

U.S. troop maneuvers threaten Nicaragua



U.S. military adviser (right) with Honduran Gen. Gustavo Álvarez (left) and other military officials. Planned U.S.-Honduran maneuvers are part of escalation of Washington's war against Nicaragua.

Sixteen hundred U.S. military personnel will be sent to Honduras during the first week of February, the Pentagon announced January 18. They will assist some 5,000 Honduran troops in carrying out a major military provocation near the country's border with Nicaragua.

These "joint maneuvers" — of a scale unprecedented in Central America — represent a further escalation of the Reagan administration's counterrevolutionary war against the Nicaraguan people. This is a war in which workers, farmers, teachers,

EDITORIAL

doctors, students, and children are being killed every day with U.S. guns and U.S. ammunition.

American workers have no interest whatsoever in Washington's mounting attacks on the people of Nicaragua. They are fellow toilers whose only crime has been to overthrow the U.S.-backed Somoza dictatorship and install a government that puts the needs of workers and farmers above all other considerations.

Several thousand of the murderers and torturers from Somoza's National Guard

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Rallies support right to abortion

January 22 marked the 10th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. While the major media focused on what opponents of abortion are doing and saying, significant actions in favor of abortion rights took place in more cities than had been the case in recent years. In some cities, important steps forward in labor support were registered.

Below are accounts by *Militant* reporters from around the country on some of these actions.

BY BARBARA KLINE
AND ANN OWENS

ST. LOUIS — Braving the area's first winter snowstorm, 275 supporters of a woman's right to choose abortion poured into Trinity Presbyterian Church on January 21 for the program "A Decade of Freedom," sponsored by the Freedom of Choice Council.

The Council includes five area abortion clinics, five chapters of the National Organization for Women (NOW), American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), Missouri Coalition for Abortion Rights, Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and others.

The extensive rally publicity included posting and distribution of leaflets at area campuses, factories, and garment shops.

One of the six panel speakers was Harold O'Reilly, education director of the United Auto Workers (UAW) Region 5.

O'Reilly told the audience that the UAW had passed a resolution in support of women's right to choose abortion, and he was proud that the UAW, since its inception, has dealt with social issues.

O'Reilly said, "I am personally of a mind that makes me feel a woman should have freedom of choice of what she's going to do with her own body. As individuals in the UAW we might not agree with whatever choice a woman might make regarding pregnancy. But it's her body and we support her right to make that choice."

His remarks were punctuated with applause.

Sister Virginia Williams of the National Coalition of Catholic Nuns was warmly received and given a standing ovation at the end of her talk. During the week preceding the rally, she was the target of a barrage of Catholic-hierarchy-led antiabortion rhetoric in the media.

In addition, she was the target of a ten-day fast that was undertaken by one of the ringleaders of area antiabortion forces in an effort to pressure her not to speak. The man who fasted was just out on bail after a recent contempt of court conviction for repeatedly blocking the entrance to the Ladies Center, a women's clinic that performs abortions.

Sister Williams said, "It is paradoxical to us that the same leaders who are currently demanding that women bring pregnancies to term, are simultaneously voting to cut off food stamps, child nutrition programs, and related benefits essential to the health and well-being of our children."

Other speakers included State Senator Harriett Woods; feminist attorney Arlene Zaremka; Dr. Melvin Schwartz, Reproductive Health Services; and Episcopal Rev. Susan Klein.

Certificates were presented to directors of the Hope Clinic and the Ladies Center for personal bravery in the cause of repro-

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20,000 march in Mexico City against U.S. intervention in El Salvador

BY JIM CUNRADI
AND ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

MEXICO CITY — "El Salvador listen, Mexico is with your struggle!" "Yankees out of El Salvador!"

These chants reflected the sentiments of the 20,000 people who came out to demonstrate here January 22 against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. Actions also took place in Cuba, Vietnam, and other countries in response to a call by the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador. The World Front was founded in Mexico last March by representatives of religious, political, solidarity, and labor organizations from around the world.

The march to the U.S. embassy here was led off by banners of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), and the World Front. These were followed by contingents from solidarity committees, religious groups, and trade unions.

The marchers were greeted by thousands more who lined the route with FMLN flags and placards protesting U.S. intervention. Many joined the demonstration as it went by.

The rally began with a speech by Juan José Martín of the FMLN-FDR. He explained that this demonstration and those like it around the world were all part of the Salvadoran people's revolutionary struggle against imperialist domination. Inside El Salvador, Martín said, "the people and the FMLN are taking gigantic steps forward in this struggle. That is the people's response to the certification Reagan presented to Congress yesterday. The Salvadoran people's response to this certification is to redouble the struggle."

At the same time, Martín continued, the Salvadoran people seek a political solution to the conflict, a dialogue. In this they are supported by the Mexican people, the Nicaraguan people, people from around the world. "The only ones who want more

death and destruction for the Salvadoran people are the Yankees," Martín declared. "The imperialists oppose peace and oppose dialogue because they want to control all of Central America."

"But we are convinced," the FMLN-FDR representative went on, "that the people of the United States themselves support us. We know we can count on the support of the American people; that in the United States itself they are demonstrating against Reagan's certification. The U.S. people are also in favor of a political solution in Central America."

Among the other speakers was Edgardo Pérez, representing the Nicaraguan Committee in Solidarity With the Peoples,

which organizes activities in Nicaragua in support of liberation struggles throughout the world. U.S. intervention, he said, could not stop "the freedom-loving peoples who are fighting for their national self-determination, their sovereignty, their economic and political independence."

The rally also heard from Sabino Hernández of the Mexican Committee in Solidarity With the Salvadoran People. He pointed out that the U.S. government was defeated in Korea, Vietnam, Cuba, Nicaragua, and now the task is to defeat it in El Salvador. The Mexican people, Hernández said, have a special responsibility to the Salvadoran revolution because they

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U.S.-Mexico border actions call for solidarity with Salvadoran people

BY PAM BURCHETT
AND JERRY FREIWIRTH

LOS ANGELES — "It's impossible to defeat the people of El Salvador through repression alone. When people want freedom, even the most genocidal actions by U.S.-backed governments can't stop them. That's the story of El Salvador today. It's the same story that occurred in Grenada, Nicaragua and Cuba."

The speaker was Roberto Alfaro, addressing a January 21 meeting here in solidarity with Central America. More than 300 people crowded into the First Unitarian Church to participate in this event, which served to kick off a weekend of activities called by the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador.

The following day many of those attending the meeting, as well as activists throughout California and the Southwest, caravanned to a rally at the U.S.-Mexican

border that was a highpoint of the weekend's events.

The World Front was formed in March 1982 by an international conference in Mexico City. Its purpose is to unify all existing solidarity organizations and others opposing U.S. intervention in order to reach out to antiwar forces among working people and the oppressed.

Plans for the January 22 activity in California were mapped out by a cross-border conference last October in Tijuana. Established as an affiliate of the World Front, this conference planned a series of solidarity actions, beginning with the January 22 demonstrations on both sides of the San Ysidro-Tijuana border.

The Los Angeles kick-off meeting featured musical groups and a mime troupe portraying the fight of Central Americans against U.S. intervention. Interspersed

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War on Nicaraguan border: Made in U.S.A.

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

NICARAGUAN-HONDURAN BORDER — The Sandinista guard post at El Ciprés in Nueva Segovia Province is located within a few yards of the Honduran border.

Normally border defense units are not placed this close to enemy territory.

Here there was no choice. Literally within inches of the other side of the border are hundreds of yards of trenches dug late last year by units of *contras*, as the some 5,000 counterrevolutionary Nicaraguans based in Honduras are called here. Most of the *contras* are ex-National Guardsmen.

In six days of heavy fighting in late December and early January, Sandinista forces forced the *contras* to retreat further back into Honduras. They also captured a large supply of weapons and ammunition, much of it of U.S. manufacture.

The trenches are a graphic reminder that the warmakers in Washington who arm and train the *contras* have no intention of halting this war until either they or the Sandinista revolution are defeated.

This was underscored when joint U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers, originally scheduled for December, but postponed because of Reagan's visit to Latin America, were rescheduled for the first week of February.

The largest military exercises ever to be carried out in Central America, they will include some 7,000 troops from both ar-

mies and take place less than 10 miles north of the border.

They are "yet another provocation," said the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry in a statement January 20, aimed at "intimidating Nicaragua" and "providing support and supplies to the criminal Somozaist ex-National Guardsmen based in Honduras."

Politically, said Nicaraguan Junta member Sergio Ramírez, the maneuvers represent U.S. imperialism's response to "the defeat it received at the Nonaligned conference." At that conference, held in Managua in mid-January, delegations representing 116 governments and national liberation organizations unanimously approved a statement condemning U.S. attacks on Nicaragua.

The maneuvers are just one part of Washington's war against Nicaragua. In the northern border area, particularly here in the rugged, mountainous province of Nueva Segovia, peasants are being killed and kidnapped every day.

"The counterrevolutionaries usually avoid confrontations with our troops," Captain Rodrigo González, chief of the Nueva Segovia Border Guard, recently told a group of foreign journalists.

"Instead they kidnap peasants, take them to Honduras where they force them to join their ranks, and murder coffee pickers and technicians in an effort to sabotage production."

In Nueva Segovia, in the area of the

northern city of Jalapa alone, he said, 120 peasants have been kidnapped in the last three months. More than 500 families in this thinly populated area have been forced to flee their farms and seek shelter with friends and relatives in the city.

Since October of last year, Nueva Segovia has been one of the main targets of *contra* attacks.

The heaviest fighting took place in December, when six *contra* units, totalling an estimated 2,000 men, tried to take over and occupy the northern sector of this province.

Their aim was to install a "provisional government" on Christmas Eve, followed by an immediate appeal for U.S. recognition and military aid.

Mobilization of the Sandinista army and militia units prevented the *contras* from establishing the foothold they had hoped for, and the counterrevolutionaries involved in the operation were driven back across the border by New Year's Day.

In January the *contras* reverted to hit-and-run operations in the area, aimed at spreading terror and disrupting the coffee harvest.

On New Year's Day 62 peasants, mostly women and children, were kidnapped at a small border village northeast of Jalapa. A few who later escaped from Honduras reported that several of the kidnapped had been brutally beaten.

On January 12 two agrarian reform technicians were killed and five wounded in an

ambush on their vehicle, five miles south of the border.

On January 16 two children aged 14 and 15, part of a Sunday volunteer brigade to pick coffee, were killed near Jalapa. Fifteen other volunteers were wounded. *Contras* armed with machine guns simply opened fire on their truck as they passed within half a mile of the border.

In Costa Rica, which borders Nicaragua on the south, exiles such as ex-Sandinista Edén Pastora and ex-ambassador to the United States Francisco Fiallos have their base. Camps have also been set up there for training counterrevolutionary troops.

Until recently the Costa Rican government has denied any knowledge of these camps. This lie was exposed by a visit to one of them in early January by Agence France-Presse correspondent Isabel Ovarés.

Following a visit to Los Angeles, a camp located just 12 miles south of the border, Ovarés reported:

"Costa Rican authorities assure that they had no information about the existence of this camp until the end of December. But in reality the presence of counterrevolutionaries there was well known in Quebrada Grande, the nearest village, and complaints about it had previously been made to the judicial authorities.

"This camp, used for infantry training, had been functioning for a least a year, said one of the anti-Sandinistas captured recently. He added that some 1,000 men had been trained there."

Pa. school board raises ante in teachers' strike

BY KATHY MICKELLS

CALIFORNIA, Pa. — The stakes in the California area teachers strike, the longest teachers' strike in Pennsylvania history, have escalated. The California School Board has now reneged on a proposed settlement and raised the ante in this bitter struggle.

The board's action came after the teachers agreed to a state fact-finding investigation on the strike. Fact-finder William Hannan, appointed by the Pennsylvania Labor Relations Board, submitted a report. The teachers and the board initially accepted his proposals, many of which favored the teachers.

On two of the major issues, wages and a "no-layoff" clause, the teachers won a victory. Hannan proposed a wage increase of \$1,600 the first year, \$1,700 the second, and \$1,800 the third. Teachers currently earn from \$9,200 to \$21,000. Although the teachers had requested \$2,000 a year, the proposal was more than the school board had ever offered.

The heart of the strike, up until this time, was a "no layoff" clause contained in the

teachers' current contract. Under this clause, reduction in the work force can only take place through attrition, that is retirements and resignations. The school board had been adamant about dropping this clause.

The teachers responded that what the board wanted was to make substantial changes in the curriculum, dropping certain subjects like music and art, and increasing the size of classes.

Hannan proposed to keep the "no-layoff" clause intact for the first two years of the contract and to allow for layoffs in the third year only when the student-teacher ratio drops below the current level of 17 to 1.

After two demonstrations of 1,500 and 700 in support of the teachers, and the filing of a lawsuit by parents against the school board for misuse of funds, the pressure was on the board to accept the recommendations. They along with the teachers announced their acceptance on January 19.

The next day a snag developed. The board refused to allow the "amnesty" clause proposed by Hannan into the con-

tract.

The "amnesty" clause would not allow the board to take any reprisals or retaliatory action against the teachers for participating in legitimate strike activities, that is, no suspensions, demotions, or firings.

At a school board meeting attended by over 500 residents and teachers, the board voted 6 to 3 to give a verbal agreement on amnesty but not include it in the contract. The meeting then broke into pandemonium. The school board adjourned its meeting.

Over 300 residents remained. A vote was taken on whether the "amnesty" clause should be included in the contract, and 296 voted in favor, 3 against, and 17 abstained.

The support for the teachers by parents and unionists has been impressive. Parent support has not waned even though the major media have run articles claiming the strike will cause deep emotional problems for the students.

Support from unionists continues to pour in. Richard Trumka, the newly elected president of the United Mine Workers of America, has pledged the support of coal

miners across the nation.

The very heart of this strike has shifted from the "no layoff" clause to the right of public employees to strike. The teachers are currently wearing tee-shirts that say, "Us Today — Who Tomorrow — Act 195."

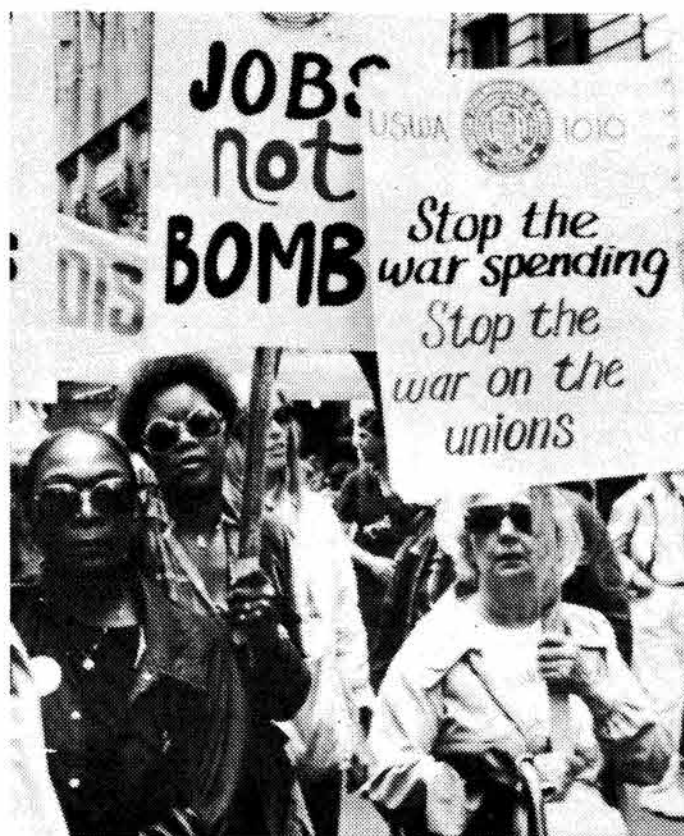
Act 195 was passed in 1970. It grants public employees the right to organize and to strike.

The California School Board, along with the Pennsylvania School Board Association (PSBA) and the state legislature are trying to lay the groundwork for gutting this act of any substance.

The PSBA, in the midst of the fact-finding, passed a resolution expressing its concern over "the conflicting state policies of requiring education for our children, while at the same time providing a statutory right to strike."

At the same time, State Rep. David Sweet, a Democrat from Canonsburg, is preparing legislation to require binding arbitration in the event a teachers' strike threatens to shorten the school year to anything below the required 180 days.

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Editors: CINDY JAQUITH
DOUG JENNESS

Business Manager:

LEE MARTINDALE

Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, Nelson González, William Gottlieb, Arthur Hughes, Margaret Jayko, George Johnson, Frank Lovell, Malik Miah, Harry Ring, Larry Seigle, Mary-Alice Waters.

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Youth rebelled in Overtown, Miami, after cop killed Nevell Johnson in cold blood.

Miami march called to protest police murder of Black

BY JACKIE FLOYD
AND STU SINGER

MIAMI — A march for justice for Nevell Johnson, a young Black murdered by police December 28, has been scheduled for January 29.

Called by the Family Coalition, which includes the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Operation PUSH, the American Muslim Movement, and others, the march is to start at 9 a.m. at 16th Street and Northwest Third Avenue and proceed to City Hall. A rally follows.

Sentiment for protest action was shown when about 14,000 people turned out for a parade here January 15, the birthday of Dr.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

The January 15 parade came two weeks after the murder of Johnson by a white Cuban cop, which sparked a rebellion by Blacks in the Overtown area where Johnson was slain. During the rebellion cops killed another Black youth and arrested at least 44 Overtown residents, beating dozens of them.

The parade was held in Liberty City, which also saw a powerful Black rebellion in early 1980 when white cops were acquitted after beating to death a Black insurance salesman, Arthur McDuffie.

Most people interviewed by the *Militant* at the parade had these racist murders on their minds.

An infantry sergeant, home on leave, said: "I was still in Germany when Nevell Johnson was shot, but it didn't surprise me. I know how the cops are; I remember McDuffie."

If Luis Alvarez, the cop who killed Johnson, isn't punished, "it will spark it off again," the soldier added, voicing an opinion that was widely shared.

The sergeant pointed out that his unit was on war maneuvers near the Czechoslovakia border for 286 days last year.

"We're always practicing for war over there," he said. "But I won't fight any war for those people. I am ready to fight a war here against all the killings."

A record store along the parade route was playing Stevie Wonder's *Happy Birthday* song about Dr. King.

Across the street, a man who works in the Belafonte-Tacolcy community center said: "The killing by the cop was a disgrace. It happens continuously. The cops attack us anywhere, anytime, all through the United States."

He added, "The whole justice system dehumanizes Blacks. We've got to look at the total structure of this system and change it."

Four Edison High School students stopped to talk to the *Militant*.

"They could kill any of us like they killed Nevell," one of them said.

At the Liberty Square housing project a man described his run-ins with the cops.

"You get stopped for a traffic ticket and they handcuff you and slam you against the car," he said. "You don't see them doing that to whites."

Meanwhile, a large meeting of white cops was held in the "Little Havana" area to defend Alvarez. One of the highest-priced lawyers around has been retained to defend the killer cop — if he is ever charged.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have been active in getting out the truth about the Miami rebellion and protesting the murder of Nevell Johnson. On January 22 the Militant Labor Forum sponsored a meeting in Overtown, titled "For Justice in Overtown; Reagan out of Central America."

About 500 copies of the January 21 issue of the *Militant*, which had a back-page article on the Miami rebellion, were sold here within a week.

Boston draft resister sentenced

BY RICHARD ELY

BOSTON — Declaring his opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua, Ed Hasbrouck was sentenced here January 14 for refusing to register for the draft. Despite government calls for a two-year prison term, Federal Judge David Nelson gave Hasbrouck a six-month suspended sentence, placed him on probation for two years, and ordered him to perform 1,000 hours of community service.

Speaking to a packed courtroom, Hasbrouck said regardless of the sentence imposed on him, he would pursue his public opposition to the draft. His statement met with sustained applause.

Louisville defense committee formed for jailed Black community activist

BY CHUCK PETRIN

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — Friends and supporters of Al Horsley turned out at a news conference here January 20 to announce plans for a public defense campaign on his behalf. He was arrested earlier this month on frame-up charges of kidnapping and robbery and is being held in the county jail on \$10,000 cash bond.

Horsley is a 41-year-old Black worker who has been active in union, civil rights, and community struggles in Louisville for more than a decade. He worked at International Harvester for 13 years where he was active in the United Auto Workers. He is known in Louisville as an activist in the anti-Klan struggle, and he recently joined the Young Socialist Alliance.

"We'll turn over every stone within reach to liberate Al," Rev. William Hollin Bell told the conference. Bell is pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church and has known Horsley for many years.

Bell described Horsley as a man who could always be counted on to lend a hand in opposing the bankers, businessmen, police, and government agencies that prey on the predominantly Black neighborhood of this city's West End.

"Wherever something was being done to upgrade our community," Bell explained, "that's where you could find Al."

Rev. James Elliot, pastor of the New Jerusalem Baptist Church, pledged the support of his congregation to the defense effort. "This case is so important!" he emphasized. "We must accelerate our efforts to involve others to assist our brother Al Horsley."

Arlene Rubinstein, a member of the Al Horsley Defense Committee, traced Horsley's record over many years as a union man, community activist, and outspoken supporter of civil rights.

"It is for 'crimes' such as these, and none other," she said, "that Al Horsley is now behind bars. By pinning bogus criminal charges on this man, the prosecution

aims to silence and discredit him."

The Al Horsley Defense Committee, she explained, will be a coalition of individuals and organizations united in demanding the frame-up charges against Horsley be dropped. Its purpose will be to provide information about the case, mobilize public support, and raise funds for the legal defense.

"Our starting point," Rubinstein said, "is the long-standing principle of the American labor movement and civil rights movement: 'an injury to one is an injury to all.'"

"For Al Horsley himself the stakes in this case are indeed great. If the frame-up is successful, he could spend the rest of his life in prison. But for working people in general, the stakes in this case are also great. If the frame-up is successful, it will embolden those who seek to brand all opponents of racism, economic inequality, and political injustice as criminals."

This theme was echoed by Rev. Fred Gibson, associate pastor of the First Gethsemane Baptist Church.

"None of us is free," he said, "if even one of us is victimized. We know the same thing can happen to any one of us."

"We must not allow this to happen. We must call this to the attention of all people in this city, and if necessary, the state, and if necessary, the whole world."

Mattie Jones, representing the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, linked Horsley's case with the history of cop terror waged against Louisville's Black community. Jones pledged to join the fight to win Horsley's freedom.

Legal proceedings in the Horsley case began this week in district court. On January 18, Judge Kevin Garvey refused to hear testimony from Horsley's family, neighbors, and minister on a motion to reduce his bond, which remains set at \$10,000 cash or \$20,000 in property.

On January 21, a pretrial hearing was held on the charges of first degree kidnap-

ping and robbery. County Prosecutor John Hanley presented the testimony of Carolyn Pierce, a bank employee whom the cops claim, "positively identified" Horsley as the man she alleged forced her into her car December 30, drove her to a park at the edge of town, and robbed her of \$4 and some jewelry.

However, two other witnesses subpoenaed by defense attorney Eleanor Garber shed some light on the actual process by which Horsley was singled out for arrest.

Police Detective Rogers testified that it was not Carolyn Pierce but another cop, police officer Fenster, who first targeted Horsley as "the likely suspect." Fenster claimed to have seen Horsley some time that day in the vicinity of where the alleged crime took place. On that basis, Rogers said, he called Pierce to the police station to look at Horsley's picture in hopes of her making a "positive I.D."

Pierce testified that while there were "differences" between the picture of Horsley that was shown to her and the man she claimed had attacked her, she was nevertheless positive that Horsley was the man. Pierce's confidence was obviously boosted by Detective Rogers who told her point-blank, "this is the man we have been on the watch for."

The prosecution introduced no other "evidence" at the hearing to link Horsley with the alleged crime. No fingerprints were offered, for example, and no other material evidence for Horsley's arrest was even suggested. Still, Garvey ordered that Horsley's case be turned over to the circuit court grand jury, which will meet on February 1 to prepare an indictment.

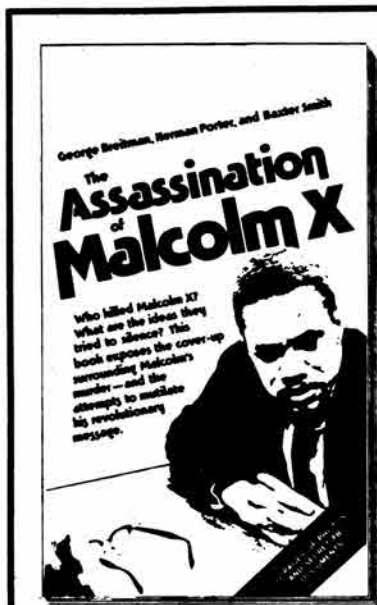
The fact is that Horsley has been accused of a crime he did not commit. At the time the kidnapping incident was supposed to have taken place, Horsley was at home with his mother and one of his sisters. The entire case against him has been manufactured.

As Arlene Rubinstein explained in announcing the formation of the Al Horsley Defense Committee, "Our aim is to tell the truth about this case, and the truth is that Al Horsley is a victim of a frame-up — a racist, politically inspired frame-up, which deserves the contempt of everyone who stands for freedom and justice."

A meeting of the Al Horsley Defense Committee has been set for January 27. The defense committee has issued an appeal for funds both to meet Horsley's bail and to pay for the legal defense and for materials to publicize the case.

The committee is asking that telegrams demanding that the charges against Al Horsley be dropped be sent to: County Attorney, Criminal Division, 239 South 5th St., Louisville, Ky. 40202.

Copies of the telegram and financial contributions can be sent to: Al Horsley Defense Committee, P.O. Box 748, Louisville, Ky. 40201.



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U.S.-Mexico border actions on Salvador

Continued from front page

were speeches and greetings from dozens of groups and organizations who came to express their solidarity and to demand an end to U.S. intervention. Those in attendance included many Salvadoran workers and activists in the solidarity movement.

The meeting's principal speaker was Robert Alfaro, a central leader of the Committee in Solidarity with Central America (COSCA). He spoke of the military offensive begun in October by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and reported on the recent strike wave in the capital, San Salvador. Despite the tremendous repression faced by revolutionary forces there, Alfaro explained, the workers' movement in the city is on the rise and is a central part of the fight for freedom. It is tied directly to the military struggle in the countryside.

The Reagan administration's move to recertify the "human rights" record of the Salvadoran regime was singled out for attack by many speakers during the evening. Alfaro expanded on this and pointed also to the U.S. government's complete refusal to respond to the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and FMLN proposals to negotiate. Washington is committed, he said, to a military solution in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and throughout the region. Its perspective is to drown the liberation movements in blood.

But the liberation forces are scoring new victories, he went on, and the question of who will rule in El Salvador — the U.S. government or the workers and peasants of El Salvador — is rapidly coming to the fore.

The immediacy of the situation in El Salvador, Alfaro explained, underscores the need to build a massive U.S. movement against intervention. "We must create a dialogue between the existing solidarity movement and the majority of the North American people," he said. "We must particularly work with the biggest sectors of this population — workers, Blacks, Chicanos — and with students, churches, and others as well. We must do so in a unified way. This will make possible the construction of the World Front here in the United States."

The Los Angeles rally was organized by a coalition of groups including Casa El Salvador, Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Casa Nicaragua, Socialist Workers Party, and Federation for Progress. It was endorsed by a wide range of unionists and political organizations.

Included among these were Andy Anderson and Tom Collins, two local United Steelworkers of America presidents; Chuck Sheehan, past president of Los Angeles Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization; Albert Maltz of the Hollywood Ten; Alliance for Survival; and John T. Williams, cochair of the U.S.-Greenland Friendship Society.

The next day many of those who had come to the Friday night rally joined others throughout the state in a car and bus caravan to the border.

As the caravan neared the San Ysidro-Tijuana border exit, it had quite an impact. Cars with headlights on; streamers on their antennas; and signs, banners, and flags on their hoods, trunks, and bumpers stretched for as far as you could see. The caravan had begun the night before with a bus from the Bay Area. Carloads joined in Bakersfield, in Fresno, and dozens more in Los Angeles and Riverside.

In Santa Ana, where a rest stop was scheduled, supporters who could not join the border demonstration because of potential problems with the Immigration and Naturalization Service, greeted demonstrators with a short rally and sent them off again with chants of "Fa-Fa-Farabundo" and "F-M-L-N."

The last contingent was picked up in San Diego, including people who had driven from Phoenix and Tucson. Leaving Balboa Park, the caravan of more than a hundred campers, vans, cars, trucks, and buses drew a lot of attention and support.

As the caravan unloaded at the border, it was met by 300 noisy right-wingers protected by at least 60 cops. The right-win-

gers shouted anticommunist slogans. Banners from Alpha 66, a self-proclaimed terrorist group of anti-Castro Cubans, were present. The more than 400 people who had come to protest U.S. intervention in Central America chose to ignore the rightists and proceeded on foot through San Ysidro to the border.

Originally the rally was supposed to take place within sight of a simultaneous solidarity rally by brothers and sisters on the Mexican side of the border, but at the last minute federal authorities forced the U.S. rally to be held in a remote and dusty field. Nevertheless, the spirit of international solidarity ran through the entire rally.

Blase Bonpane, former Maryknoll missionary in Central America and now a prominent CISPES spokesperson, pointed to the barbed-wire fence behind him and said, "In the future we're going to take that fence down. We are one family of people, and today part of that family is being exterminated with money taken from your paychecks." Speaking of Reagan's certification of the regime in El Salvador as one that has proven its respect for human rights, Bonpane said, "It's certified murder."

David Johnson, representing the FDR-FMLN, thanked the crowd for its support. He reviewed the history of Jan. 22, 1932, when Farabundo Martí led a group of insurgents against the repressive Salvadoran dictatorship. Many were massacred. Johnson compared that with the situation in El Salvador today where the liberation forces are winning. He spoke of military gains in both the countryside and the cities.

Johnson also reviewed developments on the diplomatic front and reiterated the FDR's desire to avoid unnecessary bloodshed and its willingness to engage in dialogue and a negotiated political settlement. The rally ended with his appeal to the crowd to return home and broaden the movement by educating the U.S. people about what is happening in El Salvador.

Greetings were read from dozens of groups and individuals including 120 workers who drafted, circulated, and signed a petition supporting the day of solidarity. These workers were from the FMC plant in San Jose, which builds personnel carriers and tanks for the Pentagon.

A member of the Amalgamated Transportation Union Local 265 from San Jose read a resolution from his union supporting the goals of the World Front.

Other speakers included Renata Kline, mother of Michael Kline, a U.S. youth who was murdered after being pulled off a bus by government forces in El Salvador. Kline reported on the foot dragging and coverup by the U.S. State Department and the U.S. Embassy in El Salvador, which have done nothing to investigate the murder of her son.

Kiko Martínez, an activist in the Colorado Chicano movement who was recently found innocent of frameup charges there, spoke on the parallel attacks by Washington on the people of Central America and on the standard of living and rights of U.S. working people.

PHOENIX — On January 20 more than 70 people gathered at the Covenant United Presbyterian Church for a rally in support of the people of El Salvador.

Among the guest speakers were Francis Cavassos; Jessie Romo, representing the Arizona Farm Workers Union; and Rev. John Fife. Fife is minister of a Presbyterian Church in Tucson that has received national media attention for publicly providing sanctuary for Central American refugees in violation of U.S. immigration laws.

Also speaking were Sister Rosemary Garrity, a Maryknoll sister recently returned from Guatemala, and a representative of the Coalition Against U.S. Aggression.

The rally was also a spirited send-off for the 70 activists who decided to make the more than 16-hour drive to join the border demonstration at San Ysidro.



Militant/Ed Berger

World Front in Solidarity With People of El Salvador called January 22 solidarity actions. Protesters met on border in San Ysidro (top) and Tijuana (bottom).

500 demonstrate in Tijuana

BY SETH GALINSKY

TIJUANA, Mexico — Nearly 500 demonstrators protested here January 22 against U.S. intervention in Central America.

Thousands of travelers and tourists passed the demonstration, held just a few hundred feet from the U.S. border. Some honked their horns in agreement.

Demonstrators came from dozens of cities, including Tecate, Ensenada, Mexicali, Culiacán, Los Mochis, Nogales, and Hermosillo.

The U.S. Border Patrol was quite worried about the demonstration. People crossing over from the U.S. side were stopped and warned that they were entering Mexico at their own risk. They were told that "500 terrorists" were demonstrating and that there was a possibility of tear gas being tossed.

This reporter was stopped by border cops and required to show identification before crossing the border (something

rarely done to Anglo travelers). Others from the United States who wanted to join the demonstration were stopped at the border and told that they would be arrested if they tried to proceed across.

Despite this harassment, the demonstration was peaceful and legal.

Speakers at the rally included representatives of the Mexican Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador; Victor Medrano, representing the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FDR-FMLN), and others.

Medrano spoke about the effect of the Salvadoran revolution on the consciousness of the people of Latin America. He said that "at this moment we need to be more vigilant," especially given the offensive of the FMLN inside El Salvador.

Medrano explained that the FMLN has proposed negotiations because "we want to avoid the spilling of more blood and the regionalization of the war."

The U.S. government is planning to intervene more directly in El Salvador, Medrano emphasized, and the solidarity movement must step up its activities around the world.

20,000 march in Mexico City

Continued from front page

too are part of Central America. The victory of the revolution in El Salvador, he added, will assure revolutionary victory throughout Central America.

Vicente Juárez of the Mexican Committee in Solidarity with the Salvadoran People, who cochaired the rally, announced that among other countries where similar actions were taking place were France, Japan, Australia, Cuba, and Vietnam. The crowd responded with chants of "Cuba sí, Yanquis no!" and "Two, three, many Vietnams!"

The rally ended with a brief speech by cochair Jorge Martínez, also of the Mexican committee. He paid homage to the many martyrs of the Salvadoran revolution, singling out Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, the four U.S. churchwomen slain in December 1980, and Flor ("Terry") Santana, the Cuban-born solidarity activist in New York City who was assassinated there in December of last year.

Protest at State Dept. hits certification

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Some 250 people attempted to block the doors of the State Department here January 24 in opposition to President Reagan's certification that human rights have improved in El Salvador. The action was called by the Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador.

Police arrested 123 people. All but three were released by that night.

In addition to protesting certification, the demonstrators demanded "No Military Aid to Guatemala"; "Stop U.S. Intervention in El Salvador"; and "Stop Covert War in Nicaragua."

Subscribe to the 'Militant'

Salvador students, teachers are victims of jailing, torture

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

SAN FRANCISCO — Three members of an academic fact-finding commission that visited El Salvador in early January presented their findings at a news conference here January 18. James Torrens of the University of Santa Clara, Arnon Hadar, Director of the U.S.-El Salvador Information and Research Center, and Karen Parker, a specialist in human rights law, were among eight academics who took part in the tour.

Calling the entire educational system in El Salvador "devastated," Hadar explained that the trip focused on the state of education and specifically on the National University.

The campus of the National University of El Salvador was invaded by military troops on June 26, 1980, as part of the government's retaliation for a general strike that had paralyzed the country for several days. Vandalized and stripped of everything sellable, the campus was turned into a military barracks. "Almost all the government officials with whom we met expressed the need for the university to be reopened," said Hadar. "Nobody explained why the army is still there and preventing anyone from going in."

The closure was accompanied by a campaign of repression against academics and students. On October 28, 1980, the rector of the university, Felix Antonio Ulloa, was assassinated as he left a meeting of the University Council. On Feb. 10, 1981, the entire 23-member Executive Council of the National University was arrested. Eighty students and teachers have been murdered or "disappeared," and many have fled the country.

The university, founded in 1861, once had 30,000 students, including many from poor families. Now one third that number struggle to continue their education in rented rooms around the city. Parker gave an example of the material conditions they face. "In 1980," she said, "the Law School had 50,000 books. Now they have 300." The delegation reported that it would take \$20-\$30 million to reequip the university completely.

Elementary and high school education

has also been hit hard. According to official statistics, 900 schools were closed down between 1979 and 1981. According to the teachers' union ANDES, a total of 1,200 have now been closed. This is almost half the schools in the country — in a nation with an illiteracy rate of 50 percent. Many of the schools have been turned into army barracks.

The U.S. professors reported that the teachers' union "has been decimated by a reign of terror." Nearly 300 members have been killed in the last three years. Just membership in ANDES is regarded as grounds for suspicion, arrest, and sometimes murder. The team interviewed 27 ANDES members in prison, all of whom had been tortured.

In addition to meeting with high Salvadoran government and U.S. Embassy officials, the delegation was allowed to visit and interview about 60 political prisoners in the Marion and Ilopango prisons. (The latter is a women's prison.)

"All of them had been terribly tortured," reported Hadar. Torture is "standard procedure," he said.

The prisoners with whom the professors talked reported being hooded, beaten, branded with hot irons, slashed with knives, and subjected to chemical torture. Parker described it as "the general rule" for women prisoners to be raped, often kept stripped and hooded, and subjected to constant humiliation.

The U.S. faculty members met with Salvadoran Defense Minister Gen. José Guillermo García. "His position on torture," said Hadar, "was that it was a very small, really an insignificant problem, that would rapidly be cleaned up."

In addition to the prisoners themselves, their families also suffer. "Most of the prisoners we saw were young," said Parker. Even when not subject to direct reprisals, parents are often denied information on whether their teenage children who have been captured are dead or alive. Relatives are afraid that if they visit prisoners, they will themselves be subject to arrest.

In fact, the atmosphere of terror was so pervasive, reported Hadar, that they met refugees so afraid that for three years they



Troops occupy the University of El Salvador

had not gone out of the crowded church building in which they had taken refuge.

Parker pointed out that, while their investigation focused on education, the repression of the academic community "was in no way unique. All sectors suffer terrible repression — labor, peasants, the poor; it even reaches into the drawing rooms of the rich."

They described the case of 17-year-old Beatriz Herrera, whom they visited in jail, and who told them how she had been arrested, tortured, and threatened with death.

Beatriz and her 15-year-old sister were abducted in the middle of the night from a home in a wealthy neighborhood of San Salvador, just before the U.S. delegation

arrived. The girls were on a visit from the United States, where they go to school. Their mother once worked for the Catholic radio station in El Salvador.

Torrens, a Jesuit priest, told reporters the commission saw its responsibility as not only getting out the facts about repression in El Salvador, but also "helping to do something productive," namely working in this country to aid in the reopening of the National University of El Salvador.

The fact-finding mission was organized by the Faculty for Human Rights in El Salvador and Central America, a national network of U.S. academics based at the University of California in Berkeley.

UE NEWS

Salvadoran Trade Unionist Tells UE Members of Struggle

ERIE, Pa. — A Salvadoran trade union leader who has been imprisoned four times and tortured by government troops told a UE Local 506 membership meeting in November that the U.S.-backed military dictatorship has made normal trade union struggle in El Salvador impossible.

Alejandro Molina Lara, secretary general of the Salvadoran Fishing Industry Union, was a guest of Local 506 while on a six-week tour of western Pennsylvania, Ohio and West Virginia which included several union meetings.

Speaking to UE members employed at the big General Electric works here, Brother Molina said workers in El Salvador are routinely murdered by their government if they are union members. He charged the U.S. government with promoting this policy.

UNION LEADERS MURDERED

"There are no local union meetings in El Salvador, and no functioning locals," Brother Molina

said. "All union activity is underground." And no wonder—as he explained to Local 506 members, over 1,000 union officers and leaders have been murdered; most of the rest have been forced to flee the country.

The entire national executive board of the Electrical Workers Union has been imprisoned since August, 1980, Brother Molina said.

The military government serves the interests of the multinational corporations, and the aristocratic "Fourteen Families" who own 80 percent of the land, he explained.

"Our struggle is the same as yours because we fight the same bosses," said Brother Molina, pointing out that Texas Instruments, ITT and Standard Oil are among the U.S. corporations operating in El Salvador.

The Salvadoran trade union leader noted that the U.S. companies take advantage of his country's so-called "Free Trade Zone," in which "they pay no taxes, and where the wage they pay is \$2.50 a day!"

"The government strictly forbids any union activity in the 'Free Zone,' and six electronics workers were shot down and killed by troops recently for organizing a strike."

"STOP U.S. AID"

Brother Molina asked the GE workers to help stop this slaughter by acting to end U.S. military aid to the dictatorship. President Reagan must certify to Congress in January that the Salvadoran regime is respecting human rights. The UE members were urged to contact members in Congress.

Local 506 members gave the Salvadoran trade union leader a warm reception, making a financial contribution to help cover the costs of his tour, signing petitions calling for the release of the Electrical Workers Union leaders, and presenting Molina with a UE 506 baseball cap and tee shirt.



ALL UNIONS in El Salvador have been forced underground, Alejandro Molina Lara told UE Local 506 members.

Reproduced above is an article from January 17 UE News, newspaper of the United Electrical Workers. Salvadoran trade unionist Alejandro Molina Lara addressed UE Local 506 as part of a three-state tour where he explained struggle of workers in El Salvador to fellow trade unionists.

Socialist candidate in Kansas City denounces cutoff of heat for 6,000

BY JEFF POWERS

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — A big issue in the municipal elections here this year is the right of working people to get heat. Already, over 6,000 area homeowners and renters face a winter without gas, because the Gas Service Company has disconnected it for nonpayment of bills.

Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, Bob Kutchko, a 28-year-old letter carrier and member of Branch 30 of the National Association of Letter Carriers, calls for the utility to reconnect all gas service. "It's a miracle," he said, "that someone hasn't yet frozen to death because of the criminal policies of the Gas Service Company."

On December 28, Kutchko visited the Alhambra apartment building where over 65 residents are without heat. It seems that even though the tenants paid their rent the owners couldn't see their way clear to pay the gas bill and the Gas Service shut it off. "We are faced with the impossible task of coming up with the \$16,000 the landlord owes," the Alhambra residents angrily explained to Kutchko.

"There are only two or three people in the whole building who are working," one woman said, as she sat bundled up in the apartment building's lobby with her small child nestled in her lap. "The rest of us can't find work, we are on welfare."

Even though the building is unheated no one planned to leave. "We can't afford to move," another woman continued. "Where are we going to get another rent deposit?"

"We worked with Legal Aid but they

just told us nothing could be done," the resident who also served as the building's superintendent said. "Mayor Berkley? I wouldn't waste my time talking to him."

Kutchko explained that he favored a program that called for nationalizing the gas company and making it a public utility supervised by a democratically elected board. Meanwhile, he said, "We need an emergency campaign right now to get the gas turned back on. Every working person in the city has a stake in this."

"Most of us who are still working are just getting by," Kutchko told the Alhambra's residents. "It's only a fine line that divides us from you."

Kutchko promised to take the Alhambra residents' fight before his local union. "One of the big things I am campaigning for is a labor party that would put the needs of working people first, including the need for inexpensive and dependable public services such as heat," Kutchko said.

The socialist candidate promised to tell the truth about what is happening at the Alhambra throughout his campaign and offered the tenants an opportunity to speak at a public forum he and his supporters were organizing on the energy crisis.

"We are at the Gas Service's mercy if we approach them as individuals," Kutchko said. "Collectively it is another matter altogether. It will not be easy, but we can force them to turn your heat back on."

Kutchko is running against Richard Berkley, a Republican, and Charles Wheeler and Joe Serviss, both Democrats.

Steel bosses get more givebacks

Wheeling-Pittsburgh Steel Corp. won wage and benefit concessions in late December that will cost each of its workers \$2.85 an hour. The givebacks were the second within a year; the first round cost the workers \$1.50 an hour.

Wheeling-Pittsburgh workers are members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). The corporation bargains with the union separately from the so-called Big Eight steelmakers, who coordinate their bargaining with the union.

The Wheeling-Pittsburgh concessions "will give the Big Eight companies more leverage," *Business Week* reports, adding that USWA President Lloyd McBride concedes this to be true.

The Big Eight-USWA contracts expire July 31, and there is great pressure on the union to accept concessions earlier than that.

General Motors Chairman Roger Smith, adding to this pressure on behalf of his capitalist brothers, has told McBride that GM will award its contracts — the

steel industry's biggest — to Wheeling-Pittsburgh or to foreign companies if there is no Big Eight agreement by March 1.

The McBride leadership favors making concessions to the steel bosses, even though the Basic Steel Industry Conference (BSIC), the USWA body that votes on contracts, has twice refused to approve concessions.

At a January 12 news conference, McBride "made it clear that he intends to push for a March 1 settlement," the *Wall Street Journal* said.

The paper also reported that the McBride-run executive board had decided to cut by almost half the number of union officials who can vote on contracts.

In the USWA's District 31 (Chicago-Gary), meanwhile, a petition opposing concessions in the absence of a "willingness of the companies to bring our laid-off members back to work, and stop plant closures" was signed by a large number of elected officials of local unions, reflecting a continuing opposition to concessions among the rank and file of the steel union.

Two union mergers

There were two union mergers last December:

The Hatters union, with 8,000 members, became part of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, whose membership was 455,000 prior to the merger, according to the latest available figures.

And the National Association of Government Employees, with 80,000 members, joined the Service Employees International Union, whose membership in the United States and Canada is now nearly 800,000.

J.P. Stevens signs 2 contracts

The J.P. Stevens Co., long a symbol of employer resistance to unionism, has signed contracts with the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) for workers at two of its plants in Wallace, North Carolina.

There are now 11 Stevens facilities covered by ACTWU contracts, according to the union's paper, *Labor Unity*.

The ACTWU victory in Wallace took almost eight years to accomplish. Stevens stalled through the courts to avoid signing a contract.

The Stevens workers won an immediate 5.5 percent wage increase and put job standards, work load, piece rate, and safety rules under the union's grievance procedure.

Braniff union pacts destroyed

Union contracts with Braniff airlines were voided by a federal bankruptcy judge in Fort Worth, Texas.

The unions involved were the Machinists, Airline Pilots, and Flight Attendants.

Braniff claimed that if the union contracts remained intact, a takeover of the airline by Pacific Southwest Airlines (PSA) "might be impossible."

PSA sought concessions in wages and working conditions as a condition to taking over Braniff, which has filed for bankruptcy.

The voiding of the contracts thus clears the way for concessions, and is a blow to the workers formerly covered.

Wage data 'secret'

The National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) ruled that workers can be fired for revealing "confidential" pay data.

A Black workers group at IBM published salary figures from 1980. IBM fired the leader of the group.

The NLRB upheld the firing because IBM, it ruled, has "a substantial and legitimate business justification" for the secrecy policy.

So it does — the same justification all other nonunion companies have: they keep wage information secret so workers can't find out how unfair and discriminatory pay scales are.

— GEORGE JOHNSON

Nationwide rallies support the right to abortion

Continued from front page
ductive freedom after enduring attacks by antiabortion forces in recent months.

BY LINDA MALANCHUK

SEATTLE, Wash. — "Not the church, not the state, women must decide their fate!" was the spirited chant as over 1,000 — police estimates were up to 1,500 — marched to defend abortion rights on January 22 in Seattle. The demonstration was sponsored by the January 22 Coalition to Defend Safe, Legal, Accessible Abortion.

Over 44 women's and community groups came together to plan the march and rally at the county courthouse.

Speaker after speaker reiterated the need to publicly fight the continued attacks on a woman's right to choose abortion, from the infamous Hyde Amendment to the proposed antiabortion Human Life Amendment.

Janet Edgerton, spokeswoman for the coalition, presented a ringing challenge saying, "We are here today to tell the anti-abortion forces we will not go back to dangerous backalley abortions."

The divisive nature of the attacks on

abortion rights, singling out poor and minority women for particular harassment, was denounced by every speaker.

Marcy Bloom, director of the Women's Health Care Clinic, said that 261,000 women who want abortions this year will be unable to obtain them due to lack of funds.

Her clinic had been picketed for eight weeks last fall, with patients and staff viciously harassed and called "baby-killers" by a right-wing religious organization. The clinic had a bomb threat the night before the rally.

Endorsers of the action included Seattle NOW, Washington State NOW, Seattle Reproductive Rights Alliance, National Abortion Rights Action League (NARAL), Radical Women, the executive board of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 2083c, Socialist Workers Party, and many others.

BOSTON — Seventy-five women's rights and other organizations united to hold a rally of 400 people here on January 22 in defense of abortion rights.

Sponsors included two chapters of NOW, Boston CLUW, the Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights (RCAR), SWP, *Gay Community News*, Planned Parenthood League of Massachusetts, Democratic Socialists of America, and the All Peoples Congress.

The leaflet for the event explained that since abortion was made legal, "that right has been under constant attack. The Hyde Amendment ended the use of federal funds for Medicaid abortions, and today only a few states provide funding for abortions for poor women. Access has been limited further by age, medical insurance coverage, and the number of clinics."

Speakers included Cecelia McCarthy from the American Federation of Government Employees; State Rep. Mel King; Janet Feron, Boston NOW president; and Jane Roland, former U.S. Senatorial candidate on the SWP ticket.

PHILADELPHIA — After hearing testimony from 12 women representing the victims of illegal abortions, forced sterilization, rape, and other crimes against women, the more than 250 supporters of women's rights who packed the National Union of Hospital and Health Care Workers 1199c hall for the Women's Tribunal on Crimes Against Reproductive Freedom, shouted in unison "Guilty! Guilty! Guilty!" as the list of defendants was read.

The list included anti-abortion-rights legislators and politicians; federal, state, and local government agencies; the drug



Militant/Rita Lee

Seattle abortion rights demonstration

companies; the medical establishment; corporations; and the courts.

Among the many charges were conspiracy to deprive women of constitutional rights and civil rights and conspiracy to commit genocide through forced sterilization and racist population control policies.

A young Black woman administrator of a women's clinic testified that it had been firebombed several months ago by anti-abortionists who left a sign, "Everyone must burn these places down."

She announced that the clinic had continued to operate despite the terrorist attack and concluded, "If we don't speak up they will take this right. If women don't defend themselves, no one else will and women will be forced back to the alley."

A young Puerto Rican activist charged that over 30 percent of women in Puerto Rico have been subjected to sterilization without their knowledge or consent.

The tribunal was sponsored by more than 16 organizations including the Philadelphia Reproductive Rights Organization, NARAL of Pennsylvania, Hispanic Women's Program — Lighthouse, Northeast NOW, and the SWP.

ST. PAUL, Minnesota — NOW sponsored a march of 500 people here, which began with a rally on the steps of the state capitol.

Jan Deitrich, president of the local Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union and a board member of Twin Cities CLUW, hit the hypocritical "prolife" stance of the Reagan administration, which is cutting back child care and welfare and spending huge amounts on the military.

Other speakers included Carla Whittington, president of Twin Cities NOW; Ruth Voight, a Native American woman

who discussed the problem of forced sterilization; and Lisa Ahlberg of the Young Socialist Alliance.

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Just like last year, President Ronald Reagan took the opportunity of January 22 to issue a statement condemning abortion rights and to meet with leaders of right-wing antiabortion groups.

He also endorsed a bill, introduced by Rep. Henry Hyde, a Republican from Illinois, that would prohibit the use of federal money for Medicaid abortion and prohibit coverage of abortion in health insurance plans for government workers.

The bill also declares that fetuses are human beings, thus laying the basis for outlawing abortion outright.

In addition, the Catholic Church hierarchy brought out tens of thousands of people to demonstrate against abortion rights at the capitol. Some of the demonstrators were friendly to the picket line going on simultaneously against U.S. aid to El Salvador, and a few even carried confused signs linking antiwar and antiabortion slogans. This contradiction is a sign that even some of those who come out to protest abortion can be convinced of a pro-women's-rights position.

NOW, the ACLU, RCAR, and Planned Parenthood held a press conference where they pledged to fight the Hyde bill.

That evening, 150 people held a protest on the steps of the Supreme Court in favor of abortion rights. They were mainly members of NOW from New Jersey and Virginia.

Speakers included Kathy Webb and Mary Jean Collins, secretary and vice-president for action respectively for national NOW, and NOW member Sonia Johnson, a prominent Equal Rights Amendment advocate.

California hotel fires union militant

SEASIDE, Calif. — Ken Collins, a union activist at the Hyatt Del Monte Hotel in Monterey, was informed January 19 that he had been fired from his job.

Collins was a picket captain during the strike last summer of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union Local 483. He is also a member of the Seaside chapter of the Young Socialist Alliance.

The Hyatt charged Collins with "insubordination, damage to company property [supposedly knocking down a tray of wine glasses and a kicking a piano], and threatening supervisors."

In the year Collins worked at the Hyatt, he had never faced any disciplinary charges. But because of his union militancy and leadership role in the strike, management has begun a campaign of harassment against him as well as against other strike activists.

The false charges against Collins are their way of trying to get rid of a union militant. This is an attack on the entire union and part of the hotel owners' attempts to weaken Local 483.

The union has come to Collins's defense and has begun grievance procedures against his unjust termination. The union is demanding that he be reinstated and compensated for all lost wages.

Quebec workers challenge gov't takebacks

Public employees unite, get ready for general strike

BY ROBERT SIMMS

The following article appeared in the January 24 issue of *Socialist Voice*, the newspaper reflecting the views of the Revolutionary Workers League, Canadian section of the Fourth International. It reports on a major labor battle unfolding in Quebec among French-speaking public employees who are challenging the Canadian government's drive for takebacks. The Québécois workers, who suffer discrimination because of their language, have been in the forefront of the fight against government-employer austerity measures.

MONTREAL — Some 210,000 public sector workers in Quebec are gearing up for an unlimited general strike set to begin January 26. Hospital workers, teachers, and provincial government workers, members of three separate union federations, have united into a single Common Front against their employer, the Quebec government.

As one of its final acts of 1982, the government abruptly ended all negotiations with the unions and passed Law 105. The law takes away their legal right to strike for three years, and unilaterally imposes wage cuts and working conditions to last until the end of 1985.

The Common Front has called for the strike to begin on January 26. On that date, teachers and nonteaching educational workers are to walk out. They will be followed each day over a six-day period by the other categories of workers, including government professionals, daycare work-

ers, nurses, legal aides, hospital workers, and others, until the entire public sector is out. Their goal is to convince the government to withdraw the legislation and resume negotiations.

Union mobilization

Efforts are being made to build support for the strike. A central demonstration has been called for January 29 in Quebec City in front of the National Assembly, Quebec's Parliament. Leaders of the three union federations are currently touring the province to explain the aims of the strike and win support for it. The mass rallies scheduled for the major cities are open to the public. Stickers and brochures are being distributed throughout the province.

On November 10, the Common Front staged a successful one-day general strike to protest the government's takeback offers and to demand serious negotiations. It was a convincing demonstration of the anger and militancy of public sector workers. The teachers' federation voted 80 percent in favor of unlimited strike action in December. The other unions have not released vote totals, but have solid majorities. Support is increasing daily as the pay cuts take effect.

Daniel Allard, who works at Montreal's Notre-Dame Hospital, told *Socialist Voice* that at his hospital, "we are ready to fight to the end. Already 175 people have signed to go on buses to Quebec City, two weeks before the demonstration."

Editorialists in the business-controlled media have condemned the strike.

Montreal's *Le Devoir* said January 11 that if the strike takes place, "society would slide into anarchy."

The government for its part has responded with threats of fines, an end to the union dues checkoff, and even union decertification.

The pace of union mobilization forced [Quebec] Premier René Lévesque to call union leaders into his office January 17 to see if the strike could be avoided. But Lévesque warned there would be no tampering with the basics of the law.

Enormous takebacks

The government's decrees will cover 320,000 public sector workers, 210,000 of whom are members of unions in the Common Front.

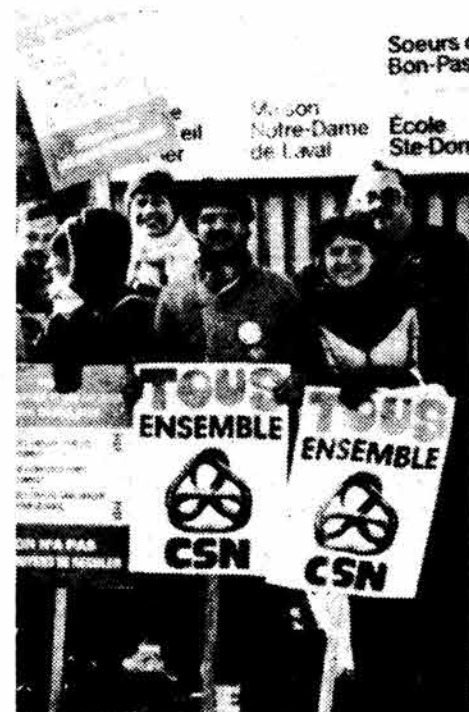
What is the extent of the takebacks these laws impose?

- For all 320,000 workers, the law cancels a 2.8 percent wage increase they were supposed to receive December 31, 1982.

- For 200,000 workers who earn more than \$20,000, wages are cut 19.5 percent in the first three months of 1983. For the remaining 120,000 who earn less, wages are either cut between 5 and 10 percent depending on income, or maintained at current levels into 1983.

- For the 200,000 workers with higher incomes, wages for the remainder of 1983 will be cut an average of 5 percent.

- For all public sector workers, wages in 1984 and 1985 will increase in line with the consumer price index, minus 1.5 percent each year, but increases are only



Lutte Ouvrière
Tous ensemble — all together — read picket signs from CSN, one of three Quebec labor federations.

added on to the slashed wage base rates.

- The decrees unilaterally reverse working conditions and job security clauses won in previous contracts. For many workers who fear mass layoffs, including teachers, these are the central issues in the conflict.

Thus, for two-thirds of public sector workers, the cuts mean it will probably be well into 1985 before they are again making the same wages as 1982. By that time, today's 10 percent inflation rate may have cut their living standards by up to 20 percent.

Federal and provincial public sector workers elsewhere in Canada face wage control programs, but nowhere have they reached such devastating proportions as in Quebec.

Canadian imperialism's role

The recession has hit Quebec hardest; its unemployment rate is the highest for any region in Canada. Discrimination on the basis of speaking French has been practiced against Quebec's majority for decades by the English Canadian and U.S. firms that dominate the Quebec economy.

However, Québécois opposition to Quebec's status as an oppressed nation has led to 20 years of nationalist struggles, with Quebec workers winning major gains.

To maintain its hold on Quebec, the Federal government in Ottawa would like to reverse this. And it intends to make working people bear the burden of capitalist recession.

Thus, on Dec. 13, 1981, Prime Minister Trudeau called Quebec's public sector workers a "new bourgeoisie." He complained that Quebec's state employees had been able "to profit from sums that should have gone to the province's industrial development" (meaning the coffers of the corporations).

A few months later, in March 1982, Ottawa cut \$1.2 billion per year in transfer payments to the provinces. These payments were used to subsidize social services. Quebec took the biggest cuts.

Quebec Premier René Lévesque cited these factors as part of the reason for his hard line. But rather than confront Ottawa and the corporations, which are totally hostile to the aspirations of the Québécois and responsible for the crisis, the Parti Québécois (PQ) is carrying out their goals and their work.

The battle that is now unfolding in Quebec will have a profound effect on future labor struggles across Canada. Governments and employers hope to deal a staggering blow to labor militancy in Quebec and thereby put a damper on labor's struggles right across the country.

That's why it's so crucial to get the truth out about this fight. A victory for Quebec public sector workers will mark an important advance in the overall fight against takebacks, concessions, and antiworker legislation.

Unionists join tributes to Dr. King

Los Angeles

BY OLLIE BIVINS

LOS ANGELES — Three thousand people marched through the Black community here January 15 to pay tribute to Martin Luther King, Jr., on his birthday and to protest current U.S. government domestic and foreign policies. The demonstration also celebrated the official renaming of Santa Barbara Avenue to Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard.

Prior to the demonstration, street signs already changed to read "Martin Luther King Boulevard" were covered over with paper signs reading "Santa Barbara Avenue." As the march proceeded, the demonstrators stopped at each corner and Black children were hoisted on shoulders to rip off the paper signs. This brought cheers from the demonstrators and the thousands lining the march route.

The demonstration was sponsored by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and City Councilman Robert Farrell. Fifty-five labor, civil rights, antiwar, and community organizations endorsed the activity.

There were a large number of union contingents present. These included members of Machinists districts 720 and 727; United Auto Workers Local 645; Service Employees International Union locals 660 and 535; and unions representing longshore workers, teachers, and others.

This reporter spoke to a Black garment worker who related how petitions to make King's birthday a national holiday were circulated on her job. Three Latinas in the largely Spanish-speaking shop helped circulate them. They filled three petitions with signatures by speaking to other Latino workers about who King was. She said that this helped to break down employer-imposed divisions between Black and Latino workers on the job.

Supporters of the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador were met with a friendly response from march participants as they distributed a leaflet for a car caravan to the Mexican border on January 22 to protest U.S. intervention in Central America. Many marchers took leaflets to give to friends.

A spirited contingent of members and supporters of the National Black Independent Political Party led chants of "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador!"

Eighty dollars in Pathfinder books and pamphlets was sold to marchers, the biggest seller being works by and about Malcolm X. Over 100 *Militants* were also purchased.

Milwaukee

BY NANCY COLE

MILWAUKEE — Labor and community leaders here paid tribute to Martin Luther King, Jr., at a January 15 event attended by nearly 400 people. The program also featured two Salvadoran refugees.

Paul Blackman, president of Smith Steel Workers Directly Affiliated Labor Union 19806 and head of the sponsoring Martin Luther King, Jr., Coalition, chaired the event.

Speakers included Charles Street, executive board member at-large of the Allied Industrial Workers International Union, and Myrtle Lacy, whose son Ernest was killed by cops a year and a half ago. The keynote speaker was Howard Fuller, recently appointed secretary of the Wisconsin Department of Employee Relations by Democratic Gov. Tony Earl.

Scheduled speaker Warren Braun, representing Catholic Archbishop Rembert Weakland, turned most of his time over to two Salvadoran refugees, who recently arrived in the area as part of a church-sponsored "public sanctuary" program.

"Like the mother who spoke here tonight, I have a story to share with you," began one of the Salvadorans, a woman introduced as Juanita. "Like the mother who cried at the murder of her son, we mothers of El Salvador cry at the assassinations of our sons and the rapes of our daughters."

She continued, "Your fight is our fight. You here tonight are fighting for your leader and what he fought for. We are fighting for peace."

More than 100 people at the meeting signed a petition demanding a halt to all U.S. aid to El Salvador.

Seattle

BY FRANK MIKULA

SEATTLE — A militant and inspiring march took place here January 15 in commemoration of the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr. The crowd of about 2,000

marched through the heart of Seattle's Black community.

The demonstration, organized by several groups including the Seattle Black Firefighters, was the largest in the Black community in recent years. The marchers were demanding that January 15 be declared a national holiday. In addition, the Seattle demonstration focused on demands that the major thoroughfare in the Black community be renamed after Dr. King.

The Seattle City Council had approved changing the name of Empire Way to Martin Luther King Way, but has been dragging its feet on implementing the name change in the face of a court challenge from racist storeowners along the street. Seattle's Black community has responded by organizing an active boycott of those merchants who are leading the campaign to stop Martin Luther King Way.

"Boycott, boycott; you, you, you," the marchers chanted as they passed the taverns and service stations whose owners have opposed the name change.

Members of the youthful crowd cited many reasons for their participation. Among the most common was the feeling of frustration and anger over high unemployment and racism.

Oakland

BY DEBBY MADDEN
AND MARILEE TAYLOR

OAKLAND — On January 15, 5,000 people attended a march and rally here in honor of Martin Luther King, Jr. The action was built around the demand for "Jobs, peace, and equality." Featured speakers included Congressman Ron Dellums; Maggie Kuhn, founder of the Gray Panthers; and Dick Groulx, secretary-treasurer of the Alameda County Labor Council.

There were many unionists present from the Teamsters; International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union; International Association of Machinists; Ironworkers; United Electrical Workers; and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. There was also an official delegation from the Alameda County Central Labor Council.

Response to the *Militant* was good — over 175 copies were sold.

Lobbying vs direct action debated at AAM convention

BY VAL LIBBY

NASHVILLE — American farmers are angry and a growing number are willing to take any action necessary to get relief. That was the clear message from the 1,350 members of the American Agriculture Movement (AAM) who gathered here January 7-9 for the organization's Fourth Annual Grassroots Convention.

At the news conference opening the convention, Marvin Meek, outgoing chairman of the AAM, explained that American farmers are receiving the lowest prices for their produce in relation to their buying power since the Great Depression.

"We've been going to Washington, D.C., for the last five years," he said, "and we've faced two years of inaction from the new Secretary of Agriculture under the Reagan administration."

In discussions with conference participants, specific features of this plight were described.

James Long, a farmer from Paducah, Texas, told the *Militant*, "In 1981 in my county, farmers spent 75 percent of our gross income on interest payments on loans to bankers."

"This year we can't make enough production to pay on our interest. And the FmHA [Farm Home Administration] is planning to loan 30 percent less than it did last year."

Homer Evans is a dryland farmer from Ulysses, Kansas. He raises wheat and cattle on his 2,000-acre farm.

"The problem is," he said, "that we can't pay our bills. We sold a bushel of wheat for \$3.35 in 1948. Just before I left Kansas to come to this convention, wheat was selling for \$3.31 a bushel. But my expenses for fuel, fertilizer, seed, and machinery are way up since World War II ended," Evans explained.

Dozens of AAM members from around the country came to Nashville via Springfield, Colorado, where, a few days before, they had joined several hundred local farmers fighting the sale of Jerry Wright's 320-acre farm. A government lending agency foreclosed on the AAM leader's farm for nonpayment of mortgage debts.

Issues debated

The government's failure under both Democratic and Republican administrations to do anything about the worsening problems farmers face, and the mounting protests across the country, provided the context for the differences that emerged at the convention.

Some feel that AAM should focus more exclusively on the AAM-Political Action Committee (PAC) formed a year ago at its last convention. The PAC maintains a Washington, D.C., office from which it organizes its lobbying and fund raising activities.

At the opening news conference, Marvin Meek lauded the work of the AAM-PAC in the 1982 elections. At the same time he voiced criticisms of the Springfield action.

Meek stated that the Springfield protest "was not an official AAM activity." Elaborating on his attitude towards the Colorado protest and the people involved, he said, "Most of them have worked hard in the system for the last three years and have given up on it. . . . I didn't personally agree [with the Springfield action], but I understand. They're fed up. We're close to a rebellion in the country if the politicians don't do something. But the AAM will not and cannot promote anything like the Colorado protest."

Alvin Jenkins, a founding leader of the AAM from Campo, Colorado, expressed a different approach. In a speech to the convention as a whole, he explained that one result of concentrating on PAC had been the loss of grassroots organizing and members.

Jenkins, one of the leaders of the Springfield action, urged the convention to rededicate AAM to its original slogan, "Do whatever you can and we will do whatever it takes to win." This, he explained, was the significance of Springfield.

AAM-PAC orientation

Concerning the AAM-PAC, Jenkins said, "I personally cannot support PAC, because it's not in my heart. I understand politics in Washington, D.C., but I think the whole system of PACs is corrupt."

Jenkins said he would not organize meetings for PAC, but that he would not try to stop other people from working on PAC activities.

He announced the opening of an AAM office in Campo, Colorado, that would be a center for grassroots activities of all kinds. "I'm going to fight farm foreclosures this year," Jenkins emphasized. "And I'll fight them any way I can — physically, mentally, with money, or any way you want to put it. If that embarrasses someone — you're embarrassed."

He continued, "How many fights will you win, Alvin? Might not win one. But you're darn sure not going to win one unless you try."

On the following day, Meek addressed the whole convention. He softened a bit his previous criticism of the Springfield action but continued to stress the importance of PAC.

He explained that he had participated in the tractorcades. "But how do you top those actions," he asked. "You can't. And we've walked away virtually empty-handed every time."

"We have to have a good political action committee," he stressed, "that gets some doors open for some other Congressmen to work through the nuts and bolts of getting [what we want] passed into law."

He reported that PAC gave money to 116 candidates last year and that 85 percent of them were elected. "Don't tell me it doesn't work," he exclaimed. "I ain't going to believe it."

"It feels good to kick one of them out of office. It feels as good as tractorcading. Five or six of the ranking Republicans on the Agriculture Committee are gone. And the AAM-PAC helped move them out."

Meek's strategy was backed up by other speakers, including U.S. Senator Dale



More than 1,300 family farmers came to

Bumpers of Arkansas and Congressman Ed Jones of Tennessee, both Democrats.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Jenkins elaborated further on his views. "The farmer has got to realize he's got to fight his own battle," he said. He compared growing foreclosure protests to the civil rights actions of Blacks in the 1950s and 1960s.

"I'm already paying taxes that cover congressmen's salaries, including their \$9,000 a year raise. I've paid their wages, so why should I have to pay him more money for a vote?"

"You have to be foolish to think farmers can pay \$1,000 for a vote and that there isn't some banker who will pay him \$5,000. He'll go out to dinner on the farm-

The American Agriculture

BY VAL LIBBY

NASHVILLE — The American Agriculture Movement was born out of the 1977 national farmers' strike. This action was initiated by southeastern Colorado farmers in response to the inadequacy of farm legislation adopted by Congress that year to cope with the worsening situation for farmers.

The strike was part of a series of farmer actions that swept across the country in the fall of 1977. Some of the organizers of these protests had been involved in the National Farmers Organization's holding actions in the 1960s.

On Dec. 10, 1977, rallies involving an estimated 300,000 farmers, ranchers, and supporters took place at most state capitols.

On December 14 the strike began. Farmers in their tractors moved into scores of cities and towns to stop distribution of food at major warehouses and grain elevators. In many places wholesale distributors were shut down for 24 hours. In some places farmers were subjected to police violence, including SWAT teams and attack dogs.

Strikers in many states got the agreement

of the Brotherhood of Railway Engineers to honor farmers' picket lines set up on tracks near their farms. Negotiations were also carried out with union workers in warehouses and stockyards, many of whom honored picket lines. Farmers in Campbell, Missouri, donated food to striking coal miners in a conscious effort to form an alliance between farmers and labor.

During the protests, the farmers took their case to state officials. They confronted then Secretary of Agriculture Robert Bergland wherever he spoke.

Receiving no positive response, thousands of farmers on their tractors then poured into Washington, D.C., in January 1978 for the opening session of Congress. They demanded immediate federal legislation to set prices on farm commodities at levels that would at least cover their costs of production.

From January to April of that year, demonstrations were organized in Washington and throughout the country. Countless hours were spent preparing testimony to House and Senate committees on agriculture, lobbying congressmen, and attempting to discuss their plight directly with President James Carter.

Carter refuses meeting

Carter openly opposed the legislation the farmers called for and refused to meet with them. They were wooed, however, by vote-hungry legislators, who claimed to support their demands. They convinced the farmers to make concessions in order to get some kind of legislation adopted. But, in the end, even the more watered-down proposals were defeated in Congress.

The farmers' confidence in the government was shaken in these first months of the AAM's organizing efforts. After the farmers went through their first experiences of being beaten and jailed by police, the administration and Congress then turned a deaf ear to their proposals.

After four months in Washington, the farmers left stunned.

During these months of intensive political activity, the AAM had become a national organization with a loose structure and offices in many locations throughout the country.

After leaving Washington, many AAM farmers got involved in trying to elect friendly politicians and to unseat those opposed to AAM-backed legislation. Skyrocketing energy costs led some AAM members to propose setting up a national foundation

Missouri farmer fights 'contempt-of-court' rap

BY VAL LIBBY

NASHVILLE — On February 17, Missouri soybean farmer Wayne Cryts, his wife, father, and two other farmers are to appear at a U.S. District Court hearing in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Two years ago Cryts and 3,000 supporters reclaimed 33,000 bushels of Cryts' soybeans from a bankrupt elevator in Ristine, Missouri. A bankruptcy court had ruled that all grain being stored in the elevator be used to pay the debts of the elevator company.

When Cryts refused to name those who helped him regain his soybeans, bankruptcy Judge Charles Baker held him in contempt of court. Cryts spent six weeks in an Arkansas jail last spring and was finally released after being fined \$287,000 (the value of his soybeans) and \$1,500 per day until the fine was paid.

After numerous court appeals, U.S. District Judge Thomas Eisle struck down Judge Baker's decision on Nov. 17, 1982.

Cryts, an outgoing vice president of the American Agriculture Movement, (AAM) was in Nashville for the organization's national convention. In an interview with the *Militant*, he explained where the case stands now.

"District Court Judge Eisle, in his ruling, said Judge Baker didn't have the authority to levy fines and throw me in jail, but that the district court does," Cryts pointed out.

"So a couple of weeks ago, Eisle had federal marshals serve more contempt-of-court papers on my wife, my dad, myself, and two other farmers from Buffalo, Missouri. It's a 'show cause' order."

He explained that at the February 17 hearing they have to show cause why the judge shouldn't find them in contempt of court.

"It could be the same thing as before," Cryts stated. "He could ask me who the farmers were that helped me. If he does, you know I don't want to go back to jail, but I will before I allow what I feel is such an injustice to go on. I'm going to continue to protest this. I'm just not going to give up!"

Cryts emphasized the importance of getting out the word on the issues involved in the case.

"The battle," he said, "has been over this bankruptcy law and how they just come in and seize private property and take it away without due process of law or determination of ownership."

"When we started this battle," he said, "we knew it would be hard. And we decided to accept the worst that could possibly happen to us. We knew if we weren't willing to accept the worst, that at some place along the line, they'd put a penalty on us that we couldn't accept, and we'd quit. So, from the day we started, we knew we wouldn't give up regardless of what they do to us."

"This has been an injustice that has been going on for years," he explained. "The situation we're in is not unique. This has literally happened to hundreds and thousands. And it's time to say enough's enough!"

When asked what others could do to support the case, Cryts made two suggestions:

"We're asking everybody to contact their congressmen and Senators to tell them to change those bankruptcy laws because the people aren't being justly treated."

"We also want all kinds of public support. Just knowing that other people think we're right makes it so much easier to continue the battle."

The AAM convention adopted a resolution supporting Cryts.



Militant/Val Libby

shville for American Agriculture Movement's fourth convention.

er's \$1,000, have a good old time, and then vote with the banker."

Many shared Jenkins's view that relying on politicians, Democratic or Republican, is not the way forward.

Good response for Georgia leader

In one of the most enthusiastically received speeches, Tommy Kersey, an AAM leader from Unadilla, Georgia, explained his proposals. He called for a three-year moratorium on foreclosures on farm loans, offering loans to family farmers at only 3 percent interest, and fighting for 100 percent parity on prices.

"If we don't get the federal government

to grant a three-year moratorium on foreclosures," Kersey stated, "there aren't going to be any farmers left to fight for 100 percent of parity."

Commenting on the discussion about PAC and electoral activity, Kersey argued, "If you want to talk elections we need to get together with some like-minded people on the local level and start at the bottom with our own candidates."

Some delegates especially emphasized the need for unity inside the AAM. Wayne Cryts, who became nationally prominent for retrieving his soybeans from a bankrupt elevator in Missouri, told the *Militant*, "I think the unity of the conference is the most important thing coming out of it."

"We have got two different directions that we're going, two different ways," he said. He stated that the AAM needs a national office in Washington to carry out lobbying efforts. At the same time he affirmed the need for protests and demonstrations. He was among the AAM leaders and activists who had participated in the Springfield action.

After the speeches and discussion, a unity proposal supported by all the national leaders was adopted unanimously. It provided for keeping the AAM-PAC office in Washington intact, but clarified that the AAM will support actions against foreclosures like the one in Springfield.

Immediately following the vote on the unity resolution, Jenkins announced a five-state Southern Breadbasket Tour that would leave from the convention.

The organizing caravan will make daily stops, hold news conferences, and set up meetings in order to organize more farmers into AAM. A similar tour was organized by Jenkins and his supporters in December in the Midwest.

During the convention, Jenkins announced that the AAM was negotiating a

\$500 million grain deal with a Mexican-based fuel company. He explained, "We want to do what we can to get around some of those multinationals" such as Cargill, Continental, and Ralston-Purina. The negotiations were approved by the body.

Greetings from Canada

There were seven representatives from Canada present at the convention. Richard Rattai, a farmer from Manitoba, outlined the goals of the Canadian Farmers Survival Association, a group formed to fight farm foreclosures.

Tommy Willis from Brownsville, Tennessee, was elected the new national chairman.

On display throughout the convention was the National Wagonmaster's tractor from the 1979 national tractorcade. There was a great deal of enthusiasm and pride at the convention over the recent decision by the Smithsonian Institute to place it in the Museum of American History in Washington. The tractor symbolizes the impact the AAM has already made on American politics.

re Movement: what it is and where it came from

dation to develop facilities to convert grain to fuel-grade alcohol.

But, regardless of their other activities, most everyone in the movement agreed to work on a national tractorcade to Washington in January 1979.

Six tractorcade routes were designated and everyone in the AAM began preparations. Every detail was attended to and coordinated through a system of state and national wagonmasters. This is excellently chronicled in a newly published book *Gentle Rebels* by Gerald McCathern. (Available from Food for Thought Publications, Box 967, Hereford, Texas 79045, \$29.95).

McCathern, a Texas farmer and rancher who served as national wagonmaster for the D.C. tractorcade, writes:

"The administration was also aware of the plans. Someone within government was very interested in learning more about the plans. When the wagonmasters convened their meeting in an Oklahoma City motel, several inquisitive strangers were nonchalantly observing and listening to the discussions.

"The farmers suspected them to be F.B.I. agents; however, one of the individuals later turned up as a participant on the tractorcade and admitted to being an officer of the District of Columbia police, assigned to keep an eye on the farmers who were going to 'invade' their city.

"The farmers, as always, had nothing to hide and were very open in their discussions. They were not plotting insurrection or revolution, and were really doing everything possible to make certain their activities were not in violation of any laws.

"No one really knew whether the government would try to stop this massive demonstration or not. Some farmers felt that the tractors would not be allowed on the Inter-state highways; others felt that the tractors would not be allowed to cross the Mississippi River; and still others felt that even if the tractors made it to Virginia, they would never be allowed to cross the Potomac River into Washington, D.C.

Using the law

"There is an old law on the books which states that a farmer cannot be prevented from traveling public roads with any kind of vehicle if he is carrying his crop to market. Using this law as a tool, each farmer was advised to carry a bushel or a bale of his production on his tractor. A 'farmers market' would be established on the Mall in Washington (an empty semi-truck-trailer) at which point they could 'sell'

their production for parity prices! Developments would later prove that the farmers did not need a bushel of wheat to gain passage to the Mall."

The trek started on Jan. 15, 1979. National media coverage was extensive. The ranks of farmers swelled as they moved across the country. On February 5, the tractors and farmers converged on Washington. Numerous skirmishes broke out with the police.

Instead of repeating their previous demand for new legislation, AAM leaders decided to lobby for full implementation of the 1977 Farm Act. This had a provision for increasing the loan level on all basic commodities to 90 percent of parity (100 percent of parity would set prices at a level whereby farm income supposedly would have the same buying power as the relatively good years between 1910 and 1914). To gain at least a small measure of immediate relief for family farmers, the protesters were trying to make the most reasonable demand possible by insisting that Congress implement the law they had already passed.

But even with tens of thousands of farmers camped out on the Mall, they were unable to win anything from Congress, the president, or the U.S. Department of Agriculture.

Defeat Carter

This time when farmers returned home the principal campaign for many of them was to defeat James Carter and to elect Ronald Reagan in the 1980 elections.

In the next months, the AAM organized itself officially and elected its first national chairman, Marvin Meek of Plainview, Texas.

Meek was a delegate to the Democratic Party's national convention where he opposed Carter's nomination. Following the convention, Meek returned to Texas to join the National Farmers and Ranchers for Reagan Committee.

Alvin Jenkins, one of the five founding members of the AAM from Campo, Colorado, was a delegate to the Republican national convention. Jenkins served on the convention's platform committee and pressured it to adopt a plank favoring price supports that would bring prices to 100 percent of parity.

He told the other committee members, "If you refuse to endorse parity prices, the night of the nomination I will rush the speakers' platform, naked if necessary, and inform the nation that the Republican

Party is no better than the Democrats concerning its agriculture policy."

Most other AAM activities were subordinated to election campaigning. The only demonstration organized by the AAM in this period was a protest in Washington to support legislation to aid research for developing gasahol.

After the Reagan victory, Meek used the AAM's Washington office to lobby for John Block's appointment as Secretary of Agriculture. But within a few months of Reagan's election and the appointment of Block, AAM members began to see that the new administration they had stumped for was no more willing to solve their problems than Carter was.

Demoralization took place among many farmers, and membership in the AAM declined. But the deepening crisis for farmers also led to growing anger, and protests. Many AAM farmers are now evaluating their experiences since 1977 and discussing their orientation to the new wave of protests.

Two approaches

Two different approaches have emerged in the AAM. One is to carry out even more vigorous lobbying and electoral activity in

order to get Democratic and Republican legislators elected and better legislation adopted. To this end a Political Action Committee was established at the AAM convention early last year to coordinate this activity and raise funds.

The other approach has been to return to direct action, especially on a local scale. Many farmers feel betrayed by the politicians and want to rely more on their own independent strength. One AAM member writing in the Nov. 16, 1982, issue of *American Agriculture News* explained it this way:

"We have learned a lot in our efforts over the past five years. We have learned the politicians are not going to help *unless forced to* and that we must not be detoured from our goal by chasing the rainbow they hold out.

"We have learned it is going to take the dedicated effort of many grass roots farmers.

"We must start having action-AAM meetings instead of organizational, money-raising meetings. We need tractorcades or pickupcades or something similar."

Those with this approach in the AAM are helping to lead and participate in the direct action struggles taking place across the country.



In 1978 tens of thousands of farmers came to Washington, D.C., to appeal to Congress and White House for relief.

Fidel Castro speaks on fight against imperialist aggression

BY HARRY RING

Fidel Castro made an especially important speech to the Cuban people this past December 11. He assessed the present stage of U.S. aggression in Central America and the Caribbean, the threat to world peace which it constitutes, and the Cuban view of how to effectively resist it.

The complete text of the speech appeared in the January 17 issue of *Intercontinental Press*. (This issue can be purchased for \$1.50 from IP, 14 Charles Lane, N.Y., N.Y. 10014)

The speech marked the 26th anniversary of the landing of the *Granma* in Cuba. Toward the end of November 1956, Fidel and 82 other fighters of the July 26 Movement set sail from Mexico in a small yacht, the *Granma*. They landed in Cuba December 2.

Attacked by dictator Fulgencio Batista's forces after the landing, only 12 of the 83 escaped. They regrouped in the Sierra Maestra and began organizing the guerrilla army which toppled the Batista dictatorship Jan. 1, 1959.

Discussing Cuba's present high level of military preparedness, Fidel underlined the gravity of the present U.S. threat to world peace.

Cuba, he declared, does not "underestimate the imperialists. We're not afraid of them, no. But we don't underestimate them."

"We don't dismiss their threats because we know they are capable of committing many crimes . . . We know because of what they have done here and are doing elsewhere in the world."

With this dangerous situation, Fidel said, Cuba wants to make every contribution it can to reducing world tension.

"But," he stressed, "peace is also defended with decision, peace is defended with the courage needed for it."

Driving home the point that retreating in the face of the imperialist threat only increases the war danger, Fidel added: "We are not a world power, we are a small country and are willing to make our contribution to peace; but one thing we will never ever do is give up our principles, never give up our dignity, never ever give up our ideology, our independence."

Cuban troops in Angola

As if to buttress the point, Fidel discussed the status of Cuban troops present in Angola and Ethiopia at the request of the governments there.

He commented, "There's a news dispatch, published yesterday, based on information provided by the CIA, which says Cuba has reinforced its troops in Angola."

"I'm not saying here whether that's true or not; but if we did it we were simply doing our duty in the face of imperialist threats."

He added that, "our armed forces have not neglected or been careless for one single moment when it comes to paying special interest, special attention to the Cuban internationalist contingents in Angola and Ethiopia, and the various military missions that are serving in several countries of the world."

"Perhaps they thought that by threatening us we would become nervous, we would recall our internationalist fighters right away; but no one got nervous here. That didn't result in a single internationalist fighter returning home; on the contrary, if the situation warranted it, we were prepared to send reinforcements."

"Faced with imperialist threats," he declared, "we can't back down . . . we can't back down an inch, because it would spur them on, encourage them, make them bolder. . . . That is why it has been the philosophy of the Revolution never to back down even an inch in the face of the pressure and the aggression of the imperialists."

Driving the point home even further, Fidel said:

"In recent days when the president of Colombia hinted that Cuba might be rein-

stated in the Latin American system, Mr. Reagan replied he would be in agreement if Cuba broke its ties with the Soviet Union. Has the honorable president of the United States' ability to reason grown weaker?"

"We are prepared to live in peace, in mutual respect, but we will never break our ties with the Soviet Union. Let the imperialists clearly understand that we are not the kind of people who break their ties with their friends to become the allies of their enemies. Let the imperialists bear in mind that we can't be hired, bought, or intimidated."

Fidel also slammed the imperialist propaganda lie that the Soviet Union is responsible for the revolutionary developments in Central America.

'Plain historical truth'

"The fact is," Fidel declared, "that the East has nothing to do with Central America and the problems of Central America. That is the plain historical truth. The Soviets didn't know even one of the present leaders of Nicaragua. That is, during the period of the revolutionary struggle in Nicaragua, these leaders were unknown to the Soviets."

"The same thing holds true for El Salvador. There the Communist Party is only one of the five left-wing organizations joined together in the Farabundo Martí Front."

"Communist Parties have contacts among themselves, but with the exception of the Communist party of El Salvador — militant and independent but small, and not one of the major groups — the Soviet Union did not know the leaders of these revolutionary organizations and had no contact with them. The same goes for Guatemala."

Fidel continued, "We Cubans live in this hemisphere. We have relations with the revolutionary movements, we know the revolutionary leaders in the area. I'm not going to deny it; we know them. But what I'm trying to explain here is the enormous lie of those who try to implicate the Soviet Union for the same cannot be said of the Soviet Union regarding the revolutionary leaders in Central America. It is a malicious lie with a clear aim: to justify imperialist intervention in Central America."

Character of today's revolutions

Fidel's speech also included an important contribution to the discussion now going on among liberation fighters and revolutionaries in Latin America and other areas of the world.

This debate boils down to the issue: Is it possible to achieve liberation and meaningful social progress in colonial countries within the framework of the capitalist system?

Fidel's answer is an unambiguous no.

In the present era, he declared, "without socialism and Marxism-Leninism, it is absolutely impossible to speak of revolution."



Fidel Castro

There are many people who have tried to distort ideas and come up with a sort of hybrid, a cross between socialist, Marxist-Leninist ideology and capitalist ideology.

"There can be revolutions, there were in other times, in past centuries: nationalist, democratic or progressive revolutions . . . that was not yet the era of socialism or Marxism-Leninism."

"But now no hybrid can be called revolutionary, no crossbreed works. How a process develops is another thing, it goes by steps, periods or stages. But today it is not possible to speak of revolutionary ideas if they are not inspired by the doctrine of the working class, Marxism-Leninism, if their short-, middle-, or long-term objective is not socialism."

Founding of militia

Discussing revolutionary Cuba's record of unflinching resistance to U.S. aggression, Fidel recalled the founding of the people's militia, which proved decisive in defending the revolution in the early 1960s.

"We quickly realized the need to incorporate the people into the defense of the country," he said. "I believe it was Lenin who said that the value of a revolution was determined by its ability to defend itself. That was how the demand, the clamor, to arm our workers, farmers, students and manual and intellectual laborers began."

"This soon showed the imperialists that we were determined to struggle and that this was a people's revolution, for only a people's revolution can arm the people."

"Throughout history there have been thousands of changes of government. . . . There are some processes that are even called revolutionary, but for special reasons they are afraid to arm the people."

"The exploiting classes have always opposed arming the people. . . . If an exploitative society were to arm the people it would disappear in a question of weeks, days or hours."

"So this issue in itself indicates whether a revolution is genuine or not."

When the Cuban revolution came to power, a top priority was the dismantling of the old standing army. The Rebel Army became the nucleus of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the new Cuba.

But more was needed. As the revolution implemented its program of sweeping so-

cial change, it became apparent that Washington was intent on destabilizing and then overthrowing the new government.

As Washington moved toward the 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, the revolution moved faster in arming and training the people.

Cuba's National Revolutionary Militia had to be organized with minimal resources. But it overcame all obstacles by relying on the revolutionary capacity and initiative of the working class.

Workers' initiative

"I remember," Fidel recalled, "that then we had virtually no centers for military training, just a few that were improvised during the first months."

"The first militia units were organized in the factories; they trained in the yards of the factories, in the streets, everywhere."

On April 17, 1961, Washington landed a Cuban exile force at the Bay of Pigs. The people's militia and the Revolutionary Armed Forces smashed the invasion in 72 hours.

Later, the role of the militia itself receded. But with the ominous U.S. moves in 1980 following the extension of the socialist revolution to Nicaragua, drastic new steps were taken.

In 1980, said Fidel, "the Yankee imperialists were no longer bogged down in Vietnam; the revolutionary movement was growing in Central America; the imperialists were again turning their aggressive eyes on our country. . . . We clearly saw new danger of an imperialist attack on our country, and we gave thought to how to increase our defenses and power."

A call to organize a new Territorial Troop Militia was made at a giant May Day rally in Havana's Plaza of the Revolution.

At the same time a request was made of the Soviet Union, Fidel reported, for weapons to arm hundreds of thousands of men and women. A positive response, he said, was received in less than 15 days.

In a period of less than two years, the USSR provided weapons that had been slated to be delivered over a five-year period. Washington made a big uproar over this massive shipment of weapons, charging they were being reshipped to Central America, particularly to El Salvador.

This was a total lie, Fidel declared. He noted that the Cuban arms agreement with the Soviet Union included the proviso that none of the weapons received be reshipped to a third country.

And, Fidel emphasized, "We fulfill our agreements."

Meanwhile, organization of the Territorial Troop Militia proceeded at a "feverish" pace.

More than 500,000 men and women are now in the militia and there are at least 1 million more who volunteered but could not be accepted because there weren't arms for that many people. Cuba, Fidel said, began manufacturing grenades, so that every citizen could have something to help defend the country with.

One major gain resulting from the organization of the territorial militia, Fidel said, is that 25 percent of its members are women, and are proving themselves top-notch soldiers.

Fidel noted with pride that the immense popularity of the territorial militias is attested to by the fact that the workers organizations, and other mass organizations, undertook a massive fund-raising drive to finance the effort.

Tens of millions of pesos were collected, and the militia is directly financed by the people.

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Quebec Public Workers Call General Strike

Slump hurts workers around world

Reagan cheers inflation slowdown, but workers' costs continue to rise

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

As 1983 begins the world capitalist economy remains in deep recession. The burdens of this slump are being borne by working people in both the industrialized imperialist countries and the oppressed semicolonial countries.

In the United States unemployment officially exceeds 12 million. With the exception of 1933 — the bottom of the Great Depression — this undoubtedly is the highest number of jobless in the history of U. S. capitalism. The percentage of unemployed is still below the level of the 1930s. But at the officially recognised level of nearly 11 percent, it is the highest since 1940.

There are growing reports of outright hunger among unemployed workers. Lines at soup kitchens are growing longer. Foreclosures on mortgages are driving many workers out of their homes. The number of homeless has risen greatly. People are seeking shelter under bridges, in steam tunnels and subways, and in campgrounds. Tens of thousands are deprived of heat by profit-hungry utilities.

Workers in Britain, Italy, the Netherlands, Canada, and Belgium are also suffering from the effects of double-digit unemployment. According to official statistics, unemployment in France and West Germany is approaching the double-digit level. It has increased dramatically in Australia, where the capitalist rulers, until recently, boasted that their "Lucky Country" was immune to the world recession. In all capitalist countries, the number of unemployed workers is rising.

Cost of living goes up

Officials in Washington and in other imperialist capitals claim that their policies are successfully reducing inflation, though admittedly at the cost of worsening the recession. As far as working people are concerned, this is a cynical trade-off. This is especially true considering that the cost of living continues to rise. True, the rate of increase has gradually declined as the capitalist recession has dragged on. But prices continue to rise, especially rents, utilities, medical care, transportation, etc., and the cost of living continues to set new records month after month.

Joel Popkin, a former assistant commissioner of prices in the Bureau of Labor Statistics, admitted in December that people don't see the difference between a 6 percent and 3 percent increase. "It's the direction of change that counts," he said. "People still notice that prices are going up" — not that the inflation rate is going down.

This does not mean that no prices have fallen. The prices of agricultural commodities and mineral raw materials, including oil, have fallen. In some cases these price declines have been dramatic.

The big monopolies that own oil and mineral interests protect the profits of their stockholders, bondholders, and bankers by slashing production. But this course is not open to family farmers. They have to maintain a constant cash flow if they are to avoid bankruptcy. They cannot move their "capital" from agriculture to profitable sectors of industry. If anything they are driven to increase production more when prices of agricultural produce fall. As a result, while industrial production has declined, agricultural production has continued to set records.

A special feature of the current crisis has been the extraordinarily high level of interest rates. High interest rates have occurred for brief periods during other capitalist crises. But never before have interest rates remained so high for such a long time. As a result finance capital — the most parasitic form of capital — has been making unprecedented profits. The recession has not been a crisis for the big banks.

Family farmers, who have to obtain loans in order to produce, are especially victimized by the usurious interest rates. At the same time they are forced to buy farm machinery, seed, fertilizer, etc., at monopoly-rigged prices.

Like family farmers, semicolonial countries are forced to buy industrial com-



Worldwide capitalist economic crisis: Workers in this country (left) suffer as bosses lay off millions of workers, drive down wages. Workers in Mexico are wracked by credit crisis (money exchange, right, keeps up with peso's decline). Banks (center) meanwhile rake it in.



modities at high monopoly prices and sell their commodities — usually raw materials or agricultural produce — at depressed prices. At the same time they have to pay the high prevailing rates of interest in order to obtain badly needed loans to buy industrial products.

Many of these countries have been pushed to the point where they simply cannot pay. One semicolonial country after another has been forced to reschedule their debts. Mexico is just the most dramatic example. The Mexican crisis was barely "contained" before Brazil almost went bankrupt. Another hurried "rescue" (of the banks, not the workers and peasants) had to be arranged. Of course, rescheduling means even higher fees that the oppressed countries have to pay.

The brunt of paying off these mammoth debts falls on the workers and peasants who fall victim to the austerity measures that the bankers impose as a condition for new loans.

Yet, while banking capital is raking in big profits at the expense of the oppressed nations, they face some risks.

If amidst the current wave of bankruptcies of capitalist firms, these countries were to totally default on their debts, the capital of many of the big imperialist banks would be wiped out. Credit would collapse and the capitalist world would face the worst crisis in its history.

Even if outright defaults are avoided, and a banking crisis is staved off for now, the world capitalist economy is far from out of the woods. Faced with severe cash shortages and the need to service their mounting debts, countries like Mexico and Brazil are forced to slash imports. This can contribute to a decline in the exports from the imperialist countries. This, in turn, leads to layoffs and increased unemployment in the imperialist countries. The result is an even greater contraction of world trade. Unless this decline of world trade is reversed, the world recession will deepen further.

The capitalist 'solution'

The root cause of the world depression is the overproduction of commodities — not in relation to what the majority of people need, but in relation to the ability of the capitalists to sell them at a profit. This overproduction is rooted in the prolonged boom of world capitalist production and trade following World War II. This period came to an end in the 1970s.

The way out for the capitalists is to redouble the world market and step up the destruction of surplus capital and commodities. In the past the redivision of the world market has meant world wars between the major imperialist powers. The overwhelming military superiority of the U.S. rulers today makes that "solution" very unlikely. Intensified trade conflicts can be expected, however.

The other part of the capitalist solution

— stepped up elimination of surplus capital and commodities — also involves major difficulties for the capitalist class. This would mean deepening the current world slump. By slashing production to the bone — as was done in the early 1930's — the huge amount of unsold commodities that are pressing down on world markets would be finally eliminated. Increasing production would finally become profitable again for the monopolies, and a new cycle of capitalist expansion would begin (which would inevitably end in a new crisis).

But even the most reactionary capitalist governments fear the consequences of the way their own system operates. If there are 12 million unemployed in the United States now, how many unemployed will there be if overproduction were liquidated in a really thorough manner? And what would be the political consequences of unemployment that has no historical precedents?

Capitalist governments are thus beginning to implement policies that can turn around the recession in their countries. This will inevitably lead to a new round of inflation. The Federal Reserve Board has expanded the currency it issues by almost 8 percent in the last year, a definitely inflationary rate of growth. The Federal Reserve Board and private banks together have increased the U.S. money supply (currency plus checking accounts) by an even faster rate of 8.4 percent.

Increased expansion of credit is being engineered on a world scale. After the Mexican crisis the Reagan administration dropped its opposition to expanding the International Monetary Fund pool of lendable money. The imperialist governments agreed to expand these monetary resources by some \$30 billion.

Signs of an upturn?

The U.S. economy, in response to increased inflation and record-breaking budget deficits, failed to begin an upturn during 1982. This came as a surprise to many capitalist economists. Virtually all of them had predicted that recovery would begin in 1982.

Does the failure of a recovery to develop in 1982 mean that an economic upswing is excluded in the near future? Have we entered a period of ever-deepening economic crisis without upturns?

Not at all. Swings in the capitalists' business cycle will continue as long as capitalism exists. This time too, as in the past, a business upswing will follow the depression. Indeed there are signs pointing toward a certain upturn in the not too distant future. Housing starts have been rising in the last few months. The stock market has rallied dramatically. Interest rates have declined, though they are still at very high levels.

All this points to some easing in credit conditions. Such an easing precedes the upswing in the capitalist business cycle. It encourages the purchases of relatively

more expensive commodities like homes (a process that has already begun) and automobiles (a process which may be beginning).

As credit becomes more abundant merchants and industrial corporations reduce the rate at which they pare their inventories. This leads to increased orders by industrial corporations. As workers are recalled purchases of consumer goods increases. More industrial capacity is used as capitalist profits rise. Eventually industrial corporations find it profitable to make major capital investments, a process that leads to boom, overproduction, and finally a new crisis.

While it is too soon to be certain that an upturn is about to get underway, it is important to realize that such an upturn, when it comes, will likely give a considerable impulse to working class resistance.

Threats by bosses to close plants if concessions are not forthcoming from the workers carry far less weight when production is rising. And workers who have been forced to accept wage cuts and other sacrifices, because they were told they would lose their jobs, will be especially motivated to get back what they lost.

Rocky road ahead

Is it possible for the coming upswing in business to lead to a return of the kind of capitalist prosperity that followed World War II?

No. The huge overproduction that led to the current crisis has not been liquidated sufficiently to allow this. For all its severity the current world capitalist depression is still far from matching that of the 1930's. The shift towards inflationary monetary policies means that accumulated overproduction will not be liquidated for some time to come. Any economic recovery — no matter how modest — will add to it. This will make inevitable an even more explosive economic crisis in a few years.

Nor has there been a new division of the world market among the major imperialist powers that corresponds to their real economic strength. The continuing increase in protectionist pressures illustrates this.

At best the coming recovery will mean continued massive unemployment for workers, skyrocketing inflation, and a new rise in interest rates. Indeed during recent recoveries the rate of unemployment has been at levels that previously only existed during periods of recession. The coming recovery will see unemployment at even higher levels.

If recent recoveries are any guide, the rising phase of the business cycle will be marked by huge monopolistic price gouging and contrived shortages. Real wages may well continue to decline as price increases escalate. This is what a capitalist "economic recovery" offers working people.

N.Y. exhibition of Cuban photographs and posters

"Cuban Photography, 1959-1982" and "Cuban Poster Art: a retrospective 1961-1982," two exhibitions at the Westbeth Gallery, New York City.

BY DIANE JACOBS

It's not surprising that a 24-year retrospective of Cuban photography and poster art would turn up in an alternative space on the far West Side of Manhattan instead of a major U.S. museum. But we're fortunate to see such a phenomenal collection of work at all.

The display — more than 250 pieces dating from the beginning of the Cuban revolution to the present — is

IN REVIEW

sponsored by the Center for Cuban Studies and 14 artists and art critics, in collaboration with the Cuban Ministry of Culture.

In the catalogue notes is the statement, "The photographic movement was the Revolution's most representative artistic expression at the outset." This is true. If there is a distinctly Cuban art, it is the work of Korda (Alberto Díaz Gutiérrez), Corrales (Raúl Corral Varela), Mayito (Mario García Joya) and other photojournalists who traveled to the battlefield with Fidel and Che Guevara — often as soldiers — and accompanied the first literacy brigades to teach the population to read.

One extraordinary photo from this early period, "Playa Girón" (Bay of Pigs), by Corrales, frames the sea, with a ship burning in the background. In the middle ground, on a promontory jutting from the right, are people watching with their backs to us — Cuban soldiers and others. In the foreground, between us and the watchers, is a strip of sea. The picture has an eerie beauty, powerful even if we didn't know the history behind it — the triumph of the

Cuban people over a U.S.-sponsored invasion.

The vantage point is novel in a number of photos. One by Mayito, "Desfile en la Plaza de la Revolución" (Demonstration in the Plaza of the Revolution), 1960, is a mass demonstration shot from directly above, but close enough so the people don't dissolve into ants. It makes a dizzying statement about popular support for the revolution.

Many pictures in the show convey this excitement. Several by Corrales stand out: Fidel, from behind, addressing a huge crowd (1960); a squadron of soldiers on horseback who approach the viewer head-on with Cuban flags flying in the wind (1960); and, my favorites, from the series "Escuela al campo" (Take the Schools to the Fields), 1980, joyful young women taking a break from working in the fields by dancing and doing backbends. These last pictures are so perfectly framed they look choreographed.

The Cuban people are captured here in all their variety, from Osvaldo Salas's rich-textured portraits of celebrities to Tito Álvarez's studies of the old and young people and animals in his very ordinary neighborhood.

Some of the recent work is more experimental. There are no full-color prints, but we see some interesting examples of handtinting and collage. I liked a 1981 series by Raúl Martínez — black and white photos of Havana street posters, areas of which are selectively painted.

Marucha's work deserves special mention. María Eugenia Haya (the only woman of 19 photographers in this show) has done screenwriting, set-design, and research in addition to photography. The very informative catalogue notes were adapted from her book, *A History of Cuban Photography*.

In her 1980-81 series "En el liceo" (In the High School) we can get a glimpse of the difference between an art of alienation produced by a capitalist culture and art that comes out of a revolutionary society.

The poster, more than any other Cuban art form, has

managed to penetrate the popular consciousness in capitalist countries.

A lot of the posters in this display are manifestly political; they have a revolutionary message without being hackneyed or succumbing to socialist realism. Fidel supported the stylistic freedom of Cuban artists in a famous speech in the 1960s in which he stated, "Our enemies are capitalists and imperialists, not abstract art," and "within the Revolution, everything . . ."

There are many familiar posters among the 167 in this show: images of Che Guevara taken from the famous photograph by Korda (also included here), Alberto González Rostgaard's rose with a bleeding thorn, Raúl Martínez's brightly colored multiple-frame posters for films like *Lucia*, and René Mederos's 1969 and 1971 silk screens dedicated to the Vietnamese people.

Cuban film posters were among the first to win international acclaim. They also pioneered a more abstract style. My favorites in this show are the dark expressionist works by René Azcuy.

One poster fascinated me not only for its design but for its political message: a hand holding a small screw extends downward from a sleeve made of bureaucratic-agency-type file cards. Beneath the hand, the word "burocratismo."

The complete freedom of style and expression in all this work says more about the extent of democracy in Cuban society than anything but a trip to Cuba.

The two catalogues — one for photography, one for posters — contain interesting histories of Cuban photography and poster art and brief biographies of some of the artists. There is a separate list of titles of the works, a number of which are for sale.

The show will be at Westbeth Gallery, 463 West Street (corner Bank St.), New York City, through February 9. Gallery hours are 1 p.m. to 6 p.m. Tuesday through Saturday.

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

The Attacks on Abortion Rights. Speakers: Diane McEwen, lobbyist for Women's Agenda; representative of Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Why the Right to Abortion Should Be Defended. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant-PM Forum. For more information call (213) 389-9640.

Seaside

Introduction to Socialism Class Series. The Communist Manifesto, Sat., Jan. 29, 11 a.m.; and America's Road to Socialism, Sat., Feb. 5, 11 a.m. 1043A Broadway. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (408) 899-4732 or 373-8347.

FLORIDA

Miami

Defend the Right to Safe and Legal Abortion. A public forum and discussion. Translation to Spanish and Creole. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (305) 769-3478.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Nicaragua: An Eyewitness Report and Slide Show. Speaker: Fred Royce, technical advisor at Luis Hernández Aguilar School of Agriculture Mechanization in Nicaragua. Sat., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 504 Flat Shoals. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

School Desegregation: the Fight Continues. Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 555 W Adams. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (312) 559-9046.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

What Socialists Stand For: Working-Class Solutions to the Capitalist Crisis. Speaker: Stuart Crome, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee. Sun., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Women in Nicaragua. Slide presentation by Jane Roland, 1982 Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, recently returned from Nicaragua. Sun., Jan. 30, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore T Stop). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Defend and Extend Reproductive Rights: 10 Years of Safe, Legal Abortion. Speakers: Helen Meyers, former West Coast Coordinator, Women's National Abortion Action Coalition; others. Sun., Jan. 30, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

U.S. vs the Irish Freedom Struggle. Speakers: George Harrison, defendant acquitted in "Freedom Five" trial in Brooklyn Federal Court; Sandy Boyer, coordinator of H-Block/Armagh Committee. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

Schenectady

El Salvador Will Win: A Tribute to Terry Santana. Speakers: Kathy Button, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Jan. 29, 8 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Crisis Facing American Farmers: Fight Against Foreclosures. Speakers: Val Libby, *Militant* reporter at 1983 American Agriculture Movement convention; representative of Ohio Family Farmers Movement. Sun., Feb. 6, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

Cleveland

Labor's Fight Against Concessions. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 4, 7:30 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

OREGON

Portland

The Washington Public Power Supply System Fiasco: Who Should Pay? Speakers: Steve Ferrell, member, Association of Western Pulp and Paper Workers; Commissioner of Cowlitz County Public Utility District; Ron Richards, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb.

6, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 222-7225.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

The Struggle Against Apartheid in South Africa. Speakers: Chris Davis, member, International Ladies Garment Workers Union Local 563, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., Jan. 29, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON D.C.

The U.S. War Against the Nicaraguan Revolution. Speaker: Francisco Campbell, first secretary, Embassy of Nicaragua. Fri., Feb. 4, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

WASHINGTON

Seattle

Reagan's War on Women's Rights: A Strategy to Fight Back. Speaker: Donna Mistler, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Jan. 30, 7 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5530.

Workers suffer in Conrail takeover

Continued from back page

and yard switching has been eliminated. Passenger crews are now being forced to do yard switching jobs during swing time. This will result in the loss of more jobs.

These temporary agreements have given the workers a taste of the givebacks and have added fuel to the fire by strengthening the will of the workers to fight. Said one NJT conductor, "My wife says I'm crazy if I don't fight this."

There is pervasive anger on the part of the rail workers bearing the brunt of the offensive. The response has been confused and disorganized for the most part, because many workers are just beginning to think out what sort of response is needed. The total failure of leadership on the part of union bureaucrats acts to retard the will to fight, but we can see the beginning of a fightback developing in the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE) on NJT.

The militant leadership of BLE Division 501 in New York City has been undertaking a drive for the past nine months to broaden the response of the engineers and involve the rank and file of the area's locals

in defending the contract.

They have already scored some small successes by winning the right for the local chairmen to attend the negotiations and improving the communications among the locals. They organized a mailgram campaign around the slogan "We won't work 12 hours for 8 hours' pay." As a result, engineers currently have only two hours unpaid swing time per day, as compared to four hours for train crews. The engineers have led the fight to defeat a tentative contract that would make the swing time permanent.

The entire BLE bureaucracy has pitted itself against Division 501 and its leadership and is trying to impose limits on what the workers can presently achieve.

But Division 501's method of fighting — by organizing and mobilizing the membership — points the way forward and merits watching as the battle in New York continues to unfold.

Tom Pontolillo is vice-chairman of Division 501 of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers.

U.S. exploits MIA issue to attack Vietnam

BY WILL REISSNER

In recent months the Reagan administration has increasingly used the question of so-called missing-in-action U.S. servicemen (MIAs) to block progress toward normalization of relations with Vietnam. According to the Pentagon, the bodies of nearly 2,500 U.S. troops have never been recovered from Indochina.

The White House has worked closely with the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast Asia to keep this issue before the public in an emotion-laden manner. It has also lobbied intensively in Congress for resolutions backing the administration's MIA policy.

The MIA question is tailor-made for the administration's aim of preventing any improvement in relations with Vietnam. The White House knows that its demand for a full accounting of all the MIAs is impossible because most of the bodies of MIAs will never be found. Many were airmen lost at sea or in the jungles of Laos and Kampuchea. Others were buried by peasants a decade or more ago in unmarked graves.

The emotional appeal of this issue was made clear by the response to a call by the network television program *Real People* for viewers to write to Vietnam's United Nations mission asking about the fate of the MIAs.

"Everyday we get thousands of letters

concerning the MIA question because of this campaign," said Nguyen Ngoc Dung, Vietnam's deputy representative to the UN, in a December 15 interview with the *Militant*.

Ambassador Dung pointed out that the Vietnamese deeply resent the Reagan administration's attempt to incite public opinion on this particular question. "Vietnam has made great efforts to find American MIAs," she said, even though it is a poor country only now beginning to recover from three decades of war waged by French and American imperialism.

"The question of MIAs is not restricted to Americans," Dung stressed. "We have thousands of missing of our own from the years of war. In my family alone there are two whose fate remains unknown."

Washington's attempt to use the MIA issue against Vietnam ends up being counterproductive, Dung asserted. "U.S. hostility makes it more difficult for us to mobilize our own people to take part in the search process."

When members of the National League of Families visited Vietnam last September, they were told that people often asked "why are we always looking for the remains of Americans when the U.S. government acts with such hostility toward Vietnam?"

Vietnam has, in fact, expended considerable energy in the search for the remains of U.S. personnel. A special office has

been established to coordinate the effort.

The Vietnamese have sent several teams of technicians to Hawaii for training by the Pentagon's Joint Casualty Resolution Center and Central Identification Laboratory in techniques of identifying human remains.

Last October, Hanoi and Washington agreed to four annual visits to Vietnam by U.S. technicians to provide further training.

Nine delegations from the State Department and Pentagon have visited Vietnam since the end of the war to work on the MIA question.

Moreover, since the end of the war, Vietnam has turned over 80 bodies to U.S. authorities. Most recently, on Oct. 14, 1982, Vietnamese officials turned over five more and material evidence on three other Americans.

Despite Vietnam's record of cooperation, the White House, Pentagon, and many families of MIAs continue to raise wild charges against the Vietnamese.

Although the Pentagon itself acknowledges that all but 8 of the nearly 2,500 MIAs are *known to be dead*, high administration officials have repeatedly charged that some MIAs may still be prisoners in Vietnam and Laos.

For example, at a Pentagon ceremony for five hundred relatives of MIAs held on Reagan's "National POW-MIA Recognition Day" last July 9, Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger stated "we are proceeding on the assumption that some Americans are still alive and still being held."

This charge was repeated by President Reagan himself in a letter to the National League of Families. Reagan wrote that the administration is working "on the assumption that at least some Americans are still held captive."

Naturally these baseless claims are seized upon and repeated by those families of the MIAs who are involved in this campaign. Ann Mills Griffiths, executive director of the National League of Families, claimed in a letter to the *New York Times* that "there is convincing evidence that live Americans are still being held in Vietnam."

But these contentions are based on the flimsiest of evidence. The Defense Intelligence Agency (DIA) claims there are 426 cases of alleged live sightings of Americans in Indochina, including three in 1982. One DIA official, however, admitted to the *Washington Post*: "The attitude is that you have to believe there is at least one guy being held against his will just to maintain a level of vigilance in checking these things out. Unfortunately, we haven't been able to prove that's the case."

In many instances, the reported Americans in Vietnam have turned out to be Scandinavian technicians or Russian advisers.

The CIA used the excuse of a 1981 report of Americans being held in Laos to



Militant/Suzanne Haig
Vietnam's Nguyen Ngoc Dung: "U.S. smears are an attempt to isolate Vietnam and its revolutionary example."

mount covert raids into that country. The supposed evidence for the existence of the Americans turned out to be aerial reconnaissance photos in which some figures cast longer shadows than would be expected of Asians!

In a sensational article in the July 11, 1982, *Parade Sunday* newspaper supplement, Nguyen Duc Yen, who left Vietnam in 1979, told of seeing dozens of American fliers held prisoner in Vietnam long after all the prisoners of war were released.

While his "revelations" made a big splash, less attention was paid to the fact that Defense Department lie detector tests indicated that Yen had "fabricated" the information about sighting U.S. pilots, as well as personal data about himself.

Ambassador Dung noted that Washington's campaign around the MIAs is only one of a series of slanders against Vietnam. "These smears are an attempt to isolate Vietnam and its revolutionary example," she maintained, noting that "the United States has tremendous resources at its disposal to spread lies."

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Meatpackers fight lockout

BY ROBERT CONNOLLY

CINCINNATI — On January 3, 350 members of the United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 7A were locked out of their jobs at the Kahns Packing Co., a division of the huge conglomerate Consolidated Foods. On Dec. 23, 1982, prior to the lockout, 150 other workers were given lay-off notices. Another 150 have been laid off since 1981.

The layoffs and lockout are part of an ongoing attempt at union-busting by Kahns. For the past three years Kahns has been demanding contract concessions from the UFCW. In 1981 Kahns took back \$1.05 an hour in wages. This added over \$1 million to Kahns' profit picture and executive salaries.

Kahns is making money hand over fist and they admit it. It is estimated by the UFCW that they took in over \$15 million in 1981. But they have consistently threatened to close the Cincinnati plant because they feel that they can make more money if they move their operations south. Effective as of the January 3 lockout, they have moved all of their operations except slaughtering to a new facility in Claryville, Kentucky, currently a nonunion shop. They have previously contracted out to

nonunion shops in Tennessee and Arkansas.

The current contract expired on December 31. Kahns is demanding a three-year wage freeze, no cost-of-living raises, the hiring of new workers at up to \$3.64 below scale, and cutting pensions for new hires by 50 percent.

Union members soundly rejected this "take it or leave it" offer by a vote of 365-64.

Kahns says that since the workers rejected the contract, next they would have struck the plant, so it laid them off in advance. Kahns is calling it a layoff due to a labor dispute. This lie is an attempt to prevent workers from being able to file for unemployment benefits.

There are currently three charges pending against Kahns by the National Labor Relations Board. The charges include refusal to pay cost-of-living raises, illegally modifying the contract, and refusal to bargain in good faith with the UFCW.

The Kahns workers are fighting a bitter battle with the meatpacking bosses. They have provided Cincinnati workers with an important example by standing up to the bosses' demand for concessions and their union-busting attacks.

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Union openings on El Salvador

On January 21, the Reagan administration certified that the generals running El Salvador were making progress in upholding human rights. He proposed renewing open military and economic aid for the dictatorship.

The same day that certification was announced, the Reagan administration disclosed proposed regulations denying federal education loans to students who refuse to register for the draft. The regulations would take effect in July.

Maj. Gen. Thomas Turnage, head of the Selective Service System, put it this way, "If a man does not accept the basic responsibility of a society, he has no claim to the benefits of that society."

The capitalist rulers have been pressing hard to convince working people to accept serving as cannon fodder for U.S. wars abroad. But this "basic responsibility" is being rejected by hundreds of thousands of draft-age youth who want no part of U.S. intervention in Central America. Nor do they expect any "benefits of society" to come their way. Not as long as the Democrats and Republicans in Congress continue to chop funds for human needs, while the employers demand greater concessions from the unions.

Opposition to Washington's war-austerity policy is so widespread that, in what a *New York Times* editorial

called a "significant defection," the top AFL-CIO officials have come out against certifying the Salvadoran regime, which means cutting off its aid.

This action is welcome indeed and represents a major opportunity for antiwar trade unionists. The AFL-CIO's criminal stand of bolstering Washington's policy in El Salvador has been a big obstacle to labor involvement in antiwar activity. The shift in stance on the part of AFL-CIO officials means greater opportunities to directly involve trade unions in the fight to get the U.S. government out of El Salvador.

Already the potential has been shown by the warm reception given to Alejandro Molina Lara, a leader of the Salvadoran trade union movement who has been touring in the United States. Everywhere Molina Lara has spoken, whether to coal miners, to steelworkers, or electrical workers, opposition to U.S. intervention in El Salvador was strong. Thousands of dollars have been donated by U.S. unionists to help imprisoned unionists in El Salvador. Several local union bodies have passed resolutions condemning repression against the Salvadoran labor movement and opposing U.S. aid to the regime.

Now more than ever before, the opportunity exists to begin building a movement based on the U.S. working class to demand that the United States get out of El Salvador and the rest of Central America and the Caribbean.

Covering up a political murder

The dictatorship in El Salvador continues to murder people on a mass scale, and the government in Washington continues to certify the dictatorship's "human rights" progress.

While President Reagan's cover-up for the slaughter in El Salvador becomes more and more transparent, a related cover-up — in New York City — has drawn far less attention.

Last December 4, Flor "Terry" Santana was found dead in her New York apartment. Santana was a prominent activist in the U.S. movement in solidarity with the people of El Salvador.

Her body was found after a fire burned her apartment.

Fire fighters reported that flammable liquid had been used to set small fires throughout the apartment. They immediately notified the police, assuming that Santana had been murdered and arson committed to conceal the killing.

Within minutes New York police and FBI agents were on the scene.

Both the FBI and New York cops say that Santana committed suicide or died accidentally, and, therefore, there is nothing suspicious about her death.

This must be recognized for what it is — a political cover-up for a political murder.

And it should be opposed as vigorously as Washington's cover-up of the crimes of the Salvadoran regime.

It is essential that the broadest possible forces unite in a public campaign for a full investigation of the murder of Terry Santana. All those opposed to U.S. intervention in Central America, opponents of political terrorism, unionists, and Black and Latino activists have an important stake in supporting the demand for such a probe.

None should remain silent in the face of political assassination — here or in El Salvador.

U.S. troops threaten Nicaragua

Continued from front page

are now encamped in southern Honduras. *Newsweek* magazine revealed last November how these thugs have been armed, organized, trained, and financed by the CIA in an operation run from the U.S. embassy in the Honduran capital.

When maneuvers similar to those coming up in February were held last July, Washington used them as the cover to ship large quantities of guns and equipment to the Somozaist forces. Since then, their terrorist raids into Nicaragua have been greatly stepped up.

And the Somozaists are only the spearhead of a wider war that U.S. imperialism is preparing against the Nicaraguan revolution. Washington is giving the Honduran armed forces millions in military aid — weapons, helicopters, fighter jets, and new airfields.

Over the last eight months, the January 1 *Nation* reported, "the White House has placed its considerable naval fleet at readiness in the Caribbean and has stationed a spy ship in the Gulf of Fonseca off Nicaragua's western shore. Marines are on call for rapid deployment from Puerto Rico, Panama and the U.S. mainland. SR-71 Lockheed reconnaissance planes regularly fly over Nicaragua at 80,000 feet to take photographs of military bases there."

Nicaraguan leaders are taking this threat seriously. "We must be prepared to confront the possibility of aggression at the level of an army," Defense Minister Humberto Ortega told a crowd of thousands of Nicaraguans January 19.

The U.S. rulers have set a course toward full-scale war against Nicaragua, because the revolution unfolding there remains the central obstacle to reversing the popular upsurge against U.S. domination and dictatorial rule sweeping all of Central America.

The Sandinista revolutionaries in Nicaragua are using political power to defend and advance the interests of all

the exploited and oppressed. They are expanding health care and education, distributing huge tracts of idle land to poor farmers, subsidizing food prices, and spurring the formation of trade unions and other popular organizations. These measures are preparing the way for a socialist society.

This example has inspired other Central American peoples — especially the Salvadorans and Guatemalans — who are also fighting to remove hated dictatorships and open the road to social progress. And its effects are rippling through the rest of Latin America and the world.

If Washington succeeds in crushing the Nicaraguan revolution, this would be a deathblow to the struggle of the workers and farmers in El Salvador. But if the Salvadoran fighters win, this will immensely strengthen the Nicaraguan revolution and the struggle against oppression throughout the hemisphere.

The stakes are high, and the U.S. rulers know it. The Nicaraguan daily *Barricada* put it this way in an editorial protesting the U.S.-Honduran war exercises:

"What must be clear is that any aggression of broader scope against Nicaragua involving forces of other Central American armies will in fact signify the regionalization of a war whose scene will not be solely in Nicaragua. This is what we are trying to avoid, but if it is imposed on us, there should not be the slightest doubt that the people of Nicaragua and the other peoples of Central America will resist and fight until the aggressors are crushed, wherever they may be found."

The U.S. labor movement and all opponents of Washington's war in Central America need to join in protesting Reagan's latest provocation, the dispatch of U.S. forces to southern Honduras. We need to expose these maneuvers for what they are — fresh aid to the Somozaist terror gangs and another step toward a full-scale counter-revolutionary war against Nicaragua.

Truckers' struggle: what stand should labor take?

The call by independent truckers for a nationwide shut-down on January 31 has alerted many workers to the plight these drivers face. Farrell Dobbs, former national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and a leader of the Teamsters in the 1930s, takes up labor's approach to independent truckers in his four-volume series on the Teamsters. An appendix to Dobbs's *Teamster Politics*, titled "How the Teamsters Union Organized Independent Truckers in the 1930s," describes the class-struggle approach developed by revolutionary socialists who helped lead the drive to organize the Teamsters in the Midwest.

Dobbs explains:

"During the depression of the 1930s individually owned trucks appeared in the transportation industry in ever-increasing numbers. A major factor in this development was an intensive sales campaign by the auto corpo-

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

rations. Their caper was to induce the unemployed to buy themselves a job by buying a truck. Workers who could scrape up the down payment were allowed to meet the balance of the purchase price on a long-term installment basis. Incentive for such purchases was given by the federal government, which used individually owned trucks on its 'made work' projects for the unemployed of that period. State, county, and city engineering departments followed suit, especially in connection with road work.

"Comparable trends developed within private industry. Firms having their own fleets of trucks often kept a surplus of rigs on hand by hiring independent owner-operators, who usually found themselves payless — despite the time put in — when they were not actually hauling something. Fluctuations in business volume were thus compensated for at the expense of the owner-operators and to the profit of the fleet owners. Broker setups appeared in the form of companies that relied entirely on individual truck owners to move goods. In such cases virtually the entire overhead cost of trucking operations was shoved on to the owner-operators, thereby impairing their capacity to earn a living.

"Immediate profit-taking along these lines was not the only object the capitalists had in mind. Advantage was sought from ambitions that developed among independent owner-operators to expand their holdings and go into business for themselves. Illusions were fostered that such prospects were open to all individual owners, so as to trick them into identifying themselves with the problems of management. To the extent that the scheme worked, divisions were sown between owner-operators and the drivers of company fleets. Unionization of the industry was thereby impeded; the laws of the open-shop jungle could better prevail; and the trucking bosses were able to wax fatter in all respects.

"These dangers to both categories of drivers were further accentuated by misleadership within the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT). Little attention, if any, was paid to the problems of the owner-operators. Although sporadic efforts were made to organize fleet drivers, IBT policy was so ill-conceived and so poorly executed that not much headway could be made in that sphere either. As a result, the union remained weak, at best, and in several important respects it was quite impotent."

Dobbs explains how the class-struggle left wing in the Minneapolis Teamsters developed a policy of forging an alliance with independent truckers as part of the struggle to consolidate union power. This policy was then extended through the Midwest in the Teamster organizing drives of the late 1930s. Dobbs writes:

"Careful examination of all the factors involved convinced us that those owning one truck, who did their own driving, should be approached by the union as fellow workers. Proceeding accordingly, we set out to organize as many of these individuals as possible. They were then extended the democratic right to shape the demands that were made upon their employers, the leasing companies. On that basis the union as a whole followed through by backing them in struggles to improve their take-home pay."

"A man who owns the truck which he drives is merely an employee who is required to furnish his own tools as a condition of employment," Dobbs explains. "He has a full legal right to be represented by a labor organization." On this basis the Midwest Teamsters successfully organized many independent truckers, helped them fight for better wages and working conditions, and strengthened the union movement in the region as a whole.

Teamster Politics is available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014 for \$5.95 in paperback, or visit one of the Militant Bookstores listed on page 13.

Why we cannot retreat on the fight for busing

I spent a lot of time in Boston in 1974-76 at the height of racist violence against Black school children being bused to get a better education. I was on the staff of the National Student Coalition Against Racism and partici-



BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY Malik Miah

pated in the demonstrations and rallies defending the right of Blacks to get an equal education.

I lived in Chicago too. And Chicago is, as some have called it, the most segregated big city in the country. The big banks and real estate sharks have made sure of that.

Memories of both cities came back to me recently when I learned that Judge Arthur Garrity issued an order on January 3 to turn over to the Massachusetts Board of Education the monitoring of the Boston school system. After two years, if Garrity is satisfied, the school system will once again be placed under the body that developed and maintained a racist, dual education system in Boston for decades — the Boston School Committee.

At almost the same time, a federal district judge approved a school "desegregation" plan for Chicago with no mandatory busing, thus perpetuating segregated schools in that city.

In both cases the antibusing and racist forces in the country — led by the Reagan administration — began hooting and hollering with joy.

Last September, William Bradford Reynolds, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, set the stage for these blows to Black rights in a statement where he said the Department of Justice "is opposed to relying on mandatory busing as a remedial technique to desegregate public schools." Accordingly, the department will give "serious consideration to, and where appropriate request, modification of court-ordered busing plans."

In Boston it took a determined probusing, antiracist movement, nationwide in scope, to prevent the racist school committee, city council, and other officials of the Democratic-led city government from overturning busing. Since busing began in Boston, more Blacks have gone to college and scored higher on standardized tests. An affirmative action jobs program led to a qualitative increase in the number of Black teachers as well.

Unfortunately Black youth in Chicago will, at least for now, not get such an opportunity. Even the supporters of this so-called desegregation plan admit many of Chicago's 540 schools will be "racially isolated" if the order is carried out.

The fight of Blacks to win an equal education has always been a central part of our fight for full equality in this country.

Today, as the government-employer racist attacks pick up steam, we even find some liberals — Black and white — telling us that busing is not important any more. Some argue we should put all our energies into fighting for jobs — that the issue of busing is a diversion in these hard

times.

Other liberals say they're for equal education, but busing is too coercive and disruptive a way to go about it. Better to have "freedom of choice" — everybody just picks the school of their choice.

They fail to mention that we had the "freedom of choice" system for centuries — it just happened that the only schools Blacks got to choose were the very worst.

Busing is simply a means to ensure our democratic right to receive an equal education. The better schools are in white neighborhoods. Black students must be transported to these schools in buses. That's true in Boston, Chicago, and most every other city.

Schools in Black areas, like our housing, are usually old and run-down. They are the last repaired, the worst funded, and the most understaffed. The only way to force school authorities to equalize education is to end the system of segregated schools. That's what the 1954 Supreme Court ruling, *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education*, that ended legal segregation was all about. That's why in the short term to bring equality in education busing students across district, city, or county lines may be necessary.

One last point. The use of buses to transport students is not the creation of school desegregation; it's been going on for decades. In 1974, for example, over 50 percent of the country's school children were bused. But less than 7 percent for desegregation purposes.

The opposition to busing is not over the bus, but us!
This is why the fight to defend busing is so important. To retreat on this right is to play into the racist hands of the government and employers.

LETTERS

Detroit teachers

Last fall 10,000 Detroit teachers walked off our jobs for 16 days in a contract dispute with the Board of Education. "We asked for nothing, but the Board said it was too much," was the most frequent slogan appearing on the picket signs. The union was negotiating for a pay freeze but the Board tried to force us to take a 9 percent cut.

The strike ended with an agreement to accept binding arbitration. This agreement was forced on us through pressure from Democratic Party politicians and the leadership of the Metropolitan AFL-CIO and in spite of considerable rank-and-file opposition.

In early January the arbitrator came up with his decision. Our salaries will remain frozen, but we teachers will "loan" the board 10 days pay, to be paid back at the rate of one day per year starting in December 1984.

Teachers are angry. No one considers the 10 days of lost pay a loan, for there is no guarantee that we'll ever see it. Everyone is expecting another strike in the fall of 1983. And this time many more teachers will oppose any attempt to put our fate in the hands of an arbitrator.

To add insult to injury, newly elected Democratic Gov. James Blanchard (who was endorsed by all major unions in the state) announced that the state may withhold aid payments to school districts in March. Thus we may be faced with payless paydays due to the budget priorities of this false "friend of labor." Now more than ever we teachers need a labor party to fight for our interests.

Tim Craine
Detroit, Michigan

Abortion victories

Two recent victories for abortion rights reflect the overwhelming public support for the right of women to choose abortion.

By a vote of 59 percent to 41 percent, Alaska voters approved state funding for abortions in a November referendum.

And in Los Angeles on December 22, Superior Court Judge Eli Chernow ruled that a California law banning abortions after the 20th week of pregnancy violated the 1973 Supreme Court ruling legalizing abortion.

J.M.
New York, New York

Just realizing

We are just realizing what a rotten country this is. We can't get food stamps, unemployment checks, Aid to Dependent Children, fuel assistance, or a job. We could lie down and die and who cares. I would like one paper sent.

Arlene Shreve
Hawarden, Iowa

Beautiful

I read your paper and was very pleased with what I read. It is very beautiful to know that someone really cares about what is going on around the world and doesn't mind showing it.

Keep up your work. Maybe one day I will get out and drop by and thank you face to face.

A prisoner
North Carolina

Wants to campaign

I wish to be enrolled and considered a member of the Socialist Workers Party. I am desirous of receiving information concerning when and where your next convention will be held for the nomination of candidates for president and vice-president in the 1984 elections. I want to campaign here in this locality.

J.T.
Havre, Montana

Impressed

One day I was impressed with the *Militant* newspaper even though I never heard or saw such a paper before. I happened to notice that one of my confederates had a small article or pamphlet. I asked what it was and he said it was the *Militant*.

After reading for more than 10 minutes, I was impressed with the *Militant* newspaper because of the way it covered the essential, important news in a serious, crucial moment in history.

I would like to subscribe as a prisoner (resident would be a better word). I hope you enjoy reading my letter and I appreciate that you are sending me the *Militant*.

A prisoner
Menard, Illinois



Wants 'Militant'

The purpose of this communique is to inquire about some reading materials — the *Militant*. I haven't any funds to purchase a subscription and thought that I might be put on your mailing list free? I'm presently confined in the hole of CMF prison and things are not looking too good.

I'd appreciate a subscription to the *Militant* until I am able to afford it. I shall remain firm, because this is my belief that I must take into account. In closing, my profound revolutionary love and regards are extended to you comrades — Black Power!

Forever forward, never backwards.
A prisoner
Vacaville, California

Common goal

I would like to thank you and your comrades at the *Militant* for sending me the *Militant* newspaper. After I read the *Militant* I shall pass it on to my comrades.

If there is any thing I can do from in here in solidarity with you and my fellow comrades in New York City, let me know. We have one goal and that is socialism.

A prisoner
Attica, New York

Renewal

Please renew my subscription to the *Militant*. Thought I'd start the new year right.

James Smith
Erie, Pennsylvania

Courageous work

To question Zionism and Israeli actions, especially in this country, forces one to do battle with some of the following defenders of "little Israel" (an Israel which according to various sources is now the fourth strongest nation in the world and the number five arms supplier to the world, including arms to the most reactionary and anti-Semitic countries, i.e., Argentina, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, et al!):

A) the media; B) the labor union misleaders; C) the established churches, especially the christian fundamentalists; D) the entertainment industry, Hollywood; and E) the political establishment, conservatives and liberals. It is indeed a struggle against windmills.

As Mark Twain said so aptly, "It could probably be shown by facts and figures that there is no distinctly native American criminal class except Congress."

The worst offenders are those very "leftists" and "humanitarians" who were aghast at U.S.

bombing of Vietnamese civilians, yet see nothing wrong with Israeli shelling and bombing of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians. Indeed the Fondas, Spocks, Abzugs, McGovern, et. al. have mostly supported Israeli genocide against the Arab peoples. Fonda stooped so low as to visit and entertain Israeli troops during their bloody mission in Lebanon last summer!

So keep up your courageous work in exposing Zionism as the colonial-racist movement it was and continues to be.

John Guterman
Cleverdale, New York

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.

Truckers' shutdown gains support

Independent drivers set for Jan. 31 tax-hike protest

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

The proposed January 31 trucking shutdown by independent owner-operators has been gaining support since it was called by the Independent Truckers Association (ITA) and *Overdrive* magazine.

The Owner-Operators Independent Drivers Association of America, as well as regional associations in Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, and elsewhere, have backed the call. The ITA has 30,000 members and the Owner-Operators 4,000.

The truckers are protesting sharp increases in federal taxes on trucks and parts. These were adopted earlier this year, along with a nickel-a-gallon gas tax hike, to fund highway repair.

Independent truckers are already hardpressed, and the increased taxes will be the last straw for many of them, the ITA says.

An example of the truckers' plight is Richard Snyder's situation. Snyder hires out his truck to X-Way Haulers in Westland, Michigan.

In October, a "good month for him," according to the *Detroit Free Press*, Snyder grossed \$11,545.25.

Not bad? Wait. X-Way got 42 percent of that, or almost \$5,000. After Snyder paid \$2,048 for diesel fuel, \$1,179.98 for repairs, insurance, license plates, and federal road tax, he had \$3,221.64 left — before federal and state income taxes.

That works out to \$743.45 a week before taxes. Still, not bad? Snyder had to work 73 hours a week for it. Allowing standard time-and-a-half and double time for overtime, it works out to \$6.62 an hour. If Snyder was still paying on the \$75,000 rig that he bought 10 years ago, he would be short another \$1,800 a month.

Many drivers are still paying on their rigs and some work even more hours than Snyder.

The many hours truckers are forced to be on the road in order to make a living contributes to the high accident rate among truckers. Figures in 1979 showed drivers, with 15.8 accidents per 100 workers, to be just behind anthracite coal miners with 18.6.

The drivers are seeking allies among other working people, as they did in shutdowns in 1973-74 and 1979. When Mike Parkhurst, ITA president and publisher of *Overdrive*, announced the January 31 shutdown, he said, "We have the same kind of feelings that [farmers] have."

The American Agriculture Movement



New taxes will cost each trucker up to \$5,000 more than they pay now yearly.

endorsed the action at its national convention in early January.

Parkhurst also pointed to support from locals of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) and other drivers' organizations. He said he had met with IBT leaders and others in the trucking industry.

The IBT had "no comment" about the proposed shutdowns as of January 24. But

an ITA spokesperson told the *Militant* that Teamster locals "have called to assure us they are not telling their members they will be reprimanded if they honor our picket lines."

The IBT national leadership opposed the previous trucking shutdowns, despite widespread sympathy for them among Teamster members.

The large trucking companies are currently demanding wage concessions from the Teamsters. This would be on top of givebacks squeezed out of the union a year ago.

In spite of promises that these concessions would help save jobs, about 100,000 workers, a third of those in the industry, are out of work.

In addition, since the government instituted "deregulation" in 1980, more non-union companies have emerged. And unionized companies are cutting wages and refusing to pay the wage rates negotiated in the Master Freight Agreement, which has been the industry standard.

Besides rolling back the increase in taxes on parts and trucks, the owner-operators are also demanding paid waiting time, uniformity of state restrictions on trucks, and raising the 55-mile-an-hour speed limit to 65.

In the earlier shutdowns, the government used state cops and the National Guard in often violent attacks on drivers. The ITA reports that the government officials have threatened that they "will protect truckers who want to run" this time, too.

And the media again is lining up behind the government and the employers.

The *New York Times*, for example, warned editorially against granting the truckers' demands for tax relief.

Workers suffer in Conrail takeover

BY TOM PONTOLILLO

NEW YORK — "To them we're just a number, not a human being with a family or anything like that."

This is how engineer Bill Bilarczyk summed up the attacks that former Conrail workers are facing from their new bosses in the New York area — the Metropolitan Transportation Authority (MTA) and New Jersey Transit (NJT).

As a result of the federal Northeast Rail Services Act of 1981 (NERSA), commuter service in the New York area was transferred to those two agencies on January 1 of this year.

The MTA now operates commuter rail service in New York and Connecticut, and NJT operates in New Jersey.

The impact of the takeover has been a broad assault against the gains won by rail workers over the past 50 years in all areas

— wages, working conditions, and job security.

Late last year, the stage was set for possible strikes on January 1. Early in December, emergency boards appointed by President Reagan sided with both the MTA's and NJT's final contract offers to each and every union.

Those offers sought to impose a wholesale gutting of work rules, a split shift forcing MTA workers to work 60 hours for 50 hours' pay and NJT workers to work 60 for 40, straight time for overtime on NJT, the elimination of the cost-of-living adjustment (COLA), and minimal wage increases that would not even keep pace with the inflation rate.

None of the proposals would have closed the 12 percent gap between Conrail workers' wages and the national rates. This gap arose as a result of a deferral taken by

the workers in 1981 and was due to expire next year.

In addition to imposing these miserable conditions, the MTA and NJT are also seeking to eliminate two shop crafts and to do away with mileage pay for operating crews.

Although the workers were legally free to strike on January 1, the so-called leaders of the 17 unions involved chose not to fight to defend the hard-won gains of the past. They agreed instead to work for one month under the bosses' final offers.

While a strike at the end of January cannot be ruled out, the bosses have already had the advantage of one month's time to begin to implement the changes.

Even though the elimination of the two crafts and the imposition of split shifts have not yet begun in the shops, the seniority of the workers has already come under attack. A certain number of jobs are being set aside and classified as special, with extra qualifications required as decided by the bosses, in order to place their "boys" where they want them, regardless of the seniority roster.

Newly hired electricians on the MTA will be paid only 80 percent of scale and it will take them five years to work up to scale, even though they will do the same work as other electricians. For engineers, conductors, and trainmen the situation is even worse.

The mileage pay, a big component under the old contract, has been eliminated. This enables the bosses to impose a tremendous speedup by rearranging the runs so those crews make more trips for the same pay.

The hourly rate for NJT crews is almost \$3 less than on the MTA. "Layover" time — the time spent by the crews between trips — has been reclassified as "time held for duty but not performing service." Even though you're not actually running a train or collecting fares, you're still the boss's captive.

On the MTA, the crews are paid half time for their layovers. NJT conductors and trainmen aren't paid at all, and engineers work two hours a day for free.

The distinction between passenger jobs

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Socialist candidate in Indiana backs truckers

BY DAVE YOUNG

INDIANAPOLIS — Bill Warrick, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of this city, solidarized with the fight by independent truckers against increased federal taxes.

Warrick is a former owner-operator who participated in the 1979 truckers' shutdown.

Now a member of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW), he called on trade unionists and other working people to "support the truckers — as in the 1973-74 and 1979 shutdowns, they're fighting for all of us."

Warrick held a news conference where he and his supporters turned in nominating petitions to the Marion County Elections Board to place his name on the November 1983 ballot.

It was the largest petitioning drive ever by a working-class candidate in this city.

Warrick, 30, is a refinery worker employed by Rock Island Refining Corp. as a crude unit fireman. He is a member of OCAW Local 7-535 and was a delegate

from his union to the September 1981 Solidarity Day march in Washington, D.C. He holds an elected position in his local as the union's guard.

Warrick told reporters that the central idea of his campaign is that "city hall should be run in the interests of the working people, instead of for the bankers and businessmen."

A focus of the news conference was an explanation of new restrictive election laws in Indiana. Warrick noted that "in 1980 the state legislature quadrupled the number of signatures required to qualify an independent candidate. The legislature also moved the filing deadline from August to February."

He pointed out that the socialist campaign collected well over the 5,300 signatures required and filed them at the beginning of the filing period.

"In spite of all the undemocratic obstacles put in our way," he said, "we have complied with the law. Now we ask the county elections board to comply with the law as well. By signing our petitions,

9,600 working people have supported our right to a spot on the ballot. Will the elections board try to exclude us?"

Warrick also announced that several prominent individuals have endorsed the right of the socialist candidates to appear on the ballot. They include Chuck Depert, business representative for International Association of Machinists District 90; Lawrence Ryan, central Indiana coordinator for the Solidarity Day march; Elmer Blankenship of the United Auto Workers Region 3 staff; and Gene Ferguson, president of OCAW Local 7-706.

Other endorsers include Bill Crawford, a Black state representative; Paul O'Brien of the Committee for Peace in El Salvador; and Randall Sells of the Committee for Democracy in Latin America.

The news conference was covered by three television stations, four radio stations, and both daily newspapers. The two Black FM stations, WTLC and WGRT, focused on the socialist candidate's support for school desegregation, affirmative action, and prosecution of killer cops.