

Striking truck drivers stand up to media lies



Four members of Independent Truckers Association in South Kearny, New Jersey, give thumbs down to government tax hikes.

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

The trucking shutdown by independent owner-operators is strong in a number of areas, with highly visible actions and media reports of driver sentiment for the strike.

In some areas it is not so obvious; the only evidence of the shutdown is the reduced traffic at truck stops and terminals. Or the trucks with trailer doors rolled up to show they are empty.

There is strong support for the strike in St. Louis and Kansas City, as well as other areas, according to reporters for the *Militant*.

Sharp reductions in deliveries have been reported — down to 10 percent of normal at the Hunts Point produce market in New York City, for instance.

Everywhere, though, the shutdown that began January 31 is being talked about by truckers, whether they are independent owner-operators, union or nonunion drivers.

There were sizable meetings of drivers in Minneapolis, Toledo, Denver, and Cincinnati, where drivers discussed reaching out to other working people with the truth about their aims and methods, and how to

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Mass protest in Nicaragua hits U.S. troop threat

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Some 50,000 people raising clenched fists massed at the U.S. embassy here February 2 to protest the "Big Pine" military maneuvers by U.S. and Honduran troops just 15 kilometers north of Nicaragua's border.

U.S. officials said that the troop exercise will consist of Honduran soldiers attempting to repel an attack by the "Red Army." This is a thinly veiled cover for the actual point of the maneuvers: a dress rehearsal invasion of Nicaragua. The provocative exercises involve 1,600 U.S. soldiers and advisors in addition to 4,000 Honduran soldiers.

The demonstration here was in support of the Nicaraguan revolution and of revolutionaries all over Latin America.

It was led by the mothers of some of the 50,000 people who gave their lives in the revolution to overthrow U.S.-backed dictator Anastasio Somoza. The demonstrators shouted: "Nicaragua is a triumph that is consolidating; El Salvador, a revolution on the march; Guatemala, a people that will not surrender; Central America, a region that will conquer imperialism; Latin America, the tomb of imperialism."

The size of the demonstration — held after work — was particularly significant given the thousands of Managuans who have left the city to pick cotton or coffee, Nicaragua's two most important cash crops.

The turnout was also in response to recent attacks by Honduran troops — against both the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) in El Salvador and the revolution here in Nicaragua.

In El Salvador, on January 28, Radio Venceremos denounced the bombing of several rebel-controlled regions of Morazán Province by two Honduran A-37 jets and the entry of Honduran troops through the eastern border town of El Tafeite.

On Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast January 25, counterrevolutionaries attacked Cabo Viejo, situated only 20 kilometers from where the maneuvers are taking place. Although Sandinista soldiers beat back the attack, killing 29 *contras*, four Sandinista soldiers were gunned down in the fight.

The same day, in the northern province of Jinotega, *contras* ambushed an intercity bus, killing five Nicaraguan civilians — among them an eight-year-old girl and an 80-year-old man.

Four days later, in the north-central province of Matagalpa, eight unarmed agricultural cooperative members were gunned down as they began the day's labor. Three cooperative members were kidnapped and a fourth wounded.

Nicaraguans, surrounded by hostile governments on its borders, are expected to turn out in large numbers next week for the opening of the new session of militia practice.

Around the country, revolutionary nightwatch by neighborhood block associations has increased dramatically.

And with good reason.

As the revolution deepens, Nicaraguans have more to defend. Two signs of this came last week. The first was the announcement from the Agrarian Reform Institute that 350,000 more acres of land would be given to the *campesinos* in 1983. Second was the introduction of a housing bill that will eventually eliminate the landlord system and, in tens of thousands of cases, eliminate rent all together.

Salvadoran rebels take major city

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

"The war is not at its most brilliant point." These were the words of Julio Rey Prendes, a leading official of the Christian Democratic Party, as he described one of the most important victories to date for the Salvadoran liberation movement.

On January 31, an estimated 500 rebels of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) captured Berlín, the second largest city in Usulután Province, located 70 miles east of San Salvador. Berlín is the largest city captured by the FMLN in 39 months of fighting.

According to media reports, rebel forces encountered a minimum of resistance from government troops. However, during the fighting, U.S.-supplied A-37 fighter bombers and helicopters strafed and bombed the civilian population and were continuing to carry out such raids after the battle.

With the capture of Berlín, rebel forces now control one-third of the province, which is the major cotton producing region in the country, and a major producer of sugar and coffee.

Describing the impact of the rebel victory, the February 2 *New York Times* noted that "a Western source close to the Salvadoran Government said its members were viewing the situation with 'gravity' and were surprised at the strength of the leftist opposition."

The latest rebel gains come in the context of a drive launched January 18 by 7,000 government troops including elite U.S.-trained units in Morazán Province. The army counteroffensive is trying to dislodge the FMLN from the nearly 20 towns it holds in Morazán and two neighboring provinces — a 460-square mile area with 100,000 people. The rebels' radio station, Radio Venceremos, reported February 1 that the army offensive was bogged down and has suffered many casualties.

In addition, during the month of January, the FMLN took several towns and extended the zone under its control in Chalatenango Province, north of the capital, so far without the army being able to mount a counteroffensive.

And now the army has to cope with the new FMLN front in Usulután. According to the rebels, the province has always showed strong support for the FMLN.

This was verified by a rally of 1,500 people who turned out to hear FMLN Commander Ernesto Martínez in Berlín on February 2.

The cumulative effect of the political and military blows being dealt to the Salvadoran dictatorship is shown by:

- The important military victories of the FMLN, which is encountering increasingly weak resistance from government troops.
- Deep divisions in the military high command.
- Increasing demoralization both among the officers and rank-and-file soldiers of the government's armed forces.
- A renewed combativity of the trade union movement in the country's major cities.
- The increasing internal and interna-

tional isolation of the Salvadoran dictatorship.

After the October rebel offensive — during which government troops retreated with large portions of Chalatenango and Morazán provinces under the undisputed control of the FMLN — rebel forces launched another powerful offensive on January 8.

As part of this offensive, the FMLN captured the two most important military garrisons in northern Morazán. The 800 government troops stationed there disbanded and fled by different routes in a humiliating defeat for the government.

Describing the significance of the recent rebel victories, FMLN Commander Joaquín Villalobos reported, "The army of the dictatorship is very close to moral collapse."

The demoralization of the government troops can be gauged by the number of

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Salvadoran guerrilla leaders address rally in liberated city of Berlín February 1

Quebec workers battle antilabor decrees



Contingent from National Trade Union Confederation (CSN) at January 29 Common Front demonstration in Quebec City. CSN is one of three federations in Common Front.

Trade unions in English Canada extend solidarity to strikers

MONTREAL — In three previous Common Front struggles in Quebec since 1972, public service workers have set the pace that has been followed by other unions in Quebec itself and in English Canada. In 1979-80, for example, the Common Front won big advances in wages, paid maternity leave, and job security that stand as precedents for unions throughout Canada in the private and public sectors.

For that reason, there has been keen interest among many English Canadian unionists in the present Common Front struggle.

That interest was demonstrated in messages to the January 29 rally. Louis Laberge, head of the Quebec Labor Federation (FTQ), reported to demonstrators that dozens of messages of support had been received from unions in English Canada.

Robert White, Canadian director of the United Auto Workers, sent a telegram to Laberge pledging his solidarity. "Whether it is Chrysler workers in Windsor, municipal employees in Toronto, or hospital personnel in Montreal, we all confront the

same insecurity, the same deterioration of our living standards, the same enemies," White explained.

Dennis McDermott, head of the 2.3 million-member Canadian Labor Congress (CLC), which represents 300,000 Quebec workers through the FTQ, threw his support behind the Common Front.

"I used to have sympathy toward that [Parti Québécois] government — it was a breath of change," McDermott stated. "But this is outrageous — a great shock to see the PQ out-Torying the Tories and out-Liberalizing the Liberals."

The CLC leader added that through its heavy-handed treatment of 325,000 public service workers, the Quebec government was encouraging private industry employers to seek concessions from their employees as well.

The January 29 rally also heard solidarity greetings from the 400 participants at an Ontario New Democratic Party Women's Committee Conference. The NDP is the labor party based on the trade unions in Canada.

BY WILL REISSNER

QUEBEC CITY — In the midst of an illegal general strike, 40,000 Quebec trade unionists from the public sector staged a high-spirited, militant march to the National Assembly, Quebec's provincial parliament, January 29.

The demonstration and rally, one of the largest in Quebec City's history, was called to protest provincial decree laws that have cut public employees' wages by up to 20 percent and have gutted trade union rights, including the right to strike until 1985.

The marchers also called on Quebec's Prime Minister René Lévesque of the ruling Parti Québécois (PQ) to reopen negotiations with the Common Front. The Front is made up of three union federations representing about 250,000 of the provincial government's 325,000 employees.

The composition of the crowd reflected the makeup of Quebec's public service workers, 90 percent of whom are French-speaking and two-thirds of whom are women.

Ignoring temperatures well below freezing, the trade unionists danced through the streets singing militant union songs to traditional folk tunes.

One song asked: "Where are the special laws against the big bankers who close the factories, throwing people into the streets?"

The songs, blasted out through 40,000-watt speakers and taken up by tens of thousands of demonstrators, were so infectious that some of the police surrounding the National Assembly forgot themselves and began dancing in place. The previous day, police in a number of cities had broken through picket lines and arrested strikers.

Bitter, difficult fight

The high spirits of the massive crowd did not, however, mean that participants were oblivious to the bitter, difficult fight they face to defend their living standards and their unions from the fierce attack being leveled by Lévesque and the PQ government.

The front-page headline in the January 29 Montreal daily *La Presse* bluntly stated the government's position: "Facing the Illegal Strike, Quebec Will be Merciless."

Moreover, the newspapers reported the four-month and two-month jail sentences handed down the previous day to five leaders of Montreal's transit union who had led a 23-hour illegal strike last November. The transit union was also fined \$50,000.

The Common Front walkout began January 26 when teachers in the junior colleges left their posts. Each subsequent day, new contingents of public service workers joined the strike.

By the day of the rally, about 110,000

primary and secondary school teachers, daycare workers, and civil servants had already joined the picket lines.

The rally came at a decisive point in the general strike. On January 31, the Monday after the demonstration, tens of thousands of hospital workers were scheduled to walk out.

The Lévesque government has waged a huge campaign to try to break the unity of the Common Front and prevent the hospital workers from joining the strike. Lévesque warned that if the health-care workers walked out, special legislation of "unprecedented severity" would be rushed through Quebec's parliament within 24 hours.

Stiff fines

Even under existing legislation, every individual striker faces fines of \$25 to \$100 per day. Union leaders face penalties of \$1,000 to \$10,000 per day, and the unions themselves can be fined \$5,000 to \$50,000 per day while the strike goes on.

Quebec unions have a tradition of paying the fines members incur during strikes. But this takes a heavy toll on union finances. Following a one-day hospital strike last November 10, for example, one Common Front union paid fines totaling some \$4 million.

The PQ government warned that if the hospital workers joined the strike, special legislation would be rushed through mandating:

- Elimination of automatic checkoff of union dues and an end to the practice of giving workers leaves to conduct union business;
- Upon a return to work, forfeiture of one additional day's pay for every day a worker was on strike;
- Loss of seniority and job security rights after three days of a strike, opening the way to mass dismissals.

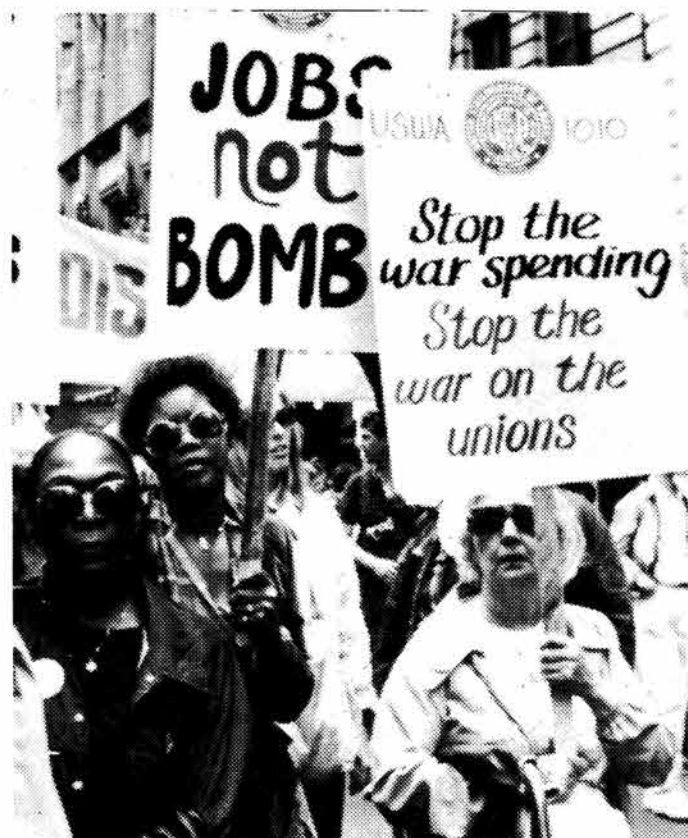
The threat of dismissal is a potent weapon in the Lévesque government's antiunion arsenal, since at least 15 percent of Quebec's workforce is already unemployed.

One young woman active in her community health-care center's union grievance committee told the *Militant* that her center's administrator had called in the union executive committee members to warn them that if the strike took place, all would permanently lose their jobs.

She noted, however, that 72 percent of her coworkers had voted to strike, feeling they had no choice. "The situation we face," she added, "can be understood from the fact that whereas before we always struck for a wage increase, we are now on strike demanding a wage freeze as against the government's huge cuts in our pay."

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Secretary of State Shultz (left), Reagan (center), and Vice-president Bush (right) try to line up imperialist allies for military buildup.

Reagan hangs tough on anti-Soviet missiles in Europe

BY DAVID FRANKEL

President Reagan proposed the biggest "peacetime" military budget in U.S. history January 31. He urged Congress to increase war spending from \$209 billion to \$239 billion — a leap of 14.4 percent in a single year.

At the same time, the U.S. rulers are demanding that their imperialist allies take over more of the burden of policing the world for big business. Secretary of State George Shultz, who arrived in Tokyo January 30, is twisting arms there, demanding that the Japanese ruling class increase its military spending. And also on January 30, Vice-president George Bush arrived in Western Europe with the same message.

From the viewpoint of the imperialist rulers, the need is urgent. Central America is aflame with revolution. New governments are leading the transition to socialism in Nicaragua and the Caribbean island of Grenada. Massive struggles of the oppressed in the Middle East and southern Africa continue to challenge imperialist domination in those regions, while in Southeast Asia all attempts to strangle the Vietnamese revolution have failed.

The capitalists are well aware that the worldwide economic crisis will inevitably provoke further revolutionary upsurges. Behind the massive military build-up being carried out by Reagan is the necessity for imperialism to fight new counterrevolutionary wars like the one in Vietnam.

Fight over new missiles

Roughly 90 percent of U.S. military spending is earmarked for conventional weapons and military units whose primary function is for use in places like the Middle East or Central America. The Pentagon's program for a 600-ship navy, the Rapid Deployment Force, and the B-1 bomber all fall into this category.

The billions earmarked for nuclear arms also fit in with the plans for war against the colonial revolution. Israel's invasion of Lebanon, South Africa's attacks on Angola and Mozambique, and Washington's undeclared war in Central America are all carried out under the protection of U.S. nuclear weapons.

It is in this context that a major political battle has developed in Western Europe over the NATO plan to deploy 572 new nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union. Huge demonstrations over the past year and a half have repeatedly protested the new U.S. missiles. With installation of the missiles scheduled to begin before the end of 1983, the issue has become a central one in West Germany, Britain, the Netherlands, and Belgium.

Resistance to the missiles in particular and the imperialist militarization drive in general has been heightened by the economic crisis. Working people in the imperialist countries are facing the kind of attacks that have not been seen since the 1930s. Tens of millions are out of work. Homes and farms are being lost. Wages and social programs are being cut. But the capitalist rulers demand that human needs be sacrificed on the altar of increased military spending.

In West Germany, Chancellor Helmut Kohl is running scared in the parliamentary elections set for March 6. Kohl's rightist government, which replaced a coalition led by the Socialist Democracy Party of Ger-

many (SPD) in September, is pledged to take a total of 204 missiles.

Although the SPD backed the missile deployment while it was in office, the issue deeply divided the party. Now that the SPD is in opposition, it is making effective use of the arms issue against Kohl.

"Two-thirds of the West Germans who responded to the latest surveys were against the missiles," R. Gerald Livingstone reported in the January 28 *New York Times*.

Of the 204 missiles slated for West Germany, 108 are Pershing II missiles that would be deployed only there. The Pershings are capable of delivering nuclear warheads deep inside the Soviet Union in no more than six minutes. The cruise missiles, which NATO plans to deploy in Britain, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy, as well as West Germany, are much slower. They are designed to avoid detection by hugging the ground at a height of 50 to 200 feet.

British unions call protest

In Britain, annual Labor Party conferences since 1979 have voted against the missile program and in favor of unilateral British nuclear disarmament. Britain's labor federation, the Trades Union Congress, has now taken the same position. The Labor Party and TUC have jointly called for a mass demonstration in August to mark the anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

As in Germany, hundreds of thousands have already demonstrated against the missiles in Britain. Tory Prime Minister Thatcher, moreover, must call elections by May 1984 at the latest.

Opposition also runs deep in Belgium and the Netherlands, each of which are to take 48 cruise missiles under the NATO plan. Some 400,000 people demonstrated against the missiles in Amsterdam in November 1981.

The imperialists have a big stake in this fight. Ever since the first atomic bombs were dropped in August 1945 on President Truman's order, Washington has used its nuclear might as a club against anti-imperialist struggles around the world, and against Soviet attempts to aid those struggles.

As *Newsweek* magazine noted in its January 31 issue, the 112 cruise missiles "intended for Sicily would be of more use in attacking the Middle East than the Soviet Union."

U.S. military pressure against the Soviet Union, however, is very real. The same issue of *Newsweek* pointed out that for Soviet leaders the deployment of the new missiles "[threatens] the emplacement of unstoppable weapons within easy reach of" the USSR.

The Soviet Union has been the victim of two major imperialist invasions since the October 1917 revolution. It is still encircled by imperialist military bases and — since the end of World War II — with nuclear weapons. This continues to impose a very heavy economic burden on the Soviet workers state. The size of the Soviet economy is only about 55 percent that of the U.S. economy, making it necessary for the Soviet Union to spend a higher percentage of its production to match Washington's military outlays. The imbalance is even greater when the Western European imperialists are added into the equation. They

far outweigh the Eastern European workers states in economic and military power.

Furthermore, although all arms spending is wasteful from the point of view of human needs, it is among the most profitable forms of business for the imperialist corporations. The working class pays for the weapons through taxes. In the case of the Soviet economy, the burden also falls on the working class, but no sector of society is enriched by military spending.

By exerting military and economic pressure on the workers states, the U.S. rulers and their NATO allies try to minimize the aid that those states provide to countries and peoples attempting to throw off the imperialist yoke.

But no less important is the imperialist political offensive that goes along with the military and economic pressure on the workers states.

Washington needs 'Soviet threat'

It is politically impossible for the U.S. ruling class to state its real reasons for fighting wars like the one it fought in Vietnam. Working people are not willing to lay down their lives for the profits of the big banks and corporations.

Washington's rationale for maintaining half a million troops and some 2,500 military installations around the world is that these are necessary to contain "Soviet expansionism." Thus, U.S. policymakers talk about independent countries of all kinds, from Cuba to Ethiopia, from Syria to Angola, as "proxies" for the Soviet Union. The same argument is used in regard to revolutionary struggles such as the one in El Salvador today.

But the policies of capitalist militarism and austerity are running into greater and greater resistance both at home and abroad. The scope and intensity of the opposition to

the missiles has created a big problem for the ruling classes in West Germany, Britain, and the Netherlands in particular.

After the first round of massive protests against the missiles in the autumn of 1981, Reagan tried to defuse the opposition movement by proposing his so-called zero option plan. Reagan demanded that the USSR dismantle all of its intermediate-range missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union. In return NATO would not deploy its 572 new missiles. This, according to Reagan, would mean the complete elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles in Europe.

Left out of Reagan's count were 162 French and British missiles pointed at the USSR.

Yuri Andropov, the new Soviet leader, offered December 21 to cut the number of intermediate-range missiles maintained by the USSR in Europe from more than 600 to 162, to match the British and French figure. Andropov's proposal for stopping deployment of the new NATO missiles was favorably received by activists in the anti-missiles movement in Europe. This is putting pressure on government officials in Western Europe to propose a compromise with the USSR.

Franz Josef Strauss, representing the right wing of West Germany's main bourgeois party, called the zero option proposal "unreachable and absurd" a few days before the arms talks reopened. Even Margaret Thatcher, previously Reagan's staunchest supporter, began to hedge her support for the zero option position. Speaking in Parliament January 18, Thatcher said, "One hopes to achieve the zero option, but in the absence of that, we must achieve balanced numbers."

There was a different reaction in Wash-

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Labor leader from El Salvador to address N.Y.-N.J. unionists

BY ARIS HARAS

NEW YORK — Alejandro Molina Lara, a trade union leader from El Salvador, is to speak in New York City Friday, February 11, at 8:00 p.m. at the Marc Ballroom at 27 Union Square West.

The meeting is part of a February 5-11 tour in the New York-northern New Jersey area for Molina Lara, who is a leader of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) and general secretary of the Fishing Industry Union.

In an effort to enlist support by American workers in the fight against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, Molina Lara is to speak to trade unionists in the New York area.

He will address a forum sponsored by the national and New York Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador. He will also speak to United Electrical Workers (UE) shop stewards in Paterson, New Jersey; the state executive board, New Jersey Industrial Union Council; the joint board of the Fur, Leather, and Machine Workers; and UE leaders in New York City. On the last day of the tour he will address a conference sponsored by the Women's Affirmative Action Committee of the New Jersey Industrial Union Council.

Molina Lara will also speak at a number of campus meetings, including Queens College, New York, on Tuesday, February 8, at 1:00 p.m.; William Patterson State College, Wayne, New Jersey, on February 9 at 2:00 p.m.; Princeton University, New Jersey, on February 9 at 8:30 p.m.; City College of New York, February 10 at 4:00 p.m.; and the same day at Rutgers University, Newark, at 7:30 p.m.

At a number of these meetings, Molina Lara is to show videotapes on Salvadoran refugees, attacks on unions in his country, and other aspects of the U.S.-supported war against Salvadoran workers and farmers.

Molina Lara is helping to publicize a petition demanding the release of leaders of the Electrical Workers Union in El Salvador, imprisoned since August 1980 for participating in a 1979 general strike.

The petition is already being circulated in New York by members of Transport Workers Union Local 100 and others.

The tour by the Salvadoran trade union leader is sponsored by the Molina Lara Tour Committee, which can be reached at the New York University Loeb Student Center, Room 814. Telephone (212) 598-3046.

Aims of World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador

Interview with Executive Secretary Andres Fabregas

The following is an interview with Andrés Fabregas, executive secretary of the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador. Fabregas explains the origins and goals of the World Front; its plans for organizing solidarity activity in the United States and internationally; and the advance marked for the fight against U.S. intervention in El Salvador by the actions held throughout the world on January 22. The interview was obtained in Spanish in Mexico City by Andrea González, correspondent for *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Question. What is the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador?

Answer. In order to explain what the World Front is, we need to refer back to some earlier developments that led up to its formation.

In 1980, when the Revolutionary Coordinating Committee of the Masses (CRM) was set up in El Salvador as the first body that unified all the mass organizations in struggle against the dictatorship, there was also a qualitative step forward in the solidarity movement. It was now possible to

point to the CRM as a united vanguard of the Salvadoran people.

In mid-1981, an international gathering of solidarity committees was held in Mexico City. A great many committees from throughout the world sent representatives to this meeting. I think some 42 committees responded to the call.

Committees even came from as far away as Australia, the Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, and France, as well as the United States. Practically all the countries in Latin America sent delegations.

That First International Gathering of Committees in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador was a success. From that meeting came the idea of setting up a broader coordinating committee for international solidarity.

Moreover, the fact that the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) had been founded was very important. Later, the alliance between the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the FMLN also inspired solidarity throughout the world.

The first international gathering ratified the principles of solidarity work. These are: unity, unconditional solidarity, and

recognition of the FMLN-FDR as not only the vanguard of the process, but also the sole legitimate representative of the Salvadoran people. These principles were widely publicized, and coordinated actions were held for the first time. All this brought together social and political elements that pointed toward something still more ambitious.

Broad spectrum

The composition of those who attended the first international gathering was quite important. There were the active solidarity forces, but there were also many political currents, a really broad spectrum. From that experience we became convinced that it was indeed possible to do solidarity work in a broad way, that this principle should be encouraged and respected by the solidarity movement. This means that everyone belongs in the movement of solidarity so long as they accept these basic political principles: that the FMLN-FDR is the sole legitimate representative of the Salvadoran people, unconditional solidarity, and united solidarity.

By 1982 the situation had matured. The FMLN-FDR refined a plan that was broadly discussed with solidarity committees. The plan was to build a world front in solidarity with the Salvadoran people that could bring together the worldwide movement of the peoples with the Salvadoran people. This is quite important: the World Front is not a formation for doing diplomatic work, but rather the body that brings together the solidarity of the peoples at the international level.

The conclusion we came to was that specialized organizations of solidarity with the Salvadoran people were not the only ones that should be in this front, but rather that it should be as broad as possible. It should include all political forces that were willing to back unconditionally the struggle of the people of El Salvador. In that sense, this is an experience that is practically unheard of in solidarity movements with peoples in struggle.

At the end of March 1982, the assembly to launch the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador was held in Mexico. A great many political forces and organizations attended. It was really an impressive gathering.

There were all kinds of forces represented. Without fear of exaggerating, I would say that all the political forces active today on the international scene were represented there. From that assembly came the principles that govern the World Front that I spoke of earlier.

So what is the World Front?

It is a coordinating body for the solidarity movement at the international level. It is not the political leadership of the solidarity movement, because that is in the hands of the compañeros of the FMLN-FDR themselves. But it is a very important body for coordinating all solidarity work.

It is a body where all the political forces that are willing to lend solidarity to the people of El Salvador come together.

It is a body that fully respects the autonomy of each force that belongs to it. But at the same time, it is the expression of the fact that it is indeed possible for the solidarity movement to be united, that international coordination of this movement is possible.

To make such coordination effective, a team of people was set up with the responsibility to coordinate the work of the World Front. This team has two levels — first, the broad team formed by the Standing Bureau of the World Front. This is made up of 18 figures who have been very much involved in solidarity with the Salvadoran people. The other level is the Executive Secretariat, which has the concrete task of ensuring that the decisions made by the World Front are respected and that the front's plans of action are carried out. It also sees that the news bulletin of the World Front comes out more or less regularly.

Q. What gains have been made by the international solidarity movement?

A. The World Front is itself a gain for the solidarity movement.

If one looks at the composition of the World Front, one is surprised by the breadth of the forces that belong to it — forces that in other situations have never come to agreement. Forces that are even antagonistic come together in the World Front as an expression of the will of the peoples to oppose the imperialist system.

Religious figures come together in the World Front — not just Catholics but a broad range of religions. All kinds of political forces from all existing spectrums come together in the front (except for fascist forces and proimperialist forces, of course). Revolutionary forces of all kinds come together with democratic forces in the World Front. That is a big step forward.

Second, the existence of the World Front has made it possible to move forward in coordinating pressure on governments to get them to take a position against U.S. imperialist aggression.

Inside the United States, the World Front is becoming known. We are convinced that a broad range of forces in the United States will join the World Front and build it once they know what it is and what its aims are.

In Mexico, the World Front has been fundamental for revitalizing the solidarity movement. The Mexican Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, which is the most important such body in Mexico, together with the National Standing Forum in Solidarity With the Salvadoran Revolution, belong to the World Front. These organizations have been strengthened since the formation of the World Front.

Finally, a clear example of the potential of the World Front and of the progress it represents, is the level of coordination that was achieved in the January 22 demonstrations that just took place. There were marches and rallies in many places throughout the world.

One other important thing was demonstrated — the international solidarity movement has great sympathy for the people of the United States. We think this was expressed concretely in the border caravan organized by the Mexican Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador in response to the call of the World Front. The caravan met up at the border with groups of people from the United States, and a joint rally was held.

For us, that is very important. It should be clear to the American people that the solidarity movement has great sympathy for their struggles. And that is another step forward, because it has educated our peoples on how to differentiate clearly the imperialist, criminal, and genocidal attitude of Reagan from the traditions of struggle of the American people. It has been made clear internationally that just as our own peoples are the victims of aggression, so too are the American people under attack.

U.S. working people

Q. How does the World Front see the solidarity offered by the people of the United States?

A. At the international level, our peoples have understood that there is a tradition of struggle among the American people. In this sense the World Front values highly the solidarity of U.S. working people.

Why do we place such value on this solidarity? Because we know that they are the strategic force that can change the conditions of life of the American people. As the strategic force in U.S. society, the labor movement needs to be well informed about imperialist aggression against other peoples.

With all its social power, it is the U.S.

Officials of UAW, ACTWU, IAM condemn U.S. aid to Salvador

NATIONAL LABOR COMMITTEE IN SUPPORT OF DEMOCRACY AND HUMAN RIGHTS IN EL SALVADOR

15 Union Square
New York, NY 10003
(212) 242-0700

January 19, 1983

The Honorable Charles H. Percy, Jr.
Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510

Dear Senator Percy:

The International Security and Development Assistance Act of 1981, which provides economic and military aid to El Salvador, requires that the President of the United States must certify every six months that the government of El Salvador is "making a concerted and significant effort to comply with internationally recognized human rights".

Recently, there has been much publicity about the failure of the government of El Salvador to prosecute those responsible for the murder of AFL-CIO representatives and U.S. church women. U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton, a long time defender of the current government, said in November of 1982, that if the Salvadorean court system is going to let the killers of American citizens off scot-free, then it was time for him to speak up. It is now time for the United States Congress to speak up as well.

In October of 1982, fifteen Salvadoreans were abducted by terror squads, ten of them labor leaders representing teachers, garment workers and professionals. They join a long list of detained and "disappeared". A 1982 report to the United Nations General Assembly, prepared by the Special Rapporteur appointed by the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, concluded that there has been a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights since 1979. The report goes on to cite the executive and judicial branches of El Salvador's Government as adopting an attitude of passivity and inactivity toward the violations.

Further, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights in its report to the General Assembly of the Organization of American States singled out El Salvador as one of two countries where summary execution was still a daily routine procedure.

To certify human rights progress in the midst of these ongoing violations is to cynically flaunt the truth. We urge you to put an end to this deteriorating policy. We urge your support of all the legislation which calls for an internationally sponsored cease-fire and negotiated settlement, the declaration of the President's certification of human rights progress as null and void, and the termination of all military aid to El Salvador.

Sincerely,

Douglas A. Fraser
President
International Union,
United Automobile,
Aerospace and
Agricultural Implement
Workers of America, UAW

Jack Sheinkman
Secretary-Treasurer
Amalgamated Clothing
& Textile Workers
Union

William W. Winpisinger
President
International Association
of Machinists & Aerospace
Workers

Co-chairs

Letter reproduced above indicates potential to involve labor in campaign against U.S. intervention in El Salvador. National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador can be reached at 15 Union Sq., New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone (212) 242-0700.



At left, March 1982 assembly in Mexico City to launch World Front. Right, January 22 demonstration in Mexico City in solidarity with people of El Salvador. Nuclear power workers banner at far right.

labor movement that can hold back and halt once and for all the imperialist aggression. It is the strategic force in solidarity work. I would dare say that this is the case not only for the American people but also on a world scale. They are the strategic force. The American workers are the ones who have to understand that their strength, their intelligence, their sweat, their labor, must not be used to kill, to commit these tremendous genocidal attacks that the Salvadoran government commits with the arms provided by Reagan's government.

The U.S. labor movement, once it understands this — and we are certain that it will understand — will again rise up as it did against the war in Vietnam. We are certain that it will be the strategic force that, together with the struggle of the Salvadoran people, will stop intervention.

And if we add to this the world spectrum of solidarity, we think the prospects are very good.

The U.S. working class is quite complex — it comes from a variety of ethnic origins and is also made up of oppressed minorities. The working class cannot be reduced simply to the workers in the factories; it permeates the entire structure of U.S. society.

Chicanos, Blacks, Indians

The specially oppressed groups are also strategic in solidarity work. We believe that the World Front has many possibilities for growth there as well — among groups of Chicanos, among Black groups, among the North American Indians who have been deprived of their land and cultural identity. This cannot be reduced simply to the Chicanos, the Indians, and the Latin Americans, but must extend to the whole range of oppressed groups, of the poor in the United States — that is where the vitality of the solidarity of the U.S. people comes from.

We are certain that those are the strategic sectors for solidarity work, and that the World Front must be built there as well. This powerful force for the transformation of American society should be included in solidarity work.

Q. Could you say something about the campaign for the University of El Salvador?

A. The National University of El Salvador is an institution that has been systematically attacked by the dictatorship, not only in recent times, but during its entire history. And that is for one reason — the university has always been linked to the struggles of the people.

Today the university is closed down physically. The campaign has the aim of showing that although the university's facilities are closed, the university itself is alive. This big international campaign consists in enrolling people in the University of El Salvador. Those who enroll pay tuition in solidarity with it. This allows the university to stay alive.

The university authorities have also made agreements with many other universities. For example, there is an agreement with the Autonomous Metropolitan University of Mexico whereby Salvadoran students can take courses there as though they were studying at the University of El Salvador.

Q. Could you talk a little about the workers' movement in El Salvador?

A. To keep this brief but at the same time not skip an essential reference point, I am going to mention only one fundamental date, 1932. In that year a popular insurrection by the workers and peasants took place in El Salvador. There was a horrible massacre. Around 30,000 persons died, repressed by a fierce dictatorship that was truly blind to history.

The blow was tremendous, but from that time on the Salvadoran people began to seek new forms of organization. Little by little, in the 1940s, the Salvadoran workers' movement began to reorganize. Trade-union activity was revitalized, until by the 1960s the workers' movement in El Salvador had fully recovered.

There now exists, for example, the Trade-Union Unity Committee (CUS), which brings together the entire workers' movement and which has had a fundamental role in supporting the struggle of the Salvadoran people. The CUS is one of the pillars of this struggle. There is also the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS), which is the union federation at the national level. It has also had an outstanding role. It is no accident that at this moment many of the leaders of FENASTRAS are in jail.

What is the crime of these jailed compañeros, according to the dictatorship? Above all, to have led the big national strikes in 1980 that served as a point of support for both the armed and democratic movements of El Salvador. These were extraordinary high points in the struggle of the Salvadoran people.

It is not true to say that the workers' movement is now in retreat. On the contrary, there is a revitalization of the workers' movement, which is being expressed in demands raised by the trade unions against the regime of President Alvaro Magaña, as well as in the repression with which the regime has responded, and also in the really massive participation of the workers' movement in all forms of popular struggle.

The fact that the FMLN can operate securely in San Salvador [the capital] is a demonstration of the support the workers' movement gives the struggle of the Salvadoran people.

I think that at this moment the workers' movement in El Salvador is playing a really strategic role, and I would even say that in a very short time, as the victory draws near, the workers' movement is going to be decisive. The workers' organizations have not been destroyed. The unions still exist, the coordinating bodies among the national unions still exist, and there is day-to-day political activity by the workers at the side of the Salvadoran people.

Campaigns of World Front

Q. What are the campaigns of the World Front?

A. At present we have an ongoing campaign of mass mobilization. In this sense the World Front sees the plans in each country as part of its own solidarity work. As for mass mobilization, two essential dates were set for the world movement. One already took place, January 22. We are now working to put together another

big mobilization for next October 10, which is the anniversary of the founding of the FMLN-FDR. Between these two dates a great many mass actions are going to be held as part of the World Front's programs, but these will not necessarily be coordinated at the international level, because it is difficult to get all countries to coincide.

There is also an ongoing press campaign. We have a bulletin that we are working to improve. This bulletin ought to reflect the broad potential for solidarity with the Salvadoran people. We are working to increase its circulation and to make it better known internationally.

Third, there are the financial campaigns, which have two aims: to support the work of the World Front; and to enable the World Front to aid the struggle of the Salvadoran people.

Together with all this the World Front has various meetings set for its coordinating committee to evaluate the work and

suggest new ideas.

There will be a meeting of the Executive Secretariat of the World Front soon to discuss the problems of solidarity work and how to bring greater pressure on governments by the peoples to get them to express clearly — without hedging — their stance against imperialist aggression. We think that it is also possible to hold a meeting of the Standing Bureau around the middle of the year, as well as to see when to hold another assembly of the entire World Front.

That will depend greatly on the state of the struggle inside El Salvador, which is now quite favorable. The Salvadoran army is practically in retreat, the FMLN is advancing, the Salvadoran people are gaining a higher level of consciousness, and in that sense the World Front is also making gains, as the expression of the worldwide movement in solidarity with the people of El Salvador.

Thousands march January 22 in Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua

BY ANDREA GONZÁLEZ

Thousands of Cubans marched January 22 in response to the call of the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador for international actions against U.S. intervention.

The demonstrations were held all over Cuba, municipality by municipality, organized through the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution (CDRs). The CDRs are the fundamental organizational units of the revolution, carrying out tasks ranging from defense to serving, for example, as the base of the militias and People's Power — the system of workers democracy in Cuba.

The demonstrations involved people from all the Cuban mass organizations. In addition, people from Africa, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Puerto Rico who are living in Cuba joined in, bearing their own national flags.

Demonstrators chanted "We are armed in order to conquer peace" and carried banners and placards with slogans supporting the people of El Salvador and Nicaragua. They stood in the rain to hear representatives of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front speak.

The Cubans were not the only ones who came out to show their solidarity with the people of El Salvador. In Hanoi, there was a demonstration of Vietnamese January 22, and there were rallies the same day in the major cities of Nicaragua's Pacific Coast.

Actions were also organized in Panama, Venezuela, Peru, France, Holland, Switzerland, Spain. In Australia, 10,000 marched. Protests also took place in Tijuana, Mexico; and San Ysidro, California, at the U.S.-Mexico border.

Twenty thousand marched in Mexico City. The action, organized by the Mexican Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, was an example of the kind of broad movement that can be built against U.S. intervention.

Participating in the Mexico City action were contingents from unions representing nuclear power workers, telephone work-

ers, teachers, and construction workers. There were neighborhood contingents, high school contingents, and contingents of women's coalitions. Hondurans and Guatemalans joined the demonstration, as well as North Americans living in Mexico City.

Demonstrators saw themselves as defending not only the people of El Salvador, but Cuba and Nicaragua as well. Among the most popular chants were "If Nicaragua won, El Salvador will win!"; "Cuba sí, yanqui no!"; and "Che, we remember: one, two, three Vietnams!"

These and other chants interrupted speakers from El Salvador, Mexico, and Nicaragua when they explained that the imperialist threat anywhere in the region threatens the entire region.

World Front bulletin

FRENTE MUNDIAL
DE SOLIDARIDAD CON EL PUEBLO SALVADOREÑO
mayo 1982 boletín número cero



Bulletin of World Front in Solidarity With People of El Salvador, in Spanish, can be ordered from El Frente Mundial de Solidaridad con El Pueblo Salvadoreño, Hacienda de Corlome 51, Col. Floresta-Coyacán, C.P. 14310 Mexico. Enclose a donation to help defer costs.



Bill Scheffer, vice-president of Independent Truckers Association

Overdrive

Truckers stand up to lies

Continued from front page

counter the lies spread by the media.

As a result, the truckers' strike is winning support from workers in other industries and from family farmers, who are also under attack from the employers and the government. This support demonstrates that all working people have a stake in the truckers' strike.

In Denver and Minneapolis, truckers have held motorcades, and are planning more.

In St. Louis, truckers parked 40 rigs across the freeway from where President Reagan was appearing, to protest the federal tax bill he signed a few weeks ago. This measure will add, they estimate, up to \$5,000 per trucker per year to the taxes they must pay.

The law, supposedly passed to fund highway construction and repair, includes a nickel-a-gallon tax increase on all fuels. It also sharply raises taxes on new trucks and truck parts.

These increases come on top of the effects of the recession and rate-cutting induced by "deregulation" of the trucking industry. This, truckers say, will drive many of them out of business.

In Los Angeles, a mostly Black group of drivers told *Militant* correspondent Vivian Sahner that they often have to wait two or three weeks to get a load because of the recession.

Even so, many of them were refusing loads to honor the shutdown.

There, as elsewhere, there were no pickets or placards. "Drivers just can't make money with the new taxes," Sahner said, "so they figured they might as well not run."

Truckers also pointed out how the government and carriers are working together against the Teamsters, the dominant union in the industry.

Prior to deregulation, they said, they had gotten \$800 for trips to the Bay Area; nonunion companies now pay \$400 to \$450.

Other drivers pointed out that if the government succeeds in quelling the truckers' protests, the large carriers will be emboldened to demand further concessions in wages and working conditions from the Teamsters. This is on top of big concessions made to the employers a year ago.

Sahner also reported that drivers at the huge Ontario truck stop near Los Angeles say that cops have noticeably stepped up harassment of truckers in the last few weeks.

The 100,000 or more independent truckers haul 90 percent of the nation's fresh food and half of its steel. Most of the independents own their own tractors, but generally haul trailers provided by one of the big transport companies.

In 1973-74 and 1979, independent truckers struck to protest high fuel prices charged by the oil monopolies. During those actions the big employers and the kept press tried to pit the independents

against the Teamsters. They are attempting this divide-and-rule approach again.

This is expressed by the media across the nation, but perhaps nowhere so crudely as in the *Wall Street Journal*, which quoted a broker for the carriers as saying, "We look for a flare-up between the Teamsters and the independents."

Connected to this, the employers and the media are waging a gigantic campaign to violence-bait the shutdown. So far one death, two serious injuries, and many shootings are being blamed on the truckers. This is in spite of the fact that truckers' associations everywhere in the country have publicly stated that they do not advocate violence.

"It's just like the Tylenol scare," said one driver at a Denver meeting. "They report violence, and somebody who's crazy does something, and then they blame our strike."

But the truckers are not blockading anyone at truck stops or elsewhere. They are rather trying to win people over by talking to them.

At a truck stop in Fultonville, New York, a trucker explained to *Militant* reporter Larry Lane those who benefited from violence.

"It's the Pinkertons, or the railroads [which are seen as especially gaining from the tax and regulation changes], or the Federal Bureau of Investigation," the driver said.

He and a friend were traveling to Florida by car on the interstates to spread news of the shutdown.

The truckers also believe — correctly — that the media are trying to portray their shutdown as ineffective, in order to prevent it from spreading. This line came from the employers and the government, said a driver in Minneapolis at a meeting of 700 truckers.

"They'll try to paint a picture," he said, "that truckers are really running, even though most of us aren't."

Colo. farmers back drivers

The following is a news release being sent out by the Colorado chapter of the American Agriculture Movement, after a state meeting January 29 that was addressed by representatives of the Independent Truckers Association.

The American farmers, the labor movement, and the independent truckers face a common problem and a common enemy. Our government is insensitive to our needs and is serving the interests of the banks and big corporations.

The economic crisis is costing us our jobs and our means of livelihood. We had no part in creating the crisis, yet we are expected to pay for it through higher taxes, wage cuts, and sky-high interest rates.

The farmer today receives less for a bushel of wheat than in the 1940s, yet our costs have skyrocketed. We only ask for 100-percent parity in the marketplace. American agriculture is the world's largest industry. We export record tonnages. At the same time we are facing record numbers of foreclosures. When the farmer suffers, the entire economy suffers.

The working person is facing the biggest

Truck leader tells how tax bill hurts

BY NEWTON BROWN

BREEZEWOOD, Pa. — At a Union 76 truck stop at midnight on January 31, virtually nothing was happening.

There were no more than five trucks parked, and fewer than half a dozen people were inside the all-night diner.

This is good news. As a spokesperson for the Independent Truckers Association (ITA) told us, the strike by owner-operators was at the outset nearly 100-percent effective in the Breezewood area.

The ITA office here is the home of Bill and Grace Scheffer. Bill Scheffer, national ITA vice-president, has been a trucker for 37 years — 27 as a member of the Teamsters union, and 10 as an owner-operator.

Scheffer was detained east of Breezewood that morning by two state troopers who shoved him around and emptied out his car.

He complained about the extra taxes in a bill passed by Congress and signed into law by President Reagan, which brought on the shutdown.

"Our best weapon so far has been our three-page summary of the bill," Scheffer said. "I wondered why Sen. Howard Baker wouldn't allow us to see a copy, until I looked at it."

Even without the new taxes, he went on, truckers need 216 permits, from all states, if they drive coast to coast.

"In Europe, even in Eastern Europe," Scheffer pointed out, "there's only one permit required for travel throughout the entire continent. Here, in our so-called democracy, you have 216 permits. It's stupid. They tell us this is the most progressive system ever devised by man. I'm not so sure about that any more."

"You can't buy a truck unless you're a property owner," Scheffer told us. "First you have to put your house up for collateral. So these taxes will cause people to

lose their homes, their jobs, and their trucks, in one fell swoop."

Right now the largest truck financier in the country has a repossession rate that's gone up 900 percent in the last 24 months, according to Scheffer. The banks won't touch loans for trucks.

Also in the bill are search-and-seizure provisions that are in violation of the U.S. Constitution, he told us, and penalties of up to \$500 for record-keeping violations.

"If a trucker is one day behind in his log-book, he can be fined \$500," Scheffer explained. "A bad tire for two days can result in a \$20,000 fine."

The net effect of this bill he feels, "would be to eliminate independent trucking altogether. Running through all this like a red thread are the rail owners' interests, and what they stand to gain by the destruction of trucking. Now, for the first time, railroads can buy trucking companies."

"This was decreed by Congress the same day it passed this tax bill, which was authored by former Transportation Secretary Drew Lewis — a former trustee of the Reading Railroad."

The ITA has long seen a common bond with independent farmers. Scheffer says he rode in the lead tractor in the American Agriculture Movement's tractorcade in Washington, D.C., in 1979.

"We blocked the 14th Street bridge," he said. "It was the biggest traffic jam Washington has ever seen."

More than a dozen Teamsters union locals have called in to offer their support, Scheffer reported. "We've had phone calls of support by Teamster local presidents who said they've told their members not to cross our picket lines. Many individual Teamsters say they're not going to drive beyond the first truck stop."

Local officers of the auto workers and steelworkers unions have also offered support, Scheffer added.

Ohio truckers organizing

BY DEAN ELDER

FREMONT, Ohio — Nearly 300 angry owner-operators met here at the United Workers Local 959 hall January 30 to organize their participation in the nationwide trucking shutdown. The group had voted three weeks earlier to join the protest.

The truckers heard reports on similar meetings around the country. Then they began to hammer out a platform of demands to raise against the government.

Many speakers pointed out that the main issue is not simply the new five-cent-a-gallon-gas tax, as the mass media often claim. Nor is it the 55-miles-per-hour speed limit.

One trucker said, "That would only mean we'd get to go broke faster."

Rather, the truckers want relief from the entire new tax burden that will be imposed on them by the federal tax hike law. And they want an end to the trucking deregulation that is putting them out of business.

Virginia Jenkins from Erie, Michigan, explained what the new law will mean for her and her husband based on their 1982 costs. Just her road-use taxes will jump by 667 percent on top of the higher fuel and excise taxes.

She explained that she hadn't taken part in previous shutdowns but, "I just can't take it anymore. No more!" She was met by stormy applause and cheers of "Send her to Washington!" One trucker said, "We ought to run her for Congress."

Indeed, later in the meeting, Jenkins was elected unanimously to a committee being sent to Washington to negotiate with government officials. She was also elected to the area steering body. Jenkins replaced a male trucker on that body who tried to speak against the shutdown. He was unceremoniously jeered out of office when a trucker said, "Why don't you just get out of that chair and let that woman take it?"

The truckers know this will be a hard fight, but they are determined. Many feel they have nothing to lose since they won't be able to make a living or keep their rights if they don't stop the government now.

There was an awareness that truckers are not the only victims of the government and big corporations. As one explained, "This affects everyone, not just truckers — the farmers, the small shopkeepers, everyone."

And another person got big applause when he described the solidarity that the American Agriculture Movement (AAM), a nationwide protest organization of family farmers, is giving to the independent truckers. The AAM endorsed the shutdown at its national convention in January.

Subscribe to the Militant

Steelworker in Gary is running for mayor

BY JON HILLSON

GARY, Ind. — "Hi, my name's Marie Head and I'm running for mayor of Gary as a socialist," says the young woman to workers rushing out of U.S. Steel's Gary Works. Head, the Socialist Workers Party candidate, signed up dozens of steelworkers to put her name on the November ballot.

Petitioning for ballot status at plant gates, unemployment lines, union meetings, and street corners, supporters of Head's campaign collected 2,300 signatures in the first nine days of their ballot drive. One campaign supporter who works at U.S. Steel's coke plant signed up 25 coworkers.

Gary, with a 70 percent Black population, has thousands of steelworkers laid-off. Unemployment among Black youth stands at a staggering 88 percent.

Head is a laid-off motor inspector at U.S. Steel's Gary Works. She is in her third layoff in less than six years.

Standing at the U.S. Steel gate, Head tells one worker, "The government spends billions on war. We could use that money to create jobs."

"There's not one Democrat or Republican who says steelworkers shouldn't take a cut in pay," she says to another worker. "Why? We didn't create this economic mess. With all the wealth working people create in this city, we could put every young person to work and provide them with a decent education."

The current mayor of Gary is Richard Hatcher, a Democrat who gained the national spotlight in 1967 by becoming the first Black mayor of a large American city. But his appeal has been eroded by the economic crisis that's destroying the lives of working people here.

"The Democrats and Republicans are responsible for the shape we're in," Head says as she shakes hands. "When push comes to shove, they always side with the companies. We can't fight back by voting for our enemies."

Outside the Washington Street unemployment offices, a steady trickle of laid-off steelworkers, overwhelmingly Black, sign petitions.

A laid-off steelworker in his mid-fifties returns to talk to Head after his weekly trip to the unemployment office. "Don't forget the banks," he tells her, "they've ripped us off too."

Head tells a group of young people about a December news conference where Mayor Hatcher brought a Selective Service System official in to urge youth here to register for the draft.

"If I were mayor," Head says, "I'd use my office to defend the young men who refuse to register." There are nods of agreement.

Three young women, all laid-off hospital workers, are inspired by meeting a woman running for office. "More power to the women," one of the young Blacks says.

Head is well-known in the labor movement here as a socialist and union activist. She is a former officer of both the Calumet chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the Steelworkers District 31 Women's Caucus. She's a member of United Steelworkers of America Local 1014.

"You can work for U.S. Steel for 30 years, get laid off, and all you get is \$84 a week, for maybe nine months," she says. "That's a crime. We need to demand benefits at union wages for all the unemployed — for as long as we're unemployed."

She opposes spending a single cent for the Pentagon's military budget and blasts U.S. intervention in Central America.

"This government doesn't represent me — or you," she tells a coworker at the gate, "or anybody who works for a living. We need a new government that defends the interests of workers and farmers, not the corporations."

To fight for that kind of government, she says, the unions need to break with the Democrats and Republicans and form a labor party based on a revitalized trade union movement.



Militant/Jon Hillson

Marie Head petitioning for ballot status outside U.S. Steel plant in Gary, Indiana.

Steel companies press union to make more concessions

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

BALTIMORE — The steel corporations are putting the heat on the United Steelworkers (USWA) as they both go into one more round of negotiations over the basic steel industry contract. Frustrated by the union's earlier rejection of concession demands, and determined to increase their profits at workers' expense, the companies have shut down more mills and threaten to eliminate even more jobs.

Roger Smith, chairman of General Motors, has jumped on the steel barons' bandwagon with his own threats. Last December he told USWA President Lloyd McBride that if a new agreement is not reached by March and the possibility of an August steel strike remains, GM will have to consider ordering steel contracts for its 1984 models from Japanese steelmakers. McBride, who has made no secret of his support for concessions, was quick to respond that, "March 1 would be a very good objective" for signing a new contract.

At McBride's urging, a January meeting of the union's Wage Policy Committee agreed to consider concessions to employers who are in a "distressed" economic situation. This includes the Big Eight steel companies. A Basic Steel Industry Conference meeting of union local presidents is set for February 2.

Recent events here at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant make it clear that the steelmakers have not backed off from their demands for massive concessions. On January 20, Bethlehem president Walter Williams and a flock of other top corporation executives arrived here for a meeting with local union officials. Although a

Bethlehem spokesperson tried to play down the meeting, saying Williams "meets with union officials all the time," this was no ordinary get-together.

Williams's message was simple. The company is considering closing the pipe and wire mills at the Point permanently. Without further modernization, the company won't guarantee the survival of the entire plant, Bethlehem's largest, for more than five years. The money for this modernization depends on "cooperation" from the union.

The big-business media praised Williams's visit as a sincere attempt to "seek out local union understanding" and as "something profoundly different and hopeful." Most steelworkers saw it as more of the same blackmail: agree to concessions or lose your jobs.

USWA local presidents at the Point have opposed concessions. Williams's visit was a not so subtle effort to change their vote.

Rank-and-file workers have received their own dose of the company's arm-twisting. Workers at several mills report that they are being shown a videotape of Williams's appeal for "cooperation" on company time.

On January 27 the newspapers were filled with the news of the \$1.15 billion loss Bethlehem suffered in the last quarter of 1982. However, almost one billion of the total was in nonrecurring losses from "restructuring," that is, the permanent shutdown of most steel operations at the Johnstown and Lackawanna mills announced last December.

The next day it was reported that Bethlehem proposes to eliminate 500 jobs at the Point through "attrition" rather than immediate layoff. While some workers may welcome this as an alternative to losing 500 jobs tomorrow, the fact remains that either way the jobs will be lost. Meanwhile the company continues to pressure the Sparrows Point locals to accept their "Operations Maintenance Program," which would mean further job losses and attacks on previous affirmative-action gains for Blacks and women.

A few days after Williams's visit the Baltimore *Sun* chimed in with its pro-company advice in an editorial aimed at steelworkers. After applauding Williams for making his trip, the editors got to the real point, "The U.S. steel industry has to become more efficient to survive. That translates into changes in technology, work rules, pay scales and a reduced work force. It will be a very painful process."

Steelworkers need decent wages, safe working conditions and, most of all, jobs. The union does not have the option of choosing between concessions or more job losses. The employers' program includes both! As Wiley Cole, treasurer of USWA Local 2603 at Lackawanna said, "If we'd given everything away, Bethlehem would simply have put the money in some other plant."

Geoff Mirelowitz is a laid-off steelworker from Bethlehem's Sparrows Point mill near Baltimore. He is a member of USWA Local 2609.



Militant/Sherry Fekete

Stephanie Brooks

Fired unionists win support in Ga.

BY MICHAEL GILLESPIE

ATLANTA — Unionists fighting illegal firings and employer blacklists received a good response from activists attending the second national convention of the "Jobs With Peace" campaign here January 21-23.

More than 70 of the 140 convention participants, including at least 15 trade union officials and members, signed petitions in support of a landmark labor lawsuit against Lockheed-Georgia for the illegal investigation and firing of 15 International Association of Machinists members here two years ago. The unionists were fired because of their labor activities and political views.

Adding their names to the broad array of supporters for the Lockheed suit were Pat Tobin, vice-president of International Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union Local 10; Bill Collins, organizer for the United Electrical Workers in Charlotte, North Carolina; Paul Garver, Service Employees International Union staff representative in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; and Bronwen Zwerner, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union education di-

rector in New Bedford, Massachusetts.

The Lockheed suit, filed in September 1982, seeks a halt to the company's unconstitutional and antilabor spy operation, which resulted in firing of the 15 unionists and harassment of dozens more. The suit asks for reinstatement of the fired workers. Since the suit was filed three of the plaintiffs have been repeatedly fired from other jobs because the employers apparently used a blacklist.

Texas socialist backs IUE strike

SAN ANTONIO — Stephanie Brooks, a sewing machine operator at the Levi Strauss Co. and a member of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor here.

Brooks has campaigned in defense of the strike here at the Stainless Ice-Tainer Co. by members of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 1127. She calls for removal of cops from the picket line and demands action against the company for its use of scabs. The strikers walked out over company proposals that threatened job security and seniority.

The current mayor of San Antonio is Democrat Henry Cisneros. Brooks condemns his plan to bring "Enterprise Zones" to the city. Far from creating decent jobs, she charges, the purpose of the zones is to allow businesses to pay less than the minimum wage, ignore health and safety laws, and get tax breaks.

A very favorable article on Brooks's campaign appeared in the San Antonio *Express-News*. "Brooks said she would seek federal funding to put the unemployed to work on lowcost housing, medical facilities, improved schools and expanded mass transportation," the papers reported. "She said there is plenty of money availa-

ble, but it is being squandered on nuclear weapons and to wage war on the people of El Salvador and Nicaragua."

The *Express-News* noted that Brooks favors a labor party and added: "Active in the women's rights movement, Brooks has worked as a printer and a steelworker. She lived in Israel for a year, and her experience there led her to support the Palestinians in their struggle for self-determination."

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Miami youth confront mayor on killer cops

BY JACKIE FLOYD
AND STU SINGER

MIAMI — About 150 demonstrators marched over six miles January 29 from the Culmer-Overtown Community Center to Miami City Hall to protest the murder of Nevell Johnson and other acts of police terror.

Nevell Johnson was a Black, 20-year-old county worker who was murdered by white Cuban cop Luis Alvarez December 28. The victim was playing Pac-Man in a video arcade across the street from the Overtown community center. Alvarez walked up behind Nevell Johnson and put a gun to his head, and pulled the trigger.

When Johnson was slain, the community responded immediately with a three-day rebellion that included the capturing and burning of several police cars. During that rebellion a white cop killed another Black youth, 17-year-old Alonzo Singleton.

Almost all the demonstrators January 29 were young people in their teens and early twenties.

The march was held in spite of Miami Mayor Maurice Ferre demanding that it be called off. A majority of marchers wore the yellow T-shirts distributed by the Family Coalition, which sponsored the protest.

After the two-and-one-half hour march, almost 200 demonstrators packed the city council chambers. Mayor Ferre called a special city council meeting in response to the demonstration. Only two of the four city commissioners attended.

Groans and boos greeted Ferre's opening of the meeting with the Pledge of Allegiance, but the crowd picked up the last line shouting, "and justice for all."

Southern Christian Leadership Conference leader Ray Fauntroy, speaking for the Family Coalition, told the city officials that the demonstrators had two questions: the status of the investigation of Nevell Johnson's murder and the city's response to the demand that Police Chief Kenneth Harms be fired.

Ferre announced that he and the city commissioners had nothing to do with these issues. He said they were the responsibility of City Manager Howard Gary, who is Black.

Gary said he had turned over the findings to State Attorney Janet Reno, but he refused to say what the findings were. So far no charges have been filed against killer-cop Luis Alvarez. Gary has even refused to suspend him.

Gary then said he had no intention of firing Harms. Harms was quoted in a newspaper as defending the actions of Alvarez leading up to the shooting of Nevell Johnson. Harms said, "it was an appropriate training exercise."

Harms also branded the Overtown rebels as "hoodlums."

Gary did promise that there will be changes in the Miami police. "Salt and pepper," that is, Black and white cops patrolling Overtown, and more "sensitivity training."

The demonstrators were not impressed. An older Black woman called out, "that's what they promised two years ago."

Anne Carter, the sister of Alonzo Singleton, took the microphone. "My brother was shot eight times, five times in the back. I haven't heard anything said about him. That white cop shot him with an M-14 rifle and my brother was not even armed. I don't want a whitewash."

Florabell Dancy spoke, "I'm a 48-year-old grandmother who lives in Overtown. During the disturbances there was teargas everywhere. A police SWAT team marched down our street yelling, 'Niggers get in your houses.'"

The mother of Arthur McDuffie spoke. Demonstrators stood and applauded when she rose. "Why are those police who murdered my son still walking the street?" Black insurance salesman Arthur McDuffie was beaten by cops in December 1979.

A young demonstration marshal took the mike. "There is no justice for us after 400 years. We're catching hell in Miami."



January 29 march to city hall, where Blacks demanded justice for slain Nevell Johnson. Militant/Stu Singer

Pacific islanders expose U.S. military role

BY FRANCINE BARR
AND DEAN PEOPLES

SEATTLE — About 90 people attended a slide-show presentation here in January presented by two representatives of the Micronesia Support Committee, Darlene Keju and Giff Johnson. Their appearance here was part of a West Coast tour to build support for the struggle to end U.S. missile testing at the Kwajalein Atoll and for the right of the Micronesians to return to those islands of Kwajalein that still remain habitable.

Keju was born on the island of Ebeye in the Kwajalein Atoll, which is located in the group of Pacific Islands known as the Marshall Islands. She described how her people were forced off their islands over the years since the U.S. military began using them to conduct atomic weapons tests in 1946. The U.S. military base there, Kwajalein Missile Range, is used as a target for ICBM missiles test-fired from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California. The MX missile is scheduled to be tested there soon.

Keju reported that U.S. military spokesmen told the Micronesians when they were being removed from the islands that the bombs were being tested for the "good of mankind"; that there would be no permanent damage; and that they could return to their islands after the tests.

In 1954, hundreds of Marshall Islanders were severely injured by radioactive fallout from the "Bravo" hydrogen bomb test at Bikini Atoll. The bomb was set off even though the wind was blowing over populated areas at the time. Bikini will remain uninhabitable for tens of thousands of years. Six other islands have been vaporized as a result of 66 other nuclear weapons tests.

Keju reported that many islanders are afraid to have children because of the higher rate of birth defects, deformities, and miscarriages due to exposure to radiation. Keju herself has three tumors. She said that when islanders are sent to hospitals for treatment they are not allowed to contact relatives, go outside of the hospitals, or see their own medical files.

Eight thousand Micronesians have been crowded onto the 78-acre island of Ebeye. They live in dilapidated housing amid appalling and unsanitary conditions. They are totally dependent on wages earned at the Kwajalein base, because the U.S. military has severely restricted access to the 900-square mile lagoon they used for fishing. The U.S. military has also restricted use of the Micronesians' 93 islands for agriculture.

On the other hand, Kwajalein Island, where 3,000 U.S. civilians and military personnel live, looks like an exclusive Los Angeles suburb. Micronesians are sub-

jected to humiliating searches and can be arrested if caught on Kwajalein after dark or without a pass. They are not allowed to attend the high school on Kwajalein.

In June of last year, Kwajalein landowners began a four-month resettlement of 11 "off-limits" islands, protesting conditions on Ebeye and the recently signed "Compact of Free Association," which extends U.S. military use of the islands for another 50 years. They called their sail-in "Operation Homecoming" and involved about 1,000 people.

Micronesia is a UN Trust Territory

under U.S. control. All the laws and policies of the local governing bodies are subject to veto by the U.S. High Commissioner, the head of the Trust Territory Government, who is appointed by the U.S. president.

The Micronesia Support Committee (1212 University Ave., Honolulu, Hawaii 96826) publishes a quarterly *Bulletin* on Micronesia. The Pacific Concerns Resource Center (P.O. Box 27692, Honolulu, Hawaii 96827) publishes the *Pacific Bulletin*, with news of the antinuclear and Pacific independence movements.

Workers beat back major cuts in N.Y. school bus service

BY LOU HOWORT

NEW YORK — Protesting workers and their families have won a victory against proposed cutbacks in education affecting the New York City school system.

New York's Board of Education had proposed eliminating bus service for students in kindergarten through second grade who live within a mile of school. Currently the limit is half a mile. The limit for third through sixth graders would rise from a mile to a mile and a half. More than 60,000 students would lose free bus service, threatening bus drivers with layoffs.

In addition school lunches for 50,000 students would rise by 20 cents.

On January 25 at least 1,000 parents and bus drivers converged on a meeting of the Board of Education to protest the cuts. This was not the first protest. A week before about 1,000 demonstrators forced the school board to postpone its decision on the cuts.

The demonstrators were bused in from Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens, the Bronx, and Staten Island. Bus drivers from the Amalgamated Transit Union (ATU) participated actively in the protest. Their jobs and the safety of school children — which bus drivers are acutely aware of — would both be affected by cutbacks.

Among the protesters were rank-and-file teachers who also face cutbacks and are concerned about the safety of their students.

Black, Latino, and white parents, some of whom brought their children to the January 25 action, were incensed by the school board's callous disregard for their children's safety and welfare. Under the original proposed cutbacks, five-year-old children would have been forced to walk long distances and cross busy streets and intersections.

The school board, in an effort to limit

participation, held the board meeting in a small room. A massive show of police force prevented the majority of those who came from entering the building, forcing the protest to overflow into the street.

The crowd was angry. Some pointed out to this reporter that these cutbacks went too far because they affect children. Some were receptive to the idea that the military budget should be eliminated and the funds applied to education and other pressing social needs.

Faced with militant actions the board backed down on some of its proposals. The original plan will be modified to now affect free bus service for 15,000 fifth and sixth graders who live within one-and-a-half miles of school.

The lunch prices will be raised by five cents instead of the proposed 20 cents.

The day after the board decision, bus drivers of the ATU held a two-hour work stoppage in protest of any cutbacks.

The fight is far from over. The school board and city administration are planning further cuts in education and social services beginning in July of this year.

Lou Howort is a member of the United Federation of Teachers in New York.

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Vandals attack S.F. supporters of Salvadoran people

SAN FRANCISCO — The Socialist Workers Party offices here, and Casa El Salvador-Farabundo Martí a few blocks away, were both targets of right-wing vandalism during the early morning on January 28.

The storefront offices of the two organizations were covered with paint some time between dawn and 9:00 a.m. At Casa El Salvador, a mural depicting the struggle of the people of El Salvador was destroyed. Several hundred dollars' damage was done to the storefront of the socialist bookstore.

In a news release issued January 28, the SWP pointed out that both the organizations attacked were planning to participate in a demonstration the next day against U.S. military intervention in El Salvador.

SWP chairperson Matilde Zimmermann, who discovered the damage, told radio stations that the vandalism could have been an act of "anger and frustration on the part of people who do not like the fact that revolutionaries are making gains in El Salvador and who want to intimidate the supporters of the Salvadoran revolution in this country."

"This represents a threat to all groups and individuals who speak out and organize against U.S. intervention in Central America," Zimmermann continued. "We are asking all concerned groups to protest the right-wing violence and demand a full investigation."

Struggle for Black liberation in the 1980s

BY MALIK MIAH

Below are major edited excerpts from the Black struggle report adopted by the Socialist Workers Party National Committee on Dec. 7, 1982.

Since this report was approved, a striking confirmation of its analysis was seen in Miami's Black community of Overtown in late December. After a young Black worker was murdered by a cop there, the Black community, led by employed and unemployed workers, rebelled. They demanded justice and the removal of cops from their community. The young rebels bypassed the traditional Black community leaders, who pointed the finger of blame at the victims instead of the criminal cops and government.

The 1982 rebellion in Miami, like the one in 1980, reflects the growing anger and frustration among Blacks with the racist policies of the employers and city, state, and federal governments.

The deepening international struggle between the employers and capitalist governments on one side and the workers and oppressed peoples on the other is finding its reflection in the Black community.

It is shown by the opposition of many Blacks to the imperialist war drive against the oppressed peoples in Central America and the Caribbean, and by the enthusiastic response of Black workers in Youngstown and Pittsburgh to the tour of Salvadoran trade unionist Alejandro Molina Lara.

It is manifested in the growing participation by Afro-Americans in the day-to-day fights for full equality in employment, housing, and education and support for important defense cases, such as the Tchula Seven and Eddie Carthan in Mississippi.

It is also demonstrated in the leadership role beginning to be displayed by young Blacks. This was especially seen in the protest against the Ku Klux Klan's march and rally in Washington, D.C., on November 27, the first attempt by the KKK to hold such an action since 1925.

What did anti-Klan action show?

The D.C. anti-Klan action was one of the more significant indicators of changing moods among Blacks and other workers in response to government and employers' blows.

We saw youth — Blacks; Palestinians; Latinos; and radical, struggle-minded whites — join together to oppose the Klan and its cop backers. These demonstrators were spurred into action against both the Klan and the racist, anti-working-class policies of the Reagan administration. During the action a leadership emerged that was more extensive than the initiators of the demonstration.

This protest was not organized and led by "outsiders" or "hooligans" as the capitalist press and the D.C. Black Democratic Party leadership claimed afterward. It was a counterprotest of angry workers — employed and unemployed — who are fed up with the racist actions of the cops, courts, Congress, and White House.

Earlier in the fall similar anti-Klan actions were held in Boston and Louisville. In each case Blacks and radical-minded whites joined hands to oppose this fringe scum outfit that gets its nourishment from the antilabor and racist policies of the government.

Growing mood of militancy

There are other examples we can point to of growing militancy in the Black community — especially among Black workers, who are the overwhelming majority of Blacks.

For example, the *New York Times* reported a few days ago that Black rail porters in Kansas City, Kansas, have won an important victory. After a long battle, these workers forced both the Santa Fe Railroad and the United Transportation Union leadership to make a cash settlement for years of lost wages due to race discrimination.

They had forced the employers to settle several years ago, but the union officials held out until now. The union leadership had worked hand-and-glove to keep these workers in the lowest-paying jobs. Black workers, for example, were denied the right to be brakemen — a higher paying classification.

This struggle shows that, even in times of deep recession, like now, and in "right-to-work" states such as Kansas, Black workers are willing to fight for their rights and are able to win. And this particular fight demonstrates that maintaining and extending affirmative action gains of the last two decades remains a central battle in this period of massive unemployment. This is true for both Blacks and women.

Hardest hit

Blacks are hit hardest by the recession, the high cost of living, and the policies of the Democratic and Republican parties.

While official unemployment is close to 11 percent, it is over 20 percent for Blacks. In 1981, the median Black family income was 56 percent of the median white family income. In 1981, 30.8 percent of Black families lived below the official poverty level — three and one-half times more than for the average white family.

The average Black worker assumes things are going to get much worse.

In this context Black workers, particularly industrial workers, are beginning to take the lead in fighting the racist, antilabor policies of the employers and government.

This is rarely mentioned by the capitalist media or even the Black and labor press. But, there is no doubt, for example, that Black steelworkers played a big role in pressuring the local presidents of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) to reject a proposed contract in November. This, I'm sure, was the case in Chicago, Baltimore, and Gary, Indiana, where a large proportion of steelworkers are Black.

In Chrysler, where workers rejected a proposed contract a couple of months ago, the most militant workers are Black. Over half Chrysler's work force in Detroit is Black.

Since Black workers entered basic industry, they have been among the most militant workers in the industrial unions. This is due to the fact that, in addition to being exploited as wage workers, Blacks are an oppressed nationality.

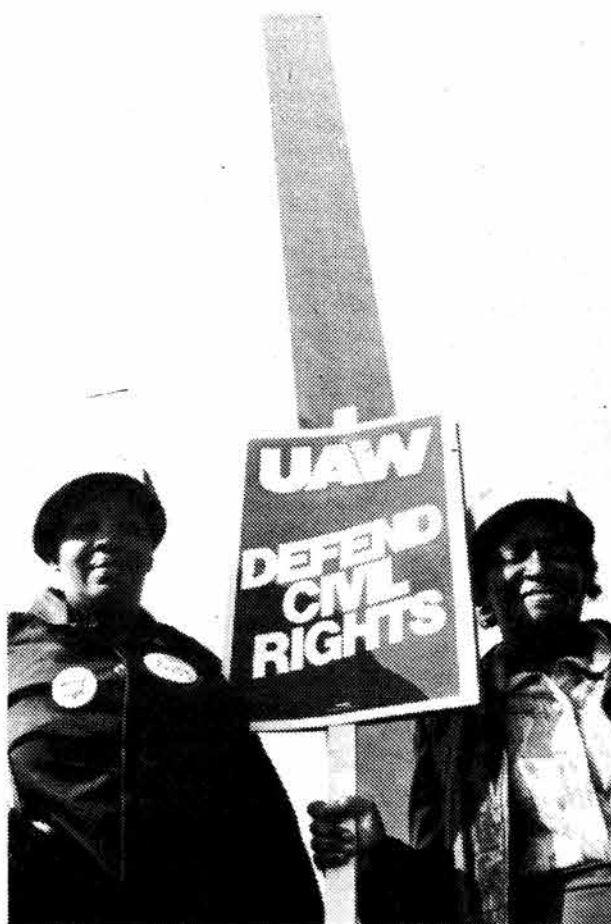
This is why Black workers will be the vanguard of working-class struggles, including the struggle to take political power and establish a workers and farmers government. It's Black workers especially who the capitalist class must break to strengthen its hand against all workers — here and abroad.

Today the main arena of the SWP's activity to help advance the struggle of Blacks to win full equality and self-determination is in basic industry and the labor movement.

Orientation to unions

We firmly believe that the deepening economic and political crisis means that all organizations trying to advance the struggle of Black people today must orient toward the industrial unions. This includes the vanguard

Continued on next page



Militant/Lou Howort



Militant/Kathe Latham

Rail workers in Oakland, California, Brotherhood of Railroad and Airline Clerks District 1909 fight Amtrak's racist policy of searching workers' personal property at company's discretion.

Continued from preceding page
formation, the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

They must be oriented to winning industrial workers to their ranks and leadership and helping to lead the fight to turn the unions into class-struggle instruments. Unions with class-struggle policies will fight for the rights of Blacks as well as for workers as a whole.

Unless this is done, it becomes less and less possible to begin to develop an effective perspective for advancing the struggle of Blacks for full liberation. It becomes harder to resist the social pressures of the bosses on the Black community.

Having an orientation to the most powerful and organized sector of the Black community — a sector that is organized side-by-side with exploited white workers who are necessary and potential allies — should be obvious to any Black organization seeking to win full equality for Blacks. Black liberation will not be achieved without the active mobilization of the masses of Blacks; the Black middle class can't do it. Black workers must be in the leadership.

Due to the economic crisis, many Blacks who thought they left the working class by buying a restaurant, gas station, or liquor store find themselves today going bankrupt and being pushed back into the working class. Unfortunately, in most places they can't even get back their old jobs on the auto assembly line or in the blast furnaces.

Crisis of Black middle class

Black Enterprise magazine reports each year the number of Black-owned businesses going under. It's hard to keep track of the top-10 Black businesses, since many of them (generally nonindustrial small businesses) go bankrupt. Most Black businesses are relatively small operations.

There are a few Black capitalists too, including cosmetics manufacturer John Johnson who publishes *Ebony* and *Jet* magazines. They represent the few Blacks able to escape the harsh blows of the recession. But they are still small potatoes compared to most white capitalists — especially to the billionaires such as the Rockefellers, DuPonts, and Mellons who determine how the country is run.

The middle-class layer, including the few Black capitalists, is the dominant political influence among Blacks. These people — the professionals, doctors, lawyers, small businessmen and some wealthy ministers — preach to Blacks, "If we can do it, you can do it, too." They, like their white counterparts, promote the notion that there is an individual solution out of the economic crisis. They scramble to establish social and political ties to a different class than most Blacks belong to — the capitalist class.

Black union officials

There is also the small layer of Black trade union officials, who generally join hands with the Black middle class to provide the misleadership of most Black organizations.

Their relatively better economic situation, compared to that of most Blacks, means that they tend to minimize the crisis facing Black workers. They don't see the problems of Blacks as rooted in the capitalist system but as something that can be alleviated by patching up that system. This is the basis for their strong political attachment to the capitalist parties — the Democrats and Republicans.

This also explains their opposition to genuine steps toward independent political action. They fear such steps can lead Blacks away from the framework of capitalist politics.

During the elections they urge Blacks to vote for "liberal" Democrats against the "Reaganites" of the day. This, they say, is realistic politics. As far as mass protests are concerned, if they can't control the actions, those who participate or organize them are called "hooligans."

Class polarization among Blacks

At the same time that we see a rise in militancy among many Blacks, we see other layers of the Black community becoming more conservative. This reflects a sharpening class polarization. Blacks are not made up of one class. They are socially divided. And the government and employers' attacks affect different classes and organizations differently.

The NAACP, Operation PUSH, and Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) are primarily headed by middle-class leaders who support capitalism. They have a liberal, reformist view of how to achieve Black emancipation. They see the future of Blacks tied to reforming the capitalist profit system rather than replacing it.

This perspective is not new for the traditional Black leadership. But it is in sharper focus today, because the ruling class cannot grant the scope of concessions — such as government-funded jobs and educational programs — that it did in response to the massive civil rights movement and Black rebellions of the 1960s. The gov-



Militant
Ernie Lacy was one of hundreds of Black youth gunned down by cops each year. Milwaukee's Black community conducted protest campaign demanding that police chief be fired.

ernment, in fact, is eliminating most of these programs as part of its drive to squeeze more out of all working people.

This is why more Blacks are beginning to recognize that electing Black Democrats and Republicans to high office is not stopping or even slowing down government-employer attacks. In fact, the Black elected officials are helping to carry out these attacks.

That's why there is pressure, even among traditional Black groups like the NAACP, to call for demonstrations to press the government to ease up its offensive against the Black community. These liberal misleaders understand that their influence with the employers and government is tied to their influence among the masses of Blacks.

This is why middle-class layers who lead the civil rights groups must at times speak militantly and organize protests to maintain their fragile credibility with the Black masses. Of course, this becomes difficult when it's Black Democrats who are city officials leading the takeback attacks on the Black community or cracking heads as happens in Washington, D.C., and other cities.

Black and labor misleaders

In a certain sense misleaders of the Black organizations are like misleaders of the labor movement. United Auto Workers' President Douglas Fraser and USWA President Lloyd McBride, for example, face similar pressures from their source of power and privilege — the union rank and file. Like the Black middle-class leaders, they try to convince the membership that they know what's best for them.

While Fraser told Chrysler auto workers not to press too hard for wage increases because the company couldn't afford them, Black misleaders preach to Blacks to accept a little belt-tightening until the economy improves. In both cases the employers' profits came before the needs of workers.

Black Democrats

The shining beacon for these misleaders is the 21-member Congressional Black Caucus (CBC). Most Black liberal organizations present the CBC as a huge gain for the Black movement.

Certainly the democratic right of Blacks to participate in the electoral process and to hold seats in Congress, where they were excluded for so many years deserves support. But that's very different than saying that Black Democrats represent Black working people and merit support.

The CBC members in a fundamental sense are no different than the other liberals in Congress. They're pro-capitalist politicians who propose their own belt-tightening schemes to get capitalism out of its crisis. And these proposals call on working people to make the sacrifices. The John Conyers and Harold Washingtons simply help maintain the illusions Blacks and other workers have in the two-party system. They do so quite effectively since they talk radical and sometimes even participate in marches for Black rights.

In the last elections the traditional Black leadership criticized the Black community for not registering and voting Democratic. They said the reason Blacks are down and out is because they don't use their democratic right to vote. So all of them — from the NAACP to SCLC — voted at their summer conventions to go on a big campaign to get out the Black vote.

In Chicago, you couldn't get served in the "soup lines" unless you were registered!

Organizing demonstrations and other actions against attacks on busing, affirmative action, and abortion rights was not on the agenda of these Democratic Party mis-

leaders. These issues were secondary to getting a few more "friends of Blacks" elected to Congress and the state houses.

How did they assess the November election results?

Benjamin Hooks, executive director of the NAACP, said Blacks made big gains. Why?

Because, as Hooks explains, Blacks voted — at least those that were registered — 90 percent Democratic. This bloc vote swept out Republicans in many states and increased the number of Black Democrats in Congress by two.

That's Hooks and other civil rights leaders' analysis of the elections. That's the big victory!

Fortunately most Blacks have doubts that these "gains" will help them out. The truth is liberal Black misleaders are getting more and more out of touch with the masses of Blacks. Their accommodation to the racist status quo does not reflect the willingness of Blacks, especially workers, to fight back. As the Black misleaders move rightward, the masses of Blacks are seeking more radical answers and more effective forms of struggle to get out from under the attacks.

Capitulation by Black militants

The impact of the capitalist crisis is leading some longtime Black nationalist militants to capitulate to the ruling class.

For example, longtime Black activist Howard Fuller of Milwaukee actively campaigned for the Democratic candidate for governor in Wisconsin this fall and then accepted a job in his administration when he was elected. This shows what can happen to a well-known radical activist when he refuses to break with the framework of capitalist politics.

Fuller was a national leader of the African solidarity campaigns in the early 1970s, when he was known as Owusu Sadauki. This activity included organizing several big demonstrations in Washington, D.C. Recently, in Milwaukee, he was the central leader of a coalition that organized large demonstrations demanding justice after a cop murdered a young Black, Ernie Lacy.

Fuller is respected in the Black community for his independence from the powers that be and his long history of struggle. His open capitulation to the racist Democratic Party is a blow to Milwaukee's Black community and to those seeking to move the Black struggle in a truly independent direction.

It also underlines that it is not enough to participate in and organize mass actions. A clear understanding of the class character of politics and the need to break from capitalist politics and chart an independent course is also necessary.

There are only two roads open for Blacks: liberal reformism as Fuller and others have chosen or independent political action as the youth of Washington, D.C., and the workers at Chrysler are searching for, even if unconsciously.

Class collaboration

Opposition to the second course is not just limited to conscious liberals — those who openly advocate reforming capitalism. It also includes organizations and newspapers claiming to represent the interests of working people and favoring socialism.

These left organizations and newspapers say that the road toward socialism can be advanced, under certain conditions, by electing liberal capitalist candidates over conservative ones even though both oppose workers' and Blacks' interests.

Both the "independent" *Guardian* and the Communist Party's *Daily World*, for example, praised the election of Black Democrats to Congress in 1982 as a big step for-

ward for the Black struggle. And they hail the Chicago mayoral candidacy of Harold Washington, a Democratic Party congressman. Their analyses don't mention that a Black Democrat is just as much a Democrat as a white Democrat and that Democrats are just as bad as Republicans. Neither of these papers, which claim to be socialist and communist, mention that there's a class question involved — both the Democrats and Republicans represent big business. It is this that is decisive for Blacks, and for workers as a whole, who are waging a fight against their capitalist oppressors and exploiters.

Class collaborationism is also the policy of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA). This group argues that Blacks must be in the "left wing" of the Democratic Party to advance the working-class and Black liberation movements. DSA takes this perspective very seriously and some members run in the elections as Democratic Party candidates. Some DSAers argue that the Democratic Party can be reformed. Others, however, say that by working both inside and outside the Democratic Party a political realignment can be achieved in which all "progressive" forces are grouped in one party.

The latter view is promoted by Manning Marable, a DSA vice-chairperson. Marable was a member of the New American Movement when it fused with the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee in early 1982 to form the DSA. But he was also a founder and prominent leader of the NBIPP for awhile. During this period he argued strongly for independent Black political action and opposed supporting either Reagan or Carter in the 1980 elections.

Manning now sees dumping "Reaganite" Republicans and replacing them with liberal Democrats as the road forward for Black liberation. He argues that it is unrealistic not to work with and support left liberals who run as Democrats against the greater evil — the "Reaganites," as he calls them.

Under the blows of the capitalist crisis, what we see happening today is the political drift to the right of traditional Black liberals, former Black nationalist militants of the 1970s, and most of the so-called left.

They represent the majority of conscious leaders of the Black nationality today. This layer — all of them — must be overcome, bypassed, and rejected by the overwhelming majority of Blacks — those employed and looking for work.

The changing mood of militancy among Blacks over the last year alone shows the potential to build an alternative leadership. Young Blacks, especially, see no future as workers, much less as part of the middle class.

Building a revolutionary leadership

The task at hand is to build a revolutionary nationalist leadership — one based on mobilizing the masses of Blacks against the capitalists, to win their freedom. How can this be accomplished?

The building of an independent, working-class-led Black struggle is tied to forging an alternative leadership in the unions based on a program of revolutionary trade unionism. This means a leadership that relies on the independent, organized strength of class-conscious workers, not collaboration with the employers either on the shop floor or during elections.

This is what socialist workers explain and fight for in the Black struggle and in the labor movement. We recognize that our fight to transform the unions is part of our fight to forge a revolutionary leadership among Blacks.

As the class divisions in the Black nationality continue to sharpen, Marxist views will get a better hearing. We are beginning to see that now by the favorable response we are getting from sales of the *Militant* and our socialist election campaigns.

There is more questioning among Blacks of the misleaders and their policies. There is more discussion on how to stand up to the employers and government's attacks. There is growing interest about the lessons to be learned from the massive 1960s civil rights movement and why electing more Black officials *hasn't* brought needed changes.

There is discussion on the role of workers in changing society and providing new leadership for the Black struggle. This includes the role of Black workers in the Black liberation fight and the labor movement, and the place of white workers, who've tended to lag behind Black workers, in the fight against the employers. The shattering blows of the economic crisis are profoundly altering the views of white workers too. It is making them more receptive to new, more radical ideas and more militant forms of struggle. And it is opening the door to greater Black and white collaboration in the struggle against the employers.

NBUF's role

All of these questions are being discussed in organizations like the National Black United Front (NBUF) and the NBIPP.

NBUF organizes militant demonstrations against racist abuses and attacks. At the same time, however, it urges Blacks to support Democrats like New York gubernato-



Militant/Steven Fuchs

Cleveland NBIPP went to Washington to protest Klan march November 27. This type of activity helps party to recruit among working class and youth.

rial candidate Mario Cuomo.

This contradiction reflects the pressures that a militant Black organization like NBUF faces when it blurs the difference between actions in the streets with supporting phony antiracist candidates, Black or white, who are in the parties that oppress Blacks.

It is not enough today to march, demonstrate, and rally against racism. It is not even enough to organize strikes that may hold back an attack or win some concessions, as Canadian Chrysler workers did.

Such successes can be short-lived unless tied to the fight to advance the independent organization of the working class.

NBUF tries to avoid the issue of independent, working-class political action by arguing that a vote for liberal Democrats is a tactical question. It goes so far as to present itself to radicalizing Blacks, including to Black workers, as the *realistic* alternative to NBIPP. In fact, it says that all militant Blacks including Marxists, like us, should be in NBUF.

Marxists, of course, work with all forces on specific issues and campaigns to advance Black rights — whatever their overall political perspectives. This includes Black Democrats or Republicans. We join together in united-front activities where we have agreement. For example, we have participated in united actions in support of busing to achieve school desegregation and in opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America and the Middle East.

At the same time we argue the need for independent Black political action, which can point to and even help set into motion a break by the labor movement as a whole from capitalist politics. We urge groups like NBUF to break with their "tactical" line of support to liberal capitalist candidates, which contradicts their militant opposition, in action, against imperialist war.

Liberal organizations like the NAACP and SCLC may be forced, as they have in the past, to participate in or even initiate actions that deserve the support of Blacks and working people. They will do this despite their pro-capitalist orientation in order to try to keep their credibility in the Black community. It is only this credibility that makes them any use to the bosses and government. That's why PUSH's Jesse Jackson always shows up on the scene after a Black revolt or a major attack on Blacks.

Marxists and militant-minded Blacks need to continue working with these traditional civil rights organizations. It is important to attend their conventions and seek joint action against racist attacks. In the past, for example, the NAACP conventions, which many workers attend, have had big debates on important issues like busing and housing discrimination.

NBIPP's role

Let's now turn to the only organization in the Black community that stands on a program opposed to liberal reformism and class collaborationism, NBIPP, a vanguard political formation formed in 1980.

As we've explained previously, (See Education for Socialists Bulletin *The NBIPP: A Step Forward for Blacks and Other Working People*, Pathfinder Press, \$1.25) the significance of NBIPP for Blacks and other workers is not its current size or influence but what it represents. It is a first step towards independent Black and working-class political action.

The nucleus of Blacks that formed NBIPP is doing what the trade unions need to do: openly declare the capitalist parties as enemies of workers, both at home and abroad, and chart a course directed against them to advance labor's interest. The challenge before NBIPP is to make its program a reality among the masses of Blacks.

How is NBIPP standing up to the capitalist offensive and taking on the misleaders in the Black community?

NBIPP, as with other organizations, is affected by the sharpening class polarization in the Black nationality. It is a new formation, still in the process of becoming an organization. Its leaders come from different traditions and backgrounds. It includes new activists to the struggle as well as longtime nationalist militants. Most are not from the industrial working class. They are professors and lawyers or community activists.

The NBIPP is also under intensive pressure from the liberal, middle-class leaders of the traditional organizations. Although NBIPP's charter rejects any support to candidates of the capitalist parties, this is not fully understood or agreed on by the leadership and members of the organization. This lack of political clarity increases the susceptibility to the social pressures.

To its credit, NBIPP is the only formation in the Black community that continues to stand on a program opposed to the racist parties and refuses to endorse liberal capitalist candidates despite the "defeat the Reaganites" hysteria. NBIPP continues to argue that the root cause of racism and national oppression is the capitalist and imperialist system.

Debate over perspectives

There is a debate, however, going on inside NBIPP over its perspectives. It reflects the broader discussion taking place in the Black struggle as a whole. The debate in NBIPP is over how to build a mass membership organization based on a revolutionary nationalist program — one that does not subordinate the interests of Blacks to anyone or any organization.

In NBIPP the discussion takes the form of how best to implement the radical perspective adopted at the party's first congress in Chicago in 1981.

Marxists in NBIPP favor giving lifeblood to the charter. We urge that it be actively implemented. We see NBIPP as a working-class formation that contains several political tendencies. These tendencies reflect discussions from the broader Black population about how to get out from under the capitalist crisis and how to advance the struggle.

Staff organization

Currently there are two clearly defined currents in NBIPP's leadership. On the one side are those who see building NBIPP as basically a staff organization instead of a mass membership organization. They do not see NBIPP ever becoming a mass-based organization of Blacks. They believe this is an unrealistic perspective, because it is much harder to build an independent political organization in difficult economic times than when capitalism is expanding.

The other perspective says NBIPP should seek to become a membership organization that recruits Blacks from all walks of life. It should especially win Black workers and draw them into the organization and its leadership. Those presenting this approach argue that this can be done only if NBIPP joins and leads the day-to-day battles for Black rights. This also means getting more involved in the fight to transform the unions where Blacks are heavily organized.

Those favoring a staff-led organization have been leading NBIPP on this basis over the last year. They haven't prioritized getting NBIPP involved in protests and demonstrations. They haven't sought to establish an apparatus and newspaper or newsletter to win new members by taking the charter to millions of Blacks.

This nonstruggle policy has led to an internal crisis and a decline of membership. This is explained away with the argument that the crisis is a result of the recession coupled with the activity of Marxists in NBIPP.

The attack on socialists who are actively building

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NBIPP, including members of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance, is an attempt to divert discussion from the real issue: how can the full potential for building NBIPP be realized.

The justification that the recession is to blame is also false. Those favoring building a mass organization have responded to this argument by pointing out that it is precisely during tough times that Blacks and other workers reject old solutions and leaders and look for new ones. Without adding a single word, NBIPP's program, in fact, is a sufficient basis to tap the growing militancy in the Black community and become an alternative leadership to the Black Democrats.

Those who believe it is impossible to build a viable mass Black group during a recession tend to hold back from joining the real battles in the Black community. This approach leads to pessimism and defeatism. It reinforces the tendency to bend to pressures caused by the capitalist crisis and adapt to the policies of the capitalist parties.

At NBIPP's November Central Committee (CC), for example, one leader suggested that NBIPP support Harold Washington for mayor of Chicago in the Democratic primary in February 1983. On what basis? She said because he's Black and Chicago's never had a Black mayor.

Most CC members strongly objected to her proposal, but not one national leader associated with the staff-led organization approach spoke in the discussion. And in the 1982 congressional elections, national NBIPP leadership failed to urge Blacks not to vote for any Democrat or Republican in the elections. This was a bad sign. In fact, it was a retreat from their 1980 position, which actively called for a "no vote" to the Democrats and Republicans.

The problem with the orientation of building a staff-led organization is that it leaves out the masses of Blacks. At best it leads to an organization of Black educators and professionals. But it doesn't include Black workers beginning to fight back in the mines or auto plants or the Black youth in Miami and other cities.

Such a perspective can also lead to adapting to liberal Democrats and abstaining from the real battles Blacks are engaged in. That's a danger NBIPP faces today.

Need to turn outward

The counterposed perspective is to turn NBIPP outward and become a membership organization. It is based on the recognition that the masses of Blacks are looking for a more effective leadership.

This is not an easy objective to obtain. We never said it would be. To build a radical organization means taking on both the liberal misleaders and the class collaborationist left.

The way to construct a mass membership organization today is for the NBIPP leadership to turn the organization outward. It must involve NBIPP actively in the daily struggles of Blacks around social issues in the community, on the job, and in the trade unions. NBIPP must take its program to all Blacks especially working men and women.

NBIPP needs to set up an effective apparatus that can communicate to its members and those it seeks to win to its perspective. It means NBIPP leaders speaking more, as Rev. Ben Chavis did at the June 12 anti-nuclear-weapons action of 1 million in New York City and as other leaders have done at demonstrations in support of the Palestine liberation struggle and against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

It means rejecting the political outlook of class-collaborationist organizations like the Communist Party (CP), which opposes Blacks breaking from capitalist politics. The CP, for example, would prefer that there was no NBIPP. But since it does exist, it favors NBIPP staying a staff-led organization, rather than charting a course toward becoming a mass independent Black party.

At present, the dominant political current in NBIPP is the one favoring a small, staff-led organization. In spite of NBIPP's radical program, as long as this current is leading the organization, NBIPP will not be able to effectively respond to big events in the Black struggle.



Militant/Lou Howort
Rev. Ben Chavis, NBIPP leader, spoke at June 12 anti-nuclear-weapons demonstration in New York. He pointed to importance of fighting U.S. intervention in countries around the world.

The current favoring a membership organization is a significant minority of NBIPP's leadership. It represents the revolutionary-nationalist wing of the organization. It stands on the charter and favors NBIPP living up to its original perspective of being a party organized 365 days a year against the racist employers and government — on the streets, in the workplace, and at election time.

NBIPP's future not settled

NBIPP can still meet its potential, because the discussion is continuing and will be affected by new events in the national and world class struggle.

It was a good sign, for example, that the November CC meeting decided to petition to get the party on the ballot in North Carolina. This offers an excellent opportunity to prove the possibilities for building NBIPP as a membership organization.

The fact that all of NBIPP's main leaders consider revolutionary Cuba and Grenada as models for the Black struggle also helps in discussing how to build a revolutionary leadership in the Black struggle and among all workers.

At the recent CC meeting, Mel Mason — a city council member from Seaside, California; the West Coast regional coordinator for NBIPP; and a leader of the SWP — explained how he and two other Seaside NBIPP leaders ran as independent candidates for public office in the recent elections. He said they used their campaigns to get out NBIPP's program and win new members. This experience was well-received by those at the CC meeting.

It is clear that what NBIPP does regarding independent Black politics will be its acid test. That's a key test it must pass to become a real party.

Those favoring a staff-led organization don't at the moment want NBIPP to move in that direction. That's why they've rejected NBIPP chapters making plans to run independent campaigns for office or jumping too quickly into national and local struggles.

For independent Black politics

It is also important to note that this current attempts to narrowly define independent Black politics to be synonymous with electoral politics. This is wrong.

Independent Black politics is not simply the decision to run or not run independent candidates for public office. Electoral politics is just one vehicle, and not the most important, for advancing the fight for Black people. This is true for all working people.

Independent working-class political action, of which Black political action is an expression, means that workers look to themselves, and only to themselves. They or-

ganize collectively to wage a struggle against the bosses and their government.

Independent working-class politics also means union battles against the boss, anticop protests, proabortion rights action, and the many other struggles we've seen recently and have been involved in.

The ultimate objective of independent working-class political action is to replace capitalist rule with the political rule of working people. It's in this framework that we view elections, and how working people should participate in them. And it is from this standpoint that we say that participating in the elections can be a useful tactic to help NBIPP to get out its radical charter and to recruit and grow.

It is important for NBIPP to seriously consider running candidates in an educational way as was done in Seaside. Hopefully the North Carolina petitioning effort will convince all leaders of the importance of using this vehicle to build NBIPP. It is by taking these types of steps that NBIPP will transform itself and become more working class in composition, including in its leadership.

The charter's section on Black workers and the key role workers have and must play in the Black liberation movement points in the right direction. This is why we believe NBIPP should not only jump into real battles — that's crucial — but also must orient to Blacks in the organized labor movement. This means orienting to the Black miners, auto workers, garment workers, steelworkers, oil refinery workers, and other Black industrial workers who will be the backbone of the Black liberation movement.

These workers are in a position to influence and unite with their Latino and white coworkers thus bringing the weight of the labor movement on the side of the entire Black struggle. In many local unions, Blacks are the majority or significant minorities. NBIPP must orient to this potentially powerful section of the Black nationality.

Besides the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, an organization mainly for Black union officials, all the traditional civil rights organizations are led primarily by preachers, lawyers, or professionals — that section of the Black community least affected by the current economic crisis.

Debate continues

So, where is NBIPP at? It is in the midst of a debate over these two orientations — a debate that is not new in the Black struggle.

The staff-led concept of NBIPP can take Blacks back toward the procapitalist, petty-bourgeois nationalist views of the liberal, reformist Black leaders who look to the capitalist system for salvation.

The membership concept of organization, as it is presented in this debate, is revolutionary nationalist because it is based on organizing and mobilizing the masses of Blacks independent of and against the capitalist system.

No matter what the eventual development and evolution of NBIPP, the fact that it is discussing strategy and tactics to win full liberation for Blacks can only help in the forging of a new layer of militant leaders in the Black nationality.

It will not be an easy debate. That was shown by the discussion at the last national convention about members with so-called divided loyalties. Most members of NBIPP are in other organizations or groups. It may be a political organization, a union, business association, or church. The only valid issue of divided loyalties concerns those members who oppose building the organization as a truly pro-Black, antiracist, anticapitalist party.

But to point the finger at those who are loyally trying to build NBIPP along the lines of its charter and accuse them of divided loyalties is a diversion from the debate over strategy and tactics to build NBIPP. In other words, the discussion over this question is in fact over the staff-led versus the membership concept of organization.

The discussions in NBIPP and other Black organizations reflect the crisis of perspective and leadership in the labor and Black movements. The blows of the employers and its government are driving home the lesson that class collaborationism and liberalism cannot improve the condition of workers, the oppressed nationalities, and women.

We can expect as the crisis deepens, and new experiences and lessons are learned, new leaders will emerge in the working class and Black nationality.

That's why the SWP and YSA's activity to advance Black liberation is multifaceted. It includes building NBIPP; working in coalitions with NBUAF against racist attacks and in support of the peoples of Central America and southern Africa; collaborating on common causes with the NAACP, PUSH, SCLC and other traditional Black organizations where possible; and most important helping in the struggle to transform the trade unions into revolutionary vehicles to win labor's emancipation and Afro-American self-determination.

It is in all these ways that Black workers in particular will be won to Marxism and to our party. We are confident that the Marxist current in the unions, among women activists, and in the Black nationality will grow as this debate on perspectives deepens in the 1980s.

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Can work in Democratic Party be a step forward for working people?

BY HARRY RING

Today, more than ever, we need an independent working-class party.

Workers are taking a beating on all fronts. And that goes double and triple for women workers and members of oppressed nationalities.

Unemployment is increasing. Employers have escalated their drive against wages and working conditions. There is the government assault on social programs and a barrage of attacks on the rights of Blacks, Latinos, and women.

President Reagan has emerged as the symbol of this reactionary offensive. But the drive is totally bipartisan. The administration could never get away with what it has without the complicity of the congressional Democrats. This same pattern of bipartisan collaboration is repeated on the state and local level.

It should not be forgotten that the cutback drive being pressed by the Reagan administration was initiated under Carter.

In fact, the Carter administration was so bad that some workers registered their disgust by voting for Reagan.

That 1980 "choice" — Carter or Reagan — was a powerful example of why working people need their own party.

Today there is a growing realization of this need. Perhaps the most significant expression of it was the establishment in 1980 of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP). NBIPP takes the position that neither the Republicans nor Democrats can solve the problems of Black people, or working people generally, because both parties are controlled by the ruling capitalist class.

As is to be expected with such a bold new venture, NBIPP is struggling to establish itself. Part of the struggle is simply withstanding the pressure that comes down from the two major parties.

That pressure is real, and it takes its toll. One recent casualty is Manning Marable, who played an important role in the founding of NBIPP.

Today, in a political somersault, Marable argues that radicals must work in the Democratic Party.

A professor at Fisk University in Nashville, Marable is now a vice-chairperson of Democratic Socialists of America, a group that says you can move toward socialism by being active in the Democratic Party.

Marable presented his case for sticking with the Democrats in the January 5 issue of the *Guardian*, a radical weekly. The article is entitled, "Democrats aren't all donkeys."

'Ideological hegemony'

He argues that it's necessary to be in the Democratic Party because it's the party that has "ideological hegemony" among "national minorities, workers and the poor."

This is certainly not a new idea. For decades it's been the stock argument of those in the labor, Black, and radical movements who concede a new party is needed, but claim "now is not the time."

The reason it's not the time, they say, is because workers aren't ready for it — they're still tied to the Democrats — and to be effective you have to be where the workers supposedly are.

It is, of course, a fact that many workers and members of oppressed nationalities do have illusions about the Democratic Party, and generally, when they vote, they vote for it. But it would be hard to establish that significant numbers of working people are active members of that party, even though many union officials and Black and Latino public figures certainly are.

In fact, the Democrats and Republicans really aren't membership organizations. Essentially they are only vote-gathering apparatuses composed largely of office holders, would-be office holders, job holders, and job seekers.

It's also true that, while a majority of those workers and Blacks who do vote tend to vote Democratic, many register their disillusionment by not voting.

Marable, somewhat surprisingly, argues that it's not a problem of illusions. Workers and oppressed nationalities, he claims, have good, material reasons for sticking with the Democrats.

"It may be uncomfortable for leftists," he writes, "but the reality is that Blacks have experienced relatively lower rates of unemployment and an expansion of human services (housing, welfare, health care, etc.), when Democrats have dominated the Congress and executive branch than under Republicans."

He continues, "Blacks overwhelmingly support De-

ocrats neither out of nostalgia for the New Deal, nor because they are 'duped' by false promises of prosperity, but because their material condition perceptibly improved in modest ways during most Democratic administrations."

This is an important issue. If what Marable says is so — if the Democrats, or any other party, can and do improve the material conditions of Blacks and other workers — there would be scant prospect, or reason, for building a new party.

But Marable doesn't offer a single fact to bolster his claim that Democratic administrations have benefited working people in general and Blacks in particular.

True enough, there is a difference in the rhetoric of Democrats and Republicans. That's hardly surprising. If they both sounded alike it would be even harder to persuade people there's enough difference between them to make one of them worth voting for.

It's also possible to point to specific periods that the Democrats were in power when Black people, and

workers generally, registered gains. The same could even be said of the Republican administration of Dwight Eisenhower when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled school segregation unconstitutional.

Cause and effect

But it's mixing up cause and effect to credit the Democrats or Republicans with responsibility for these gains.

Every significant gain of Blacks and labor was won through hard, independent mass struggles. All were wrested from the rulers of this country. None were granted voluntarily.

This has been the case under Democratic administrations as well as Republican, and the record confirms it. (See related story, next page.)

Relatively speaking, Blacks and working people generally were somewhat better off economically from the period of World War II through the 1960s. It was a period of relative prosperity.

That came to an end in the 1970s. Since then the situation has grown steadily worse, and the end is not yet in sight. Even according to the Reagan administration's unceasing optimism, unemployment will not drop below 10 percent until 1984.

That means, at best, a continuing jobless rate of 20 percent for adult Black workers and 50 percent for Black youth.

If and when the system goes through its next upturn, there will be no return to the relative prosperity of the postwar era. Government forecasters even speak of a 6 percent jobless rate as "full employment."

American capitalism is in the throes of deep-going crisis. Its profits are jeopardized and its domination of colonial and semicolonial countries is being challenged. That's why it wages unrelenting war against the rising liberation forces abroad and against working people at home.

That's why the problem isn't just Ronald Reagan, stone racist and reactionary that he is.

Put aside the liberal verbiage of some Democrats and look at the actual record. It's both parties that agree to send arms to dictatorships in Central America. Both parties vote trillions for arms while cutting away at food stamps, medical care, Social Security. It's both parties that refuse to establish a massive public works program to provide jobs for the army of unemployed.

Carter, Koch symbols

In this time of permanent capitalist crisis, James Carter and New York's labor-hating, race-baiting Mayor Koch are much more typically the symbols of the Democratic Party than its liberal spokespeople. The situation of capitalism is so bad they can hardly afford even empty campaign promises.

Marable, of course, does not deny the Democratic Party has its Carters and Kochs. But he insists there's also a "liberal-left" wing in the party and that's what must be supported. This wing, he says, includes most Black elected officials, plus various "progressive" white politicians.

The reason we should all get into the Democratic Party and support these people, he says, is because they're the ones who are going to lead the workers out of the Democratic Party.

"I would insist," Marable says, "that the mass base for a labor alignment is already inside that party's [the Democrats] liberal-left wing."

Apparently to give this idea some credence, Marable suggests it may be possible to persuade Rep. Ron Dellums, the California Black Democrat, "or some other prominent radical who is nominally 'in the Democratic Party'" to run for president in 1984 on an independent ticket.

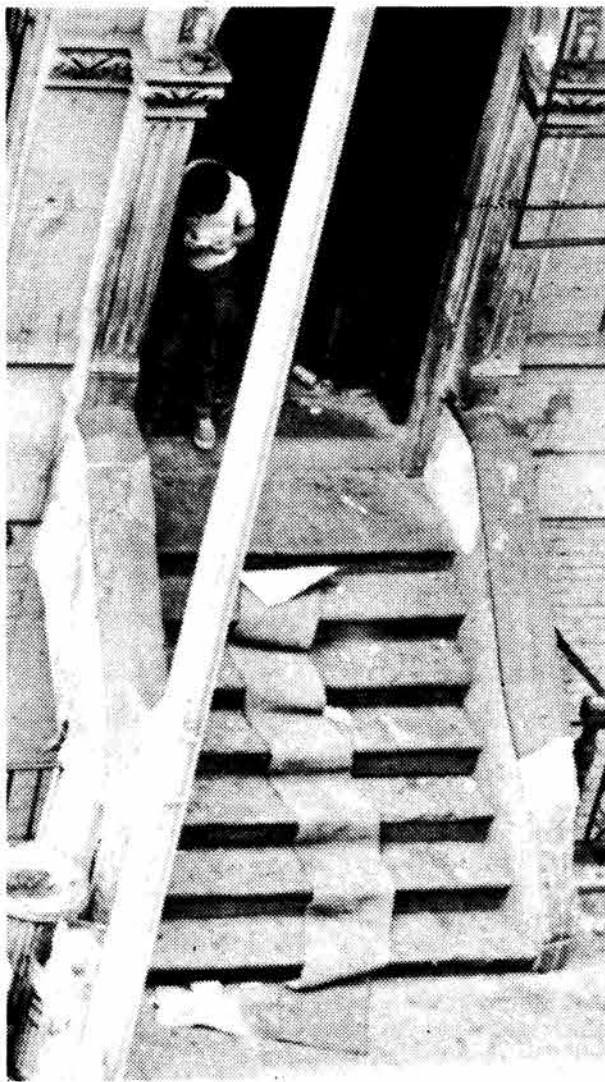
That's not a new idea.

The decision to launch NBIPP was made at the fourth convention of the National Black Political Assembly. It was made by delegates who had come to realize that supporting Democrats, Black or white, was a dead end.

The first convention of the National Black Assembly was held in Gary, Indiana, in 1972. More than 8,000 activists turned out for that conference, which the organizers said would discuss proposals for independent political action.

But the assembly was controlled by Black Democratic politicians. They said yes, an independent Black party was needed, but it could only be built over a period of time. Meanwhile, you had to continue supporting liberal

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Black — and white — Democrats.

Nothing was done to build an independent party — over a period of years or otherwise.

At the 1976 national assembly, the leaders tried to generate some enthusiasm by letting it be known that a prominent Black politician was considering running for president on an independent ticket.

"Dellums for president" posters appeared. Dellums himself was flown in.

He thanked the assembly for nominating him, but respectfully declined. He urged the body to continue working in the Democratic Party.

Same story

Now, in 1983, Marable offers the identical bait for staying in the Democratic Party.

Two years ago, he saw the situation very differently and far more correctly.

Marable wrote a report on the founding of NBIPP in the November-December 1980 issue of *Moving On*.

In that report he effectively described the deepening social crisis and the resulting radicalization of Blacks and how this convinced activists of the need to establish NBIPP.

Detailing some of the turbulent events of 1980, he said:

"The decisive turning point, however, was Miami. The popular rebellion of thousands of Black men, women, and children against their political/economic/social oppression in Dade County was a significant statement ending an entire era of race relations."

He added, approvingly: "The politics of contemporary accommodation and bourgeois reform, characterized by Old Guard leaders Jesse Jackson, Vernon Jordan, Benjamin Hooks and Andrew Young was rejected by significant elements of the Black working class, the unemployed, youth and the progressive intelligentsia."

Marable rounded out that 1980 analysis with another key point: He described, again approvingly, the NBIPP position on "Black Labor." It recognized, he said, "the unique duality of our exploitation as a people in this nation: we are oppressed as a race and as part of the working class."

"Any strategy for Black liberation in the 1980s must in large measure advance the interests of the majority of Blacks, third-world and working-class poor — on the production lines in Detroit, in the steel mills of Pittsburgh and Youngstown."

Those are still the key points. Marable's present arguments to the contrary, the politics of "accommodation" — working in the capitalist-controlled Democratic Party — are as self-defeating now as they were in 1980.

Secondly, and equally important, the new movement that must emerge will be created out of struggles of rebellious Blacks, Latinos, and working-class whites rising up against the intolerable abuses of this bankrupt system. It will come out of the struggle to transform the unions into effective fighting instruments.

This movement will not be led by the "liberal-left tendencies of the Democratic Party."

Those who are active in the Democratic Party and counsel others to do likewise are not paving the way for a new, independent movement. They are a major obstacle to its development.

Can't help working people

Black office holders, like their white counterparts, are not in the Democratic Party to lead people out of it. They are there for what it means for them personally — their salaries, privileges, status. Some may even believe that by advancing their own careers through the Democratic Party, they are also advancing the interests of Blacks.

But in a capitalist-controlled party, they can do nothing meaningful to benefit working people. All they can do is help perpetuate the costly illusion that something good can come out of the Democratic Party. Indeed the capitalist rulers who control the Democratic Party want a certain number of Black public officials today precisely in order to dupe Black people into thinking they have a stake in that party.

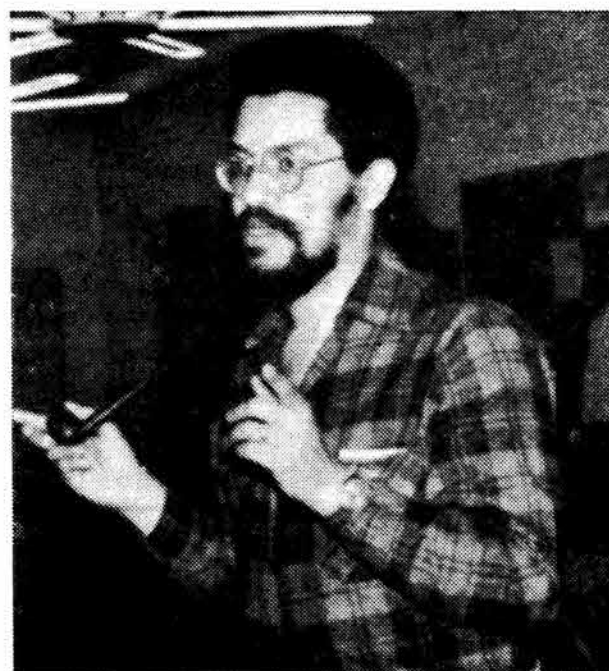
And in some cities, such as Newark and Gary, they may well prefer to have a Black mayor take the rap for the ruling-class policy of slashing social services to the very bone.

It may well be that when a powerful mass-based alternative to the capitalist parties looms on the American scene, some of these politicians will leave the Democratic Party and join it.

But they won't lead in building it.

That job must and will be done by those who have no stake in this system, whose conditions of life lead them not to "accommodate" with the system but to fight against it.

That's true of the entire working class, and it's especially true of the Black nationality which, as Marable explained in 1980, experiences "a unique duality" of exploitation. Doubly exploited and oppressed, they will prove more than doubly militant.



Manning Marable

In arguing for his Democratic Party perspective, Marable contends that most proponents of a new party underestimate what he calls the "structural impediments" to establishing one.

He says that he too favors a new party, but sees work in the Democratic Party as part of a necessary "transitional" strategy for building one.

Under "structural impediments" Marable includes such real problems as the high cost of campaigning, obtaining media exposure, etc.

But if you conceive of the new party as an organization based on the working class, there is an existing structure with the resources for waging effective struggles and campaigns. This is the trade unions, which will necessarily be the base for a viable alternative party — a labor party.

What about a transitional strategy for building a labor party?

Certainly that is needed. But to develop an effective strategy, it's necessary to begin with a clear political understanding of where the forces for the new party will come from and who will lead in getting the movement off the ground. The obvious point being that if you don't know where you're going you're not likely to get there.

Once you recognize that the working class must be the backbone of the new party, it becomes readily apparent that the unions will provide the structure for the party.

How to accomplish this? Again, the starting point is political. The initial leadership will be provided not by

those who collaborate with the employers to keep industry profitable and who keep the labor movement tied to the capitalist political machines. Rather it will come from those doing everything they can to break labor away from this sort of collaboration and move it in an independent direction.

It will be the most politically conscious workers who understand what the situation in the country is and why the essential next step in American politics is the development of an independent labor party based on the unions. They will initiate the transition, those who persist in bringing that truth to the workers in every way they can.

As bodies of workers learn from bitter experience the bankruptcy of class collaboration, they will come to see the need for such political action. And they will take it on themselves to utilize the structure of the unions to meet organizational needs.

It will, obviously, be a fight. And, equally obviously, it won't be done overnight. But every opportunity must be sought to take the initial steps.

A single union body in a single area running a labor candidate for office will prove a powerful link in the transitional chain. It will surely stimulate others to do likewise.

One very valuable link in the transitional process already exists, one that Marable has, unfortunately, turned his back on — the NBIPP. By its very being as a militant, independent, anticapitalist party, it offers an instructive example for all workers about what must and can be done.

If NBIPP were to establish a base in the organized labor movement, where there is a very large number of Black workers, it could serve as a stimulus for the formation of a labor party. Given the greater militancy and radical consciousness, in general, of Black workers, they will most certainly play a vanguard role in the development of a labor party.

Until the 1930s, the mass of production workers in the basic industries of this country were unorganized. The idea of unionizing them was limited almost exclusively to a relatively small number of radicals, and the odds against doing it seemed overwhelming.

But with the radicalization of the working class in the 1930s, a movement erupted in which working people demonstrated that once they go into action they are truly a mighty power. In a few short years of intense conflict, the seemingly invincible corporate giants — auto, steel, rubber, maritime — were organized, contracts won, and the CIO established.

The present crisis of capitalism is again going to impel the working class into action. This time the stakes will be enormously higher because workers will challenge the bosses — and their parties — for political power. That will be the dawn of a great new day.

The myths about Democratic Party's contributions to Blacks and labor

The example most frequently cited of what the Democrats have done for Blacks and labor is Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal of the 1930s and 40s.

Social gains were registered during that time. Unemployment insurance and social security were established. Federal funds were made available for welfare. The right of workers to organize into unions was given legal recognition. Black workers were hired into industrial jobs from which they had previously been largely barred.

But these social programs were not established because Roosevelt Democrats were "progressive." These gains were won by the massive movement that organized the CIO and by the demonstrations of tens and hundreds of thousands of enraged unemployed.

The same with the right to join unions. That right was not "given" by a Democratic Congress. It was won by militant battles of masses of industrial workers newly organized into the CIO. Pitched battles with armed cops, sit-in strikes, huge marches — these activities guaranteed the right to organize. Congress simply ratified the reality.

Jobs? Apart from the Works Progress Administration, which, again, was a concession won by the unemployed, the only employment the Roosevelt administration provided was the war industry jobs created as his administration dragged the country into World War II.

The rights of Black people? It took the threat of a Black march on Washington to compel Roosevelt to issue an executive order creating a Fair Practices Employment Commission, with no enforcement powers. During Roosevelt's "war for democracy," the U.S. armed forces remained Jim Crow. Desegregation was not won until 1948.

Yes, the Roosevelt administration went further than most in granting social concessions. But that was only because the radicalization of working people was so deep and so massively demonstrated.

What about the Democratic administration of Harry Truman that followed?

Truman's administration put through the Taft-Hartley law, which has been used as a club against labor ever since.

He initiated the cold war and witch-hunt — the "subversive" list used so viciously against militant workers and Black liberation fighters.

And he "created" jobs by hurling us into the Korean war.

The next Democratic administration was that of John Kennedy. His period coincided with the rise of the Southern civil rights movement and the emergence of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. Responding to that pressure, Kennedy offered a lot of rhetoric about a "new frontier."

But the main accomplishment of his administration was the Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961 and the missile crisis of 1962 that brought the world to the nuclear brink.

As massive Black rebellions swept major cities from Newark to Los Angeles, Texas Democrat Lyndon Johnson linked hands with members of Congress and sang, "We shall overcome."

But as the rebellions ebbed, so did Johnson's new-found attachment to civil rights. He directed his energies to escalating the murderous involvement in Vietnam. Would anyone cite that as even a "modest gain" for Blacks and other workers?

What Marable himself describes as the "dismal record" of Carter is close enough in memory as to not require discussion.

Think about it concretely. Roosevelt, Truman, Kennedy, Johnson, Carter. Does the record substantiate Marable's claim that the "material conditions" of Blacks "perceptibly improved in modest ways during most Democratic administrations"?

Farmers' protests slandered

'In These Times' echoes lies of big-business media

BY DOUG JENNESS

The January 19-25 issue of *In These Times*, which identifies itself as an "independent socialist newspaper," carried an article by Timothy Lange headlined, "Right-wing rebels' tactics draw fire from moderates."

Surely more than one reader blinked and then rubbed their eyes when they saw the photo of three farmers from the American Agriculture Movement (AAM) above this headline. One's first reaction is that either the photo or the headline was out of place. But, unfortunately after reading the article, it's clear that this isn't so. The article does, indeed, smear the AAM rebels as "rightists."

Lange, writing from Boulder, Colorado, focuses on Jerry Wright, whose farm near Springfield, Colorado, was put up for sale in early January because he couldn't keep up with his loan payments. The auction was the target of a protest demonstration by 500 farmers from southeastern Colorado. The action was savagely attacked with tear gas and clubs by a sheriff's posse that included a number of local merchants.

Lange claims that Wright "provides an unsavory symbol to dramatize farmers' increasing difficulties."

Why? Because, "In the last 14 years, he has been sued 10 times by local merchants for nonpayment of loans."

Whose side is the "independent socialist" weekly on? Financially-squeezed farmers threatened with foreclosure like Wright, or local merchants ready to help the county sheriff break some heads.

Another distasteful characteristic of Wright, according to Lange, is that "his views are far to the right of those of the normally conservative farmers of the region."

What does he mean by "normally conservative?" Springfield is located in Baca County where the AAM was founded five years ago. It remains today an important center of the nation-wide farmers' protest movement. There may be some conservative-minded farmers in Baca County, but the distinctive feature of this area the past few years has been the radical protest activity of exploited farmers.

But Wright, Lange charges, is especially far out in right field because he was quoted in local newspapers last summer making anti-Semitic statements. Whether or not Wright held rightist views like this at one time, holds them now, or may hold them in the future is not particularly relevant to the issues involved in the fight to prevent his farm from being foreclosed and sold by auction. This was a united protest of farmers — who hold a wide range of political views — to try to prevent a fellow farmer from being plowed under by the Federal Land Bank. And this just struggle was violently attacked by the cops.

This is the real issue. Where do Lange and the *ITT* stand on it?

Supports 'moderate' opposition

The political reason for Lange's smear attack on the AAM becomes clearer when he goes on to report favorably the "moderate" opposition to the AAM's tactics.

He quotes Colorado leader of the National Farmers Union (NFU) Bruce Abbe as saying, "When something like this [the Springfield action] comes along, and goes awry, it works against us."

But this should come as no surprise. The NFU leadership throughout the country does not generally engage in direct action. For many years it has relied on lobbying and electing "friends-of-farmer" Democrats to try to improve the lot of farmers. The NFU is not willing to take the necessary steps to build a mass protest movement of family farmers. That's why groups like the AAM and many local action groups have come forward in the present crisis facing farmers.

Lange observes that Tommy Willis, the newly elected AAM president, promised he would "lobby to end foreclosures." Lange says that Willis "would work to prevent a splintering of the organization by members bent on demonstrations and more militant actions."

But, by just quoting Willis, Lange creates an erroneous impression of the national AAM convention. The overwhelming sentiment at the gathering was in favor of direct action protests like the one in Springfield.

There was a debate at the convention in which prominent AAM leaders like Alvin Jenkins from Campo, Colorado, and Tommy Kersey, president of the Georgia AAM, supported the need to conduct militant action against foreclosures. On the other hand, leaders like Marvin Meek and Willis favored strengthening the AAM's lobbying efforts in Washington.

Lange has entered this important debate on perspectives for the farmers' struggle. But rather than employing political arguments to defend his views, he slanders those whose tactics he opposes, that is, those who are carrying out independent, militant actions.

In centering on the alleged rightist nature of the AAM fighters, Lange is simply echoing the smear campaign being waged against the AAM by the big-business press and the government.

Well before the *ITT* article appeared the *Rocky Mountain News* and the *Denver Post* had filled its pages with articles about Jerry Wright's "rightist" views and the AAM's "violent" tactics.

A *Denver Post* editorial on January 6 claimed "that the American Agriculture Movement's attempt to halt the sale of his [Wright's] farm degenerated into a bloody melee. . . ." It thus puts the blame for violence on the demonstrating farmers. Then the *Post* advises that this "won't win the movement many sympathizers. Most farmers aren't comfortable with and don't condone confrontational tactics."

On the same day the paper carried an article headlined, "Bad debts followed Ag activist: 11 suits filed in last 14 years."

The following day the *Rocky Mountain News* joined the chorus with blazing headlines that read: "Farmer in protest has long history of unpaid loans," and "'Voice of farmers' echoes right-wing groups."

This vitriolic campaign in the big-business press against the AAM has one purpose: to try to pit exploited farmers against each other and to pit them against wage workers and unionists.

Most AAM leaders see through this violence-baiting and rightist-baiting and are undeterred in their struggle to fight against foreclosures and for the farmers' right to a living income.

They are also attempting to forge alliances with others engaged in the struggle against big business, the banks, and the government. Those that Lange attempts to smear as "right-wing rebels" have accepted invitations to speak at union meetings in the Denver area in order to explain the issues in their fight and to gain support.

The national AAM convention adopted a resolution supporting the national independent truckers' strike and throughout the country AAM activists are concretely aiding the truckers' fight.

Top AAM leaders like Jenkins and Kersey have also endorsed the suit of 15 socialists who were fired by Lockheed-Georgia for their political and union activities.

It should further be noted that Alvin Jenkins, one of the most sought after speakers in the AAM, inspires his audiences by pointing to the example of the civil rights movement. He explains that Blacks won significant victories against discrimination by going into the streets in massive, independent protests; and that it's that example that farmers should emulate.

Sucker bait

Those in the labor movement, especially those in it who consider themselves socialist, should not be suckered by the kind of bait that the *Rocky Mountain News*, the *Denver Post*, and other big-business media are putting out.

It's true that reactionary groups such as Lyndon LaRouche's National Democratic Policy Committee and F.R.E.E. are attempting to get a hearing from farmers

Judge jails bankrupt farmer in Ohio

BY SCOTT BREEN

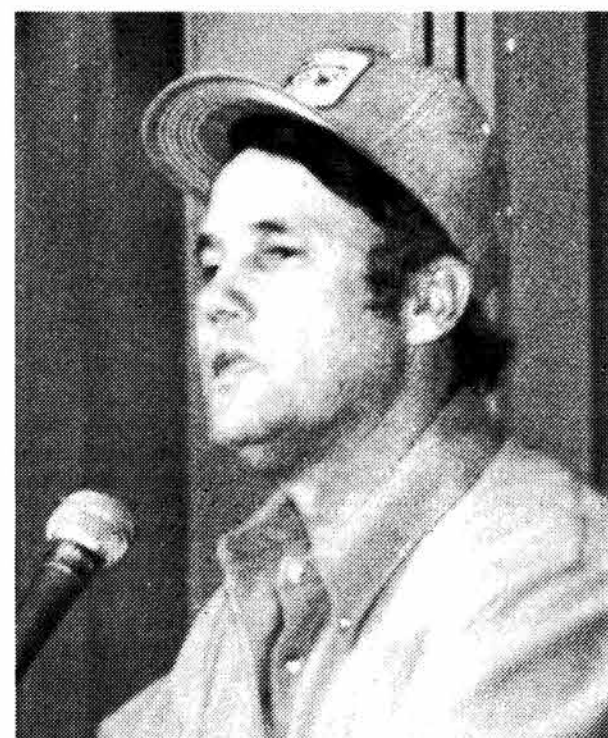
CINCINNATI — "Doug's a political prisoner. He's like Lech Walesa of Poland." That's how Dick Dailey described the jailing of his brother on January 28.

Doug, whose farm had been auctioned two weeks earlier at the demand of his main creditor, the Production Credit Association, refused to turn over his financial records to PCA during a debtor's court hearing. For this Judge Robert Nicholls cited him for civil contempt and sentenced him to the Madison County Jail until he agrees to turn the records over to PCA.

The Daileys have been fighting the foreclosure of their farm from the beginning. Two weeks earlier nearly 1,000 angry farmers turned out at the Madison County Courthouse to try to prevent the auctioning of the farm. This fight has become the focus of a widespread movement by farmers in Ohio in response to the worsening economic situation of working farmers and the cold-blooded policies being pursued by banks, lending institutions, and government agencies. Chapters of the Family Farmers Movement (FFM) are rapidly springing up and growing throughout Ohio. They are dedicated to taking direct action to help the farmers.



Militant/Val Libby



Militant/Fred White

AAM leaders Alvin Jenkins (top) and Tommy Kersey want to build mass, independent farmers' movement.

who are fed up with the government and the Democratic and Republican parties. And some may be influenced by this right-wing propaganda.

But the way to combat this is not to slander the AAM and turn your back on them. Nor is it to prettify the totally ineffective perspective of relying on Democratic and Republican politicians.

The way to fight reactionary influence is to help get the true issues of the farmers' fight into the labor movement and to win workers to support this fight. The way to counter right-wing demagogues who try to win support from farmers is to show farmers that the labor movement is uncompromisingly behind their struggle.

The PCA and the government fear the development of the FFM. It's for this reason that they have decided to imprison Doug Dailey. He is a leader of the FFM. In fact, the day before his jailing he was featured on the nationally-syndicated Phil Donahue television talk show where he explained his situation, the farmers' plight, and why a moratorium on foreclosures is urgently needed.

So authorities want to make an example of him and send a message to anyone who might dare challenge the prerogatives of the banks.

However, like the case of Wayne Cryts, a Missouri farmer who defied the government to retrieve his soybeans from a bankrupted grain elevator company, the government may have miscalculated about Doug Dailey and farmers in Ohio. Farmers are not taking it lying down.

In a telephone interview with the *Militant*, Dick Dailey urged people to write Judge Nicholls, Madison County Courthouse, London, Ohio, 43140, demanding that Doug be released. "We want to show the judge," he said, "that this is not an isolated event, that people clear across the country are affected the same way as Doug."

The World Bank in the Philippines

Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines by Waldo Bello, David Kinley, and Elaine Elinson. Institute for Food and Development Policy-Philippine Solidarity Network, San Francisco, 1982, 256 pp., \$6.95 paper.

BY MORRIS STARKSKY

Development Debacle is a detailed account of the role played by the World Bank (official name: International Bank for Reconstruction and Development) in reorganizing the Philippine economy from 1970 to 1981. For readers unfamiliar with Philippine history the authors have provided a short summary in the introduction.

The book provides us with a unique and valuable insight into the scope and mechanics of U.S. domination of

the Philippines because the authors had access to secret World Bank documents.

BOOK REVIEW

A network of disillusioned liberal technocrats was formed within the bank's bureaucracy in 1979. Since that time these technocrats have made available to the Philippine Solidarity Network over 6,000 pages of secret reports, memoranda, and assessments of the bank's program in the Philippines. There is a good summary of the contents of these documents in the book's introduction.

"Covering the whole range of World Bank projects, these very candid documents constitute straight-from-the-horse's-mouth evidence that the Bank's programs have directly served U.S. strategic and corporate interests, supported authoritarian control by a brutal dictator, and worked against the welfare of the majority of the people in the Philippines."

Faced with a deep-seated economic crisis and a deteriorating political situation in the Philippines, the World Bank initiated a program of political "stabilization" and more thorough "integration" of the Philippine economy into the world capitalist system dominated by the United States.

The kind of "stabilization" promoted by the bank was martial law, established by the Marcos regime in 1972. Martial law provided the authoritarian framework for dealing with opposition to the World Bank's economic

program. The economic program included a "drastic, total shift to labor-intensive manufacture of light consumer goods [for export] like garments, footwear, and handicrafts."

The economic program, establishment of martial law, and the social crisis they were presumably intended to solve are examined in the first chapter of the book. This chapter, called "Colonization Without Occupation," is almost worth the price of the entire volume.

Instruments of exploitation

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are instruments of imperialist exploitation. Through these multinational financial institutions, the developed capitalist countries dominate the economic life of poor countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Since the United States is the richest and most powerful member nation in the World Bank and the IMF, U.S. bankers control these institutions and set the policies for granting loans to underdeveloped countries.

The World Bank and the IMF were set up in 1944 at the Bretton Woods Conference. This meeting laid the basis for post-World War II international economic order dominated by the United States. At first the World Bank played a role in the reconstruction of the European capitalist countries through the Marshall Plan. Under this plan, named for U.S. Secretary of State George Marshall, massive amounts of U.S. capital was used to rebuild war-torn Europe.

In the 1950s the World Bank shifted to financing development projects in the colonial and semicolonial world. Backed by blocs of capital from member nations, the bank borrows from private banks and lends the money to developing countries at below market interest rates. While the World Bank provides long-term (5- to 20-year) loans, the IMF provides medium-term (1- to 3-year) credits to bridge temporary shortfalls of foreign exchange to pay for imports.

This is not a form of internationalist generosity. Quite the contrary. The World Bank and the IMF are essentially clearing houses for private banks and giant corporations in advanced capitalist countries. They operate solely in the interests of these institutions. The only development promoted by the World Bank and the IMF is in production-for-export industries such as mining, agriculture, textiles, and light consumer goods. They pro-

mote it by imposing political conditions on their loans.

Typically, these conditions include currency devaluation, cuts in government spending for social programs, wage controls, higher interest rates, and removal of legal barriers to foreign investment and trade. Imposition of these conditions results in very high profits for foreign investors and domestic exporters. It also results in a takeover of domestically owned businesses by foreign corporations. But, most particularly, it worsens the already horrendous conditions of the toilers in these countries. Chronic inflation, staggering unemployment, hunger, illiteracy, and disease are the standard way of life for millions.

The book is divided into seven chapters, each focusing on a different aspect of the World Bank's program in the Philippines. It should be noted that the chapters were written by different teams of authors, and so have somewhat the character of independent essays. There is enough overview in each chapter to provide continuity, and the new material deepens the analysis of the bank's strategy and its effects.

Philippine plan disastrous

We learn from these chapters that the bank's "experiment" in the Philippines has been a catastrophic failure. By 1980 the export-oriented industries were in trouble, caught between a world economic crisis and a rising tide of protectionism in the advanced capitalist countries. Foreign investors became alarmed at rising working-class opposition to the 25 percent decrease in real wages imposed by repressive means from 1972 to 1978.

In 1981 the Philippine economy was on the verge of collapse. The country was \$15 billion in debt and bankrupt, foreign investors were concerned that the Marcos regime had not sufficiently "institutionalized authoritarianism," and the National Democratic Front had emerged as a viable opposition force. So, in a last ditch effort to impose the will of foreign capital on the Filipino people, the World Bank and the IMF took more direct control of the state apparatus by getting Marcos to install their own technocrats in his cabinet.

A whole country was thus placed in virtual receivership by capitalist financial institutions. The process that led up to the establishment of this "World Bank cabinet," and the measures taken by this cabinet are the subjects of the last two chapters.

The drugging of the Third World

Prescriptions for Death, by Milton Silverman, Philip R. Lee, and Mia Lydecker; published by University of California Press, Berkeley, California, 1982; 186 pages; \$16.95.

BY ED BEECHER

In a recent article columnist Colman McCarthy observed that while a massive police effort was mobilized to track down the Tylenol killer, no comparable effort is directed against the profit-hungry drug companies responsible for a good many more deaths.

As one example, he cited the Eli Lilly company, which recently withdrew its arthritis medicine, Oralflex, from

erating procedure for the drug companies in their coining of superprofits in the oppressed countries.

In an earlier work, the authors noted that in this country the amount spent on drug promotion is more than on medical education. Proportionately, that's far more true in the Third World.

For instance, a principal means of peddling drugs is through "detail men" — the promoters who visit doctors with their products.

In this country, there is one doctor for every 570 people. For every 10 doctors there's one such promoter.

In Indonesia there's but one doctor for every 13,640 people. And for every two to three doctors there's a "detail man."

Their main function is to bribe doctors to prescribe their particular product. "Samples" are lavished in huge quantities. The doctor, in turn, prescribes — and sells at a fancy price — the items that will often fill an entire office closet.

The promotion artists check local pharmacies. Area doctors who have filled enough prescriptions for their particular pill can receive free color TVs, cash, invites to "medical conferences" whose educational activity includes porn films and prostitutes.

Clinics and hospitals are a particular target and the dumping is heavy. Some medical facilities will find themselves with a 20-year stock of a particular medicine. A lot of what's on the shelves goes bad, and a lot of what goes bad gets used.

In most Third World countries, the drug dealers enjoy even less government regulation than here. That frees them to recommend their products for a wide and vague assortment of uses and with a corresponding absence of warnings about side effects and dangers.

Prescriptions for Death provides cases of specific drugs and how they have been criminally exploited. One is chloramphenicol, an antibiotic first marketed under the brand name, Chloromycetin. The drug, they say, is valu-

able against certain specific life threatening infections. But its use should be very limited because it can have serious and even lethal side effects.

Today in the United States and Britain, products containing chloramphenicol are marketed with limits on use and warnings on side effects carefully spelled out.

But, the authors report, in Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, and Central America, "physicians are given strikingly different information." Suggested use is substantially broader than in this country and Britain.

On three-quarters of these potentially lethal products, the labels contain no warning whatever in these countries.

Not surprisingly, the drug industry ranks high among the world's profit makers.

The toll extracted by the drug profiteers is felt in many ways, including a terrible waste of the few resources of impoverished peoples.

In India, the government estimated that the country's basic drug needs could be satisfied by "just 116 generic drugs" — less than 1 percent of the 15,000 brand name items marketed there now.

Private drug companies have developed in India and are even doing some exporting. But, the authors of *Prescription for Death* report, the program "has been marked by serious difficulties," including a high percentage of substandard drugs.

They also report that Cuba, which imported up to 80 percent of its drugs before the revolution, now satisfies 82 percent of its needs and is exporting to Latin America, Africa, and Asia.

Comparing Cuba's nationalized drug industry to the private one in India, the authors comment, "The program in Cuba appears to be far more successful."

That is not surprising. The Cuban solution is simple and well worth emulating. Take the profit out of prescriptions.

BOOK REVIEW

the market. Oralflex killed a number of people here and in Great Britain. Lilly knew this and continued peddling the drug. The Food and Drug Administration is "considering" criminal action.

There are many more stories on record about how people of this country are victimized and ripped off by drug companies. But what these companies do at home is small-time crime compared to their record in colonial and semicolonial countries.

Prescriptions for Death details, with powerful effect, the enormous damage inflicted on people of the colonial world by drug companies in the major capitalist countries, particularly the United States.

With carefully collected and presented data, the authors describe how unusable, inferior, and often deadly drugs are dumped on impoverished countries — including drugs that have been removed from the market after being found unsafe in the United States and Europe.

High pressure sales tactics, wholesale bribery of doctors, and a host of other corrupt practices are standard op-

Socialist workers plan Salvador solidarity and sales of 'Militant' at plant gates

BY MALIK MIAH

"We're asking the American people to prevent the U.S. government from continuing its intervention in El Salvador so that our right to self-determination will be respected." This is the message that Alejandro Molina Lara, an exiled Salvadoran trade union leader touring the United States, has brought to the U.S. labor movement.

In early January socialist workers from around the country met in Chicago to discuss how to advance U.S. solidarity with the people of El Salvador, as well as other important questions before the U.S. labor movement. Participating in the discussions were supporters of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party who belong to the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA); United Steelworkers of America (USWA); United Auto Workers (UAW); International Association of Machinists (IAM); United Transportation Union (UTU); International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE); Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU); International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU); and the Oil Chemical and Atomic Workers Union (OCAW).

The January 28 *Militant* reported the assessment of these meetings concerning the government-employer attacks on the labor movement and its response.

Center of world politics

Building a massive movement against U.S. intervention in Central America, based in the working class, was adopted as the number one task of socialist workers at their meetings. This is because Central America and the Caribbean are at the center of world politics. It is there that the big steps are being taken today to end imperialist domination and capitalist rule. The unfolding socialist revolution in that region has made it the central target of U.S. imperialist attack.

Washington's focal points of assault are Nicaragua, where workers and peasants have overthrown a U.S.-backed dictatorship and seized power, and El Salvador, where revolutionary forces are moving forward toward this goal.

Socialist workers discussed major new opportunities to organize labor opposition to Washington's war effort. A conference in Tijuana, Mexico last fall, called by the World Front in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador, adopted a perspective for building an anti-intervention movement oriented towards workers and oppressed



Union antiwar contingent at San Francisco June 12, 1982, antinuclear march.

nationalities in the United States. Among the activities it projected were January 22 protests at the Mexico-U.S. border against the U.S. role in El Salvador and the rest of Central America.

The meetings of socialist workers discussed these actions and other activities that can mobilize U.S. workers and other opponents of U.S. intervention: touring Salvadoran trade union leaders like Alejandro Molina Lara; winning support and raising funds for the University of El Salvador, a target of fierce government repression; getting out the truth about the murder of Terry Santana, a well-known Salvador solidarity activist assassinated in New York last December. The police and FBI claim her murder was accidental death or suicide.

Socialists active in the miners' union discussed the impact of the recent Molina Lara tour in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio, where he addressed several UMWA locals as well as locals of steelworkers, teachers, electrical workers, and others.

A member of the ILGWU in San Francisco reported on the positive response she and other socialists have received from the large number of Salvadorans working in the garment industry there. She noted the important role these and other workers who have immigrated here from Latin America are playing in the U.S. working class and the building of a fighting labor movement.

At the rail meeting, Mark Burrows, an engineer on the Chicago Northwestern Railroad, described frequent discussions he gets into on the job about Cuba. "I ex-

plain how railroads are run in Cuba — in the interests of rail labor, not against it." Burrows and other socialist rail workers traveled to Cuba prior to Reagan's ban on trips to the revolutionary island.

The meetings also emphasized the importance of participating in tours of Nicaragua and Grenada organized by the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Upon their return from such trips, socialist workers have been able to organize meetings, slide shows, and other activities to get out the truth about the revolutions in these countries.

Circulation of press

The central objective of socialists on the job and in the unions is to win coworkers to the Marxist movement. This goes hand in hand with participation in day-to-day battles on the job against the employers and the government, and the fight to help forge a class-struggle leadership in the labor movement.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have launched a national effort to involve every member and supporter in weekly *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sales teams at plant gates as a way to regularly meet workers and reach them with socialist politics.

The meetings in Chicago discussed how this effort could expand the influence of socialists in their plants and unions and how they would participate in the campaign.

Layoffs have reduced the number of socialists working in certain important plants

and sales are an essential way of continuing political discussion with former coworkers and winning them to the SWP and YSA.

In the steelworkers' meeting, Geoff Mirelowitz, who is laid off from the Sparrows Point steel plant in Baltimore, stressed the importance of continuing to sell at the Point as a way to talk politics with the workers still employed there.

Several workers at the garment meeting noted that selling *Perspectiva Mundial* is essential for talking politics with the many Spanish-speaking workers in that industry. They also stressed the importance of learning Spanish.

During the fall, the *Militant* was an essential vehicle for participating in big developments in the class struggle. An auto worker from Detroit noted the increase in sales to UAW members during the Chrysler strike in Canada. Kirk Fowler from Kansas City said the *Militant* and the local SWP election campaign were the prime ways of reaching rail workers there, especially during the rail engineers strike.

IAM members working at the FMC plant in San Jose, California, reported that 15-20 *Militants* are now sold there every week. Oakland socialists described how they have begun to organize regular sales at the Chevron oil refinery in the Bay Area.

Socialist election campaigns

Circulation of the revolutionary press was combined with campaigning for Socialist Workers Party candidates in the November elections. The candidates, most of whom were industrial workers, ran not as steelworkers or as garment workers but as representatives of the working class, presenting a common platform on the need for labor to form its own independent party, a labor party that would fight for a workers and farmers government.

In eight races, the employers attempted to fire socialist candidates and were forced to back down every time. Candidates under attack from the employers received significant support from coworkers, many of whom saw the attempt to victimize socialists as an attack on their unions as a whole.

Defense of democratic rights in the labor movement was another major topic of discussion among socialist unionists. There have been increased attacks by the employers and the government on unionists in order to stifle opposition to war abroad and attacks on labor at home. These include direct union-busting attacks, like that against the air traffic controllers, and attempts to victimize union militants for their activities and political views.

A number of unionists working in the war industry have either been fired or harassed and spied upon by the big military contractors and the government's Defense Investigative Service (DIS), an arm of the Department of Defense.

Among those DIS is harassing is UAW Local 766 member Sally Goodman, who works for Martin Marietta Corp. in Denver. She has come under investigation for her union and women's rights activity and her socialist views. Her local has filed two grievances on her behalf.

A group of IAM members have filed a lawsuit against Lockheed-Georgia demanding reinstatement after being fired for their union activity and political views.

Both cases are being publicized by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which is organizing tours this spring for these and other victims of corporate-government spying. The meetings of socialist workers discussed the potential to win major support for these fights in the labor movement.

In the meeting of garment workers, activists expressed confidence that support could be won among coworkers for the Lockheed case. It was noted that many garment workers know government harassment firsthand — from immigration cops — and would readily solidarize with other victims of the political police.

Socialist workers also discussed winning labor support for two socialists threatened with deportation by the U.S. government because of their political views, Mexican-born Héctor Marroquín and Hamid Sodeifi, an Iranian student.

N.Y. rail workers eager to read prolabor paper

BY SANDI SHERMAN

Without waiting for a January thaw, supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance began organizing regular teams to sell each week at an industrial workplace.

Socialists in Manhattan launched this effort with the first issue of the new year. An important focus for them has been getting the *Militant* to rail workers who operate commuter lines in New York. Beginning January 1, the management of these lines was transferred from Conrail to local transit authorities. This ushered in a new wave of attacks on wages and working conditions.

Six weekly sales at rail yards have been established, with 33 copies of the *Militant* sold the first week and 28 copies sold the second week.

Two supporters of the *Militant* took the first issue to the White Plains yard just north of New York City. The issue carried a feature article on these attacks by Jim Gotesky, a rail worker at the yard. In a diner across from the crew shanty they pointed at the article to the workers who came in. Many had already seen it and explained that they understood the moves by Conrail to be an attack on their union.

"It's a good article," one said. "People need to stand together against this type of thing." Some indicated that they would be interested in attending an upcoming forum on the rail situation sponsored by the *Mili-*

tant in New York City. Of the approximately 15 workers who passed through the diner in a half hour, 6 bought copies of the *Militant*.

Gotesky sold nine copies of the *Militant* with his article, along with five copies of the book, *American Railroads: The Case for Nationalization* by Dick Roberts. Gotesky reports that there is interest in the next series of articles. "People want to know what's going on with rail workers in Philadelphia; they want to know what's going on in New Jersey."

One rail worker from the yard came to

the *Militant* forum. Gotesky reports that "the next day everyone asked about it. Everybody remembered the date, even if they didn't come."

Socialists in Morgantown, West Virginia, have set a goal of establishing eight work site sales each week, including four sales at mine portals. Last week they sold 26 copies of the *Militant* in three mine portal sales. They report that at the Rachael mine, where they sell regularly, "we are beginning to run into a number of people who have bought the paper in the past and liked it."

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Quebec workers battle antilabor decrees

Continued from Page 2

The Parti Québécois government has also waged a huge media campaign to try to turn public opinion against the general strike. Each day for a week, every daily newspaper has carried two or four full-page advertisements by the Quebec government defending its refusal to negotiate with the workers.

In addition, the news and editorial columns of the newspapers have been filled with items designed to inflame public opinion against the hospital workers.

Yves Bérubé, a member of the PQ cabinet, warned hospital workers that their actions could lead to a permanent ban on strikes in the health-care field. "I find it unbelievable," said Bérubé, "that the union federations have not yet understood that the right to strike is a symbolic right that should not be exercised."

The Common Front has responded by pointing out that only through gains won in three major Common Front strikes since 1972 have health-care standards and educational levels for French-speaking residents of Quebec begun to approach those of English Canada. If the PQ's massive cuts go through, the unions note, the gap will again grow wider.

PQ leaders have also tried to pit unemployed workers against the strikers. PQ member of parliament Robert Dean, former Quebec director of the United Auto Workers, stated that he could not understand the "union consciousness" of public workers who would strike when there are 475,000 unemployed in Quebec.

The executive committee of the PQ unanimously endorsed the government's policy, which it described as "taking back the wages of its employees in order to use them in the battle against unemployment." The committee added that public sector wages "should be subordinated to the objective of creating jobs."

Cause of economic crisis

There is growing public recognition, however, that public sector wages are not the cause of Quebec's economic crisis, and that money saved by drastic wage cuts will not go to create jobs.

The real source of Quebec's financial crisis was illustrated in a loan prospectus issued recently by provincially owned Hydro-Quebec. The report outlined for international bankers the government's progress in cutting public service wages and expenditures.

Columnist Normand Girard wrote in the January 29 *Le Journal de Montréal* that the loan prospectus "proves that international high finance is responsible for the crisis situation Quebec is in."

The journalist added: "the bankers on Bay Street in Toronto and on Wall Street in New York have the Lévesque government by the throat." This explains, Girard wrote, "the government's rigidity against the Common Front and its persistent refusal to . . . return to the bargaining table."

Representatives of international banks told the Lévesque government back in 1981 that it would have to cut its budget deficit to below \$3 billion if it were to continue to receive loans, even at higher interest rates.

As a result, the PQ government pushed through a new 1981 budget raising taxes by \$1.2 billion. Under further pressure from the banks, in early 1982 the Lévesque cabinet pushed through new taxes and decree laws cutting pensions and wages for public sector workers.

Columnist Girard argued that the report to the banks by Hydro-Quebec on the progress made in cutting public sector wages "shows that the government of Quebec finds itself in the same situation as certain Third World countries where the World Bank sits in the finance minister's chair."

Rank-and-file PQ members

The PQ's increasingly clear role as a transmission belt of Canadian and U.S. imperialist financial pressures against Quebec is a bitter disappointment to tens of thousands of rank-and-file workers and PQ members, who had expected the PQ to govern the province in their interests and to carry out a struggle for Quebec's independence.

The bitterness displayed in placards and

chants directed at Lévesque by the demonstrators on January 29, many of whom had voted for the PQ in the last election, indicates disillusionment with the PQ's inability to build a society where Quebec's workers and farmers, not the international banks, control their destiny.

The hostility toward the PQ forced the cancellation of its national council meeting, which had been scheduled to take place in Quebec City at the same time as the January 29 mass demonstration. The party leadership acknowledged that dozens of resolutions condemning the government's attitude toward public service workers had been submitted before the cancellation.

Quebec socialists call for labor party

BY WILL REISSNER

MONTREAL — Members of the Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire (LOR — Revolutionary Workers League), the sister party of the Socialist Workers Party in English Canada and Quebec, reported a growing receptivity toward the idea of independent working-class political action at the January 29 Common Front demonstration in Quebec City.

LOR members sold 592 copies of their French-language newspaper *Lutte Ouvrière* at the demonstration. Another 108 were sold at strike picket lines and at factory gates. Most were sold on the basis of a front-page article discussing the importance to workers of the question: who runs the government?

Pointing to the recent record of the Parti Québécois government, the *Lutte Ouvrière* article noted that "the great hopes born out of the PQ's victory in 1976 have turned to disappointment and anger due to this government's anti-working-class actions."

The article quotes extensively from a publication of the National Trade Union Confederation (CSN), which described the

PQ Vice-president Sylvain Simard also acknowledged that 60 percent of the PQ national council members are themselves public sector workers.

Quebec teachers federation leader Yvon Charbonneau, a key figure in the Common Front, reminded the audience at the January 29 rally that the Parti Québécois had risen to power on the shoulders of the powerful Québécois nationalist surge of the 1960s and the enormous growth in the trade union movement in the 1970s.

Despite this base, Charbonneau stated, the PQ government went "on its knees" to negotiate "our future" with the federal government in Ottawa while "refusing to negotiate with us."

PQ government as bankrupt in its defense both of Quebec's rights as an oppressed nation and in the economic and social arenas. In recent months the CSN has repeatedly called for the present government's resignation.

But, say authors Joe Young and Samantha Young, "calling for the resignation of the PQ government today, without proposing a working-class alternative, simply leaves the road open to the Quebec Liberal Party, the direct agent of the federal government in Quebec."

The CSN's position — that it does not back political parties, but rather fights governments that attack the workers — is like saying that we should protect our heads when the bosses wield their clubs, but we should not try to take their clubs away, *Lutte Ouvrière* argues.

"Why not put an end to this vicious cycle by launching our own political party, a party that would be controlled by us, the workers, with the goal of taking governmental power?" the socialists ask.

They cite a resolution by the Montreal transit union on organizing a discussion of

On January 31, workers at about 60 percent of Quebec's hospitals walked off the job. That evening, however, the union's negotiating committee voted 18 to 15 to suspend the strike, pending approval of the government's latest offer by the union's federal council.

But on February 2, 72 percent of the federal council rejected that settlement.

A decision on whether to resume the hospital strike had not been made by *Militant* presstime.

Other unions also announced suspensions of the strike January 31, leaving the teachers as the main group still on the picket lines.

a labor party in Quebec. They also quote Canadian Union of Postal Workers leader Jean-Claude Parrot, who stated, "I used to believe in confrontation with politicians. We must go further than that. There must be a political party of workers that defends the whole laboring population."

The authors of the *Lutte Ouvrière* article add that the unions in the Common Front "represent a considerable force that would be completely capable of setting up the instrument we need, a workers party controlled by the unions."

The article concludes that "discussing the question of workers political action is one of the most urgent tasks of the workers movement."

Lutte Ouvrière salespeople reported that they had many long and thoughtful discussions of this question with people at the Quebec City demonstration and on picket lines.

Normally *Lutte Ouvrière* is published every other week. But the LOR decided to publish a special issue during the Common Front struggle, which means that the newspaper will appear three weeks in a row.

Reagan hangs tough on anti-Soviet missiles

Continued from Page 3

ington. According to *Washington Post* columnist Mary McGrory, "the White House rejected [Andropov's offer] as 'propaganda' even before it was officially received."

But some ruling class figures complained about this stance. Paul Warnke, Washington's chief negotiator in the strategic arms limitation talks during 1977 and 1978, was one. He pointed out in the January 26 *New York Times* that for the zero option to be acceptable to the Soviet government, "they must be willing to ignore Britain's and France's intermediate-range nuclear forces, our F-11K fighter-bombers stationed in the United Kingdom, our Sixth Fleet aircraft that carry nuclear weapons, the Poseidon missiles assigned to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization defense, and the proposed deployment of sea-launched cruise missiles on attack submarines and surface ships."

Nevertheless, as the new round of negotiations on intermediate-range missiles opened up in Geneva on January 27, Reagan was still insisting on his zero option plan.

Mitterrand's reactionary role

A particularly despicable role in the missile debate in Europe has been played by French President François Mitterrand. Mitterrand's social democratic government, which includes the French Communist Party as well, has repeatedly urged deployment of the missiles.

Opening up the new year, Mitterrand announced that French nuclear forces would be strengthened. Speaking on the topic of the Geneva talks two days later, Mitterrand declared, "We will not reduce by a single missile," adding, "that's not even worth dreaming."

Carrying his reactionary campaign to West Germany January 20, Mitterrand — to loud applause from the right-wing Christian Democratic deputies — urged the Reichstag to act with "determination and solidarity" in the face of the pressures

against deployment of the missiles.

And on January 28, French Defense Minister Charles Hernu pointedly presided over a public ceremony inaugurating nine new nuclear missiles.

Reagan, meanwhile, has been trying to get his own counteroffensive off the ground. In October, he warned that Soviet agents were "manipulating" opponents of the nuclear build-up; in November he insisted there was "plenty of evidence" that foreign agents were involved in fanning the protests against his policy; and in December he reiterated his charges that there is "participation in the peace movement by the Soviets."

When his red-baiting failed to work Reagan declared, "The answer is public relations," and set up a \$65 million "informa-

tion campaign" to help sell his zero option.

Because the issue of the missiles has caused so much trouble for the European rulers, and because of deep opposition to Reagan's course among working people in the United States as well, the question has become a point of debate within the U.S. ruling class and an issue in the partisan debate leading up to the 1984 presidential election campaign.

Nevertheless, Reagan's Democratic Party critics, who were in control in 1979 when the decision to place the new missiles in Western Europe was made, have also voted for his increases in military spending and his cuts in social programs. Despite the talk about peace, there is no let-up in the war against working people at home and abroad.

Salvadoran rebels take major city

Continued from front page

prisoners captured by the FMLN. While in 10 weeks of the October offensive the FMLN captured 278 soldiers, 130 surrendered in just the first 13 days of the January offensive.

The significant military successes of the FMLN are creating fissures in the Salvadoran dictatorship. Signs of this include the open split in the military high command during the January rebel offensive. Army colonel Sigifredo Ochoa led a revolt against Defense Minister José Guillermo García, who had attempted to transfer him to diplomatic exile. Ochoa and other field commanders have been growing frustrated at García's obvious inability to organize an effective war against the FMLN, and demanded he be removed as defense minister. On January 17, it was reported that the Christian Democratic Party Youth issued an official declaration calling for unconditional negotiations with the rebels — something the FMLN has proposed but both Washington and its Salvadoran puppets reject.

On December 15, the Trade Union Unity Committee of the Revolutionary Demo-

cratic Front issued a joint declaration with two other unions that had formerly backed the government, and indicated they were joining forces "to defend the workers' interests, which have always been trampled upon."

Just prior to this, the first strikes in over a year were organized in November in government-related jobs and factories.

The successes of the FMLN both militarily and politically and the growing isolation of the dictatorship have made U.S. imperialism's aid to keep the Salvadoran regime in power even more crucial.

But despite Reagan's human rights certification, opposition to U.S. aid to the Salvadoran regime is very deep among American workers.

One indication is that the AFL-CIO leadership has now come out against certification and aid. The United Auto Workers and International Association of Machinists oppose aid to El Salvador as well. Deepening labor opposition to the U.S. role in El Salvador is the key contribution U.S. workers can make to the struggle of the Salvadoran liberation fighters.

Behind U.S. campaign on 'human rights abuse' in Suriname

BY ERNEST HARSCH

The U.S. and Dutch imperialists are trying to topple the government of Suriname, a former Dutch colony of 400,000 people on the northern coast of South America.

On January 6, the Surinamese authorities ordered the expulsion of two officials of the U.S. embassy, accusing them of "destabilizing activities" for their role in backing an antigovernment strike in November.

In the Netherlands, where many Surinamese live, a Council for the Liberation of Suriname, composed of former government officials, has been established to overthrow the Surinamese government.

The imperialist campaign against Suriname is being carried out under the guise of opposing human rights abuses.

Following reports that more than a dozen antigovernment figures were killed in Suriname December 8, the Dutch government immediately announced that it was suspending all further economic aid to the country, amounting to nearly \$1 billion slated for Suriname over the next 15 years.

On December 17, Washington did likewise, halting \$1.5 million in military and economic assistance that it was providing. Lane Kirkland, head of the U.S. AFL-CIO labor federation, backed up Washington's move, condemning the killings as "an insult to civilized people."

Although the imperialists have been using the killings as a justification for the aid cutoffs, their hostility to the Surinamese government is in fact a reaction to its anti-imperialist actions.

In February 1980, a group of noncommissioned officers seized power in Suriname, overthrowing the corrupt and proimperialist regime of Henck Arron. Although different political currents were reflected in the ruling National Military Council (NMC) and the new government often followed contradictory policies, it took a number of progressive measures that aroused the concern of the imperialists in Washington and the Hague.

It nationalized several enterprises, including the Dutch-owned power company. It pressed for more favorable trade and economic assistance agreements with the Netherlands. It took some modest steps to improve the living conditions of working people and to create new jobs. Some members of the NMC sought to encourage mass mobilizations.

By late 1981, key members of the NMC began to move toward closer ties with Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, and to condemn U.S. policies toward the Caribbean, although this was opposed by some of the bourgeois cabinet ministers.

During a visit to Grenada in May, Lt. Col. Desi Bouterse, the most influential figure in the Surinamese government, blasted Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative as "not based on the basic needs of the people." He denounced U.S. military maneuvers in the region and came out in support of Argentina in its conflict with London and Washington over the Malvinas Islands.

In October, Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop visited Suriname at Bouterse's invitation.

Alarmed by such growing Surinamese contacts with the revolutionary leaderships in the Caribbean, the U.S. and Dutch governments — with the support of business circles and other proimperialist forces within Suriname — have been seeking to bring down the NMC. Several imperialist-backed coup attempts were carried out, the most recent in March 1982.

This effort reached a new stage in late October and early November. The right-wing leadership of the Moederbond, one of the largest trade-union federations in the country, called a one-day general strike November 2, to protest Bishop's visit and to demand that the NMC step down. It succeeded in shutting down the airport and crippling public transport, as well as electricity, water, and other utilities. Thousands participated in antigovernment street demonstrations.

On the day of the strike, the Surinamese Association of Trade and Industry issued a statement condemning the government's policies and supporting the strike.

This challenge to the NMC is very serious. Suriname, one of the world's leading exporters of bauxite, remains dominated by imperialist economic interests.

The level of organization of the working people in the country remains rather weak. While there were some sizable anti-imperialist mobilizations in 1980 and 1981, the NMC has not recently sought to answer the rightist threat by adequately mobilizing the population. This has further emboldened the proimperialist forces.

In an interview in the January 7 *Le Monde*, Bouterse admitted that the old bourgeois parties "are able to mobilize more people than we are." But, he added, "our militants are more conscious. They know why they are struggling and are ready to fight for the revolution."

This was evident to an extent during the November 2 strike. The country's various leftist organizations and parties rallied to the government's side. Members of the National Women's Organization, National Youth Organization, local "people's committees," and other groups mobilized to reopen some of the public facilities that had been shut down. Moreover, the country's three other union federations, as well as the Federation of Poor Peasants, dissociated themselves from the Moederbond's strike call.

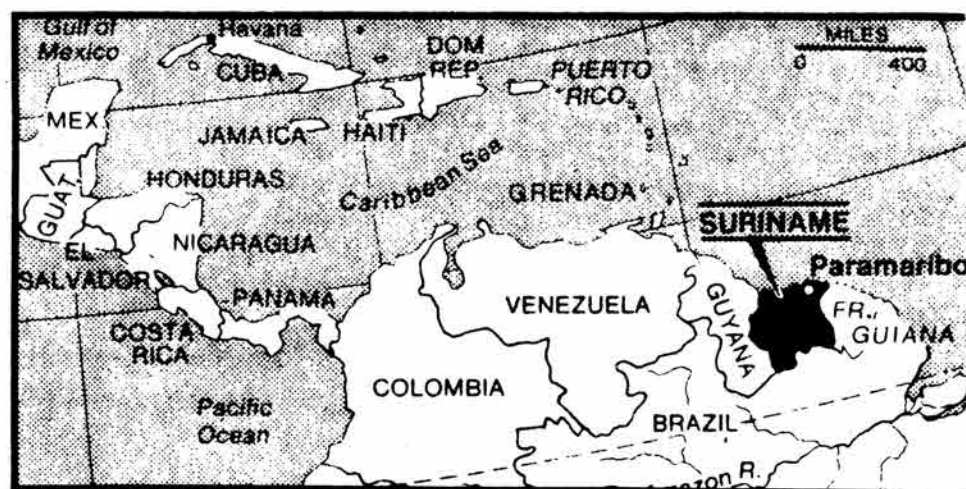
A month after this strike, on December 7, the government arrested a number of opposition figures, charging that they were involved in a new plot to overthrow the government. Bouterse charged that the coup plans were backed by Suriname's "rich economic elite."

According to the U.S. and Dutch governments, many of those who were arrested were executed the following day, including two former government ministers, the rector of the University of Suriname, and the director and two reporters of an opposition radio station. The Surinamese government claimed that they were shot while attempting to escape.

The cutoff of U.S. and Dutch economic aid to Suriname, however, has nothing to do with protesting human rights violations, as the U.S. economic sanctions against Cuba and Nicaragua and Washington's backing for the bloody Salvadoran regime show.

Its aim is to bring down the Surinamese government and impose a new one that will follow imperialist dictates.

From Intercontinental Press



Cricket players in Caribbean draw fire for S. Africa tour

BY BAXTER SMITH

BEQUIA, St. Vincent — Sporting contacts with South Africa have happened before and been condemned before. But this time it was different.

Rumors of a West Indian cricket tour had been floated, and denied, about a week before it was confirmed. Then, on January 11, it all appeared to be true as top West Indian cricketers were seen boarding planes to Miami, where they connected with London to Johannesburg to play there for big money.

Cricket is played chiefly in England and in some of its former colonies, particularly India, Australia, and here in the West Indies. In most countries of the world anything will generate more attention than a cricket match. But not here. In the West Indies cricket is serious business.

So it was no surprise on January 12 to hear that some of the best West Indian professional cricket talent had been criminally lured by juicy contracts to play in racist South Africa.

Nineteen cricketers from Barbados, Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, and elsewhere reportedly took up the offer to tour the apartheid country. Reportedly, they will get well over US\$100,000 apiece for what may be only a six-week tour.

For the apartheid regime, this was an important coup in its efforts to break the international sports boycott against it. Because of its racist policies, almost all South African teams have been unable to participate in sports activities abroad and many countries have forbidden their teams to play in South Africa. To drive some cracks in this boycott, the South African authorities have been willing to pay large sums of money to lure individual players to form makeshift teams.

Condemnations of the West Indian cricket tour came swiftly.

Hassan Howa, the president of the South African Cricket Board, a Black body, called the West Indian players "unprincipled sporting mercenaries."

In remarks broadcast over Radio Free Grenada, the Organization of African Unity's ambassador to the United Nations

deplored "that our own Black brothers will, because of money, go to South Africa and be given the title of 'honorary white.' It is beyond my understanding how a Black man could degrade himself to that point."

President of the West Indies Cricket Board of Control, Allen Ray, said of the tour that "people are aware of the damage it is doing to West Indies cricket." He added that the players will not be paid to play cricket but to "form window dressing for the South African government."

Clive Lloyd, the West Indies cricket captain, said the tour will damage the fight against apartheid. He and star Viv Richards have stated that no amount of money will induce them to play in South Africa.

Not long ago, West Indian cricketer Alvin Kallicharran accepted an offer to play in South Africa. He was given the title of "honorary white" and can live and move wherever he pleases there.

According to the November 19 *Outlet*, published by the Antigua Caribbean Liberation Movement, "black sportsmen in South Africa are horrified" about Kallicharran's chummy attitude toward apartheid. At one cricket match just before Christmas, fans taunted Kallicharran by calling him a "white man's stooge" and "racist pig."

The Grenadian *Free West Indian* on January 12 editorialized that for a price the cricketers had rejected the struggles of Black rights leaders such as "Toussaint and Garvey, of Butler and Marryshow." It charged that "the governments of the region have been extremely slow themselves to lay down clear policies for controlling the sporting links which the sportspeople of the region have with those in South Africa."

The Grenadian government has barred the cricket players who have gone to South Africa from ever playing in Grenada. It has also urged the governments of the countries the players come from to confiscate their earnings and turn them over to the African National Congress of South Africa and the South West Africa People's Organisation, which is fighting for the independence of South African-occupied Namibia.

From Intercontinental Press

AIM leader Banks fights extradition

BY DON HARMON

SAN FRANCISCO — Dennis Banks, a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM), has left California to avoid extradition to South Dakota. California's newly elected governor, George Deukmejian, has said he will extradite Banks to South Dakota to face trumped-up charges of burglary, arson, and conspiracy stemming from a 1973 police attack on the Pine Ridge reservation.

Banks, who had been living in California for the last seven years, was teaching at the D.Q. University, a Native American education center in Davis. If he were returned to South Dakota he would face a possible 15-year prison term and worse.

South Dakota Gov. William Janklow, who prosecuted Banks in 1974 as state attorney general, has said in a sworn affidavit: "The only way to solve the AIM problem is to shoot the AIM leaders. Put a bullet in a guy's head and he won't bother you anymore."

Recently, another AIM member from the Pine Ridge reservation, Annie Mae

Aquash, was found dead by three FBI agents. Her death was attributed to exposure and she was quickly buried.

Two weeks later, because of AIM demands, the body was exhumed. It was discovered that Aquash had died of "exposure" to a bullet in the head.

These attacks on Banks and other Native Americans are part of an overall government war against the Indian people and their land rights. The U.S. government has used such tactics as killings, jailings on false testimony, and forced relocation to get control of tribal lands. These lands contain 5 percent of the country's oil and gas reserves and half of all U.S. uranium deposits.

Supporters of Dennis Banks are seeking national and international publicity for his fight against extradition. Banks's case will be presented before the Human Rights Commission in Geneva, Switzerland. For messages of support or for more information, please contact the Dennis Banks Family Survival Fund, 4335 Army St., San Francisco, Calif. 94131. Telephone: (415) 641-9010.

Fidel Castro Speeches

Cuba's Internationalist Foreign Policy 1975-80

Since 1975, Cuba's foreign policy has deeply affected the course of world politics. Few of Castro's speeches are readily accessible in English. What does exist in print generally dates back to the 1960s or even earlier. This book represents a step toward filling that gap.

"Cuba in Angola" by Gabriel García Márquez, a noted Latin American author, is included as an appendix. It is the most complete account yet written of the Cuban role in Angola.

391 pp., \$7.95. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Include \$.75 for postage.

A wonderful system — According to leaked reports, Republican and Democratic members of Reagan's Social Security commis-



Harry Ring

sion were hopelessly deadlocked when they first met. The Democrats wanted to hike the Social Security payroll tax, and the Re-

publicans wanted to slice benefits. So they compromised and did both.

Pacesetters — Rockefellers can take hard times as well as any of us. When John D. IV, governor of West Virginia, ordered cutbacks in all state departments, his spouse, Sharon, moved on the up-keep for the governor's mansion. Three housekeepers were fired, leaving them with but four. To trim the present \$327,363 budget even further, she ordered more modest receptions and "more creative" menus. Example? "No shrimp."

Think you're loony? — Interior Secretary Watts says the acute social problems at Indian reservations are "an example of the failure of socialism."

Coat of arms — We were struck by the symbolism when that bank in Southern Illinois offered buyers of a six-year savings certificate a pair of Colt handguns. Our first thought was of the poetic justice if someone used them to stick up the bank. Which led us to remember the line from Brecht's *Threepenny Opera*: Who's the bigger crook, the bank robber or the bank president?

Maybe he's got a point — Control Data Corp. favors private industry running schools and prisons. Running prisons, a Data exec said, would be a snap. "There's nothing different," he observed, "about managing prisoners than managing people in a factory."

For dessert, Alka Seltzer — The North Texas Food Bank, which supplies soup kitchens, began getting big contributions of unsellable food after dealers learned it was tax deductible, and the state passed a law that they couldn't be sued by anyone who got sick unless they could prove

the donor knew it was bad.

TV guide — A "no-nod" device attaches to a headband or pair of glasses. When your head starts nodding toward your chest, a beeper advises you to shape up.

Thought for the week — "My idea is that there are always people who have money. They make money when interest is down; they make money when interest is up. They are the superrich and they will always buy quality of the top level." — Count Enrico Carimate de Carimate, operator of a swank Manhattan jewelry shop.

CALENDAR

ARIZONA

Phoenix

A Crisis Facing Farmers. Speaker: Jim Altenberg, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. 613 E Indian School Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 274-7399.

Tucson

Salvadoran Labor Leader Speaks. Speaker: Alejandro Molina Lara, leader of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers, general secretary of Fishing Industry Union. Translation to English. Sun., Feb. 13, 2 p.m. IAM Lodge 933 Hall, 369 W. Ajo. Ausp: International Association of Machinists Lodge 933. For more information call (602) 294-7696 or 862-4304.

CALIFORNIA

San Jose

What Socialists Stand For: The Fight Against U.S. Intervention in Central America. Speaker: Andrea González, National Secretary of Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 12. Reception, 6:30 p.m.; Forum, 7:30 p.m. 46½ Race St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

COLORADO

Denver

Denver Unionist Under Attack. Speaker: Sally Goodman, member United Auto Workers Local 766, Martin Marietta Corp. Fri., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. 126 W 12th Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

An Evening of Music, Poetry, and Political Rights. Poetry by Martha Shockey, author of *Hiroshima No Yanagi*; Music by Bill Fleming, Craig Refuse, Joyce Brookshire. Sat., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. Moreland School, 1083 Austin Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Affirmative Action vs. Discriminatory Layoffs. Speaker: Reba Williams Dixon, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Malcolm X Speaks. A film showing with talk by John Cotman, anti-racist activist. Sun., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Revolutionary Grenada: Lessons for Black Liberation in America. Speaker: Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. president in 1980. Sun., Feb. 13, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA

Virginia

Concession Bargaining: Steelworkers vs Corporate Greed. Speaker: David Salner, laid-off member of United Steelworkers Local 6860. Fri., Feb. 11, 7 p.m. 112 Chestnut St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

An Evening Tribute to Malcolm X. "The Ballot or the Bullet," a speech by Malcolm X. Sun., Feb. 13, Dinner, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2.50. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

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, 8:00 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

NEW YORK — NEW JERSEY

Manhattan

Salvadoran Labor Leader Speaks Out on Repression in El Salvador and U.S. War on El Salvador. Speaker: Alejandro Molina Lara, general secretary of Fishing Industry Union and leader of National Federation of Salvadoran Workers. Translation in Spanish and English.

Hear truckers' side of story

ARIZONA

Phoenix

The Independent Truckers' Strike. Speakers: Bill Osterhoudt, director of American Independent Drivers; Bob Cantrick, Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Sat., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 613 E Indian School. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 274-7399.

COLORADO

Denver

Why We Are on Strike: Hear the Viewpoint of the Independent Truckers. Speakers: Jim Archer, Independent Truckers Association; Chris Stinson, owner-operator. Sat., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m. 126 W 12th Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Denver Socialist Forum. For more information call (303) 534-8954.

Fri., Feb. 11, 8 p.m. Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Sq. West. Ausp: Molina Lara Tour Committee. For more information call (212) 691-3573.

OHIO

Cleveland

Malcolm X and Black Liberation Today. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 12, 4 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

OREGON

Portland

Women's Liberation and the Family. Speaker: Stephanie Coontz, professor of women studies and history, Evergreen State College. Sun., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS

Dallas

A Tribute to Malcolm X. Speakers: Al Smith, Socialist Workers Party; Bandeli Tyehimba, All-African Peoples Revolutionary Party; Bill Stoner, community activist. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Feb. 13, 7 p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

OHIO

Toledo

What the Independent Truckers Are Fighting For. Speakers: Virginia Jenkins and Tom Borer, owner-operators and representatives of Northwest Ohio Concerned Truckers. Fri., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Speak-out in Support of Independent Truckers. Speakers to be announced. Fri., Feb. 11, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., 3rd floor (East Liberty). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

For more information call (214) 826-4711.

San Antonio

Against the Death Penalty. Speakers: José Garza, Mexican-American Legal Defense Fund; Juan Mireles, American G.I. Forum; Brett Merkey, member International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Socialist Workers Party. Feb. 11, 8 p.m. 337 W Josephine. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 736-9218.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Why Can't Everybody Have a Job? Socialist educational weekend on capitalist myths vs. working-class solutions. 1) Capitalism's Economic Crisis and the Working-Class Solution. Speaker: Andy Rose, former editor, *Militant*. Sat., Feb. 5, 7:30 p.m.; dinner at 6 p.m. 2) Two Classes on the Corporate War on Workers: Here and Abroad. Sun., Feb. 6, 1 p.m. and 3 p.m. 4704 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$4, \$1.50 per session. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Rally Demanding: No Cuts in Unemployment Benefits. Sat., Feb. 5, 1:30 p.m. Smith Steelworkers Hall, 3651 N 27th St. Ausp: Committee for Survival of the Unemployed. For more information call (414) 445-5816.

Chicago elections: how to fight union-buster Byrne

Continued from back page

dates are *Democrats*, and if elected, would govern as Democrats. That means, and can only mean, governing in the interests of big business.

Washington: loyal Democrat

Washington doesn't pretend to be something other than a Democrat. He is a long-time Democratic Party politician who worked his way up in the Daley machine on the coattails of the late William Dawson. Dawson was a Black powerbroker who marshaled the Black votes that helped keep Boss Daley in power. Washington's political career includes a stint in the city's law department under Daley and 16 years in the Illinois state legislature. He was elected to Congress in 1980 and again in 1982.

In 1977, when a special election was

held to select Daley's successor, Washington opposed Michael Bilandic who won the election. But in 1979, he supported Byrne in her upset victory against Bilandic.

He now says that this was an error, because Byrne has frozen Blacks out of her administration. He is now trying to build his own power base in the party, utilizing the growing Black disenchantment with Byrne.

Washington is not leading a break from the real power in Chicago, the city's big business and banking interests. His campaign literature and his posture in the television debates is aimed at convincing these interests that he is a responsible, probusiness, mainstream Democrat. *Crane*, Chicago's big-business weekly, has noted that Washington is no threat to Chicago's employers.

A key pitch of Washington's campaign is the claim that he can "heal" Chicago,

and that he is "a candidate for all the people." But the interests of the owners of giant corporations like Inland Steel, Republic Steel, U.S. Steel, General Motors, and International Harvester on one hand and those of working people — Black, Latino, and white — on the other are diametrically opposed. Washington's formula is a standard cover-up for defending the employers against working people.

Where he stands was shown clearly by a couple of proposals he raised on the first of a series of televised debates. During the January 18 debate he explained that an increase in the state income tax was needed to help get funds for the city. If that failed, he said, "I would then suggest that we go on an austerity budget." He says straight out that he's for higher taxes on working people and further cutbacks.

SWP candidate Ed Warren, an unemployed, Black garment worker who

lives on the South Side, says that working people — Black and white — have to organize to defend their own interests. "This can't be done," he says "by supporting Byrne or Daley as most union officials tell us or by supporting Washington as most Black community leaders are telling us."

"We must make a break with the Democrats as well as the Republicans. We must not get involved in the whole two-party, good guy versus bad guy, lesser evil versus greater evil, machine versus nonmachine con game."

Warren has been campaigning throughout the city for "working people to form our own party. We can base such a party on our own mass organizations, the unions. And we can expect that Blacks will play the leading role in such a formation, certainly here in Chicago, because, outside of churches, there are more Blacks in unions than there are in any other organizations."

Louisiana passes two antilabor bills

BY JOHN CHARBONNET

NEW ORLEANS — In the late 1970s big-business economists assured Louisiana workers that the boom in oil and gas production would mean permanent prosperity for the "sunbelt" state.

Today, the laws of capitalism are expressing themselves with a vengeance. Unemployment figures set post-Great Depression records every month. Thousands of oil field workers are jobless. Last year, the state unemployment trust fund ran out of money, requiring the state to borrow from the federal government.

The state legislature met in special session in January at the request of the Louisiana Association of Business and Industry (LABI). It overwhelmingly passed two virulently antilabor bills.

The first measure, a workers' compensation "reform" bill, slashes benefits to injured workers by 20 percent. The second measure, a bill cutting unemployment compensation benefits, will eliminate \$200 million worth of unemployment benefits every year.

The unemployment bill puts a cap on future increases in maximum benefits, cuts out three weeks of total benefits, and denies benefits to those who work less than six months in a year.

Both LABI and the news media went on a campaign to convince workers that the cuts in workers' compensation and unemployment benefits were fair and rep-

Federal workers defend health coverage plan including abortion

In a victory for abortion rights and for federal workers, the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) won the right of unions to continue advertising abortion benefits in their health plans.

This right of AFGE, American Postal Workers Union, and several other unions that represent federal workers to include abortion in their insurance coverage was challenged by a directive from Donald Devine, head of the Office of Personnel Management in Washington. On October 12 of last year, Devine had ordered that starting in 1983 abortions could not be covered by the Federal Employees Health Benefits plans.

AFGE challenged this ruling in court and won.

In a related development, the Ashbrook amendment in Congress, which would do the same thing that Devine did administratively, was not passed by Congress as expected.

These two victories mean that federal workers still have the right to use their insurance benefits to cover abortions.

resented a compromise between business and labor.

For example, LABI pointed to a provision in the unemployment bill raising unemployment taxes on businesses. This supposedly will contribute to restoring the bankrupt unemployment fund. In fact, the bill merely equalizes unemployment taxes among large and small employers, but does not raise their relatively low taxes.

But the major argument used by LABI and the news media is a familiar one. They argued that the cuts would create future jobs. If the bills failed, they insisted, the prospect of new industries locating in Louisiana would be dimmed. According to LABI, Louisiana could not compete for new industries because its workers' compensation insurance premiums have been among the highest in the nation.

It is indeed true that the cost of workers' compensation in Louisiana is high relative to other states. But this is not a measure of the generosity of the employers, rather it's a measure of the blood spilled by the state's working people. Louisiana has one of the highest rates of industrial accidents in the nation. Most workers in the highly dangerous oil fields and shipyards lack union protection.

Oil field workers are seven times more likely to be killed on the job than the average worker, and they are injured more often even than coal miners, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The rate of oil field injuries is directly connected to the employers' efforts to raise their rate of profit. Injuries primarily result from speed-up and lack of training programs.

In December of this past year a contractor at the unorganized Avondale shipyard, the largest private employer in the state, was cited for willful safety violations in the deaths of three workers and the serious injury of two others. The Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA) fined Avondale a mere \$23,000.

The real effects of the workers' compensation bill will be even more industrial accidents. Employers now have even less economic incentive to take safety precautions.

When the workers' compensation "reform" bill passed, the *Times-Picayune* gloated: "The vote is the biggest victory for business and industry lobbyists since the 1976 approval of the 'right-to-work' law banning union shop contracts."

Why couldn't the labor movement block the bill?

The Louisiana AFL-CIO was completely handicapped in this fight by its reliance upon the Democratic party and supposedly pro-labor legislators.

The workers' compensation bill was introduced by Democratic State Sen. Allen Bares from Lafayette. The vote on the bill in the overwhelmingly Democratic legislature tells the story. The Senate passed the



Oil field workers are seven times more likely to be killed on the job than average worker and have higher injury rate than coal miners. Yet Louisiana Democrats and Republicans have slashed workers' compensation benefits.

bill 39-0. The House 88-16. The vote on the bill to cut unemployment benefits was similar.

Some AFL-CIO officials tried to place the blame for this defeat solely on the Republican party and Republican Gov. David Treen.

Gordon Flory, secretary-treasurer of the Louisiana AFL-CIO, told the press after the votes: "Every guy that's injured, every guy that's unemployed, is going to say, 'What happened?' And I'm going to tell them, 'Dave Treen took your benefits away from you.'"

The AFL-CIO is backing the formally unannounced Democratic candidate for governor in the October 1983 election, ex-governor Edwin Edwards. Edwards made a token appearance to testify against the workers' compensation bill in an attempt to

cover up his blatantly antilabor record in preparation for his campaign. In 1976, after winning the governor's office with union backing, Edwards signed the state's union-busting "right-to-work" bill into law.

The lesson in Louisiana is clear. The strategy of relying on the big-business-controlled Democratic Party can only lead to defeats for working people.

Louisiana workers, like working people elsewhere, can only fight back effectively by opposing cutbacks and concessions, and by breaking with the Democratic and Republican parties.

The money, energy, and resources that go towards electing so-called pro-labor candidates of the Democratic Party should be put to use fielding union candidates and building an independent labor party.

League of Women Voters endorses right of women to choose abortion

On January 18, the National League of Women Voters (NLWV) adopted a position in support of a woman's right to abortion. This is the first time that the league has taken a position on the issue of abortion.

In a telephone interview with the *L.A. Herald Examiner*, NLWV President Dorothy S. Ridings said, "The league has adopted a position affirming the constitutional right of privacy of the individual to make reproductive choices."

A record 92 percent of NLWV members voted in favor of adopting a position that the individual woman, not the government,

should make decisions concerning abortion and other matters related to reproduction. Ridings said this position gained one of the highest levels of support from league chapters of any issue in the last eight years.

At the NLWV national convention last year, several state chapters successfully pushed a resolution directing the board to adopt a position on abortion.

The support for the new position is not unanimous, however. Marion Schillo, president of the League of Women Voters of Ventura County, California, said she and other women in her chapter are resigning from the league in protest.

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Bipartisan budget shafts workers

President Ronald Reagan's State of the Union address and proposed 1984 budget is far from the "compromise" and "retreat" that they're being called by some major media and Democratic and Republican politicians.

At the same time that Reagan proposes a 14 percent boost in military spending, he is demanding a freeze on all social service programs. But because of inflation, this really amounts to a cut.

On top of that, the budget calls for more outright cutbacks:

- A cut of \$400 million from employment and training programs, while more than 12 million people are out of work. There is no proposal for a public works program.
- \$1.1 billion cut from the food stamp budget. Child nutrition programs would lose \$148 million.
- A 30 percent reduction in payments to low-income families to help them with their heating costs.
- Aid to Families with Dependent Children would be cut by \$700 million.

In his State of the Union address, Reagan urged passage of "enterprise zone" legislation, which would encourage the expansion of sweatshops in cities across the country.

Reagan reiterated his call for tuition tax credits for parents who send their children to private schools.

Medicare will be "reorganized" so that the elderly and the disabled will pay more for health care.

As for military spending, no freeze there. He proposes spending an unprecedented \$238.6 billion on war and war preparations in 1984 alone. Between that and interest payments to the banks, 41 percent of the federal budget will go directly into the pockets of the Pentagon and Wall Street.

What has been the Democratic Party's response?

The jobs bill that they've started talking about again would provide about 500,000 people — or just 4 percent of the unemployed — with jobs, if Congress passes it.

The only other concrete proposals they put forward are calls for tiny cuts in how much the military budget is raised, a nuclear "freeze," and a few less cuts in social services.

This is the "rebellious new Congress" that was installed after the Democrats gained several seats in the 1982 elections.

They've indicated that the main outlines of Reagan's budget will pass Congress.

The Democrats blame all economic problems of the last couple of years on "Reaganomics" — a term they find useful to deflect attention from the fact that no budget passes unless Democrats vote for it. Many supporters of the Democratic Party among the labor officialdom, and the leadership of the Black community and women's rights organizations, also ignore this simple fact.

But Reagan himself pointed to and praised the bipartisan character of government policy in his State of the Union message. He singled out for special attention the bipartisan commission that came up with the plan to "save" Social Security.

But far from saving Social Security, this plan represents a harsh new attack on the right of working people to a decent retirement. Under this plan, workers' payroll taxes will go up and benefits will be trimmed.

It's exactly this kind of "spirit of bipartisan cooperation" that working people have been the victims of for quite some time now. The disputes that do arise between

Democrats and Republicans are over style, not substance. They're not over *whether* to tighten workers' belts, but how much and how quickly it can be gotten away with.

The Democrats have helped keep the discussion on the budget dominated by the notion that cutbacks are forced upon the government by the need to get rid of the deficit.

But that's false on the face of it. Social service cutbacks — which began in a big way under former President James Carter — have been accompanied by a *growing*, not shrinking, deficit.

And if the deficit was their main concern, Congress could just abolish the war budget.

This discussion about the need to close the so-called spending gap is a smokescreen behind which to hide the main reason for the austerity proposals in the budget.

There's a gigantic transfer of wealth taking place both nationally and internationally — from the workers and farmers to the big businessmen and bankers.

The budget of the U.S. government — a government run by the two parties of big business — is designed to aid that process in every way possible.

The U.S. ruling class is in a weakening position on a world scale compared to the period of post-World War II expansion. It must drive to turn the situation around and open an entire new period of rapid expansion and profits. To do this, it must increase the rate of exploitation of labor in order to restructure and reorganize industry to compete profitably on a world scale. This is why it must try to push back, divide, demoralize, and defeat the working class.

As bad as things are, they will have to get even worse to bolster the profit margins of the ruling rich. The next upturn, whenever it comes, will not bring much prosperity to the oppressed and exploited. And it will surely be followed by another, and probably worse, downturn.

The only way to end this anarchic cycle of misery is to take political power out of the hands of the wealthy and put it in the hands of those who produce all the wealth — the workers and farmers. A government of workers and farmers would use its power to advance the interests of the majority of people and not to swell the coffers of the already rich.

To fight for that objective, labor must first stop giving its political support to the parties of the employers. Just like the Chrysler workers said no more concessions, workers must begin to reject the *political* concessions involved in supporting capitalist "friends of labor."

The working class today, through its unions, has the power, the numbers, and the resources to build a counter political force to that of the employers' parties. A labor party, based on the trade unions, and involving the small farmers, the Black and Latino communities, and women, would be a powerful tool to fight for the interests of all the exploited and oppressed.

It would fight to eliminate the war budget and expand social programs. It would be for ending the U.S. war against the peoples of El Salvador and Nicaragua.

It would fight for jobs for all through reducing the workweek with no cut in pay and a massive public works program.

It would defend affirmative action, busing, and abortion rights. It would protest the foreclosure of family farms.

It's only by taking on the budget cutters that we'll be able to stop the budget cuts.

Stop grand jury jailings

Five fighters for the independence of Puerto Rico from U.S. colonial domination are threatened with 10 years in jail for refusing to testify before a grand jury. They were subpoenaed in relation to bombings in New York on New Year's Eve.

In an escalation of repression against Puerto Rican independence fighters, the five are being charged with "criminal contempt." In the past, individuals refusing to testify before a grand jury were charged with "civil contempt" and the government was allowed to impose a maximum sentence of 18 months in jail. However, by charging the five with criminal contempt the government can now try to impose a 10-year sentence against them.

A jury trial of the five is scheduled to begin on February 7.

According to the police, the FALN, an underground proindependence grouping, is suspected of setting off four explosions in the Manhattan area on December 31.

The five independence activists have repeatedly made clear that they have no links or information regarding FALN activities. Despite this, Maria Cueto, Steven Guerra, Ricardo Romero, Julio Rosado, and Andres Rosado were ordered to testify.

They explain they are members of the National Liberation Movement, a public organization that organizes solidarity with Puerto Rican independence.

During a court-ordered appearance, they stated: "The grand jury is serving as an instrument for repression of

the Puerto Rican independence movement and we are not prepared to convert ourselves into finks in the service of the repressive forces of the United States."

Nevertheless, without a shred of evidence, the FBI has characterized the five as the remaining "unincarcerated leadership of the FALN."

Episcopal Bishop Paul Moore, a supporter of the rights of the five, asserted, "I happen to feel the grand jury is being used as an instrument of harassment toward the independence movement of Puerto Rico as a political movement." He charged that the case was being used for a "witch-hunt" and as a "means of intimidating people who want to participate in the Puerto Rican independence movement."

This is exactly its purpose. The government would like to step up the use of the grand jury to victimize Puerto Ricans and others — unionists, Black liberation and women's rights fighters, antiwar activists.

The threatened jailing of the five Puerto Rican activists is part of a broader attempt to further legitimize the use of grand juries to harass and intimidate political activists, and to interfere with and smear organizations speaking out against U.S. government policy.

All supporters of democratic rights should vigorously condemn this latest attempt by the capitalist courts to frame up and lock away fighters for Puerto Rican independence.

Marx and Engels on free trade and protectionism

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

There is currently much discussion about the relative merits of free trade versus protectionism. Many employers and politicians claim that protectionist measures, such as tariffs and import quotas, are needed to protect the jobs of American workers. Cheap foreign commodities are ruining industry, they complain, and this leads to workers being thrown out on the street. These arguments are echoed by many union officials.

Other businessmen and politicians — also expressing great concern for the well-being of the working class — argue that protectionist measures are dangerous. They can lead to trade wars that will end all hope of economic recovery, it is argued. And workers will suffer.

These two viewpoints have been debated since the early years of capitalism. And always workers are told that each position represents their interests. Where does the truth lie?

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels entered the debate in the 1840s and explained that the two positions represent

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the interests of different sectors of the propertied classes. They said the working class has its own interests to safeguard and must approach free trade and protectionism with an independent stand. Their arguments are as valid today as they were then.

In England, at that time, there was a conflict between the landed property owners, and the industrial capitalists over tariffs on grain imports. The landlords had imposed protective tariffs to keep foreign grain imports out and to use as a weapon against the industrialists. The effect was to keep bread prices high.

The industrial capitalists opposed these Corn Laws, as the tariff laws were called, and waged a vigorous campaign to overturn them. They said this would reduce the price of bread.

In response to this campaign, Marx pointed out, "The English workingmen have appreciated to the fullest extent the significance of the struggle between the lords of the land and of capital. They know very well that the price of bread was to be reduced in order to reduce wages, and that the profit of capital would rise by as much as rent fell."

The capitalists argued then, as today, that higher profits are in the interests of workers. Increased profits would mean increased investment, which would mean increased demand for workers. In the long run, it was argued, this would mean higher wages.

Marx agreed that "the most favorable condition for the workingman is the growth of capital." He explained that "when capital remains stationary, commerce and manufacture are not merely stationary but decline, and in this case the workman is the first victim. He goes to the wall before the capitalist." All working people today certainly know this is true.

But Marx goes on to ask, "And in the case of the growth of capital, under the circumstances, which, as we have said, are the best for the workingman, what will be his lot? He will go to the wall just the same."

The workers "go to the wall" as long as capitalism continues to exist. And "whether the system in force is that of protective tariffs or free trade or a mixture of both," Engels wrote, "the worker will receive no bigger wage for his labor than will just suffice for his scantiest maintenance. From the one side as from the other, the worker gets precisely what he needs to keep going as a labor-machine."

From this conclusion, Engels continued, "It might thus appear to be a matter of indifference to the proletariat, to the propertyless, whether the protectionists or the free traders have the last word."

This was not the case, however. Marx and Engels favored free trade in England in the mid-19th century, but not because they bought any of the demagoguery about it bringing harmony between workers and employers. Rather, they said, the working class had its own stake in supporting free trade. The workers have made common cause with the manufacturers against the landlords, Marx explained, "for the purpose of destroying the last remnants of feudalism, that henceforth they may have only one enemy to deal with." This "carries antagonism of proletariat and bourgeoisie to the uttermost point. In a word, the free trade system hastens the social revolution."

From the same standpoint, they said workers at the time should support protective tariffs in Germany. There, Marx said, "they serve the bourgeoisie as weapons against feudalism and absolute monarchy, as a means for the concentration of its own powers."

Articles by Marx and Engels on this question appear in the *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, Vol. 6 (available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014, \$12.50).

Documentary on Klan, Nazi murders in Greensboro

"88 Seconds in Greensboro," shown on "Frontline," National Public Television.

BY JIM CARSON

On Nov. 3, 1979, five people were gunned down on the streets of Greensboro, North Carolina. The five, members of the Communist Workers Party, were killed when Ku Klux Klanners and Nazis fired gun blasts into an antiracist demonstration in Greensboro's Black community.

One year later, six members of the KKK were acquitted of the murders on the grounds that they fired in self-defense.

"88 Seconds in Greensboro" — shown on National Public Television on January 24 — documents through

IN REVIEW

live footage of the attack exactly what role the Klan played in deliberately opening fire on the demonstrators with shotguns and handguns. If anyone thought that a "shootout" occurred between demonstrators and the Klan, "88 Seconds" dispels such a sham.

But "88 Seconds in Greensboro" does more than document the story of the November 3 massacre. It is a telling indictment of the role of federal, state, and local police in promoting, arming, and leading right-wing thugs in

physically attacking working-class and antiracist actions.

The documentary spends much time interviewing Ed Dawson, a leader of the November 3 Klan attack. Dawson was an FBI agent inside the Klan from 1969-77 and a Greensboro police provocateur leading up to the November 3 killings.

Through Dawson's own account, substantiated by Klan members, he outlines how he planned the attack, spoke at a Klan rally urging members to attend and bring guns to the November 3 rally, and how he played a key leadership role in providing information and maps of the area.

Dawson led the car caravan of rightists to the site of the rally and acted to provoke demonstrators upon arrival. All of these activities occurred while he remained a police agent and in close communication with the Greensboro Police Department.

Police photographs document the movement of the nine-car caravan from a point south of Greensboro to the rally site. Film footage shows Dawson's truck in the lead, the caravan stopping behind Dawson's truck near the rally, and Klan members taking guns from the trunk of the rear car and opening fire on the demonstration.

Dawson, the chief leader and architect of the attack, was never called to testify in the trial which acquitted the Klan.

"88 Seconds" also alludes to the direct role played by the federal government in the killings. Members of the

Winston-Salem Nazi Party were also present in the November 3 caravan. Bernard Butkovich, federal agent for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms, not only armed the Nazis, but was present at several planning meetings for the attack. Though "88 Seconds" does not center on the role of the federal government in the attack, Butkovich's role as a federal agent is well documented.

Equally exposed in this documentary is the role of the Greensboro Police Department, which purposely stayed away from the scene in order to avoid stopping the Klan and avoid arresting its members on the scene. Two police detectives shadowed the car caravan, photographed its movement to the site of the rally, and stood at a distance photographing the massacre. In addition, Dawson made several phone calls to the Greensboro police headquarters before the caravan left its assembly point. Despite knowledge of the rally site and time, plus Dawson's communication with them, police only arrived after the killings and then arrested antiracist demonstrators.

"88 Seconds in Greensboro" gives the viewer an inside picture of the direct role the police play in promoting physical attacks and the depth they will go to cover up and distort the truth in order to make the victims into the criminal.

The fight for justice in the Greensboro massacre is not over, however. A lawsuit has been filed by the Greensboro Justice Fund on behalf of the victims. Films like "88 Seconds" can also help get out the truth.

LETTERS

Reply to reader

I am writing in response to Nancy Grotton's letter in the December 31 issue of the *Militant*. She writes that she is "disappointed by the obvious slant inherent in many of the articles." She believes that "it is imperative to remain neutral when covering any type of news."

After more than 25 years as a reporter for a leading national magazine, I am convinced that objectivity is more illusion than reality. After the who, what, when, where, and how have been set forth, the reporter must further decide and interpret and sometimes analyze. This is done on the basis of the writer's own perceptions based on experience, education, knowledge (or ignorance) of history, and political and social consciousness (including consciousness of what the publisher and/or editor will find acceptable). "Objectivity" as used by publishers and journalism schools is usually a euphemism for "traditionalism": reporting events in a way that reflects the class, racial, and gender values of the owner of the news commodity.

Even true objectivity can generate a partisan backlash, as in the situation described by Malik Miah in the same issue that Ms. Grotton's letter appeared. (A TV program giving a straight historic account of the Israeli invasion into Lebanon was too objective for an Israeli organization, which paid to have a rebuttal aired by the station.) Laying out all the unadulterated facts of an event may indeed lead to conclusions that are unacceptable, and therefore perceived as "partisan" to some, although the material presented is unarguably objective. This is not the kind of "objectivity" most news executives are seeking.

I have read the *Militant* for many years and will continue to read it because it is partisan, partisan on the side of those whose struggles are generally ignored or demeaned by the corporate media. *Rose Mary Gordon*
New York, New York

Cuomo's 'jobs' program

The new governor of New York, Democrat Mario Cuomo, has announced plans to build an additional 7,000 new prison cells for the citizens of this state. With this construction program, the governor hopes to address "two pressing problems: the shortage of maximum-security cells and the entrenched unemployment in western New York state." Or as an

advisor put it, "the governor wants to marry the concept of the need for secure prison space with the need for economic development."

By using a new prefabricated type cell, the cost of the new cells would be reduced from the average \$100,000 to only about \$40,000 per cell.

For those in New York City who have wondered what the city will do with all the hospitals that Mayor Koch has closed in recent years, Governor Cuomo's program hints at a resolution: Still under active consideration are proposals to convert unused psychiatric hospitals into prisons.

Allan Grady
New York, New York

A question on farmers

I recently returned from a trip to Nebraska to visit family and friends I grew up with. I talked there with many farmers, ranchers, and workers. There were two topics that people were discussing quite a bit — the "payment-in-kind" proposal of the Reagan administration and Referendum 300, a state measure on land sales that just passed.

As you can imagine, farmers were not happy about the "payment-in-kind" proposal. They all said they couldn't get much information on it. In the January 28 issue of the *Militant*, you ran an editorial on the proposal. It said: "So this year Reagan's advisors propose that surplus corn, wheat, sorghum, rice and cotton, now owned and stored by the government, be turned over to farmers if they agree to sharply cut the number of acres in production." (My emphasis)

In my discussions with farmers I heard this differently. They said the government stores the surplus crops, or farmers rent storage for the largest amount of grain, but the farmers own it. Many questioned how the government was going to sell them the surplus grain that is already theirs. Yes, the government owns some of it, but not most of it.

Could you check this out further?

It's great to see the articles in the *Militant* about problems farmers are facing, as well as how they're fighting back. Now that the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance are selling regularly at plant gates, more industrial workers will see what kind of battles the farmers are waging.

This certainly will heighten everyone's consciousness and



help bring about a strong solidarity between farmers and industrial workers and arm them for the ensuing struggles ahead.

Sheryl Hongsermeier
Baltimore, Maryland

20,000 on line

I was one of 20,000 people who stood in line January 16 for one of the 150-200 jobs promised by A.O. Smith Corp. here in Milwaukee.

By the time we arrived at 5:15 a.m., more than 1,000 were in front of us in a line that wound around inside the field house of the State Fair Park. We were the lucky ones — the thousands who arrived later lined up outside, most of them to be turned away when the doors were bolted early that evening.

For several weeks, the news media had cooperated in hyping A.O. Smith's grand gesture at combating local unemployment. The company, with a peak production force of 4,000, had just called back its laid-off workers and was hiring up to 200 more. This was all possible, Smith officials said, because the union had agreed to concessions a year and a half ago, paving the way for new orders for the auto frames A.O. Smith produces.

Not so, said officials of the

Steelworkers local at Smith, pointing to the union's rejection of the second set of giveback demands several months ago.

Yet there was no mistaking it: a much publicized turnout of 20,000 desperate job seekers — the majority Black — must have figured into the company's negotiating arsenal for contract talks coming up this July.

A white graphic artist — a unionist — told an ABC reporter what many others tried to convey to the news media that day: "I hope President Reagan is watching because what's happening here shows Reagan is out of touch with the reality of workers. I hope the senators and congressmen are also watching, the senators and congressmen who sit in comfortable chairs and vote themselves big raises while 20,000 workers in Milwaukee have to stand in line in January for 200 jobs."

It was pretty uneventful for the first three and a half sleepy hours indoors. Then, like the cattle they consider workers akin to, several hundred of us were herded from our holding pen into the outdoors area between the field house and the building where applications were being handed out. Held in a 14-foot-wide area by cattle fences, your "place in line" quickly lost all meaning.

One young worker fashioned a chant about war spending: "We need jobs, not defense spending. Defense spending steals jobs!" he yelled.

State Fair cops, who mainly tried to stay out of the way, were subjected to much razzing and well-deserved verbal abuse.

Finally inside, we were channeled into zig-zagging lines separated by ropes. Three and a half hours more. Then the application. Having filled it out, yet another short line and brief check by an interviewer.

Ten hours in all for a microscopic chance at a decent job. Despite its use to intimidate those still working (the scene was counterposed on the TV news to the independent truckers, who don't appreciate their jobs enough not to strike), it sure put a lie to those who claim that the unemployed, especially Black workers, don't really want to work.

P.R.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

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.

Chicago elections: how to fight racist union-buster Byrne?

BY JIM LITTLE

CHICAGO — On April 12 voters here will go to the polls to vote for the city's next mayor. There will be three candidates in the race — the Democratic nominee, who will be chosen in a primary election on February 22; Bernard Epton, the Republican contender; and Ed Warren, the Socialist Workers Party candidate. Warren filed nominating petitions with 35,000 signatures on January 31.

The Democratic Party is so dominant in this city that traditionally whoever wins the Democratic nomination for mayor is a shoo-in. This year there's a three-way race in the Democratic primary between incumbent Jane Byrne; Richard Daley, Jr., Cook County state's attorney and son of the late political boss of the same name; and Black Congressman Harold Washington.

These elections occur in the framework of worsening conditions for working people here. As in most big cities, cuts in locally-funded social services are coming on top of big cuts in state and federal programs. The city's official unemployment level is 13 percent with massive layoffs in steel mills, rail yards, and farm equipment plants. There are long lines of unemployed workers at soup kitchens. The joblessness and its accompanying misery is staggering in the Black community.

Mayor Byrne's administration has done precious little to help alleviate the plight of the jobless or to launch a serious effort to put people back to work. About the only measure taken was a widely-publicized, vote-catching hustle to give less than 4,000 workers jobs for just 10 weeks. And then to add insult to injury, when 30,000 prospective employees crowded the hiring locations, city cops attacked with clubs and carted some of them off to jail.

Byrne the strikebreaker

Since she was elected four years ago, Byrne has totally disregarded the rights of Blacks and Latinos and has established a record as a strikebreaker. When the city's fire fighters went on strike in 1980, after Byrne reneged on a campaign promise to negotiate a contract, she hired hundreds of scabs to try to break the union.

One of the biggest issues in Chicago has been the struggle against school desegregation. The city's school system is one of the most segregated in the country.

In 1981 Mayor Byrne replaced two Black school board members with two white antibusing activists. The board has vigorously opposed mandatory busing, which is the only way to make sure that desegregation is carried out. On January 6 of this year, U.S. District Judge Milton Shadur put a stamp of approval on the city's racist school system by upholding the school board's voluntary transfer plan. Byrne has assured white neighborhoods opposed to busing that they will find this plan acceptable.

Along with racial discrimination in education, housing, and nearly every other area of the city's life, both Blacks and Latinos have been grossly underrepresented in the city's elected bodies. For example, only 16 of the 50 city council members are Black and only one is Latino. Yet Blacks and Latinos represent 55 percent of the city's population.

When Black and Latino leaders filed suit against this discriminatory practice the U.S. District Court ruled that the ward boundaries had to be redrawn. The new lines were approved Dec. 27, 1982, by the court, but Black and Latino leaders are protesting that the lines will not significantly improve representation.

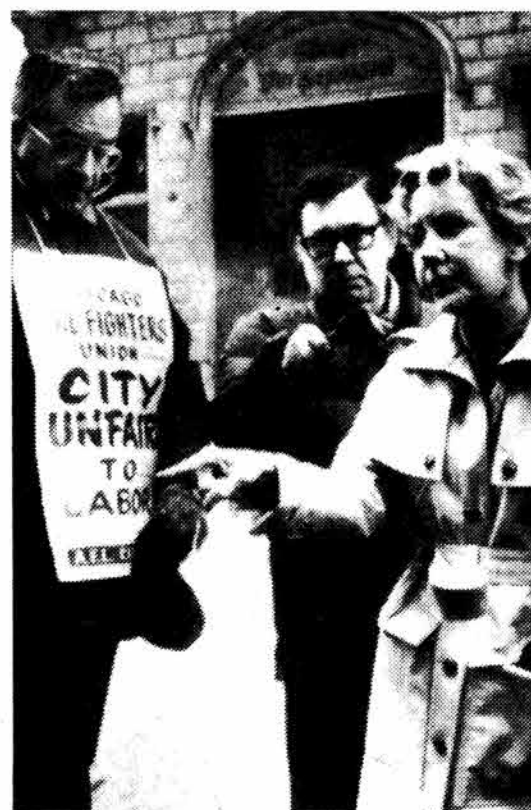
Mounting anger by Blacks against Mayor Byrne's antilabor and racist policies



Militant



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Candidates in Chicago. Democratic Mayor Byrne (right) tried to smash fire fighters union in 1980. Democratic Rep. Harold Washington (left) calls for "austerity," while socialist candidate Ed Warren (center, talking to unemployed on breadline) demands massive jobs program, busing, end to union busting, and calls for a labor party.

is putting steam in Harold Washington's bid for the Democratic nomination. Washington is making the most serious challenge that a Black politician has ever waged here for the Democratic mayoral nomination. Blacks, including Washington, have run in the Democratic primary before, but have not fared well. Washington's campaign this year, however, is the central crusade of almost every Black-led community group and the Black-owned media.

His campaign is based on Democratic precinct organizations in the South and West Sides. His supporters feel some wind in their sails as the result of a voter-registration drive last summer that increased Black voter registration by 100,000.

Only a few union officials, however, are backing Washington. Most of the labor officialdom is backing Byrne or Daley. Byrne has won the support of the Chicago Labor Federation and a number of local unions, including the leadership of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Daley is getting help from the United Steelworkers.

Byrne is also supported by the local leadership of the National Organization for

Women (NOW). Nationally, Byrne has the backing of Sen. Edward Kennedy, and Daley has been endorsed by presidential hopeful Walter Mondale.

Among the union officials backing Washington is Addie Wyatt, vice president of the United Food and Commercial Workers and a national leader of the Coalition of Trade Union Women. Wyatt is part of an effort to put together a women's support committee for Washington to counter NOW's activity on behalf of Byrne.

Many white liberals and progressives, as well as most radical organizations, are backing Washington. This includes the Communist Party, Democratic Socialists of America, the *Guardian*, Workers World Party, Sojourner Truth Organization, Communist Workers Party, and *Unity*.

Meaningful alternative?

Typical of the reasoning the radical groups used was the view expressed in an article by Nina Berman in the Dec. 1, 1982, *Guardian*, a radical weekly published in New York. The article, headlined, "Black takes on the Chicago machine," says that campaigns like Wash-

ington's "could provide a more meaningful alternative to Reaganism than machine Democrats."

From the standpoint of working people this evaluation makes two related errors.

The first is that the problem we face cannot simply be defined as the racist and antilabor policies of the Reagan administration and its supporters. The fact is that these are bipartisan policies. The cutbacks in social services, attacks on unions, blows against abortion rights and affirmative action, and the gigantic military buildup are carried out by the Democrats and Republicans together.

The problem is not Reaganism, but the two-party system through which big business controls the government at all levels. By defining the problem as "Reaganism," the *Guardian*, which purports to be socialist, obscures the essential class question involved.

The second error is to assume that there is an important distinction between bad, "machine" Democrats and good, "independent" Democrats. The problem isn't machine Democrats versus nonmachine Democrats. Rather it is that all three candi-

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Chicago socialist hails women's victory

BY MELVIN CHAPPELL

CHICAGO — Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago, Ed Warren, hailed a decision by a federal judge in a sex discrimination lawsuit filed against the city government.

The January 19 ruling will award \$3 million in back pay to 200 clerical workers in the city Water and Sewers Department. The suit contested the inequality in pay between men and women. In some cases, women were paid 50 percent less than men who were doing the same job. The court also demanded that the pay of the female clerks should be made equal to that of the men. This means the pay of 75 of the 200 women will increase from their current salary of \$9,000 a year to \$21,000 a year.

The socialist candidate said that "this victorious suit against those who run this

city should be an inspiration to women, Blacks, and Latinos to continue the fight against inequality and segregation. It is one more example how the Democrats and Republicans who run this city do so only in the interest of the bankers and big business. Their interests are counterposed to ours."

The SWP candidate for mayor continued, "Women can best fight for the Equal Rights Amendment, abortion rights, and affirmative action when they are acting independently of the parties of the rich. We workers must have our own political party, a labor party, based on a fighting union movement."

The class-action suit was filed nearly eight years ago by the National Organization for Women (NOW) and four city workers. The ruling also complements a 1977 decision for female janitors that cost

the city about \$4 million in total damages, back pay, increased salaries, and legal fees.

A study last fall by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees showed that women employees are kept in a second-class pay scale compared to men. The report revealed that 80 percent of the city's male employees earned over \$20,000, while 80 percent of the women employees earned under \$20,000.

"There are more battles of this sort that remain to be fought," Warren said. "The systematic discrimination women workers face in this city shows what a serious error it is that the Chicago NOW chapter has endorsed Mayor Jane Byrne for reelection. No Democrat, female or Black, can champion the fight against discrimination. Women cannot take over the Democratic Party, they can't reform it."