *The Cinderella Complex: Women's Hidden Fear of Independence*, would be to visit Cuba — if the

U.S. government allowed it. Is the "Cinderella Complex" crippling women there? Did women in Cuba (who, before the revolution, were among the most degraded anywhere — working as maids and prostitutes for the most part) ease their oppression by individually clawing their way into the top echelons of the United Fruit Company?

No, they did precisely what Colette Dowling advises against. They united into the Federation of Cuban Women and fought together for a new life, free of oppression in revolutionary Cuba. And they won sweeping gains in a very short time. Women can be found in every industry and profession in Cuba and in the militias. They are political leaders as well. There are more, not fewer, child-care centers in Cuba today. Abortion is an unchallenged right. Cuban art reflects the struggle of the society as a whole to triumph over capitalist-inspired *machismo*.

Listen up, Betty Friedan and Colette Dowling: There is no substitute for the class struggle on every front — especially and including the fight for women's rights.

Toba Singer  
Bronx, New York

### Enjoyed paper

I am writing these few lines to let you know I got your newspaper yesterday, the September 17, 1982 edition. I enjoyed the articles on Nicaragua and Reagan's plan for more wars, and on the socialist fighters at Marion Correctional Facility. I will close, my brothers and sisters who are outside and inside struggling for socialism. I hope to receive my next *Militant* soon.

A prisoner

### NYC transit

The New York City transit system, especially the subways, is in crisis because of the mismanagement by Transit Authority (TA) officials and their deliberate refusal to properly repair the subway cars.

The 207th Street shop is the heart of the car maintenance division. It serves 10 other repair barns for air brake, electronic, and other equipment. The changes in the truck shop (which repairs the four wheel trucks the subway cars rest on) is an example of the destruction of the workers ability to adequately repair the trains. From a truck shop of 230 workers and 4 foremen and one supervisor a few years ago, there are now about 200



workers, 13 foremen, and 4 supervisors. That means more consumer money into management and less into repairing the trucks.

One of the subcontractors, NAB Construction, is given all new equipment and parts galore for the 1,000 or more trucks they are rebuilding. Meanwhile, we Transit Workers Union members have to sit for hours waiting for parts and tools. Now they have even run out of electrical tape used by hundreds of workers to do necessary repairs. It makes us look like we don't want to work. But the problem is TA mismanagement. They want to have the public look down on us and not support our struggles for better wages and working conditions. We have no respect, no lunchroom, filthy old bathrooms; and steel dust and grease get in our lunches. The TA needs less management, less top brass, and more workers. The union should be trying to get the tools for the men and keep management from replacing workers jobs with foremen.

This is all a rip-off of the subway riders by management, the banks, and the politicians. It seems like there is a conspiracy against the workers and the public. We workers aren't to blame. There should be a public investigation of the corrupt role of management, and the financial records of the TA should be open for all to see. Our union should take the lead in fighting for this.

A group of transit workers,  
TWU Local 100,  
New York, New York

### Candidate debate

When Coloradans tuned in to hear the televised debate between the gubernatorial candidates, they

heard more than the same tired old bickering between Democratic incumbent Richard Lamm and Republican John Fuhr. They heard a socialist alternative presented by Alan Gummerson, the Socialist Workers candidate for governor.

A campaign supporter from Rye in southern Colorado (a retired railroad worker) was so impressed with fellow-railroader Gummerson's "fine and eloquent performance" that he mailed a \$30 check to the campaign.

The Socialist Workers candidate invited viewers to call his campaign office for more information and 30 viewers (including the president of Gummerson's Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks local) did just that! People who called in were sent information on the campaign, a free copy of the *Militant*, and were invited to the socialist campaign rally.

Maureen McDougall  
Denver, Colorado

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

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

## Settlement confirms gov't guilt in Chicago Black Panther murders

BY RICH ROBOHM

CHICAGO — After a 13-year court fight, city, state, and federal authorities recently agreed to a settlement awarding \$1.85 million to relatives of Black Panther Party (BPP) leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, gunned down in a police attack in 1969, and to survivors of the raid.

"The settlement is their admission that we've won," G. Flint Taylor, attorney for the plaintiffs, said. "We wouldn't have agreed to the settlement unless we felt that it was an admission of wrongdoing [by the defendants]. . . . We're satisfied that the truth has come out."

Hampton, the 20-year-old chairman of the Illinois BPP, was assassinated in his bed during a predawn raid on a Chicago apartment December 4, 1969. Seventeen-year-old Mark Clark was also killed and four other BPP members were wounded. Under the guise of seizing illegal weapons, the city cops, with the aid of the FBI, instigated and planned the bloody assault.

For nine minutes the cops pumped lead through the doors and walls of the house and into the bodies of the terrified people inside. The young Black activists who survived reported that the cops knocked on the front door and then started shooting through the front and back doors.

The cops claimed they fired in self-defense, but ballistics investigations later proved that, of nearly 100 shots fired, only one came from a gun (legally purchased) belonging to a BPP member.

The ballistics experts also testified that the "bullet holes" in the front door, which the police said showed that shots had come from within, had actually been made by nails used by the authorities in an effort to cover up the facts of the raid.

A federal judge is expected to approve the terms of the settlement soon. Specific details will not be disclosed until the judge acts, but it has been publicly announced that the City of Chicago, Cook County, and the federal government will each pay \$616,333 to be divided among the nine plaintiffs and their lawyers.

Robert Gruenberg, an assistant U.S. attorney who represented the government in

the case for the last two years, claimed the settlement was not an admission of any guilt or responsibility, but was intended to avoid another costly trial.

Much of the truth, however, about the government's guilt and responsibility came out in the course of the 18-month trial in 1976-77.

That trial ended with Federal District Judge Joseph Sam Perry acquitting all 28 defendants, most of them even before the case went to the jury.

But the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit overruled Judge Perry in 1979, reinstating the case against 24 of the defendants.

The U.S. Supreme Court, voting 5 to 3, affirmed this ruling in June 1980.

The appeals court reviewed the evidence from the trial and concluded that "a reasonable jury could find" that there were two conspiracies involving the FBI and local police agencies.

"The first conspiracy was designed to subvert and eliminate the Black Panther Party and its members," the court said. "The post-raid conspiracy was intended to frustrate any redress the plaintiffs might seek and . . . to conceal the true character of the pre-raid and raid activities of the defendants involved in the first conspiracy."

Documents made public as part of the Panthers' suit and other court cases show that the FBI officially began a national Counterintelligence Program (COINTELPRO) in 1967 to "expose, disrupt, misdirect, discredit, or otherwise neutralize" Black organizations. According to the FBI's own admission, more than 223 acts were committed nationwide against the BPP between July 1969 and April 1971 alone. These included deadly police raids, infiltration by *agents provocateurs*, and trying to incite violence between the BPP and other organizations.

FBI Special Agent Roy Martin Mitchell assigned stoolpigeon William O'Neal to join the Chicago BPP in 1968. O'Neal eventually weaseled his way into becoming Chief of Security for the BPP in Chicago and Hampton's personal bodyguard. O'Neal sought, unsuccessfully, to involve



Chicago cops carry body of 20-year-old Fred Hampton, chairman of Illinois BPP, out of his West Side, Chicago apartment. Hampton, and 17-year-old Mark Clark were assassinated by cops in predawn raid in 1969, which had been jointly planned by cops and FBI.

the BPP in terrorist adventures.

In return for his services, including almost daily reports to FBI agents, O'Neal was paid more than \$17,000 in 1969-70.

One of O'Neal's jobs was, on November 19, 1969, to provide Mitchell with a floor plan of the house where Hampton and other BPP members were staying.

Mitchell took the floor plan first to the Chicago Police Department's Gang Intelligence Division and then to Edward Hanrahan, who was then Cook County State Attorney, in order to lay plans for a "weapon's raid" on the BPP residence. Mitchell met with the director and the sergeant in charge of the Special Prosecutions Unit, a squad of Chicago cops assigned to the State's Attorney, several

times during the two weeks just before the attack.

Hanrahan claimed that the Chicago cops who carried out this highly organized and well-prepared slaughter, "exercised good judgement, considerable restraint, and professional discipline."

During the course of the case, the FBI continued to cover up its involvement, to withhold evidence, and to lie in court. But the persistence of the plaintiffs eventually succeeded in exposing their role.

"We in the family knew we were right and that the police were wrong," said William Hampton, brother of the murdered BPP leader. "So we kept praying and kept fighting. The settlement won't bring back those lives, but it does show that people should continue to fight injustice, regardless of how long it takes."

## Safety violations force shutdown of nuclear plant

BY MORRIS STARKY

CINCINNATI — In an unprecedented move the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) halted construction November 12 on the 97 percent-completed Zimmer nuclear power facility near Cincinnati.

This is the first time the NRC has ordered a shutdown of a nuclear plant as far along in construction as Zimmer. The order immediately stops work on the plant, pending a comprehensive review of Zimmer's safety by an independent firm acceptable to the NRC.

The problem at Zimmer centers on a "Quality Assurance Program" set up to certify that construction was being done in compliance with NRC safety regulations. Last year the NRC fined Zimmer owners, Cincinnati Gas and Electric (CG and E), \$200,000 when revelations about harassment of quality control inspectors, falsification of records, and a general breakdown of construction quality controls could no longer be ignored.

The NRC's latest actions stem from public revelations made by Citizens Alliance for Responsible Energy (CARE), a safe energy group started in 1978.

Revelations by workers of company wrongdoing began to surface as early as 1976, only a few years after construction of

the nuclear plant began. Workers complained to the company and to the NRC that lack of adequate quality control could make the plant dangerous to operate. These complaints were ridiculed and ignored.

However, in 1980 Thomas Applegate, a private detective, was hired by CG and E to investigate time card padding at Zimmer. Posing as a cost analyst and having complete access to the plant, Applegate found faulty welds, damaged piping, falsified records of welding, and illegal retaliation against workers who complained about the lack of quality controls. When he reported his findings to CG and E he was fired and warned to remain silent.

Applegate appealed to the NRC for an investigation of quality controls at the Zimmer plant site. In addition to his own observations, he had reports from workers at the plant who did not come forward for fear of retaliation from CG and E. The NRC politely ignored these revelations and issued a whitewash report of quality control assurance programs at Zimmer.

The Applegate revelations were eventually brought to the attention of the Government Accountability Project (GAP), a Washington based group. GAP conducted its own investigation of the allegations about Zimmer construction and heard testimony from Applegate and Zimmer work-

ers. This investigation led to the NRC's probe and the fine levied against CG and E.

In the wake of the publicity of the fight against CG and E, more Zimmer workers came forward with disclosures about construction of the facility. It was revealed in April 1982 that the blueprints do not match the actual plant; materials at Zimmer can not be uniquely traced or identified; parts from outside suppliers were bought without quality verification; and the Quality Assurance Programs, from inspection procedures to personnel qualification, were defective.

This chain of events combined with the introduction of fresh witnesses from the plant prompted Congressman Morris Udall to hold hearings on Zimmer before his subcommittee on energy and the environment.

At the hearings held in June 1982, the NRC admitted that: between 5 and 10 percent of the structural steel welds are faulty and must be redone; thousands of others need to be redone because of the use of unproven or faulty welding procedures or the use of uncertified or unqualified welders; about 20 percent of the 2,500 drawings of Zimmer lack identifying heat numbers used to trace the parts that went into the plant; safety related materials that went into the plant were purchased from vendors not approved to supply essential materials;

and lower-grade steel was often substituted for the higher quality steel required in nuclear plants.

Witnesses told NRC that 100 used steel beams removed from demolished buildings were used in building the plant and were purchased from a Cincinnati scrap dealer. Records are in such a jumble that it may be impossible to sort them out, and some welding records are either forged or inaccurate.

These revelations prompted CARE to launch a campaign to reopen Zimmer's original NRC licensing hearing. The NRC's Atomic Safety and Licensing Board and its staff favored the reopening of the hearings, but were overruled in July by the NRC. CARE and its affiliate, the Miami Valley Power Project, then petitioned the NRC to shut down the plant as unsafe and began flooding the media with its accumulated revelations from Zimmer workers. The petition was granted November 12.

According to Tom Carpenter, staff director of CARE, "This is a citizens victory. It is a progressive first step, but, until public participation in the decision-making process is allowed through a licensing hearing, we will keep up the pressure. We won't be happy until the plant is shut down forever."