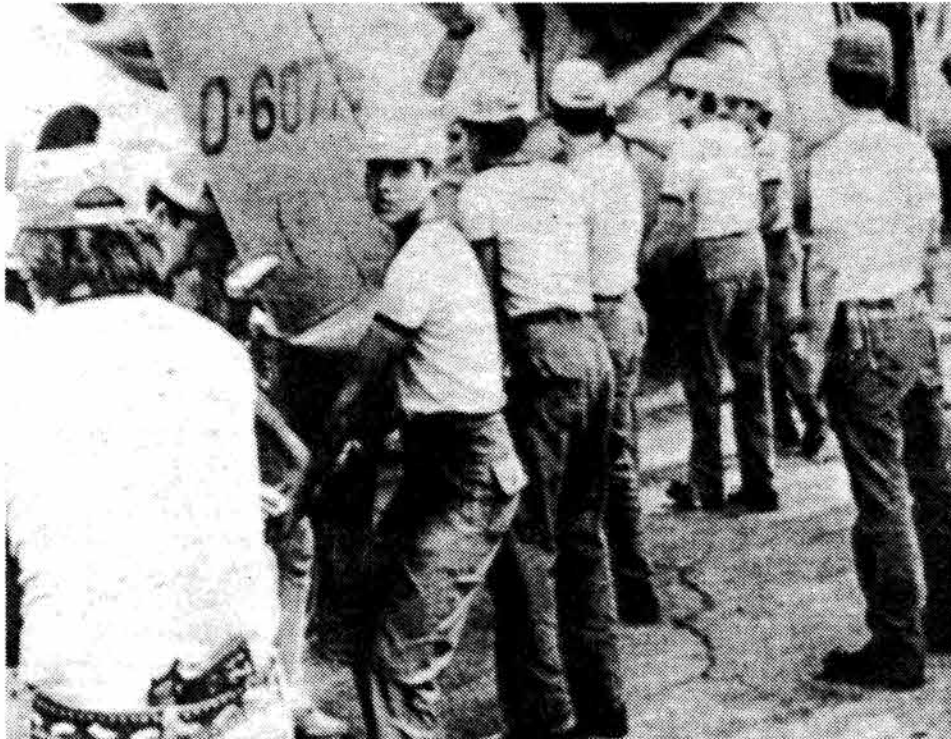


## Top Pentagon brass call for more GIs for El Salvador war



Salvadoran air force cadets unload U.S.-supplied UH-1H Huey helicopter once used in Vietnam. Man in foreground with pistol in his belt is U.S. adviser.

### Stop Washington's new Vietnam

BY HARRY RING

The wounding of the first American GI in El Salvador February 2 is a danger signal that Washington is dragging us into a new Vietnam.

The very same day Staff Sgt. Jay Thomas Stanley received a leg wound on a helicopter combat mission, top Reagan officials told a Senate committee the dictatorship in El Salvador cannot win its war without increased U.S. troops and aid.

Gen. Wallace Nutting, who testified before the committee, "said categorically that although he was not advocating direct involvement of U.S. military personnel, he thought the Salvadoran armed forces would never be able to achieve total military victory without it," reported the February 3 *Miami Herald*.

Nutting's claim that he doesn't favor "direct involvement" is doubletalk. U.S. troops — hypocritically called advisers — are *already* directly involved. Nutting's message was clear: the Pentagon wants to escalate this intervention, including the number of troops.

The *Herald* reported that Nutting and Thomas Enders, assistant secretary of state for inter-American affairs, "said that the Reagan administration now believes that a total military victory over the guerrillas is out of the question unless there is massive American military aid poured into the Central American nation."

The Reagan administration has proposed tripling the military aid currently going to El Salvador. In the current fiscal year it will go from \$26.3 million to \$86.3 million, not counting the "economic" aid the dictatorship also gets. Indications are that Reagan actually plans a much bigger increase in aid and the number of "advisers" to El Salvador.

Already, the U.S. advisers stationed in El Salvador are directly participating in the fighting, as shown by the wounding of Sgt. Stanley. They are also directing Salvadoran troops in battle. Supposedly the advisers are only there to train Salvadoran troops.

When Stanley was wounded, U.S. officials initially lied about what happened, asserting that he was simply being taken to a communications station to repair a relay signal.

But when it became apparent this story would not stand up under scrutiny, it was officially acknowledged that he was in a combat zone. Three noncommissioned officers were relieved of their duties in El Salvador, with responsibility pinned on them for sending Stanley into a combat area.

According to Radio Venceremos, voice of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN), Stanley was wounded when guerrillas returned strafing fire from his helicopter.

The extent of the blows being suffered by the U.S.-backed dictatorial regime in El Salvador was dramatically underlined

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## Reagan hurls smear attack at truckers

BY IKE NAHEM

WASHINGTON, D.C. — The government has sharply escalated its attacks on the independent truckers' shutdown that began January 31.

At his February 4 news conference, President Reagan accused the strikers of "murder" and said he had directed the FBI to work with local cops "to put an end to this violence." Offering absolutely no proof of his charges against the strikers, Reagan defended once again the tax increase the truckers are protesting. Drivers say it will force many of them to pay as much as \$5,000 more in taxes.

Meanwhile, Ohio cops arrested 17 striking drivers on riot charges. In North Carolina, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania, National Guard helicopters were patrolling highways. Cops escorted trucks in New York, New Jersey, Ohio, and other states.

While the extent of the shutdown remains difficult to estimate, due to the anti-strike bias of the big-business media, organizing committees and rallies by drivers continued to spread. Gatherings were held in Phoenix, Arizona; Pittsburgh and New Stanton, Pennsylvania; Bordentown, New Jersey; Hamilton, Ohio; and elsewhere.

In Boston 85 rigs converged in a protest at Government Center. In Milwaukee more than 80 trucks parked off a highway in a protest by the Wisconsin Independent Truckers Unity Committee.

Support for the goals of the shutdown remained high among drivers, whether they are independents, Teamsters, or nonunion. Teamsters at the giant Hunts Point produce terminal in New York City told the *Militant* that their local union supports the strikers.

In Washington, Mike Parkhurst, president of the Independent Truckers Association (ITA) that called the shutdown, held a news conference February 4 to explain the issues of the strike.

Reporters at the news conference, reflecting the employers' and government's attitude towards the truckers' strike, were hostile to Parkhurst throughout the session.

Repeatedly, Parkhurst stated his opposition to violence. He unambiguously dissociated the ITA from acts of violence. Nevertheless, he was asked over and over: "What do you hope to gain by such vio-

lence?" "Who, besides you, benefits from shootings, brick-throwing, and murder?" "How many people will have to be killed before you call off the strike?"

Parkhurst asked why the media didn't report the many cases of peaceful ITA members who have been attacked violently by unknown assailants. He also condemned growing harassment of strikers by federal and state police agencies.

The media have also tried to pit independent truckers against company drivers, especially members of the Teamsters union. Parkhurst explained the Teamsters are allies of the independent truckers.

"We know the rank-and-file Teamsters are with us," he said. "They know that we are fighting for them as well. They know that if this legislation [raising taxes for truckers] goes into effect, 20 percent more of them will be put out of work, to add to the many tens of thousands already taken from behind the wheel."

He added, "We have also met with people from the American Agriculture Movement, who are in a similar situation as us. We are not against the public. The government is against the public."

Parkhurst pointed out that if these taxes

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## Constitutional political rights of all under attack in Los Angeles courtroom

BY MARY-ALICE WATERS

Does the United States government have the right to dictate to the Socialist Workers Party — or other political associations such as the NAACP, the National Organization for Women, or the Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador — who its members are, which members may or may not be elected to leadership positions, and whether its activities are in conformity with its stated program and historic goals?

If the First Amendment to the Constitution, which guarantees freedom of religion, speech, press, assembly, and the right to petition the government for a redress of grievances, means anything, the answer is "no."

But today in U.S. District Court in Los Angeles, Judge Mariana Pfaelzer is saying the opposite. She has ordered a case to go to trial on March 1, 1983, in which these most fundamental constitutional rights of every political group in the United States are being grossly violated.

Pfaelzer has scheduled the trial in a suit brought against the Socialist Workers Party by a former SWP member, Alan Gelfand, who was expelled in 1979.

Gelfand seeks a court order that his

membership be restored, that his expulsion from the party be ruled a breach of contract in violation of the SWP's rules, and that the members of the SWP responsible for his expulsion, including the national secretary of the party and several members of the Political Committee, be removed from the leadership positions to which they were elected by the membership of the SWP.

The history of this case begins some four years ago in the midst of an important offensive waged by the SWP against government spying and disruption. One facet of that offensive was a lawsuit, which has gone down in legal history as *Socialist Workers Party v. Attorney General*.

That suit, which is now awaiting a decision by District Court Judge Thomas Griesa, has played a historic role in exposing the decades-long campaign of illegal harassment and disruption of the SWP and other political groups opposed to government policies by the FBI, CIA, and other government agencies.

At the end of 1978, *SWP v. Attorney General* was in the federal Court of Appeals where the government was attempting to overturn a contempt citation issued against the Attorney General for refusing to produce FBI informer files. Opponents of

the government's political police operations were landing some real blows.

Alan Gelfand, a lawyer, was a member of the SWP in Los Angeles. Without the knowledge of the party he filed his own personal brief in this appeal proceeding.

In his brief, Gelfand asserted that his interests were distinct from, and indeed adverse to, those of the SWP and could not be adequately represented by the party's attorneys. He claimed to be offering the "perspective of a rank and file member" whose inquiries "into the alleged FBI relationships of certain prominent S.W.P. members" had been "met with unprecedented resistance by the leadership of the S.W.P."

The SWP leadership learned of Gelfand's brief from its attorney, Leonard Boudin, who received a copy of it from the clerk of the Court of Appeals.

Upon learning the contents of the brief, SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes initiated disciplinary proceedings against Gelfand. The charges were considered, and Gelfand was expelled by the Political Committee of the SWP in January 1979 for "undisciplined and disloyal behavior in violation of the organizational principles of the Socialist Workers Party."

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# Toledo strikers discuss shutdown strategy

BY DEAN ELDER

FREMONT, Ohio — Some 300 owner-operators met here February 2 to find out where their shutdown stands and to discuss strategy and tactics.

The truckers first heard reports on similar meetings held elsewhere or being planned. Then Darryl Duncan, an area leader read a report on participation by owner-operators from different areas around the country.

It was reported that a Toledo-area truck stop near here that normally pumps 40,000 gallons of fuel a day was down to 6,000.

One trucker read a copy of a letter from Jackie Presser, international vice-president of the Teamsters union, that said Ohio is closing its state-run truck scales during the shutdown and outlining "precautions" for Teamster drivers to take.

This led to some discussion on the union and its role in the shutdown. Many of the independents felt that the Teamster-organized fleet drivers wouldn't join the protest because they had "no guts." One pointed out that Teamsters will also be hurt by the new taxes because the companies they drive for will demand concessions from them to absorb the hikes.

A number of those in the audience were in fact Teamsters who reported that the fleets they drove for had been closed down.

"Big money is what's behind this tax bill," Duncan said. "We have to get out of this 'independent' mentality. We need to be organized — we need an organization to win this thing."

Duncan didn't specify the Teamsters union as that organization, although he is a steward in Teamsters Local 20 in Toledo. He drives his own truck.

Another discussion was on owners of smaller fleets. One was at the meeting from the Ohio Truckers Association (OTA), a carriers' group. He rose to express his "sympathy" with the strikers, because he thinks the higher taxes will drive him out of business. But he won't stop operating for fear of losing his big customers or having the Interstate Commerce Commission revoke his license for not providing "public service."

Instead, the OTA advises letter-writing and phone-calling to Congress to get the law changed.

The OTA spokesperson got a mixed response from the strikers. They liked it when he donated \$100 to their fund. But a trucker near this reporter said, "What's that to him, when he's out there running his trucks, making \$200-300 a day? Then he'll

For more coverage of truckers' strike see page 8.

come and pat us on the back when this thing is over."

Another challenged the OTA man in the discussion: "You're telling us this law will put you out of business. But still you keep running so you won't lose your customers. You have to stand up for what's right sometime, don't you?"

The reply? The OTA man said he had stopped running what he could, and was only running for his "most essential" customers.

At one point in the meeting a discussion began on the role of the government. A striker reported on a laid-off foundry worker in Fremont who was given a job

referral at the state unemployment office to become a security guard — riding on trucks with a billy club and a can of mace for \$3.45 an hour. The man was threatened with loss of his unemployment benefits if he didn't take the job.

After the meeting, a group of truckers visited the unemployment office to press for answers on this.

One trucker pointed out the irony of the state closing its scales "when they're all complaining about those big, heavy trucks tearing up the roads. That just encourages those big companies to run illegal."

The strikers are most angry at the government:

"I'm tired of lying politicians becoming multiple-millionaires on all of our money."

"How about some concessions from our people in government for a change?"

"Reagan told us we should follow the ten commandments. One of those is 'thou shalt not steal,' but they just gave themselves a license to steal with this new law."

"Why don't they take some of that money they just voted themselves [Congressional pay raises] and put it in a fund for Social Security?"

## Reagan smears truck strike

Continued from front page

go through there will be a massive loss of jobs in the truck manufacturing industry. But the press was not interested in such facts.

The shutdown followed months of intensive lobbying on Capitol Hill by ITA representatives.

"After the news conference, Parkhurst was asked by the *Militant* what political conclusions he drew from the shutdown: 'The political lesson I learn is that Congress seldom or never reacts unless there is the pressure of a shutdown. We've been articulating these problems for years and years, and the only time we get the Congress's attention is when we shut down.'

"And the only time we have ever organized a shutdown is not for higher wages but was only to reduce taxes, or in 1974 and 1979 to get the fuel shortages, the phony fuel shortages which hurt everyone, eliminated. And isn't it interesting that when we did that, the fuel shortages magically disappeared after the pressure of the shutdown?"

At the beginning of the press conference, Parkhurst pointed to a blank chalkboard. "This represents the solutions the government has come up with so far." He stressed that the shutdown will continue as long as the government refuses to budge.

## Top brass call for more GIs to Salvador

Continued from front page

when guerrilla forces held the city of Berlín for three days and then withdrew. Located 60 miles from the capital city of San Salvador, Berlín has a population of 30,000. It was the largest city taken by the rebel forces so far in the three-year-old civil war.

U.S.-provided A37 Dragonfly jets bombed the center of Berlín and other civilian areas. This act of barbarism was assailed by the acting archbishop of the Salvadoran Catholic church. He said more than 250 people died in the bombings.

Meanwhile, UPI reported February 8 that hundreds of rebels were beating back an attack by 2,000 government troops and were aiming to take the city of Jiquilisco, about 12 miles south of Berlín.

Little wonder that the Salvadoran ambassador to the United States said, "We are facing a very serious situation with the guerrillas."

But none of these officials are ready to explain why this is. How come a relatively small guerrilla force with far less firepower can deal such blows to an army that Washington has spent millions training and equipping?

What it comes down to is that the government of El Salvador is hated by the people there. It survives only because its death squads murder people by the thousands.

The Salvadoran government must rule

by repression because it is dedicated to preserving a system under which a handful of oligarchs enjoy great wealth at the expense of brutally exploited workers and landless peasants.

On the other side, the liberation forces are fighting to end U.S. domination of their country, and to rebuild Salvadoran society to provide land for the peasants and jobs and a decent life for the workers.

And that's why Washington is pushing in deeper.

Guns and dollars are being poured into El Salvador because powerful U.S. corporations have big economic stakes in Central and South America.

Obviously they can't just blurt out to American working people: We want you to fight and die in Central America to preserve hated dictatorships because those dictatorships protect the profits of American business.

That's why we get the lying propaganda about fighting "terrorism" and "communist totalitarianism."

If Washington was really concerned about terrorism and totalitarianism, it wouldn't give a dime to the blood-soaked Salvadoran government.

Yet they keep pushing toward deeper involvement there. And the involvement is already a lot greater than admitted.

Much evidence about this has been offered by Radio Venceremos. It reported,

for example, that when the Salvadoran government launched a major counteroffensive against the liberation forces in Morazán Province, U.S. advisers were directing the government troops.

Radio Venceremos also reported that in another area, rebel forces captured documents including plans for a government offensive which clearly had been drawn up by U.S. advisers.

Such facts as those reported by Radio Venceremos are covered up in this country because it would only deepen the already strong opposition among the American people to U.S. policy in El Salvador.

The spread of that opposition is especially significant within the organized labor movement.

This is reflected in the fact that top labor officials are beginning to speak up.

Particularly important in this respect was the January 19 demand by three top labor leaders that Congress terminate all military aid to El Salvador. These were Douglas Fraser, president of the United Auto Workers; William Winpisinger, president of the International Association of Machinists; and Jack Sheinkman, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union.

That's a step toward blocking another Vietnam. If we don't force Washington to get out of El Salvador, they will surely drag us in a lot deeper.

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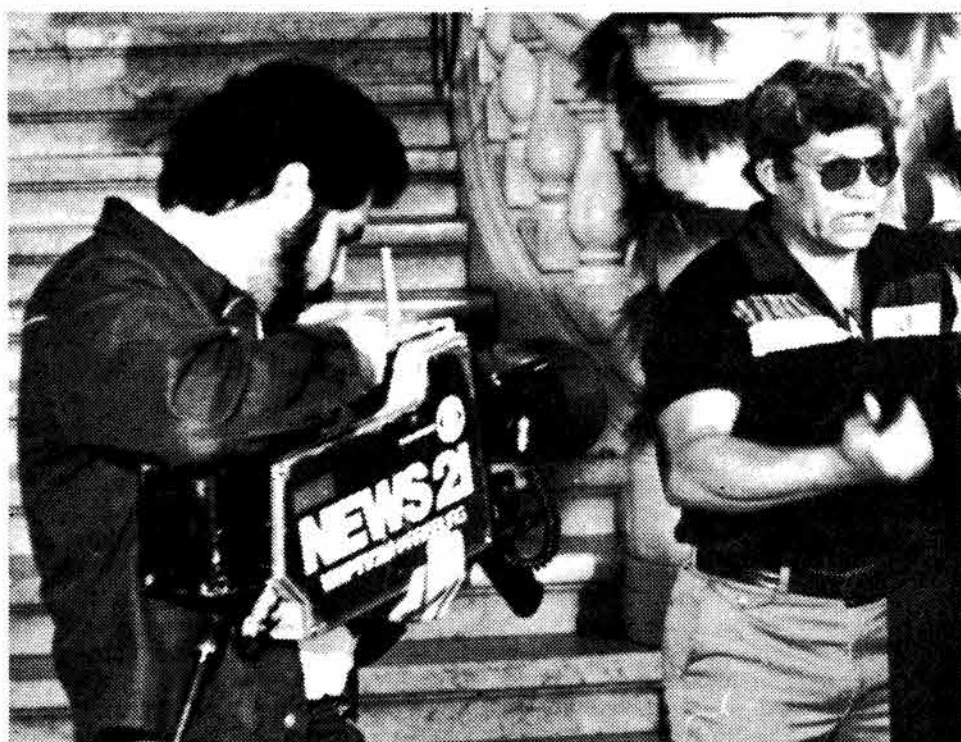
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# Salvador labor tour strikes chord in U.S.

## Interview with local official of United Electrical Workers



Alejandro Molina Lara, Salvadoran labor leader, addresses news conference during Pennsylvania leg of tour to gain solidarity.

Salvadoran union leader Alejandro Molina Lara, an official of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) and general secretary of the Fishing Industry Union, toured Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio last November and December. He addressed numerous union audiences.

In Erie, Pennsylvania, he spoke to hundreds of unionists. The coordinator of his tour there was Al Hart, a worker in the Erie General Electric plant and an executive board member of United Electrical Workers (UE) Local 506.

The following interview with Hart was conducted by Militant correspondent Ginny Hildebrand.

**Question.** How did Alejandro Molina Lara come to address the November meeting of UE Local 506?

**Answer.** A few of us in the local helped set it up because we thought that the ideal way to get our members to understand the situation in El Salvador was for them to hear a unionist from that country. This turned out to be even truer than we thought.

**Q.** Would you describe the reaction of your local members?

A. Well, Alejandro gave a good general picture of the situation in his country. But what really struck the crowd was when he described the "free trade zones." That's where North American companies set up plants and pay no taxes and where unions have always been outlawed. There was an audible sound of dismay throughout the crowd when he told them that workers for these companies earn only \$2.50 per day. When he described the disappearances and jailings of union activists, it had a moving effect on the membership.

When Alejandro was done speaking, everyone was on their feet applauding. We took up a collection to cover the expenses of his trip and aid the work of his union federation, FENASTRAS. The guy who won the local drawing at that meeting donated most of his winnings.

Our local treasurer left the meeting when he heard that Alejandro had no winter coat. He came back a little later with a brand new parka that was to have been a gift for his father, who recently died. He gave the jacket to Alejandro.

One other thing Alejandro did was have an interview with Channel 35 TV. It was a short piece on the evening news but the anchorwoman did a beautiful job. The item before it was about layoffs at Bucyrus Erie, so she picked up on that and said, "While union members in Erie are fighting for their jobs, in El Salvador union members are fighting for their lives. Last night Alejandro Molina Lara spoke at United Electrical Workers Local 506."

**Q.** Alejandro returned to Erie a few weeks later. You helped to organize that tour also, right?

A. Yes. His first trip to Erie was organized so hastily that there was no time to set anything else up. Myself and some other union people and people I knew in the peace movement felt we could get him to meet with other constituencies and do more in the Erie media. The dates we were able to schedule him for turned out to coincide with the December Erie Central Labor Council meeting. So a talk before the council was set up.

Then members of the local CARD [Committee Against Registration and the Draft] and the nuclear freeze group planned a public meeting for Alejandro at Gannon College. A professor at Behrend College invited him to one of his classes. He also had interviews on two more TV stations.

**Q.** What was the reaction to Alejandro at the Central Labor Council meeting?

A. You wouldn't believe it if you weren't there. Compared to his speech to UE 506 he just cut loose. He described why the working class in El Salvador had to turn to armed struggle. He explained how every other means for working people to deal with their problems — strikes, elections, etc. — had been blocked by the gov-

ernment, which is controlled by 14 wealthy families.

For example, he described how strikes are met with armed repression. So to prevent strikers from being killed they adopted the tactic of kidnapping the bosses and holding them in the plant with them.

He also described how elections were stolen. When candidates supported by workers were elected, the military voided the results.

To my surprise that line of argument was well received by the delegates. The whole place was on its feet. The officers had their pictures taken standing arm and arm with Alejandro. Delegates all along the aisles shook his hand. The hat was passed among the 50 people there and they donated \$100. The Council donated another \$100 from its treasury. Also, they adopted a resolution calling for an end to all U.S. aid to El Salvador.

One council member got up and said something like, "I grew up in the coal country and back in the '20s and '30s the state police used to come in on horseback and beat people down when they went on strike. And now these big cartels are doing the same thing around the world."

I wish we had a video tape of that meeting to send to Lane Kirkland to show him what unionists in Erie think of U.S. policy in El Salvador.

**Q.** Why do you think unionists responded to Alejandro with such enthusiasm?

A. From the most immediate, self-interest point of view, we realize that our jobs are being exported. Right here at General Electric the company is planning to close the foundry and some of that work is going to Brazil. The cheapest labor they can get is in countries where workers have no rights, where right-wing military dictatorships supported by the U.S. government create a business climate that is best for runaway shops. When people in my local read over the list Alejandro had of companies investing in El Salvador, they saw the connection.

Also, I saw that the reaction Alejandro got from the two union meetings was stronger than that at the campus meeting. There is a strong emotional identity, solidarity that workers here have with another worker living under extreme repression. Things that American union members would never tolerate here are being done in countries where our government has a lot

of say, in our name, with our tax money.

To hear Alejandro describe how and why workers are fighting in El Salvador makes people understand, see, and feel that the working class is a class. It breaks down international boundaries. To hear him describe it you know that workers, no matter the country, are on the same side and bosses are on the other side. The thing that was so exciting to me about the Central Labor Council and UE 506 meetings was that you could see that international solidarity of workers really exists. Alejandro was really able to strengthen the class consciousness of the people he spoke to.

**Q.** What do you think organized labor should be doing to oppose U.S. intervention?

A. In January, my local sent a letter to our congressmen and senators telling them about Alejandro's talk to our local meeting. Then the letter said:

"U.S. military and economic aid is supporting this repression of human rights. U.S.-based multinational corporations that operate in El Salvador benefit from these policies that allow them to exploit cheap labor. We as American workers are paying taxes that finance the repression of our brother and sister unionists, and that subsidize the export of our jobs."

"President Reagan's certification of human rights progress by the government of El Salvador is a lie which completely ignores the true conditions in El Salvador. We urge Congress to hold hearings and reject Reagan's certification."

"All U.S. military aid and intervention in El Salvador and Central America should be halted. We need money for jobs here at home, not more guns and more bloodshed in Central America."

I'd like to see the labor movement as a whole oppose Reagan's policies. I'd like to see us acting and demonstrating against U.S. policy in El Salvador, Nicaragua, etc. The way to turn labor in this direction is to let the rank and file hear workers from these countries explain what's going on and how U.S. policy is supporting the most antilabor forces in these countries.

We're American workers and it is the U.S. government that is the major force holding up the Salvadoran dictatorship and every other dictatorship in Latin America. We have a greater responsibility than workers in Germany or England because it is our government intervening. We have to oppose it and stop it.

## Cleveland unionists hit aid to El Salvador

BY SUSAN BERMAN

CLEVELAND — "The International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers [IAM] remains opposed to the re-certification of military aid to El Salvador. . . . The rights of people to enjoy free thoughts, free speech, and free unions shall never succumb to the creed of greed."

This statement, by Tom Buffenbarger, special representative of the IAM, was released at a February 3 news conference here.

The news conference was called by the Central America Solidarity Committee (CASC) in response to President Reagan's recent certification that human rights are improving in El Salvador.

Bob Weissman, president of United Auto Workers Local 122 at Chrysler Twinsburg, answered Reagan's arguments: "Can anyone seriously argue that a reduction in political murders from 400 a month to 200 a month is progress in protecting human rights?"

Weissman continued, "As a union official I am particularly upset that our government is using tax dollars to support a government that imprisons, tortures, and murders union leaders."

Sue Wilson, president of the Cleveland chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW), extended CLUW's "solidarity with the labor men and women in El Salvador." She explained that CLUW demands the U.S. government cut off all military and economic aid to El Salvador and "withdraw all advisers and military person-

nel . . . and cease all intervention and plans of intervention in that country."

James Winfield represented the National Black Independent Political Party. "It's not shocking to the Black community," he said, "that the U.S. government considers this bloody regime the bearer of human rights. Because this is the same U.S. government that is carrying out a reign of terror against the Black community — cutting CETA, cutting welfare, cutting jobs and Social Security. It is the same Mr. 'Human Rights' Reagan who tried to put the Voting Rights Act on the butcher block."

Dale Lindsey, who chaired the news

conference, explained that there is a growing opposition among working people and the American labor movement to Washington's war against Central America and the people of El Salvador.

This sentiment was also expressed in a statement by the Labor Committee on Jobs, Military Spending, and the Environment: "We feel that at a time when funds are needed to relieve the misery that millions of American workers face in this depression, it is the height of hypocrisy for the Reagan administration to claim no money is available for social programs, but that money is available for the military government in El Salvador."

## N.Y. news conference for Molina Lara

BY WELLS TODD

NEW YORK — On Monday, February 7, a news conference announcing the upcoming New York tour of Alejandro Molina Lara, a national labor leader from El Salvador, was held at the offices of the Newspaper Guild.

Chairing the news conference was David Dyson, a staff person for the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and the secretary of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

Dyson opened the news conference by focusing on the U.S. role in El Salvador and ridiculing Reagan's third certification of human rights progress in El Salvador.

When he introduced Molina Lara to re-

porters, Dyson explained that he was an officer of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers and General Secretary of the Fishing Industry Union. He said Molina Lara had been involved in fighting for workers' rights in El Salvador until a year ago when he was forced into exile because of government repression.

In his presentation, Molina Lara gave a brief description of the total lack of rights for working people in El Salvador and asked for support from American workers.

In addition to the news conference, a reception attended by nearly 100 people at Casa de las Americas was organized the evening of February 5 for area solidarity activists to informally meet and talk to Molina Lara.



# Israeli-U.S. war in Lebanon far from over



Cold-blooded murder and vigilante raids continue against Palestinians and Lebanese.

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

Israel's ferocious war against the Palestinian liberation movement continues to claim new victims.

Eighteen people were killed and 115 wounded February 5 when a car loaded with more than 150 pounds of dynamite exploded in front of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Research Center in West Beirut.

The blast also destroyed a building across the street housing *Jana*, the Libyan news service and temporary headquarters for the Libyan embassy.

Just one week earlier, a similar explosion killed an estimated 30 people in an attack on a PLO headquarters in the Bekaa Valley.

A right-wing group calling itself the Front for the Liberation of Lebanon from

*An editorial on the Israeli inquiry into the West Beirut massacre appears on page 18.*

Foreigners, which has carried out other attacks against the Palestinian and Lebanese community, took responsibility for both bombings.

## 'Another crime by Israelis'

The PLO's diplomatic representative in Beirut, Shafik al-Hout, denounced the February 5 bombing as "another crime by the Israelis against the Palestinian people."

The research center, established in 1965 in West Beirut as a cultural office conducting research into Palestinian history, was the only formal PLO institution left in Beirut. It had the same diplomatic status as the cultural missions of other embassies.

Last September, during their invasion of West Beirut, Israeli troops stormed the research center, destroying the interior and stealing an estimated 25,000 Hebrew, Arabic, and English books on the history of the Palestinian Arabs and Palestine.

The February 5 attack grows directly out

of the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which is aimed at the annihilation of the Palestinian national liberation movement.

That invasion has resulted in 49,000 Palestinian and Lebanese civilian casualties, 5,300 Palestinian and Lebanese fighters dead and wounded, and 6,000 others missing. In its savage thrust into Lebanon, the Israeli army destroyed everything in its way.

Summing up the goals of the invasion, Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin claimed that his aim was to bring "peace" to northern Israel and the whole region.

Currently, Israeli occupation forces totaling at least 25,000 troops control the southern half of Lebanon. With support from Washington, they have installed a weak rightist regime in Beirut that is totally dependent on imperialist military and economic aid.

Far from bringing peace to Lebanon, the imperialist occupation has merely served as a screen for the Israelis and their right-wing Lebanese allies to step up the persecution of the Palestinian people and those Lebanese forces trying to advance the interests of working people.

## U.S. Marine captain

The Israeli occupation forces are so eager to extend their repression that they have even come into conflict with the U.S. Marines who were assigned to help them. On February 2, in an action that received much publicity, a U.S. Marine captain drew his gun on an Israeli tank commander. It was the latest in a series of confrontations between the marines and Israeli troops.

What is involved is not a sudden shift by the U.S. rulers, who bankroll the Israeli army, provide it with its most advanced weapons, and who backed its invasion of Lebanon in the United Nations.

After the massacre in the Shatila and Sabra camps in West Beirut and the worldwide revulsion that it caused, the Israelis were forced to pull out of the city.

They were replaced by U.S., French, and Italian forces. Under the cover of this multinational force, the Lebanese army has conducted searches, mass round-ups of Palestinians and Lebanese leftists, and the demolition of some houses. All this, however, is not enough for the Israelis. They want to carry out a reign of terror such as has been instituted in the south of Lebanon.

President Reagan, on the other hand, is trying to pose as a man of peace, stressing his alleged differences with the hated Begin in order to escape his share of responsibility for the Beirut massacre.

In the meantime, the Israeli occupiers are putting whatever pressure they think they can get away with on the Palestinians under their control. Arbitrary arrests, vigilante raids, denial of shelter and utilities, and outright murder are the methods being employed by the Israelis and their Lebanese agents.

While plenty of construction is going on for military purposes, including roads and permanent base camps, some 70,000 Palestinians remain without homes in southern Lebanon. Israeli bulldozers razed whole refugee camps and neighborhoods to the ground in order to "encourage" their inhabitants to leave.

## Prisoners shot down

In the Israeli-run Ansar concentration camp, also in southern Lebanon, there are still at least 6,000 prisoners, mostly Palestinians but including 1,000 Lebanese, who are prisoners in their own country. They have no rights according to Israeli officials because they have been classified as "terrorists."

The January 22 *Washington Post* reports that in September, when hundreds of relatives gathered at the prison gates to locate family members, Israeli guards opened fire on the prisoners, wounding eight of them. And on December 2, an Israeli soldier "accidentally" discharged a machine gun, killing three prisoners and wounding another three.

A January 19 *Post* article reports that the Phalangist Lebanese Forces, the same ultra-right paramilitary outfit that conducted the massacre of Palestinian refugees at Shatila and Sabra refugee camps with the Israeli army's collusion, "is rapidly expanding its presence throughout the south of the country."

## Terror in Sidon

The February 6 *New York Times* reports that, "Threats, violence and terror tactics are reportedly being used by the Lebanese Christian Phalangists against the middle-class Palestinians in the coastal town of Sidon in an effort to drive them out of the area."

The article goes on to report that the bodies of seven Palestinians killed by the Phalangists were recently discovered and an eighth man has been seriously wounded. Palestinian families in the area are receiving threatening letters telling them to leave, and 10 have already done so.

Despite this, the article notes that Israeli authorities continue to have a close relationship with the Phalangists, providing them with weapons and "counting on them

to present Israel's point of view," in Lebanon.

However, the Palestinian liberation movement and its supporters are continuing to fight back.

The January 8 *Washington Post* reports that 21 Israeli soldiers were wounded in fighting near Beirut, in the highest Israeli loss in three months. Another two Israeli soldiers were wounded in a similar action on January 5.

Both Israeli troops and the imperialist occupation force suffered further casualties in the last week of January.

In addition, rebel fighters of the PLO still maintain their positions in both Tripoli and the Bekaa Valley.

Demonstrations have been organized to protest living conditions and violence against both the Palestinian and Druse communities.

At the Ansar prison camp, prisoners organized a demonstration to demand better medical care and the release of over 1,000 prisoners who are seriously ill.

On January 2, a march of Palestinians in West Beirut commemorated the founding of the PLO and honored those massacred at Shatila and Sabra. The same day hundreds of Muslims marched in West Beirut demanding that the government disarm the Phalangist militia as part of any agreement on troop withdrawals.

Despite the tremendous suffering that the Palestinian people have undergone at the hands of the Israeli army and its supporters in Washington, the imperialists have not been able to stop the heroic struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination.

## Young socialists begin national tour

Young Socialist Alliance National Chairman Mac Warren and YSA National Secretary Andrea González, as well as the four other members of the YSA national staff, will be on speaking tours during the months of February and March. They will visit over 50 cities where there are YSA members.

Before joining the YSA national staff, Mac Warren was a member of United Auto Workers Local 600 at the Ford River Rouge complex. He has been active in politics since 1968 when, as a high school student, he supported the Memphis sanitation workers strike led by Martin Luther King. He has participated in struggles since then, such as protests against police brutality in Atlanta and the fight for busing in Boston. He will be touring in the Midwest.

Andrea González was a member of the Amalgamated Transit Union. She recently returned from a tour of Nicaragua. She is the national coordinator of the YSA's work in support of revolutionary struggles in Central America and participated in the Border Conference in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador in Tijuana, Mexico, last October. González is on the editorial board of *Perspectiva Mundial*. She will be touring on the West Coast.

Mark Weddleton is editor of the *Young Socialist*. He was a member of United Steelworkers Local 8888. He will be touring in the Southwest.

Peter Thierjung was a member of the International Association of Sheetmetal Workers. He was the Socialist Workers candidate for New York lieutenant governor in the recent elections. He will be touring in the Midwest.

Judy Stranahan is a former assembly line worker at Ford's Milpitas, California, plant and has been an activist in the United Auto Workers union and the Coalition of Labor Union Women. She will be touring in the Northeast.

Stuart Crome is a former member of United Brotherhood of Carpenters Local 1846 and an activist in the Black liberation struggle. He will be touring on the East Coast.

The speakers will address public forums sponsored by local YSA chapters on "Working Class Solutions to the Capitalist Crisis: What Socialists Stand For." The socialist leaders will also be speaking to high school classes, on radio talk shows, at informal meetings, and other events. To find out more about the tour in your area, contact the YSA chapter nearest you (see directory on page 17).

# INS orders Hector Marroquin deported

BY MARGARET JAYKO

On January 27, three judges from the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit rejected an appeal by Héctor Marroquín for political asylum, and ordered him deported back to Mexico. The judges were upholding the March 23, 1982, ruling of the Board of Immigration Appeals.

Marroquín and his attorneys are appealing this ruling. They have asked the entire Court of Appeals to hear the case again and overturn this decision.

The judges claim that they are denying Marroquín's right to asylum because he hasn't proved that he would be persecuted for his political ideas if he were deported to Mexico. But this is simply camouflage to cover the real motive for the deportation order: political persecution.

Héctor Marroquín is a leader of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He is an active oppo-

nent of the U.S. war against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean, as well as the government and employer war against working people in the U.S.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service lawyer who prosecuted Marroquín's case in 1979 stated the real reason the government is out to deport him: "Marroquín has admitted from his own mouth that he is a Marxist . . . the U.S. doesn't grant asylum to those kind of people."

Marroquín came to the United States in April 1974 after he was singled out by the Mexican police — and U.S. FBI agents — for his political activity in support of democratic rights and the trade union movement. Fleeing frame-up charges of having been involved in terrorist activity, he came to the United States as a political refugee without papers.

For more than five years, Marroquín has been fighting to force the U.S. government to grant him political asylum.

A victory in this case would give a boost to the fight against the Reagan administration's campaign to deport thousands of Salvadorans in this country who are victims of Washington's war against the Salvadoran people. It would inspire the Haitians and all the other refugees who are fighting for political asylum in the United States.

The important questions raised by the case of Héctor Marroquín are what has prompted support for his case from a broad array of public figures and organizations including union officials, fighters for Black rights, members of Congress, political activists, and artists. Support has been especially strong among Chicanos and other Latinos.

For more information on the fight for Marroquín's right to political asylum contact the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



# Black editor blasts U.S. lies about Cuba

'Racism in Latin America is a fact of life. . . . Cuba is only exception'



Prensa Latina

Blacks play big role in Cuba's Territorial Troop Militia and international missions to Africa

The following article was featured on the front page of the January 29 *Amsterdam News*, one of the most widely circulated Black newspapers in the United States. In it, John F. Davis, executive editor of the *News*, presents an eyewitness account of the dramatic social and economic progress made by Cuban working people, and Blacks in particular, through their revolution.

"Racism in Latin America is a fact of life. . . . Cuba is now the only exception," Davis writes.

His trip to Cuba, he continues, made him "fully understand why Ronald Reagan and the American government are so adamant about Cuba and Castro. I now understand why travel to Cuba is discouraged. The simple truth is that Fidel Castro and the Communist Party of Cuba have wrought miracles there."

The entire text of the article follows.

BY JOHN F. DAVIS

There is probably nothing that would more accurately reflect how revealing and educational my recent trip to Cuba was than the utter shock I experienced upon hearing many Cubans proudly assert that "We are Latin Africans." How many times have I chuckled when observing some dark-skinned Puerto Rican denying his African heritage. Racism in Latin America is a fact of life no matter how often denied even by the victims of color distinction. Cuba is now the only exception.

Walter Lippmann wrote twenty years ago that "What is going on in Cuba today is no mere palace revolution at the top, in which one oligarchy has ousted another. This is a social revolution involving the

masses of the Cuban people, and its aim is not to install a new set of rulers but to work out a new social order."

I now fully understand why Ronald Reagan and the American government are so adamant about Cuba and Castro. I now understand why travel to Cuba is discouraged. The simple truth is that Fidel Castro and the Communist Party of Cuba have wrought miracles there. That reality flies in the face of American mythology and must, at all costs, be denied if not destroyed.

To understand and appreciate what the Castro government has achieved one must know something of pre-revolutionary Cuba. The *New York Post* of January 17, 1983 carried a story on Meyer Lansky who recently departed this life. The story said, in pertinent part, "Over the next few years, they (the mob) began opening lucrative casinos around the country and in 1934 created that nationwide organization known as 'The Syndicate.'"

"And Lansky soon initiated a profitable relationship with Cuban dictator Fulgencio Batista, who gave him the virtual run of his island nation — a relationship which ended only with his overthrow by Fidel Castro."

That is not the whole story. In 1957 more than 65 percent of the island sugar mills were American owned. To make a long story short the economy of Cuba was utterly and completely American controlled. In 1956 the U.S. Department of Commerce reported, "The only foreign investments of importance are those of the United States. American participation exceeds 90 percent in the telephone and electric services, about 50 percent in public service railways, and roughly 40 percent in raw sugar production. The Cuban branches of United States banks are entrusted with almost one-fourth of all bank deposits. . . . Cuba ranked third in Latin America in the value of United States direct investments in 1953, outranked only by Venezuela and Brazil."

Add to that the 1960 testimony of Earl E.T. Smith, former U.S. Ambassador to Cuba: "Senator let me explain to you that the United States, until the advent of Castro, was so overwhelmingly influential in Cuba that, as I said here a little while ago, the American Ambassador was the second most important man in Cuba; sometimes even more important than the President."

The circumstances in Cuba when Castro came to power were those familiar to exploited third world countries. Early death, inadequate health care, high illiteracy rates, chronic high unemployment, substandard housing, to name all of the more obvious conditions.

There are no perfect societies and Cuba is not perfect. It is a place where people — ordinary people — believe in and support their government and where that support is openly and proudly acknowledged.

I expected Cuba's people to be poor and I expected an atmosphere of political control, if not coercion. I could not have been more wrong. The Cuban people are not suffering nor living on the edge of poverty.

There are several observations I would make about many impressions from a twelve day stay in Cuba. The first surprise for me was how Black Cuba is — at least

30 percent of the people are Black. Unlike other Latin countries I've visited, the dark skinned people are not confined to service jobs nor kept out of sight. Racism in Cuba appears to have been wiped out. I met and talked to many Black Cubans who assured me that the revolution had brought equality to Cuba.

I was even more surprised by the clarity of political expression and commitment by most of the Cubans I met. Hotel employees, cab drivers, waiters, people in the street all seemed to have an understanding of the what and why of their government's policies. They all spoke of President Castro affectionately as "Fidel" and seemed to feel themselves part of the revolutionary process.

Havana is a city of a million people. The streets are clean and crowded with people. There are no beggars, no prostitutes, no hustlers. Everybody seems friendly and open to conversation. I certainly had no feeling of being in a police state. The hotel where I stayed was built before the revolution, probably by Meyer Lansky's friends. The food in the restaurants was excellent and the jazz combo that played in the bar provided a delightful reminder of how much worldwide appreciation there is for Black American music.

Travelling around the island by car gave me an opportunity to see how the people live in the rural areas. For the most part people live in small houses or apartments. They have the basic comforts. They pay no more than ten percent of the head of the household's income as rent. Education, from day care to university training, is free of cost. So is medical and dental care free to everyone.

## Cuba's 1983 economic plan projects continued growth

BY ROBERT MANCE

Confronted by the pressures of the world capitalist economic crisis, representatives of Cuba's legislative body, the National Assembly of People's Power, met in Havana December 27-28, 1982, to evaluate the results of Cuba's economic performance over the past year and to map out projections for 1983.

A separate report was devoted to the sugar industry, which remains one of the pillars of the Cuban economy. Diocles Torralbas, the sugar industry minister and a vice-president of the Council of Ministers, pointed to the steady growth in Cuba's sugar production: ". . . from a total of 5.6 million tons of sugar produced on the average during the best period under capitalism, which was 1951-55, we went to 5.8 million in 1966-70, and then to 7 million in 1976-80. The goal for the 1981-85 period is more than 8 million tons in the first three years and over 9 million in the last two."

The central economic report was presented by Humberto Pérez, president of the Central Planning Board, who outlined the results of the 1982 economic plan and projections for 1983. (Its text was published in

The expectation that I would find Cubans poor and fearful made me aware of how easy it is to be seduced by the American press. I have visited many Caribbean nations and the standard of living for the average Cuban is, at the very least, the equal of the best of them.

Pablo Farriente, who is Black and Director of Safety at a steel mill on the outskirts of Havana, had this to say about racism in Cuba: "We are convinced that in any sphere of our society Blacks can occupy any position or post. Neither the party nor the state condones racial discrimination."

"Black Cubans also have an international mission. Why shouldn't we respond to the plea for assistance from African governments who are struggling for real independence? Africa is part of us. Our cultural heritage is African and Spanish. We have a right to be in Angola."

Those words, spoken with passion, were often repeated in conversations with Cubans. My point here, however, is the internationalism and race consciousness so common among Cuban Blacks. It shames those of us in the African Diaspora in the United States.

Illiteracy has been reduced to less than ten percent of the population. "Education is an obligation of the state. Our obligation is to educate and inform all people without regard to their age, sex, or color," according to Dr. Marina Barrero, a Black woman who directs the Central Institute of Pedagogical Services in the Ministry of Education.

Dr. Barrero reported that in prerevolutionary Cuba — her expression and that of nearly everyone was "before the triumph of the revolution" — there were few educational opportunities and they went to the urban dwellers and upper classes. Private education was prevalent. The system was like a pyramid with broad opportunity at the base or elementary level with a sharp narrowing at the secondary and undergraduate university level.

"Education is now compulsory. In 1957, 38.1 percent of school age children were enrolled in schools. Under Fidel we have had better than 95 percent since 1971. And under Fidel the education budget has increased from 83 million pesos in 1959-60 to 1.4 billion in 1982. We still have a challenge before us but the revolution has been true to our people."

Dr. Barrero is a dynamic Black woman and her position, her zeal, her passion impressed me in a way words cannot convey. I also felt a sense of pride in her role in this success story. She reminded me of Mary Bethune and the extraordinary women who have inspired our people and who have given sacrificial service.

the January 16 issue of the English-language weekly *Granma*.)

When the 1982 plan was originally drawn up, Pérez stated, "we drew attention to the world economic situation in which we would carry out our activities this and following years. We drew attention to the high interest rates we were forced to pay for loans; the drastic effects of galloping inflation on the rising prices we were forced to pay for the products we import from the convertible currency area while the price of our main export product, sugar, was clearly depressed. To that we added that the United States had stepped up its policy of aggression and blockade against Cuba and was pressuring economic, trade and financial institutions in the Western countries in order to create more difficulties for our country."

Because of this, the 1982 plan projected "modest goals for our economic growth," Pérez said.

The 1982 plan envisaged a 2.5 percent growth in the Cuban economy, a goal that was achieved.

As planned, there was a slight decline in the consumption of meat, eggs, and milk in

Continued on Page 6

### Readings on Cuba



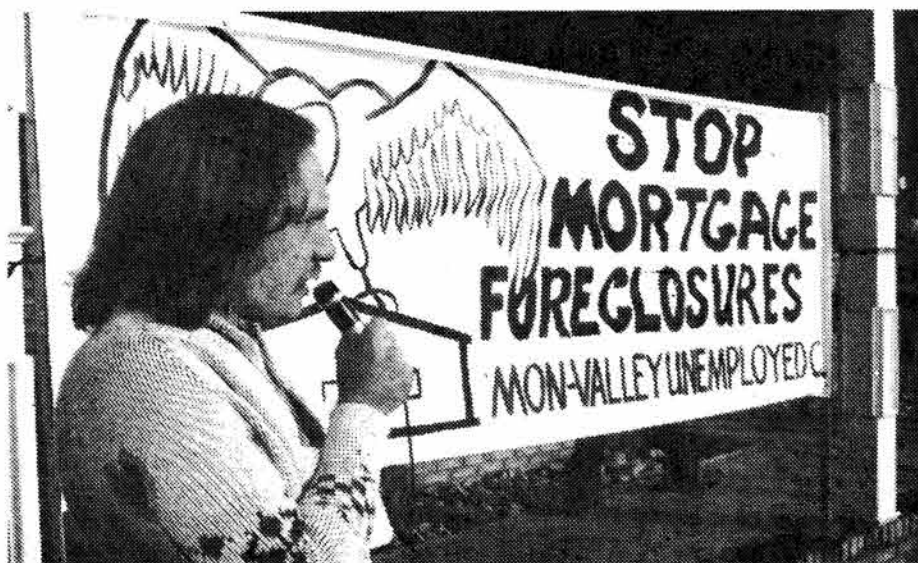
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# Steelworkers face loss of their homes due to recession

BY DOUG HORD

PITTSBURGH — A study released here in January on home mortgage delinquency and foreclosure gives an overview of the severe impact the recession is having on steelworkers in this area.

The study was conducted by Action-Housing, a United Way-funded agency, in cooperation with the Pittsburgh-based Mon Valley Unemployed Committee. It shows that mortgage delinquency and foreclosure in the Pittsburgh area is increasing and predicts that it will get worse. The report also serves as the basis for policy recommendations by an outfit called the Mortgage Delinquency Task Force.

The study's findings are based on intensive and detailed interviews with 351 laid-off steelworkers selected at random from the layoff lists at U.S. Steel's Homestead and Duquesne mills.

The picture that emerges in the study is none too rosy. The workers interviewed have an average of nine years seniority in the mill and 11 months on layoff.

One third of the workers interviewed are into the 10-week extended benefit period, collecting between \$780 and \$858 per month in unemployment compensation. These benefits are the backbone of their household finances. In every case they are due to run out by next month.

One third of the workers interviewed rent their homes. Of these, 13 percent are behind in their rent, and another 60 percent said they are on the verge of falling behind. Only one quarter are secure in rent pay-

ment. Their position is especially precarious because they can be evicted on 30-days' notice. On top of this, 70 percent of these tenants are behind on utility payments.

## Mortgage debts

Half of the Duquesne and Homestead workers hold mortgages with various financial institutions. Fifteen percent are actually delinquent, and 50 percent close to delinquency. The 105 workers with mortgages that are delinquent or close to it pay an average of \$294 per month in mortgage payments. The highest payments — up to \$577 — tend to be borne by the youngest workers who bought their homes most recently at higher interest rates. At the same time, being the youngest in the mills, they tend to get laid off first and stand to lose their unemployment benefits first. Older workers face a different problem in that they tend to have larger households. For both younger and older homeowners, mortgage payments comprise the single largest monthly household expense. One third of the households face monthly car payments averaging \$162. One third report being behind on these. Utility payments average \$140. Twenty percent of the households report being behind.

Then comes food, transportation, car repairs, doctors' bills, health insurance, clothing, etc. How far these workers have fallen behind in this area, which normally makes up about 50 percent of a family's budget, was not measured.

On the average, income from employment in Pittsburgh's hard-hit job market

brings in only 15 percent of the total income of all the households in the survey, with the rest coming entirely from unemployment benefits.

The majority of households, far from having enough resources to avoid foreclosure, have completely depleted their savings. The remainder have only enough to make at most one or two more payments once their benefits run out.

## The bankers' program

On the basis of Action-Housing's study of the 351 steelworker families, combined with the delinquency and foreclosure statistics for the four-county area around Pittsburgh, the Mortgage Delinquency Task Force predicts a major crisis in 1983. It predicts that as unemployment benefits are exhausted for thousands of working-class families, around 25,000 delinquencies and 9,000 foreclosures will occur. Current delinquencies, the Task Force worriedly points out, cost area banks over \$5 million in cash-flow per month.

The Task Force includes representatives of some of the larger commercial banks and savings and loan institutions in the country, along with the largest insurer of home mortgages. In addition there are a host of city and county Democratic Party politicians, a Republican senator, and several government bureaucrats.

The Task Force states that "protection of home ownership and the institutions that have financed home ownership is a critical community concern."

It recommends a "Talk to Your Lender"

publicity campaign for early 1983 and the expansion and coordination of financial and legal counseling services.

It asks banks to accept partial payments within the "definite limitations" of their "responsibility to depositors." It appeals to the Veterans Administration and the Federal Housing Administration to take delinquent loans out of the lenders' hands.

These measures, even if applied to the fullest extent possible, which is very unlikely, would assist only one half of those facing delinquency and foreclosure over the next period.

A big part of the Task Force proposal is an appeal for more insurance for the bankers. It announces the setting up of a miserly "last resort fund" that opens the door to government bail-out.

The crisis they are addressing is the bankers' declining profits. In the name of "the community interest" the Task Force has come up with proposals that attempt to fine-tune the debt machinery that working-class homeowners are caught up in — machinery predicted to displace 9,000 workers in the months ahead. Machinery that produces a product such as this cannot be fine-tuned. A major overhaul won't even do. It has to be scrapped.

## What should labor propose?

The United Steelworkers of America is also represented on this Task Force by Vice-president Leon Lynch. The USWA, as an organization of the working class, not the employing class, should be expected to propose a qualitatively different set of solutions.

Instead of beginning from the banks' framework, the USWA should campaign for a new government loan policy. This should include the following measures:

- Halt to all evictions for inability to pay rents.
- Moratorium on all foreclosures for nonpayment of mortgage debt.
- Guaranteed low interest, long-term loans with priority to the unemployed.
- End the standard business practice of demanding title to a worker's home as collateral to obtain loans.

Such measures would guarantee that homes remain in the hands of those who live in them. Title to dwellings could not be turned into hard cash in the hands of profiteers who turn people out on the streets because they cannot pay their extortionate rates. Occupancy would be determined by need, not by the ability to pay.

The Mon Valley Unemployed Committee, which has been waging a protest campaign against foreclosures, has publicly disassociated itself from the Task Force and its recommendations. It pointed out that "the victims cannot participate as equals on such a body."

The USWA international leadership should follow suit and should launch a struggle for a housing policy independent of the bankers and their political parties — the Democrats and Republicans.

Such a fight would bring labor into direct conflict with these parties. It would pose sharply the need to break from them and for labor to establish its own party that could lead all working people in a struggle to replace the present big-business government with one of their own.

The employers, bankers, moneychangers, swindlers, speculators, and parasites of all stripes, along with their bought-and-paid-for politicians and media mouthpieces, would let out a howl.

The thousands of steelworkers in the Monongahela Valley, however, who face losing their homes would stand up and cheer.

## Women's stake in Central America

BY JUDY STRANAHAN

NEW YORK — "The living conditions of the Cuban woman have gone through a dramatic change since the triumph of the revolution in 1959." This was the assessment of Sonia Rivera, a professor at the College of New Rochelle and a Cuban solidarity activist.

Rivera appeared on a panel with Josefina Ellizander from New York City Casa Nicaragua and Andrea González, national sec-

retary of the Young Socialist Alliance, at a Brooklyn Militant Labor Forum January 28.

Rivera explained that prior to the Cuban revolution, large numbers of women worked as maids or were prostitutes. Following the overthrow of U.S.-backed dictator Fulgencio Batista, 20,000 maids enrolled in trade schools to get better jobs.

Today, she said, 70 percent of medical

students in Cuba are women. By law, women receive equal pay and are guaranteed equal opportunity.

"The Cuban woman is fighting for the freedom of her country, of her children, and of men, and in the process of course, she herself becomes liberated," Rivera explained.

Ellizander described the long history of Nicaraguan women participating in the revolutionary struggle. She noted that the Association of Women Confronting the National Problem (AMPRONAC) was founded in 1970 and raised equal rights for women and equal pay as part of its demands.

Today in Nicaragua, she said, the Luisa Amanda Espinoza Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE) is represented in the new revolutionary government with voice and vote.

González, who had just returned from Mexico City where she participated in a January 22 demonstration against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, said, "Our sisters in Nicaragua and Cuba have won. Our sisters in El Salvador and Guatemala are in the process of winning something we don't have here — real equality."

She stressed that if the U.S. government is successful in pushing back the revolutions in Central America, "the fight for women's rights here and around the world will suffer a very serious setback."

All three speakers underscored the importance of opposing Washington's war on Central America and the Caribbean. A significant initiative in this regard was pointed to: the formation of the Women's Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, recently launched in New York. Women at the forum were urged to become active in the coalition.

## Cuba's 1983 economic plan projects continued growth

Continued from Page 5

workers' dining rooms, schools, and other places. These reductions were offset to an extent by an increase in the supply of root and garden vegetables. Footwear production was 5 percent less than in 1981.

However, the goals for the construction of new housing were overfulfilled, and the consumption of durable consumer goods — television sets, refrigerators, radios, and washing machines — increased by between 6 and 12 percent. Enrollment at all levels of the educational system increased, from daycare centers through universities. The number of hospital beds and doctors increased, and the infant mortality rate was reduced even further, from 18.5 per every 1,000 live births in 1981 to 17.4 in 1982.

Investments were 10 percent less than in 1981, as planned, but work productivity increased, so that by the end of 1982 it was 14 percent higher than in 1980.

Because of the worldwide capitalist crisis, the lack of confidence of banking institutions, and "the pressure put on some of them by the government and imperialist in-

terests of the United States," Pérez explained, Cuba was unable to obtain sufficient loans to finance its development programs. Over the last quarter of 1981 and through all of 1982, this meant a reduction of \$750 million in Cuba's convertible currency fund.

As a result, Cuba has had to approach its foreign creditors to try to renegotiate part of its debt. Those negotiations are still under way.

The economic plan for 1983 again projects a growth rate of between 2 and 2.5 percent. Sugar production is expected to increase by 8 percent, the production of nickel by 12 percent, and coffee and citrus fruits by 21 percent. A 10 percent growth of exports is planned.

Although food consumption in workers' dining rooms and the distribution of clothes will be similar to 1982 levels — and there will be a further slight reduction in the distribution of shoes and underwear — a further increase in the number of hospital beds, doctors, and dentists is projected.

From Intercontinental Press



# Nicaraguans discuss radical rent law

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA — "My landlord is trying to throw me out," the young worker explained as TV cameras rolled.

"He can't do that," replied the minister of housing.

"Report the facts immediately to the nearest police station."

All evictions of tenants have been suspended for months in Nicaragua. In addition, all sales and transfers of homes have been frozen to prevent last-minute swindles.

The entire country is discussing the draft of a sweeping new law that will gradually abolish landlords and rents, converting all current tenants into homeowners.

## Mass meetings discuss law

Five hundred people, mostly tenants, gathered in a church in the working-class Larreynaga neighborhood here January 28 to find out more about the new Law on Housing.

It was one of the weekly "de cara al pueblo" (loosely translated, "face the nation") sessions in which top government leaders come to a neighborhood, announced in advance, to discuss and answer any questions citizens want to raise.

At this nationally televised meeting, nearly 50 questions about how the new law would work were fielded by the minister of housing, the national chief of the Sandinista Police, and two of the three members of the Junta of National Reconstruction, Sergio Ramirez and Commander Daniel Ortega.

Dozens of other meetings are being held throughout the country to publicize and discuss the law.

Nicaragua, the second-poorest country in Central America, has a housing shortage of nearly 250,000 units, a number that grows by 30,000 each year.

A simple, straightforward measure, the new law takes the following emergency steps to alleviate the burden this shortage places on the poorest and most exploited:

- It declares housing a human right, not a commodity.
- It states that except in extraordinary circumstances, no one needs more than one house to live in.

- Therefore, with minimal exceptions, all rented housing will now become the property of the current tenants.

- Rent is converted into a form of mortgage payment, with full credit for all rent paid in the past.

The law assumes that a tenant who has paid 20 years of rent has fully compensated the landlord for the value of a house. Tenants who have paid rent that long or longer now simply become owners, receive title to the house and land, and pay nothing further.

Tenants who have paid rent for less than 20 years will receive credit toward purchase for all past payments, and will make all future payments directly to the Ministry of Housing.

Disputes, where receipts are lacking, will be settled by taking testimony from neighbors and the local Sandinista Defense Committee.

Former landlords will be compensated until the 20-year limit is reached, but only to a maximum total of \$1,000 a month. In special cases, such as retired persons with no other source of income, former landlords will receive a modest state pension.

Compensations for houses owned by corporations, syndicates, and landlords living outside the country will be made in the form of long-term bonds, whose exact nature has not yet been specified.

Those who become homeowners under the new law do so in the social context of the new Nicaragua that is being built.

They have the right to live in the house as long as they choose, but cannot sell it.

Nor can the house be passed on directly through inheritance. When one of the new homeowners dies, the house reverts to the government which, with the help of neighborhood committees, will decide what to do with it. Priority normally will go to the surviving spouse or to adult children with families of their own, but this is not automatic.

## One of many measures

No one in the government claims the new law will by itself solve the housing crisis.

It is one step among many that the revolutionary government is taking to shift the



Nicaragua has the largest government housing program in Central America

burden of the war and the world economic crisis off the backs of those with the fewest economic resources.

In housing, in the three and a half years it has been in power, the Sandinista government has also:

- Built nearly 8,000 new houses (proportional to Nicaragua's population of 2.9 million, this is the largest government housing program in Central America);

- Given out, at no charge, 18,000 lots on prime urban real estate, for families to build their own houses;

- In an earlier law, limited annual rent to 5 percent of a house's assessed tax value (usually significantly lower than actual market value).

The new housing law, drafted by the revolutionary government and currently under discussion in the country's parliament, the Council of State, is sure to pass.

It has the overwhelming support of the country's workers and farmers, whose majority in the population is reflected in the revolutionary parliament.

The law is so popular that the tiny minority who will be adversely affected by it — the big landlords — have been noticeably quiet.

Even the main capitalist mouthpiece, the reactionary Managua daily *La Prensa*, has felt compelled to run favorable articles about the measure.

## Is law 'anti-Marxist'?

Oddly enough, the most vocal dissent so far has come from the Nicaraguan Socialist Party (PSN), which identifies with the Soviet Communist Party.

The PSN, although it played virtually no role in the armed struggle that toppled the old regime, nonetheless views itself as the guardian of Marxist orthodoxy in all political matters.

On January 27, PSN delegate to the Council of State Domingo Sánchez used what was supposed to be strictly a question and information period to blast the draft law as a "petty-bourgeois" scheme reminiscent of the ideas of the 19th-century French petty-bourgeois socialist Pierre Proudhon, an opponent of Marx and Engels.

Two hundred fifty tenants who had come to the Council of State that day to hear the report and discussion broke into applause when the president of the Council of State, Commander Carlos Núñez, ruled Sanchez out of order.

Minister of Housing Miguel Ernesto Digil explained that the government just did not have the resources to nationalize housing and, in effect, itself become the country's landlord.

"We can't do it," Digil said.

"We can barely handle the work involved in administering this law."

The Ministry of Housing, he explained, had neither the money nor the personnel to administer and repair the country's existing housing while trying to add to it.

There is only one exception, he added. That is *carterías* — ramshackle urban slum dwellings that house the poorest of the country's poor.

These units, in which as many as 20 families share a single bathroom, will be nationalized under the new law so that they can be torn down as soon as possible. Those who live in these inhuman conditions will have priority as other housing

opens up, and as more urban lots can be made available.

On the basis of the last census taken in Nicaragua, in 1971, it is conservatively estimated that more than 50,000 families will benefit under the new law.

The 1971 figures show that Nicaragua had 300,000 houses, of which more than 60,000 (20 percent) were occupied by tenants who paid rent. A 1980 spot check in 14 cities showed the figure for rental housing to be closer to 30 percent.

No one knows exactly how many people will benefit, but everybody knows who — the poor and working people who made this revolution in the first place.

From Intercontinental Press

## Volunteers mobilize to pick Nicaragua's largest coffee harvest

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA — The voluntary labor of 15,000 Nicaraguans over a six-week period has made possible the country's largest coffee harvest in history — more than 70,000 tons — all picked by hand.

Because coffee represents a quarter to a third of Nicaragua's annual export income of some \$500 million, the volunteers have been in the front lines of the country's economic defense. Many of them were also in the front lines of the country's military defense as well, as they volunteered to pick coffee in the region bordering Honduras. This area has been the target of many counterrevolutionary attacks aimed at disrupting the harvest.

Commander Jaime Wheelock, minister of agrarian reform, announced that the volunteers would be demobilized February 5 to make their way to a giant celebration to be held in their honor the following day.

In addition, on another economic front, Wheelock told the press that Nicaragua was winning what is called here the "banana war."

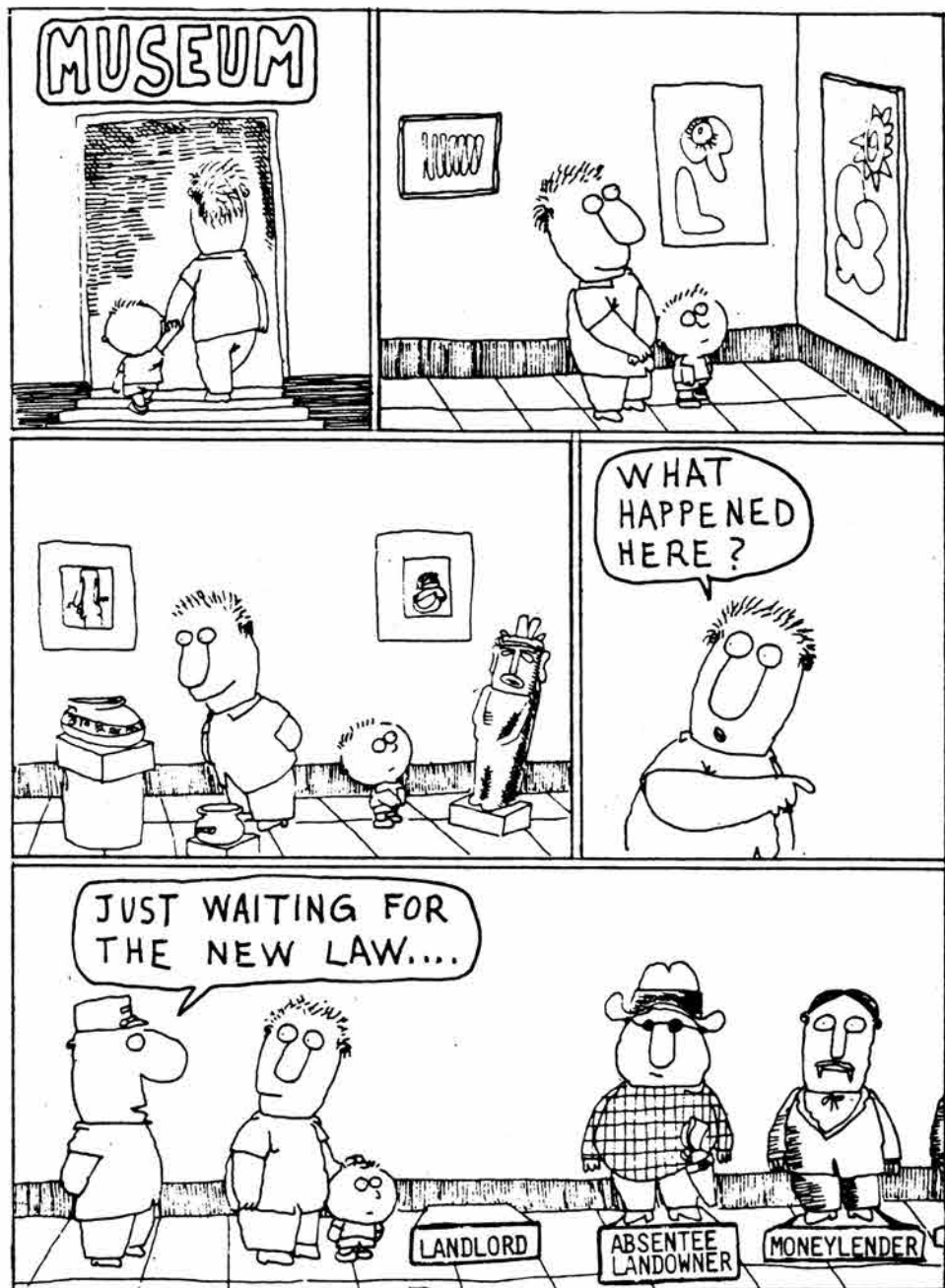
The banana war began October 26, 1982, when Standard Fruit walked out on a five-year contract to market Nicaragua's bananas. When Nicaragua succeeded in securing new U.S. buyers, Standard announced it would "bury them [the Nicaraguans] before they began," it would "flood the market with bananas."

The victory news came when Pandol Brothers Inc., a large U.S. fruit distributor, signed a one-year contract that will bring approximately \$20 million into Nicaragua's economy.

Having come out ahead in these two battles, the country is now in the midst of fighting a third — the race to pick the cotton crop, all of which has blossomed simultaneously because of unusual late-season rains.

In the northern province of Chinandega, some 6,000 workers are needed. FSLN delegate to the Council of State Rafael Mairena told *Intercontinental Press* that the country would be depending heavily on women volunteers, mobilized by the Nicaraguan Women's Association (AMNLAE) and other mass organizations. Students, who were in large part responsible for the coffee harvest's success, must go back to school, he explained.

From Intercontinental Press



This cartoon originally appeared in FSLN paper, *Barricada*.



# Socialists get out truth in truck strike

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Socialist workers have been selling the *Militant* and the Spanish-language biweekly *Perspectiva Mundial* at truck stops and plant gates during the last few weeks. This has offered an opportunity to talk with drivers and other working people about the truckers' shutdown. Salespeople are getting a warm response and learning a lot in the process.

Brooklyn socialists sold 30 papers at one truck terminal in 15 minutes. In Morgantown, West Virginia, 24 papers were sold at mine portals and truck stops, including nine at the Black Sill mine.

Minneapolis socialists sold 14 papers at truck stops in two days and got calls from truckers afterward about the *Militant*.

In New Jersey, several teams of socialist workers quickly sold all the papers they had with them. In New Orleans they sold 15 at truck stops. In Albuquerque, 26.

Some *Militant* supporters report selling more papers than usual at plant gates. At the General Motors Detroit Diesel Allison plant in Indianapolis, for instance, socialist mayoral candidate Bill Warrick got a good response from two auto workers. At first they declined to get a paper, but then they returned to buy because of the coverage of the truckers' strike.

Socialists have found widespread support for the shutdown, and even among those who don't support it there is sympathy with the truckers' fight against the government's tax increase.

One independent driver who bought a *Militant* in Wheeling, West Virginia, said he thought truckers shouldn't just park and go home; everyone should drive to Washington, D.C., and circle the city until the government did something about the new taxes. Many drivers brought up the idea of a motorcade to Washington — "like the farmers did it."

An independent trucker in New York City said he was not only angry about the taxes, but also the fact that the U.S. government "is sending all the money to El Salvador and Israel." He had lost two sons

in Vietnam, he said, "and they aren't getting any more."

Many drivers, union and nonunion, thought there should be unity among truckers, especially with those in the Teamsters. At the same time, they didn't think much of the Teamsters' top leadership. They're "rotten," said one driver, "and because of that a lot of us are going to go under."

A Teamster member in New Jersey said, "Whatever it takes to shut down, to keep all the trucks off the road, we should do that; it's really important to stop this attack on truck drivers by the Reagan administration."

Some drivers thought a shutdown would be more effective in a few months when there's more to haul, especially produce.

There is widespread skepticism about media reports of violence by truckers. A New Jersey driver said, "Truckers wouldn't do that to other truckers. It's either somebody who's getting paid, or some nut."

The media are blaming everything on the strike, he said. "If you and I got in a fight over who pays for beer, it'd make the national news right now," he said.

The financial squeeze the owner-operators are in is widely understood, in part because there are many former independent drivers. One, a Black driver fixing a flat in New Jersey, said he'd lost his rig two years ago. "I know what this is all about," he added.

Many who were still running supported the strike. A Black driver, for example, told the *Militant*, "Look at my shoes, my hat. I can't afford to lose my job, but I'd go out, if my boss wouldn't fire me for it."

A driver from Texas said that not only had his boss threatened to fire him for not driving, but also warned, "Just you try to collect unemployment benefits if you go out."

As is true elsewhere these days, supporters of the *Militant* report a surge of interest among truckers in the paper's socialist views.

Socialist Allan Grady approached one trucker off Highway 1-9 in New Jersey and explained that the *Militant* supported the truckers. "Must be a commie paper," the trucker replied. "And you must be a commie, right?"

Grady said "Yeah." The man took the paper, looked at it for a few minutes, then said, "I guess I better get one."



Trucker in Michigan pickets as strike against government tax increase continues.

## Trial exposes FBI role in Klan attacks

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — More than 20 years ago, a determined group of Black and white civil rights activists set out to desegregate southern bus terminals. They were called Freedom Riders.

Bus station segregation was declared illegal by the Supreme Court in 1960, but southern racists simply ignored the court decision, and law enforcement officials did nothing to make them comply.

On May 14, 1961, a group of Freedom Riders arrived at the Trailways bus station in Birmingham, Alabama. A gang of Ku Klux Klan thugs was waiting for them, armed with pipes and other weapons.

The Freedom Riders were quickly hustled into an alley and savagely beaten.

One of them, James Peck, was found unconscious in a pool of blood. His head wounds required 62 stitches.

Nearly 15 years later, it was established that the KKK had arranged the assault in cooperation with the Birmingham police.

It was also then disclosed that the FBI had advance knowledge of the attack and did nothing to prevent it.

In fact, one of the Klan assailants was an FBI informer.

On learning of these facts, Peck filed suit in 1976 against the federal government, charging it had failed to protect him, and seeking \$100,000 damages.

The case finally came to trial in federal district court here in mid-January. Concluding procedural arguments were heard February 7. A decision in the nonjury trial will now be made by presiding Judge Charles Stewart.

Peck was represented by the noted constitutional attorney, Leonard Boudin, and by one of Boudin's associates, Edward Copeland.

Peck, now 68, suffered a stroke recently and testified from his hospital room.

From the outset, Peck knew there was no official interest in meting out justice to the KKK thugs who had beaten him. One widely published news photo of the time

showed Peck being beaten, with the faces of his attackers clearly visible.

Three of the four were later arrested, but none received serious sentences.

The fourth, who was not arrested, was Gary Rowe, who later surfaced as an FBI plant in the KKK.

In December of 1975, Rowe testified before a Senate committee on intelligence.

Rowe testified under oath that he had provided the FBI full details of the slated Birmingham attack on the Freedom Riders a full three weeks before it occurred.

The FBI has since denied this. But, the FBI's own available records confirm that it knew of the impending attack at least two days in advance and discussed what it should do in the situation.

Initially, when the Peck suit was filed, the FBI took the position that it was not required to act in the situation, that its function was simply to collect information.

That position was rejected by Judge Stewart in pretrial proceedings. Denying a government motion to dismiss the case, he ruled that if the FBI had information about the pending attack it was obligated to protect the threatened Freedom Riders.

Yet at the trial, chief government attorney Peter Salerno argued: "The proper thing for the FBI to do is exactly what it did do, which was to notify the local authorities about the planned activities of the Klan."

This, of course, adds up to less than nothing since the FBI knew that the police were already fully aware of the slated attack and were helping to prepare it.

In his Senate testimony, Rowe said a local cop assured him that there would be no problems with the law.

"We were promised 15 minutes," Rowe testified, "to beat them, bomb them, burn them, shoot them, do anything we wanted with absolutely no intervention whatsoever by police."

The fact that this agreement was carried out was testified to by TV newsmen

Howard K. Smith.

In videotaped testimony, Smith said he had been in Birmingham and was given an advance tip by a Klansman that the attack would occur.

Smith was on the scene beforehand and saw a large number of police in the area, and a cluster of men in the bus terminal who were the KKKers.

Suddenly, Smith testified, the cops vanished.

A few minutes later, the Freedom Riders got off the bus and were shoved into the alley by the Klan thugs.

They beat the Freedom Riders, Smith continued, until one of the Klansmen stopped, looked at his watch, and told the others to stop.

They left in a group, and minutes later the police returned.

According to Rowe's Senate testimony, the FBI had several agents on the scene taking "unofficial" movies of the attack.

At the Peck trial, former Birmingham FBI bureau chief Thomas Jenkins testified he had not been at the bus terminal, but if he had he would have done nothing.

Asked this directly, he replied from the witness stand, "The FBI is not a protective agency. It is an investigative agency."

Discussing the significance of the Peck suit, attorney Edward Copeland observed that it's important to keep in mind what actually happened in Birmingham and in the many other cases like it.

"People's rights were violated," Copeland said. "They were brutally attacked for exercising constitutionally guaranteed rights. And the FBI sat back and did nothing."

Copeland added that it's not simply a matter of justice for past victims. "It can happen again," he said.

Interviewed in his hospital room, James Peck expressed confidence in the outcome of the suit and felt that it was well worth the persistent effort it took to get it to trial.

He was equally convinced that what he and other civil rights activists had done was important.

"We helped bring an end to the southern Jim Crow system, and that was historically important," he said.

Peck has been a political activist more than 50 years.

He was a union organizer in the early days of the CIO, first for the National Maritime Union, then the American Newspaper Guild.

And, as a veteran pacifist, he's been in the thick of things too.

"I've been arrested 60 times," he said with a certain note of pride. "The 60th was at a nuclear plant Hiroshima Day."

Peck faces a period of convalescence from his illness, but he's determined to get back into activity.

He said, "I'm going to be on the picket line until the day I die."

## Ohio strikers, farmers meet

BY ALICIA MEREL

WELLINGTON, Ohio — More than 150 truckers, working farmers, and other community members met in the Grange Hall here to discuss the issues in the independent truckers strike.

Representatives from the Independent Truckers Association (ITA) explained the facts of the Surface Transportation Assistance Act that was recently signed into law. It's not just the nickel-a-gallon increase in the gas tax, but the entire package that truckers are protesting.

Many at the meeting expressed little confidence in Democratic and Republican elected representatives. One explained, "The politicians in Washington must have two plates on the dinner table — they talk out of both sides of their mouths."

One of the meeting organizers explained, "We have to tell the senators and congressmen we voted in that they have to do it our way or we'll vote them out. We may have to start a recall petition."

He continued, "I'm thinking about doing away with the Democratic and Republican parties. I'm disgusted with the whole system. Maybe we need to think of something else."

Truckers in Ohio say they are both surprised and pleased with the number of farmers who have been coming to local meetings to show their support. "It's not just a truckers' problem," they explain, "we need the cooperation of the farmers."

Some farmers have mixed feelings about the truckers' strike. A dairy farmer explained to the *Militant*, "If a steel company doesn't get its goods hauled this month, that steel will still be there next month, they can still sell it."

"But if my milk doesn't get picked up I have to throw it out in a couple of days. The PCA (Production Credit Association) won't wait for its money. I could go under and lose everything. I understand what the truckers are up against, but I just don't know where I stand."

## Teamsters union—lessons for today

In the 1930s Midwest Teamsters build a powerful union through the unity of all drivers and dock and warehouse workers, based on rank-and-file control of the union. Farrell Dobbs, one of the central leaders of that organizing drive and a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, tells how they did it.

Volume III in the series, *Teamster Politics*, contains an appendix on how the Teamsters organized owner-operators.

**Teamster Rebellion**, 192 pp., \$4.95.

**Teamster Power**, 255 pp., \$5.95.

**Teamster Politics**, 256 pp., \$5.95.

**Teamster Bureaucracy**, 304 pp., \$5.95.

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





Militant/Charlie Rosenberg  
Louisville 1975 protest in support of school busing for desegregation. As member of United Auto Workers and Black Workers Coalition, Horsley was active in desegregation fight.

# Why Louisville cops want Al Horsley kept behind bars

## Black frame-up victim tells his story

BY CHUCK PETRIN

LOUISVILLE, Ky. — A lot of people know Al Horsley. West End neighbors. Men and women he used to work with at the International Harvester plant. Union, community, and civil rights activists. Socialists. These he can count as friends.

But after 41 years in this city, growing up, trying to make a living for himself, confronting every day a system that is stacked against working people, especially Blacks — it comes as no surprise to him that not everyone here is on Al Horsley's side:

Horsley was arrested January 8 on felony charges of kidnapping a woman and robbing her. The fact that he was home with his mother and sister when the incident allegedly took place is of no apparent interest to the state prosecutor.

At Horsley's pretrial hearing the cops responsible for his arrest admitted they called in the woman who said she was kidnapped and deliberately showed her Horsley's picture in hopes of her making a "positive ID."

A circuit court grand jury is now meeting in secret session to prepare a formal indictment.

Why is Horsley being framed for a crime he did not commit? What are the stakes in this case, not just for himself, but for all working people? On January 29, the *Militant* discussed these questions with Horsley outside his cell at the Jefferson County Jail.

### 'Troublemakers'

"People who stand up for their rights," Horsley explained, "people who keep fighting for what is justly due them — they become 'troublemakers' in the eyes of the government. I guess you could say that over the years I got to be known as a troublemaker."

Growing up in a tightly segregated West End neighborhood during the 1940s and 1950s ("Little Africa," as the white city officials had dubbed it), trouble was something that pretty much came with the territory. Jim Crow segregation was still in force here then.

At the age of 18, Horsley decided to escape for a while. He joined the Marine Corps, serving a four-year hitch at bases around the world. When he returned home in January 1964, he was able to use his veteran status to win a job on the tractor assembly line at International Harvester.

It was here that Horsley first earned his reputation as a fighter. "You had no choice really," he said. "The company had the attitude that it could do just about anything it wanted to. And what it always wanted was to take, take, take from the people working here. Either you stood up to the company or you got walked on."

### Fight for union solidarity

Militant strikes at International Harvester a decade earlier, led by the CIO-organized Farm Equipment Workers Union, had broken the color line there even while it ruled everywhere else in Louisville. This proved to be a mighty victory for Harvester workers, both Black and white, whose unity paved the way for substantial contract

gains in the years ahead.

By the time Horsley hired on there, however, things had changed. The leadership of United Auto Workers (UAW) Locals 1336 and 817 drew back from the rising civil rights movement. They turned a deaf ear to the demands of Black workers for an end to company discrimination, implicitly backing the racist outcry against "extremism." The result was a breach in union solidarity. This was a made-to-order opening for the bosses.

Horsley described the situation that developed: "A union is the only thing that keeps the company from having things totally its own way. So when a union leader-

**Al Horsley was released from jail February 9. Local supporters succeeded in raising \$20,000 property bond needed to end his month-long imprisonment.**

**"To all my friends and supporters, thank you," said Horsley. "It's great to be out." Then he added, "the fight for my freedom has just begun. Let's take it to the end now."**

ship defaults on any issue — like racism — it means the company has a green light to do whatever it pleases. That is exactly what happened at International Harvester."

The overwhelming majority of Black workers, he said, were assigned to the foundry — "that's where you got all the hot work, the heavy work, the dirty work nobody wanted." About one-half of the foundry workers were Black, but not a single one filled any of the skilled craft positions there.

On Dec. 5, 1969, more than 300 Black workers at the foundry participated in a dramatic "stay-at-home" protest organized by UAW Committeeman U.B. Thomas. This "Black Friday" demonstration marked the beginning of a new civil rights movement at International Harvester — and inside the UAW — a movement in which Horsley would be a committed activist for many years.

### Black Workers Coalition

A Black Workers Coalition (BWC) later emerged out of this struggle. It fought for an end to racist discrimination in hiring, promotion, and admission to apprenticeship programs at International Harvester. "The union had the power to win these demands," Horsley explained. But "we had to face the fact that our union representatives weren't doing anything to fight for the rights of Black workers. It became clear to us that we would have to take the first steps, at least, by ourselves."

One of the projects of the BWC was a petition campaign inside the plant, which succeeded in opening a valuable discussion among Black and white workers about civil rights issues. Horsley related one conversation he had with a young white assembler:

"He asked me, 'What makes Black people think they've got the right to be demanding all these things?'"

"I asked him, 'Do you believe in the union?'"

"He said, 'Sure!'"

"I said, 'Well, what makes you think the union has the right to be demanding better wages, better working conditions, and so on? The company owns everything. According to your way of thinking we should all just accept whatever the company is willing to hand to us.'"

"He said, 'That's different.' But I knew that in the back of his mind he was thinking, 'that man's got a point.'"

The militant activism of the BWC registered some gains for Black workers. In the process it became a pole of attraction for Black workers throughout the city. Roosevelt Roberts, a Ford Motor Co. worker, was the central leader of the coalition, and meetings regularly involved a discussion of issues at several area plants. At one point the BWC took a hand in helping maintenance workers at the University of Louisville organize a union.

### Battle for desegregation

The BWC was not concerned simply with workplace issues, however. In fact, one of their most important contributions, as Horsley sees it, was in the battle for school desegregation in Louisville in 1975-76.

For years civil rights leaders here had made school desegregation the number-one issue. Several "voluntary" plans had been aired, only to meet inaction by city and county officials.

Finally in July 1975, a state circuit court ruled that the Louisville and Jefferson County public school systems were unlawfully segregated. The two systems were ordered merged, and busing of Black and white students throughout the county for the purpose of desegregation was scheduled to begin in September.

The racist uproar against "forced busing" began at once. Right-wing outfits patterned after Boston's infamous ROAR (Restore Our Alienated Rights) sprung up virtually overnight. These groups enjoyed the backing of many Democratic and Republican party politicians as well as other public officials.

The single most powerful antibusing organization, however, was Union Labor Against Busing (ULAB). ULAB claimed to represent more than 60 unions in the Louisville area with a combined member-

ship of more than 120,000. In reality it represented mainly a layer of top and secondary union officials, together with a right-wing fringe from among the ranks. It's largest meeting was 500 people.

Nevertheless, ULAB mobilized union power and union money effectively to promote its racist campaign. The self-proclaimed "conscience of the group" was Charlie Skaggs, second vice-president of UAW Local 1336 at International Harvester.

"There was no way we could see the union taking Black people's money — anybody's money for that matter — to support a racist movement," Al explained. "There was no way they could justify that."

The BWC organized a petition campaign demanding a halt to the diversion of union funds for ULAB. At the very least the procedure was grossly undemocratic, Horsley explained, since few if any unions had ever held membership meetings to debate and decide the issue. More important, however, "the complicity of union officials with the antibusing bigots was a terrible disservice to the labor movement. The wedge of mistrust that was driven then between the unions and the Black community remains to this day."

The BWC could never match ULAB's resources, but as a break from the seeming racist monolith it had an important effect. Throughout 1975 and 1976 the BWC joined with other probusing organizations in the city in helping mobilize public support for school desegregation. The antibusing movement was eventually tamed. The UAW locals at Harvester dropped their opposition to desegregation, as did other unions. The BWC made an important contribution to this step forward for union solidarity.

### Company fires Horsley

Horsley first learned the meaning of "frame-up" in a very personal way in May 1976. A few years earlier he had bought a home and later invested his savings in some other West End houses he planned to renovate and rent out as a hedge against someday losing his job.

He utilized his veterans benefits to attend school in hopes of learning the real estate business. After returning to Interna-

Continued on Page 14

**BUSING TAKES** Too Much Time,  
Too Much Money,  
and very little Intelligence  
LOCAL 761

**Please Use Other Door**

Militant/Glenn Campbell

Antibusing sticker put out by International Union of Electrical Workers Local 761 in 1975. Probusing campaign of Black Workers Coalition helped change stance of Louisville unions.



# L.A. political police get facelift: spying and disruption continue

## Police commission whitewash has long history

BY DICK ROBERTS

LOS ANGELES — On January 18 the Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners ordered the department's Public Disorders Intelligence Division (PDID) "deactivated" within 45 days.

Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates announced that in accord with the Police Commission's wishes he would immediately establish a transition committee to assure that the division's "antiterrorism program" would not be interrupted.

The disbanding of the notorious PDID, and the announcement that division functions and personnel would be reassigned to other areas of the police department, is but the latest in a series of recent events in which a small part of the massive spying and disruption operation of the Los Angeles cops has been exposed.

Clearly the police commissioners decided that the PDID needs a new name and a face-lift if it is to be able to continue.

In expressing his agreement with the method chosen by the Police Commission to clean up the cops' image, chief cop Gates stated, "I am most appreciative of the commission's approach to this particular situation. There are others who are at this time panicking and doing things that I think are unreasonable or suggesting things that are unreasonable. And I get the sense from this commission that there is no panic and that they are proceeding in a very proper, responsible way, and that is encouraging to me."

"We live in America where everyone values their freedoms and values their privacy. And that's wonderful. But we also live in America in a day when there is violence and there is terrorism. And the police have to continue to do something about that. And in doing something about that, there is absolutely no way that we cannot

on occasion trample on some people's privacy and upon their freedom. There just isn't any way to do it."

Not a single member of the commission expressed disagreement with the chief's bald declaration that the cops would continue, in the name of fighting "terrorism," to "trample upon some people's privacy and upon their freedom!"

### 1920s Red Squad

The PDID is descended from the Red Squad of the 1920s, whose openly acknowledged target was the labor movement — especially the "foreigners" and "commies." Over the years the target was redefined as "subversives." Then in the 1970s it became "disrupters." In 1983 it has become "terrorists." But nothing has changed.

The latest series of developments began last November. Associate superintendent of Los Angeles schools, Jerry Halverson, told the *Los Angeles Times* that in late 1977 or early 1978 he had been offered Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) documents on the school desegregation struggle. Proponents of school busing have been a particular target of the PDID's spying and disruption effort.

Halverson said, according to the *Los Angeles Times*, "that 'sergeant-level personnel approached him and a subordinate in the late 1970s, offering them more than 300 files on school employees and others.' He recalled being told by the cops: 'Here's some solid derogatory information about some of your employees.' Halverson said he didn't accept the files."

Government laws prohibit the removal, hiding, and stealing of government records. This is a point on which the LAPD is highly sensitive to public criticism — for good reason.

The Los Angeles County District Attorney's office launched an investigation into the PDID.

In late November Police Chief Gates decided to launch his own "surprise" audit of PDID. "Doorways were blocked, files were sealed and desks, lockers and briefcases were searched," the *Los Angeles Times* reported.

On December 14 the district attorney's office announced that a grand jury would investigate the apparent removal of files.

In the course of all this pressure building up within the police department, a long-time PDID official seems to have panicked. Detective Jay Paul, 12-year-veteran of the PDID, decided to hand over to his lieutenant a box of files he was keeping in his home. They concerned police surveillance of proponents of school busing.

It was soon disclosed that Paul, a research analyst for PDID, had not just one box but some 100 cartons of police spy files stashed away in his mobile home.

### Disruption unmasked

The scandal of the illegally removed files has caught the headlines in recent weeks.

For several years, however, victims of PDID harassment and disruption have been on the offensive against the LAPD, working to expose its real operations. One aspect of this offensive has been the filing of numerous legal suits. In 1982 six suits against the LAPD were consolidated.

The Citizen's Commission on Police Repression, 22 other organizations, and 107 individuals are being represented by the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California.

These suits and the many pretrial depositions connected with them, together with various other legal actions, have helped



1978 demonstration against police killing Blacks, Latinos and unions. Republic Steel plant in Chicago in 1937 M ment is still prime target of cop spying a

bring to light the scope of PDID infiltration of political organizations and the provocateur role of the undercover cops.

The key issue is not the file removal, as former coordinator of the Citizens' Commission, Linda Valentino, commented to the *Militant*. "This avoids the larger issue of political spying, the infiltration of political organizations — the spying, disruption, and harassment of individuals. What you have in Los Angeles is a systematic, authorized program of political repression going up to the police chief."

And beyond.

### Police Commission role

Hatred for the PDID is not new in the labor movement, the Black and Chicano communities, and among broad layers of civil libertarians who believe the Bill of Rights should mean something. Nor are the efforts to clean up the image of the PDID in order to guarantee its continued dirty work.

The well-planned moves aimed at deflecting attempts to expose the murderous operations of the Los Angeles political police go back to the mid-1970s. Cops everywhere were scurrying to escape the fallout from the Vietnam War and Watergate.

In February 1975, then-President Sam Williams of the Police Commission and Mayor Thomas Bradley held a joint news

# Constitutional political rights of all under attack

### Continued from front page

When he was notified of his expulsion, Gelfand responded with a letter to the Political Committee stating that he did not recognize his expulsion from the SWP. "I acknowledge that I have been purged, not expelled; and that this action was taken by the government, not the SWP."

Gelfand informed the Political Committee that he was appealing his expulsion to the next convention of the SWP. However, rather than waiting for the party convention to act on his appeal, in July 1979 he filed suit in U.S. District Court in Los Angeles against the SWP and several individual party members. Also named were the Attorney General and other government agencies and officials.

In order to surmount the legal obstacle posed by the First Amendment right of the SWP to function as a voluntary political association, free from hostile government interference in its internal affairs, Gelfand argues that the SWP is not protected by the First Amendment because it is not a legitimate political party. Its leadership was taken over by government agents some time ago (whether FBI or CIA or some other agency); the highest day-to-day leadership body — which expelled him — the Political Committee, is dominated by government agents; he was expelled because he sought to expose this government control; therefore it is Gelfand's First Amendment rights that have been violated by government interference in his organization.

### Court abuse

The arena of battle has so far been largely that of the courtroom, in which the legal system operates to perpetuate the

fraudulent myth that the courts are a neutral arbiter of classless "social welfare." To the contrary, they are simply another institution through which those who own the factories, mines, and mills use force to terrorize and control those who can only live by selling their labor power day by day.

But the legal framework in which this struggle has been posed cannot be allowed to obscure the fundamental political issue that is raised. It is one that vitally concerns not only every working-class organization, but every single defender of the Bill of Rights.

By refusing to rule that the court has no right to interfere in the internal life of the SWP, Pfaelzer has undertaken to review and regulate the membership, leadership, and political activities of a political party that is not only opposed to government policies in general, but is committed to advancing the interests of the working class, a different class from that ruling today, and to hastening the transformation of the entire political, social, and economic foundations on which the government and its court system rests.

The right of political organizations, including revolutionary parties of working people, to be free of government interference, whether from police or courts or legislatures, has been one of the political battle lines of the class struggle since the earliest days of colonial rule. The Bill of Rights was won only through a powerful struggle that imposed it on the propertied classes whose representatives drafted the Constitution without any such guarantees of political liberty.

Over the years those fighting to uphold and strengthen the Bill of Rights, above all

the working class and the Black movement, have on occasion been strong enough to wrest from the Supreme Court various rulings that can be used to advance and defend our class interests, which include the expansion of political liberties.

Thus, on several occasions the Supreme Court, whose responsibility it is to keep democratic rights on as tight a rein as possible, has been forced to uphold the right of political associations to define their own basis for membership, limit control over their decisions to those who share their interests, decide on their own rules for governing themselves, and be free of judicial review over their decisions.

In other rulings the Supreme Court has been forced to acknowledge that the inviolability of the privacy of political association is even more important when it is a question of a voluntary association such as the SWP that is the target of harassment by the government or hostile "private" forces.

This was reaffirmed only a few months ago in a Supreme Court ruling won in the case known as *Brown v. Socialist Workers '74 Campaign Committee*. After a protracted political battle over more than a decade, the SWP won the right, unlike the Democrats and Republicans, to keep no records that would identify contributors or recipients of funds.

Citing an earlier ruling won by the civil rights movement in the case of *NAACP v. Alabama*, the Supreme Court reiterated that the "inviolability of privacy in group association may in many circumstances be indispensable to preservation of freedom of association, particularly where a group espouses dissident beliefs."

It is such First Amendment rights, won in struggle over the years by defenders of the Bill of Rights, that are being trampled under foot by Judge Pfaelzer simply on the basis that an opponent of the SWP has alleged, without the slightest evidence, that the SWP has been taken over by police agents.

### Not only the SWP

In a similar way, if Pfaelzer's rulings are allowed to stand, any working-class, Black, Latino or women's organization could be taken to court by political opponents, drained of substantial resources to meet legal expenses, ordered to turn over internal records, subjected to harassing and intrusive depositions as part of a "discovery" process, and its leadership forced to divert time and energy from concentrating on the political objectives to which the organization is committed.

For example, in the current case, members of the SWP leadership have been subjected to 160 hours of sworn testimony and obliged to devote 10 times that to preparations for such "depositions," court hearings, and the drafting of legal briefs and motions.

Travel expenses and transcript costs alone are already over \$30,000, to say nothing of lawyers' fees.

No matter what the outcome of an eventual trial, the First Amendment rights of a political group subjected to such "discovery" proceedings have already been grossly violated.

Pfaelzer, using the powers of the court, is accomplishing harassment and disruption similar to what the FBI, CIA, and other political police agencies carry out





Militant/Della Rossa

Los Angeles cops are notorious for brutal strikers were murdered by cops outside Memorial Day massacre (right). Labor movement harassment.



conference to report that the commission was reviewing the "nature and scope of police intelligence."

Williams told the press that Police Commissioner Mariana Pfaelzer, appointed to the board in 1974, "spent hundreds of hours" reviewing the scope and nature of police intelligence files and that he and other commission members had been "deeply involved" as well.

The mayor, it was reported, had instructed the Police Commission to come up with "new guidelines" for the maintenance of police intelligence files.

Two months later, the April 11, 1975, *Herald Examiner* reported, "Strict new guidelines on how the Police Dept. can collect and maintain intelligence data have been adopted by the Board of Police Commissioners in the wake of a purge of records which resulted in more than two million files being destroyed."

What was this massive destruction of files all about?

Pfaelzer, a liberal Democrat who was later awarded a seat on the federal district court in Los Angeles, explained exactly what the Police Commission was trying to prevent — and protect.

In an interview with the *Los Angeles Times* Home magazine in July 1975, Pfaelzer commented:

"Some months ago a great deal of excitement."

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## How police provocateurs earn their pay

BY DICK ROBERTS

LOS ANGELES — In the midst of the uproar here over intelligence "files," part of the story of one undercover agent in particular has begun to emerge.

It's a story laced with police provocation and murder.

It clarifies how police "spies" earn their pay.

In 1978 Fabian Lizarraga joined the Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID) of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD).

In 1979 he infiltrated the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP). Operating according to the PDID cleaned-up guidelines, Lizarraga was assigned a "target," Damien Garcia, whom he "befriended" and worked with — until the very hour Garcia was murdered.

A lengthy account of Lizarraga's activities was published by the *Los Angeles Times* last December 12.

"After first consulting with his superiors, he regularly engaged in sexual intercourse with a woman party member because he believed that if they had sex he could get more information out of her," the

*Times* reported.

At a 1980 May Day march organized by the RCP, Lizarraga provoked a confrontation with the cops, shouting slogans into a bullhorn. The police claimed the bullhorn was illegal and cited this as one of the justifications for breaking up the march.

"Police in riot gear formed a line and confronted the 200 demonstrators. A bloody clash ensued that left 20 people slightly injured and 28 demonstrators under arrest," the *Los Angeles Times* reported.

Nine days before the May Day demonstration, however, Lizarraga's "target" Damien Garcia had been murdered. Lizarraga was there, "five to seven feet away."

The police claim that Garcia was murdered by a gang in a housing project the RCP often visited. Lizarraga, they say, was himself fighting the gang when the murder took place and saw nothing.

But Lizarraga testified in a federal civil suit that he had informed his superiors in advance that the RCP would be at the housing project on the day the fight erupted and Garcia was killed.

According to the RCP, uniformed police

stayed away because they knew the RCP members would be attacked. Six weeks after the Garcia murder, another person was killed in the same area. The police subsequently claimed he had been identified by residents as Garcia's killer.

Police Chief Daryl Gates removed Lizarraga from his undercover assignment. Under the guise of "informer privilege," his identity was protected from attorneys defending the RCP members arrested on May Day.

In 1981 an RCP member spotted Lizarraga in police uniform. He was subpoenaed and obliged to testify under oath. Part of the story came out.

In an effort to prevent further disclosure of the truth about Lizarraga's role inside the RCP, Police Chief Gates ordered the District Attorney to drop charges against the May Day demonstrators in April 1982.

Complying with court orders to disclose more information, Gates said, "could jeopardize the successful completion of ongoing investigations, as well as possibly endangering LAPD personnel."

That's what "intelligence gathering" is all about.

## in Los Angeles courtroom

through their illegal undercover operations.

Since Gelfand filed his suit in July 1979, the SWP has been carrying out a legal battle to have the case thrown out of court. From the beginning the case has been before Judge Mariana Pfaelzer, a former president of the Los Angeles Police Commission. An escalating scandal concerning the operation of the Los Angeles "red squad" during the period in which she supervised it is now making headlines nationally as well as in Los Angeles.

The record that emerges from Pfaelzer's rulings is a curious one indeed.

On the court record Pfaelzer has repeatedly told Gelfand's lawyers that they have produced no evidence whatsoever to substantiate the allegation of government agents in the leadership of the SWP. Yet five times she refused to throw out the suit.

A motion for summary judgment was first argued before Pfaelzer in December 1980. The following exchange from the court transcript took place between Pfaelzer and one of Gelfand's attorneys, Barry Fisher.

"THE COURT: . . . The question is: Who was it who made the decision to do these things to Mr. Gelfand, and why did they decide to do that."

"You [plaintiff Gelfand] have no evidence at all that the decision was made by an FBI agent or a government agent, do you?"

"MR. FISHER: Your Honor, we have a number of documents, some of which were supposedly government documents, which suggested a line of succession of high level infiltration in the S.W.P."

"Mr. Gelfand began raising very serious questions which suggested that key persons

in leadership in the S.W.P. at present may have been involved and connected with various people who — for example, that began with the founding [ . . . ] personalities of the S.W.P. And he was treated in such a way and expelled as to be conclusive to him that this was engineered so as to shut him up, from seeking to expose this coterie of agents within the higher ranks."

"THE COURT: Mr. Fisher, this is a lawsuit."

"MR. FISHER: Yes, your Honor."

"THE COURT: You can sit in your room or at your typewriter as long as you want to and think that the reason this happened is because of this and such and so and so, but you are now on a motion for summary judgment."

"MR. FISHER: Yes, your Honor."

"THE COURT: There isn't one shred of evidence whatsoever that the persons who engineered, as you say, all of this were government agents. There isn't any evidence" (emphasis added).

When the motion for summary judgment was next argued in July 1981, the court again found that Gelfand's case had no foundation in any facts. "There are all kinds of suspicions," Pfaelzer stated. "There is conjecture. There are accusations, some of which are real and some of which may be real."

"But there is no significant connection between the defendants here such that I can find that there is any ground for liability. Nothing has been shown by way of facts that would indicate there is liability on behalf of these defendants to this plaintiff."

Nonetheless, without stating any reason for her action, Pfaelzer refused to grant

summary judgment and allowed the discovery to continue.

At the third hearing on the SWP defendants' motion for summary judgment, in February 1982, the court found that despite the large volume of paper filed by Gelfand he had still failed to substantiate his case.

Once again she noted that Gelfand had failed to present any evidence in support of his allegations.

"I have got all the conjecture, surmise, suspicion, paranoia, or whatever you would want, in this case. I have got all that," she commented. "I haven't got any proof at all of any kind" (emphasis added).

Pfaelzer concluded, "I have nothing whatsoever in this record of any evidentiary nature that will keep this plaintiff in court; nothing. I have been careful to look each time."

Yet, she once again refused to grant the SWP defendants' motion for summary judgment, without explanation.

On July 12, 1982, the motion for summary judgment was heard a fourth and final time. Pfaelzer stated that the SWP had "a very strong position." Then she denied the motion without saying why and ordered that a trial be set for March 1, 1983.

### Workers League connection

Several years of legal harassment and abusive court-ordered "discovery" have produced no evidence whatsoever of a government "takeover" of the SWP. It has, in fact, confirmed the opposite. But one fact of importance has been established, a fact that underscores even more strongly the outrageous abuse of the SWP's First Amendment rights that is being perpetrated

by the courts.

In April 1982 attorneys for the SWP took sworn testimony from Alan Gelfand and his attorney in an effort to discover where the funds were coming from to meet Gelfand's sizable legal expenses.

Their testimony established that the money to pay for deposition transcripts, attorneys' fees, hotel bills, and travel and meal expenses for Gelfand and his attorneys — expenses which at that time already exceeded \$150,000 — was being raised by David North, National Secretary of the Workers League.

The Workers League is a tiny group of people who have for years conducted no significant political activity in the United States except for one election campaign in Michigan and the publication of an expensive twice-weekly newspaper.

Gelfand admitted he had begun secretly collaborating with the international cothinkers of the Workers League (WL), in the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) in Britain while still a member of the SWP, and that he had conferred with the WL-WRP about filing his legal action shortly after his expulsion. He made at least two trips to London to meet with officials of the WRP about his suit, consulting them about evidence available, depositions to be taken, and the lines of questions to be pursued.

Since at least 1980, two WL-WRP representatives have been functioning as "investigators" for the law firm handling Gelfand's litigation.

The fact that the WL-WRP is a primary actor in this disruption and slander campaign directed against the Socialist Work-

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# Rights under attack in L.A. court

Continued from Page 11

ers Party has been established beyond dispute.

One of Gelfand's lawyers himself referred to "Mr. Gelfand's admitted collaboration with the Workers League and the Workers Revolutionary Party in this case," in a court hearing in April 1982.

Pfaelzer herself recognized these facts in August 1982 when she stated for the record:

"Defendants have been absolutely right. The purpose of this litigation was to place the plaintiff's party [the WL-WRP] in a position where there could be publication of this material [obtained through discovery]. I have doubted for a long time the bona fide nature of the lawsuit. . . . I have always thought that there was a desire to secure leverage from this lawsuit by one political party against another. I haven't got the slightest doubt that that is true."

## Abuse of discovery

Pfaelzer has repeatedly been forced to concede that the discovery process was being abused by Gelfand. Not only was it within her power to prevent that from happening, but she had a legal obligation to prevent the court proceedings from being abused. Yet she refused.

In the process of pretrial discovery she has already permitted Gelfand to take more than 20 depositions, most of them from members and former members of the SWP. Several depositions lasted for two, three, even four days.

The information sought was, of course, unrelated to Gelfand's expulsion from the SWP. As explained in briefs and in the course of the depositions themselves, the purpose was to unmask the alleged secret identities of SWP leaders "through a meticulous study" of their actions and their knowledge of Marxist theory and the history of the working-class movement.

For example, in the deposition of one member of the SWP Political Committee, Gelfand's lawyer stated: "We're trying to prove you're a police agent and one of the ways we can do that is to see whether or not you understand Marxist theory."

Thus, people were asked questions such as: "What are the laws of the development of matter as expressed by the preeminent philosophers of dialectical materialism? . . ."

"Can you give examples of how each of these three laws manifest themselves? . . ."

"How does it apply to that glass of water? . . ."

"Is thought matter? . . ."

"Is thought space? . . ."

"Why did Lenin spend so much of his time writing on the study of philosophy?"

Much of the questioning of SWP mem-

bers and former members focused on their personal lives and family backgrounds, including their social activities in high school and the political and religious beliefs of their parents.

Gelfand and his attorneys even attempted to probe personal and sexual relations. For example, SWP leader George Novack was asked, "When did you and Evelyn Reed become husband and wife?" When Novack replied that he and Reed had been legally married in 1942, Gelfand's attorney asked, "You said 'legally.' Did you, I guess the term today is live together?"

The sole occasion on which the outrageous abuse of discovery was temporarily limited was in July 1982 when Pfaelzer instructed Gelfand and his attorneys that they were prevented "from publishing or furnishing for publication to the Workers League, the Workers Revolutionary Party and the International Committee of the Fourth International any transcript or portion of transcript of any deposition taken by plaintiff in this litigation."

However, three months later, after Gelfand appealed her ruling, Pfaelzer abruptly reversed herself, saying that it would be a burden on the SWP to have to defend that ruling in the appeals court and delay the trial!

Everything Pfaelzer has done throughout the course of the proceedings has been consistent with her astounding statement made at a hearing in October 1982: "I know there has been an abuse of discovery. I agree about that point. I made it clear a couple of times. Probably it is still going on, but I am not going to do anything about it. I am going to let it proceed" (emphasis added).

But abuse of the discovery process was inevitable given Pfaelzer's refusal to throw out a suit which she herself admitted was based on nothing but "conjecture, surmise, suspicion, paranoia."

## Informer privilege

Perhaps the most serious violation of the political rights of all has occurred on yet another crucial question. Pfaelzer has upheld the so-called "informer privilege" of the FBI and CIA.

This is the constitutional issue on which the SWP went all the way to the Supreme Court in 1979 in its battle to force the government to turn over the files on 18 informers in the SWP. The use of provocateurs and informers inside organizations like the SWP and other political groups opposed to government policy is one of the most fundamental violations of political activity protected by the Constitution. And that question has been at the heart of the SWP's suit against government spying, harassment, and disruption.

In the case of *SWP v. Attorney General*, the Supreme Court upheld the govern-

ment's contention that "national security" would be damaged and its ability to use informers impaired if their names were not protected from disclosure.

District Court Judge Thomas Griesa then ordered a "special master," former Judge Charles D. Breitler, to review the secret FBI files on informers in the SWP and submit a report.

The Breitler report, submitted in February 1980, concluded that no informer had been a member of the SWP Political Committee, and that the sole FBI informer who had attained a position in the elected national leadership of the party was an alternate member of the National Committee who had left the SWP in the 1960s.

In addition, answers to questions directed to the CIA in the course of the SWP's suit against the government and its police agencies stated that no CIA informers had held any position on either the National Committee or the Political Committee of the SWP.

These and other relevant materials from the proceedings of *SWP v. Attorney General* were submitted as part of the court record in the case before Pfaelzer as well.

Gelfand's response has been to charge that the SWP's suit against the government was a case of "massive collusive litigation" — that is, a fake legal suit, cooked up by the SWP and government agencies together, with the complicity of the court, to make it look like the SWP was not controlled by the government!

The "collusive litigation" charge, it's worth noting, is not a Gelfand original. It's recycled from an accusation floated several years ago in *New Solidarity*, the newspaper published by Lyndon LaRouche's semifarist, antilabor, antisemitic outfit.

In the course of his suit against the SWP, Gelfand submitted questions to the FBI and CIA asking whether the SWP defendants are government agents or informers. The government invoked the "informer privilege" and refused to respond.

As before, the SWP argued against the right of the government to protect informers. It is a violation of the SWP's constitutional rights. Lawyers for the SWP pointed out that, given the material that is part of the record in *SWP v. Attorney General*, the FBI and CIA have already waived any claim to privilege in answering these questions.

Pfaelzer refused to overturn the "informer privilege" argument. Instead she ordered the government to submit answers to Gelfand's questions *in camera*, that is, in secret to her alone so that she "could be assured that [Gelfand's] rights were preserved."

She said nothing about the rights of the SWP defendants, or others like them, such as unions and Black organizations, that have a legal right to be protected from such government disruption.

To the contrary, after her private review of the government's answers, she upheld their claim that national security "would be placed in jeopardy by a disclosure that someone is not an agent."

## Appeal to higher court

On the basis of the entire record of Pfaelzer's rulings in the case, and in view of the fact that she has ordered it to go to trial on March 1, lawyers for the SWP have filed an emergency petition in the federal Court of Appeals in San Francisco.

Such an action is an extraordinary measure. The SWP defendants' emergency petition argues that "the court has exceeded its proper jurisdiction and abdicated its responsibility to enforce the limits of discovery." It asks the appeals court to overrule Pfaelzer and dismiss the suit by Gelfand as an action outside the jurisdiction of the court.

The SWP defendants are also demanding that the court order prohibiting the WL-WRP from publishing pretrial discovery depositions be reinstated "to prevent [Gelfand], at least in part from benefitting from his abuse of the discovery process," and that Pfaelzer's order upholding the government's claim of informer privilege be overturned.

To date the appeals court has taken no action on the emergency petition, and in the meantime preparations for the March 1 trial are proceeding.

The degree to which such a trial will constitute an even further violation of the SWP's First Amendment rights was summarized in the emergency petition filed by the SWP on January 15:

"If this case is allowed to continue and come to trial, the court will pass judgment on whether the plaintiff [Gelfand] or the SWP defendants are, in plaintiff's words, the 'true believers' in the principles that the SWP stands for. In making its decision the court will be required to delve into the doctrines of the SWP, varying interpretations of Marxism, differing views on the proper organizational principles for a Marxist party, and other subjects which the First Amendment puts beyond the jurisdiction of a civil court."

Likewise,

"A court cannot constitutionally determine whether the SWP defendants are government agents by deciding, for example, whether they have an adequate understanding of Marxist theory, as interpreted by the court. . . . Nor may the court decide, as plaintiff proposes it do, such issues as whether plaintiff acted 'in conformity with SWP norms and traditions,' while the 'SWP defendants . . . unreasonably stonewalled, lied, and silenced plaintiff . . .'; [w]hether the SWP defendants have destroyed or abandoned the democratic principles and function within the SWP . . .; whether the Political Committee 'concocted' the policies on which it based its disciplinary action against plaintiff; and whether the SWP defendants have demonstrated they are government agents [by] stifling of discussion of agents with[in] the Party.' . . ."

"Such inquiry into the doctrine, administration and internal functioning of a political party is forbidden by the First Amendment."

"Even if the district court rules in favor of the SWP defendants after trial, their First Amendment rights will still have been seriously infringed upon. During the trial, as in the ongoing pretrial discovery, the party will suffer a searching judicial inquiry of its internal functioning, its beliefs, activities and procedures, and its ideological and political foundations."

"Moreover, if this case is allowed to continue, any hostile former member, or disgruntled rejected applicant could then seek judicial intervention into their own private dispute with the party, surmounting the jurisdictional hurdle by simply alleging governmental involvement in the dispute."

"Finally, were the court to order the plaintiff reinstated in the party, it is plain that it will have taken merely the first step along a road that can lead only to permanent judicial supervision over the SWP. Clearly an injunction requiring readmission of an admittedly hostile individual into the ranks of the SWP would have to be followed up with regular supervision of his treatment by the party."

"It is not difficult to predict that were plaintiff to be ordered readmitted by court order, the party would immediately move to expel him again, based on the actions he has taken both before and after the 1979 expulsion, and based on his manifest disloyalty and hostility to the party. Thus the court will be immediately drawn into an ongoing dispute regarding the manner in which the party enforces its discipline and regulates its own internal affairs."

"The district court, and not the membership of the party, will then be the final arbiter of who can belong to the SWP, and what internal procedures may be used to expel a disloyal member from the party's ranks."

"It is to prevent such judicial interference in the affairs of voluntary associations engaged in First Amendment activities that the Constitution mandates judicial non-intervention. . . . By violating that doctrine, the district court has seriously infringed upon the First Amendment rights of the SWP defendants."

The scope of the issues posed in this lawsuit against the Socialist Workers Party are clear. The court's actions constitute a threat not only to the political liberties of every single opponent of government policies in the United States but to every defender of the Bill of Rights as well. That is the basis on which support must be mobilized to help turn back this attempt to gut the constitutional rights of all.

## How you can help

The lawsuit brought against the Socialist Workers Party, now being heard by United States District Court Judge Mariana Pfaelzer and scheduled to go to trial March 1, "represents a grave threat to political freedom."

That is the judgment of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). That is why PRDF is making its attorneys available to represent the SWP defendants in this case, and is organizing a nationwide campaign to publicize the issues at stake and help raise the necessary funds to meet the exceptional legal costs entailed.

As Holbrook Mahn, national coordinator of PRDF, stated in a letter to

all PRDF supporters last week, "This is a fight to protect the constitutionally guaranteed right of free and voluntary political association. It has already cost tens of thousands of dollars. A trial alone will cost over \$50,000."

"Because of the important constitutional issue at stake and the threat this case poses for political freedom the Political Rights Defense Fund is making an emergency appeal for money as we fight for dismissal of this case."

"Any special contribution you can give will make a difference in defending our most fundamental rights. Please send as much as you can."

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

Send contributions to PRDF, P.O. Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.



# L.A. cops continue spying, disruption

Continued from Page 11

ment was stirred up in Washington about secret files kept by the FBI.

"In my imagination I could follow the ripples back to the local level. I asked our LAPD to reevaluate, as quickly as possible, its own intelligence-gathering system. I felt it was morally wrong for the LAPD to keep secret files on political activities, and I also wanted to avoid lawsuits against the LAPD by people who felt that their names didn't belong in the LAPD's secret files" (emphasis added).

"Did the LAPD argue?" Home asked Pfaelzer.

"Not really. We talked about the LAPD's mission in life. I suggested some new ways of looking at their traditional objectives in police intelligence work." Pfaelzer suggested the cops should work "by shifting the emphasis from subversion to disruption."

"It meant throwing some two million folders out of the files, but it was done in a very short time, way ahead of any other city in the country."

"It was done without interfering with the LAPD's regular work, which could have been hampered seriously if lawsuits had been started by people protesting the secret files" (emphasis added).

Pfaelzer's remarks explain precisely, if not explicitly, what the Police Commission had decided to do to refurbish the image of the cops and prevent exposure of PDID operations: change the guidelines for the maintenance of police files and announce the "reform" with great publicity to divert attention; change nothing that the cops do to accomplish their "mission in life" and their "traditional objectives."

## 1976 guidelines

It was actually another 18 months before the new guidelines were made public, in

## New guidelines, same old story

Cop Rickey Gibby joined the Public Disorder Intelligence Division of the Los Angeles Police Department in the spring of 1974 and was trained that summer to infiltrate the Young Socialist Alliance.

Between 1975 and 1979 he also infiltrated the Socialist Workers Party. His cover was blown a couple of years later when, in response to a routine burglary call, he showed up in uniform at an SWP member's home.

In a deposition in November 1982, Gibby enumerated some of his obligations as a cop and explained the impact the Police Commission's new guidelines had on his work after they were issued in 1976.

Gibby reported on each and every meeting he went to as well as rallies, demonstrations, and conventions. This included names, addresses, telephone numbers, license plates, jobs, and marital status of everyone at meetings.

The guidelines issued in early 1976, Gibby said, "stipulated that people working undercover shall have a target within an organization." So in early 1976, Gibby recalled, he was assigned individual SWP members as targets.

Attorney for the SWP, Shelley Davis, asked Gibby: "Did you do anything differently to obtain information on your targets than you had previously?"

Gibby: "No."

Davis: "So essentially your activity was the same in the SWP both prior and after the guidelines were issued?"

Gibby: "The information that I obtained after the guidelines were issued I obtained as pertinent to the targets. Prior to that, I obtained information on . . . the SWP organization as a whole."

December 1976. In essence they asserted that the PDID could maintain files only on organizations or individuals whose activities threatened to "disrupt" the public order. The word "subversion," as Pfaelzer had explained, was simply replaced by the word "disruption."

But as numerous PDID cops have explained since, the guidelines changed nothing they did in their spying, harassment, or disruption. (See box on testimony of Officer Rickey Gibby).

Nor were they ever intended to.

## Problem of 'Gathering'

Another two years went by. In July 1977 Pfaelzer became president of the Board of Police Commissioners. In 1978 she conducted an extensive audit of the PDID files, at the end of which she praised the cops for their efforts and certified that their files were in conformity with the guidelines.

At a police board hearing in October 1978, Pfaelzer reported on the results of her audit.

"I read every card," Pfaelzer reported.

"We had long discussions about individual cards. . . . And I am satisfied that there has been a genuine attempt on the part of that division to adhere to the letter and spirit of the guidelines. . . .

"When we started out to discuss this matter and go through the files, there were 625 individuals represented in the individual files. . . . We probably will have by next week something in the neighborhood of 524. . . . There are 37 organizations. . . ."

What about the actual disruption and harassment being carried out by the political police?

"We looked at the problem of retention, and we did not address ourselves to the problem of gathering. . . . We are not looking to set up a set of guidelines that would define what kind of activity can be carried on with respect to gathering."

Following Pfaelzer's audit of PDID files, a second Police Commission audit was undertaken in July 1980, a year and a half later.

"Despite extensive controversy over police intelligence gathering," the July 23, 1980, *Los Angeles Times* reported, "the Los Angeles Police Department is maintaining intelligence files on 42 percent more individuals and 74 percent more groups than in 1978."

"Those figures were higher before the audit and subsequent 'extended discussions' between the Police Commission and the LAPD brought the number of active files down to 754 individuals and 54 groups."

If any further clarification of the whitewash function of the Police Commission and its guidelines was needed, it was added by current Police Chief Daryl Gates in a recent deposition taken by ACLU attorneys.

According to the Jan. 5, 1983, *Los Angeles Times*, "In the deposition, Gates also indicated that he believes the Police Commission's 1976 guidelines limiting police intelligence records to criminal matters apply only to an index card-like document known in police jargon as a 'file.' Gates indicated that so long as information collected by undercover officers and civilian informers is not recorded on such a 'file,' the prohibition against police keeping records of individuals' political beliefs and peaceful activities does not apply."

So much for Pfaelzer's review of "every card in the file."

## Case prejudged

As president of the Board of Police Commissioners and the person responsible for reviewing and approving ongoing police spying and disruption between 1975 and 1978, Pfaelzer admits okaying operations against 524 individuals and 37 organizations.

The Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance were among those 37, and individual members of the SWP and YSA were among the 524 "target" individuals.



Militant/Bruce Marcus

Supporters of school busing have long been particular target of Los Angeles cops harassment and disruption.

If proof is needed, it was established by the exposure of an undercover PDID agent, Rickey Gibby, who carried out operations in the SWP and YSA between 1974 and 1979.

Pfaelzer herself approved not only the general police spying and disruption operations in violation of the political rights of us all, she specifically approved the operations against the SWP and YSA and its members.

In July 1978 Pfaelzer angrily responded to charges against the LAPD saying, "No

organization is being spied on now because it is a political activist group."

As Los Angeles Police Commissioner she acted on her opinion that the SWP and YSA and its members have no protection under the Bill of Rights.

And it is before her court, as the accompanying article explains, that the SWP is now contesting a lawsuit that is itself a gross violation of the party's First Amendment rights.

The history is hardly irrelevant.

## Salvador solidarity actions expose fraud of human rights certification

As Washington has stepped up aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship, a series of protests have occurred in the United States against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

In Pittsburgh, United Steelworkers of America Local 1397 President Ron Weisen spoke to 150 people who rallied in front of Pittsburgh's City-County Building on January 24. Weisen called for a rechanneling of government funds away from supporting right-wing dictatorships "to aid the unemployed by saving jobs and homes."

Also speaking were Rosemary Trump, president of Local 585 of the Service Employees International Union; Harvey Adams, president of the Pittsburgh NAACP; Bob Erickson of the Mon Valley Unemployed Committee; and others.

Under pressure from organized antiwar forces, later that afternoon the City Council passed a resolution urging Congress "to reject Reagan's certification" of human rights in El Salvador and "to halt all U.S. military aid and intervention in El Salvador."

In Port Chicago, California, about 2,000 demonstrators gathered outside the main entrance of the Concord Naval Weapons Station on January 29 to protest U.S. arms shipments from the station to the Salvadoran regime. In addition, 157 people blockaded the station's main gate and were arrested by police. The action was organized by the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador.

The Boston Central America Solidarity Association organized a panel of speakers — including some who had recently been to El Salvador — to expose the lie that human rights progress is being made in that country.

Ann Hargreaves, Boston's assistant deputy commissioner of health and hospitals, was part of a delegation of medical professionals who visited hospitals and prisons in El Salvador.

She told the 300 people gathered at the meeting, "Sitting on the government human rights commission is a police chief who, a political prisoner told us, personally turned her over to be tortured."

"We met a man who had been castrated, one burned with acid, others with thumbs cut off."

"In the women's prison we met a psychiatric social worker who was imprisoned for calling a meeting to improve the conditions in her clinic. She had been blindfolded for 22 days and was suffering sensory deprivation."

Every single woman in this prison had been raped."

Martin Diskin, an anthropologist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, reported on a fact-finding tour by academics.

Francisco Moran, head of the Treasury Police — which Diskin likened to the Nazi Gestapo — told the academics bluntly, "You Americans have to understand that when your Blacks act up, you have to use a heavy hand."

Arnaldo Ramos, representing the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador, was the main speaker. He concluded his remarks by saying, "The task of solidarity is to link the Vietnam War with the situation in El Salvador. The biggest threat to this planet comes from Pinochet, Marcos, Sharon, and the other killers backed by imperialism. We want a peaceful political solution to the conflict."

In solidarity with worldwide January 22 actions called by the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, 65 people gathered in Birmingham, Alabama, that day to hear eyewitness reports from Central America and to voice opposition to U.S. intervention.

The featured speaker was Ann Hamilton, a Birmingham resident who recently spent 10 days in a Salvadoran refugee camp in Mesa Grande, Honduras. Hamilton and the dozen other Catholic human rights activists in her group were held for seven hours by the Honduran secret police. No explanation was ever given.

Julie Smith, cochair of the Birmingham Committee in Solidarity With Central America, the sponsoring group, informed the meeting of the political assassination of Salvador solidarity activist Terry Santana in New York in December. The meeting observed a moment of silence in her honor.

Mark Curtis, a United Auto Workers' member at a military plant, told of growing labor opposition to U.S. intervention in Central America. He said the Birmingham solidarity group plans to reach out to coal miners, steelworkers, and other working people.

This article is based on reports from Paul LeBlanc, Mark Schneider, and Andy Rose.

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# 2 witch-hunt victims win \$1.6 million

BY HARRY RING

After a 14-year court fight, a major gain was won for civil liberties in the case of Margaret and Al McSurely. A federal jury awarded them \$1.6 million in damages for violation of their rights by a U.S. senator and a Kentucky prosecutor.

The damage award in the McSurely case came in early January. The defendants are now seeking reduction of damages, a new trial, and review by higher courts.

The McSurelys moved to Pike County, Kentucky, in 1967 to organize among poor rural whites.

A few months later they were arrested and charged with sedition. A midnight raid was made on their home in which many of their personal papers were seized. The raid was led by Thomas Ratliff, a millionaire coal operator, then a state prosecutor.

A few weeks later a federal court ruled the state sedition law unconstitutional. But meanwhile a lawyer for the Coal Operators Association arranged to have more than 200 of the McSurelys' papers turned over to a Senate subcommittee headed by the late John McClellan, a deadly foe of Black and union rights. The McClellan committee was then targeting urban Black rebellions.

After a fight of several years, the McSurelys won a court ruling ordering the McClellan committee to return their papers.

Immediately afterward, McClellan formally subpoenaed the papers.

A month later, the McSurelys and their child narrowly escaped death when their home was bombed.

The McSurelys refused to hand their papers back to the Senate committee and were sentenced to prison for contempt of Congress. Meanwhile, they initiated their damage suit.

In 1972 a federal court reversed the contempt-of-Congress verdict, declaring that the entire attack on them had stemmed from an illegal search and seizure — the original Ratliff raid.

With that ruling, the McSurelys pressed their damage suit against McClellan, Ratliff, and their associates.

McClellan and his Senate aides were defended, free, by the Justice Department over the 14 years. It argued they were constitutionally immune from such prosecution.

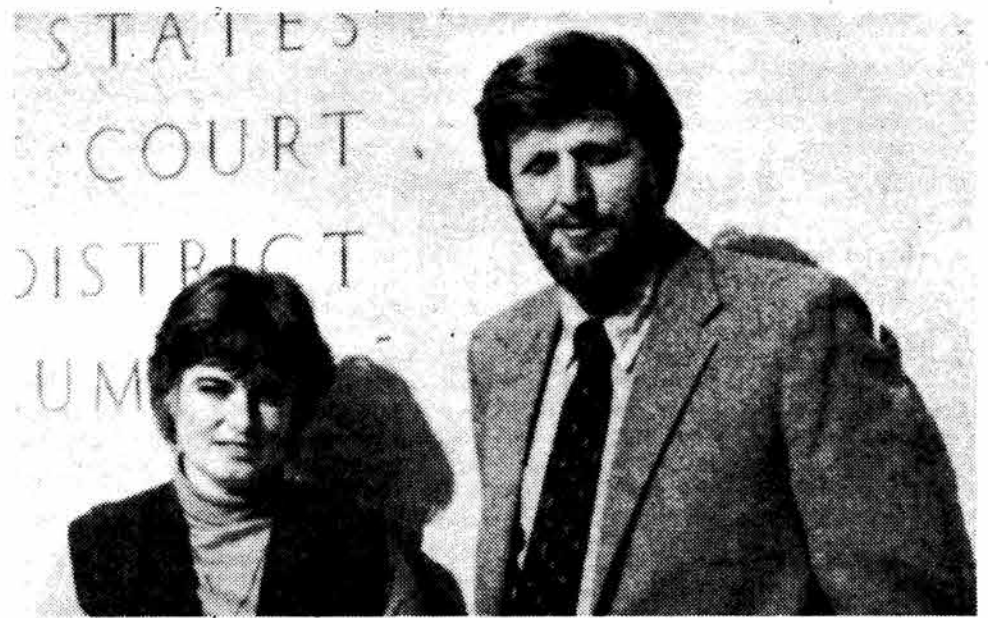
In the course of the lengthy litigation, a good deal of light was shed on how material in the possession of government agencies is passed around to others, public and private, for purposes of victimization.

It was even disclosed that a prominent national columnist was subjected to political blackmail on the basis of an old letter he had written to Margaret McSurely.

In finding for the McSurelys, the jury decided that more than half the \$1.6 million damages is to be paid by exprosecutor Ratliff and that the remainder come from the estates of the late McClellan and various now deceased senate staff aides who were complicit.

The damages were for violating the McSurelys' First Amendment free speech rights and Fourth Amendment guarantees against illegal search and seizure.

The long court battle was conducted by the Center for Constitutional Rights.



Margaret and Al McSurely

Working Images Photographs/Martha Tabor

## Louisville cops frame up Black

Continued from Page 9

tional Harvester from a leave of absence the company manufactured a reason to fire him.

"I had grievances against International Harvester piled sky high," he explained. "I had two discrimination suits against them filed with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. I was active in the BWC. That was plenty of motivation for them."

Horsley filed one last grievance through the union, demanding that he be reinstated, but nothing came of it.

Out of work, unskilled, and unable to collect even a measly unemployment check, Horsley suddenly found himself in debt up to his ears.

Over the course of the next two years, a dozen different banks, mortgage companies, and other creditors hauled him into court demanding a piece of him. He eventually lost all of his property, including his own home.

He recovered from this bitter experience with a renewed determination to fight against the rich and powerful for the interests of working people like himself, especially the poorest and most oppressed.

Horsley became a knowledgeable community activist, someone people could always count on for advice and help. "All those public officials and government agencies that are supposed to be helping people — they're nothing but paper tigers. They work hand-in-hand with the bankers and big businessmen. They don't solve any problems, they just try to cover them up."

Horsley reserves a special wrath for lawyers, many of whom he believes are swindlers. "A person doesn't need a lawyer to help him lose his house, his car, his freedom. He can do that fine all by himself."

In recent years, Horsley has worked with many different groups on a variety of important causes.

He joined with the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression in a campaign supporting Black women in Mississippi who were trying to organize a union in a poultry processing plant. Later he became an active member of the Louisville Anti-Klan Coalition, which sought to expose the presence of Ku Klux Klan members in the Louisville Police Department and organized support for victims of shootings, firebombings, and other racist terror attacks.

At the very time he was arrested, Horsley was helping to organize a march and rally here initiated by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to commemorate Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday.

### Housing struggles

Horsley has consistently fought to prevent unjust bank foreclosures on West End homeowners — people like himself who, because of layoffs and other circumstances beyond their control, are unable for a time to keep up with their usurious mortgage payments. He has tried to educate working people about their legal rights in these cases and to expose the complicity of government agencies, such as the Housing and Urban Development Administration, with the bankers.

Throughout this period Horsley continued to draw more far-reaching conclu-

sions about the "free enterprise" system and the meaning of American "democracy."

"I knew one thing for sure," he explained. "Only the very rich are free in this country. Only the very rich can obtain any justice — at the expense of the low man, the poor working man."

During the fall of 1982, Horsley was attracted to the campaign of Craig Honts, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress. Horsley had come to know and respect Honts over a period of time as a political leader in some of the same movements he participated in. The more they talked, the more interested Horsley became in the views of the SWP and the Young Socialist Alliance. He decided to join the YSA and attended its national convention in Chicago over New Year's weekend.

### Fight to get out of jail

More than anything now, Horsley wants to get out of jail. A local defense committee has been formed to publicize his case, mobilize support, and raise money for the legal defense. The committee is confident it will soon be able to meet the \$10,000 cash or \$20,000 property bond needed for his release.

"I'm very appreciative of all the good work the Al Horsley Defense Committee has done on my behalf," Horsley said. "My only complaint is that I can't be with them right now to help out."

He understands that a victory in this case will not be won in the courtroom alone. He knows that in cases of political activists the government often doesn't respond to the legal arguments until substantial public pressure has been brought to bear.

"The case against me is nothing but a frame-up," he explained. "The government is prosecuting me now for the same basic reason International Harvester fired me. Because I've been a 'troublemaker.' The government is betting they can send me to prison for the rest of my life, and in the process send a message to all the other 'troublemakers' around: stop or suffer the consequences. I'm betting they won't be able to pull it off, because there are just too many of us who won't be intimidated."

The Kentucky chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has endorsed the Al Horsley Defense Committee. Other supporters include long-time civil rights leader Anne Braden; Maurice Granger, president of the University of Louisville NAACP; and Rev. William Hollis Bell.

### What you can do

- Send a protest letter or telegram demanding that the frame-up charges against Al Horsley be dropped to: David Armstrong, Commonwealth Attorney, Hall of Justice, 600 West Jefferson, Louisville, Ky. 40202.

- Send a financial contribution. Thousands of dollars will be needed to pay for legal expenses and literature about the case. Make checks payable to Al Horsley Defense Committee and mail to the address below.

- For fact sheets, petitions, and other information, call or write: Al Horsley Defense Committee, P.O. Box 748, Louisville, Ky. 40201. Telephone: (502) 587-8418.

## Racists seek to end Norfolk busing

BY MALIK MIAH

The Norfolk, Virginia, school board by a vote of 5 to 2 has adopted a plan to discontinue cross-town busing for the purpose of desegregation. Called the neighborhood school plan, the board's proposal would prohibit busing of elementary students more than three miles to school; no high school students would be bused.

Currently 20,000 of the city's 35,000 students are bused. Sixty-one percent of the pupils are Black.

## Anticommunist law gets boosted by Supreme Court

The Supreme Court has set aside a lower court ruling against the "Blitz Amendment," a federal statute barring "subversives" from the CETA jobs program. The amendment gets its name from Dori Blitz, a member of the Communist Workers Party in Virginia who challenged the law in the courts.

Blitz had been hired in a CETA program and became the target of redbaiting. A member of Congress from Virginia introduced an amendment to a CETA funding bill to exclude people from the program who advocate "violent overthrow" of the government — that is, anyone who favors fundamental social change.

This was approved by Congress and Blitz sued to bar the state from excluding her from the program and to have the congressional amendment declared unconstitutional. In spring 1982 a federal judge upheld her on this and ordered her reinstated to the CETA job.

After Blitz completed the CETA program, the Justice Department appealed the decision.

The Supreme Court utilized this delay in appeal to duck ruling on the constitutional issue involved. Instead it declared the case moot on the grounds that Blitz had already completed the program.

While this did not reverse the federal judge who found the "Blitz amendment" unconstitutional, it does mean that other CETA workers can be victimized in the same way Blitz was and face the same court fight she did.

What's the school board's reasoning? Jean Bruce, a white member of the school board, said busing "was an artificial and contrived tool that has served its purpose." Other antibusing bigots argue that limiting busing will save the district money, increase parents' involvement in school functions, and stem the flow of middle-class whites to the suburbs.

"It's just lawless conduct," said Henry L. Marsh 3d, the lawyer who successfully argued in 1970 that busing was necessary to begin to give Black students an equal education in Norfolk.

Rev. Lewis Hines, a member of a coalition of Black religious and political leaders, told the school board, "The only reason we have integrated schools is because of a court order. We made you do it."

The racist-led school board initially planned to begin the new plan immediately. However, threatened with a lawsuit from the NAACP and public protests, the board's lawyer, Thomas Johnson, who is also the chairman of the school board, submitted the plan voluntarily to a Federal district judge.

This "voluntary" action became necessary as protests by Black parents and teachers increased. The school board is hoping the new antibusing climate encouraged by the Democrats and Republicans and the Justice Department will lead the court to legitimize its attempts to reverse the busing program.

In the view of Blacks, busing to achieve desegregation had brought some positive changes to the schools and the education of Black children. That's what the school board is opposed to and wants to reverse.

## Labor News in the Militant

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



# Forced sterilization on rise among American Indian women

The following is an interview with Pat Bellanger, a member of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and Women of All Red Nations (WARN). Bellanger is a well-known activist in Minnesota, especially around the issue of forced sterilization.

The interview was obtained by Carole Lesnick for the *Militant*.

**Question.** Where does the situation with forced sterilization of Indian women stand in the United States today?

**Answer.** It was an Indian woman doctor that first started seeing how many Indian women were being sterilized. As we began to organize as women in AIM, we formed another group called WARN specifically to document problems facing Indian women. We began to look at each other's statistics and to see what was happening on our own reservations and in the cities. We found forced sterilization to be quite an issue.

An Indian woman tribal judge in Lame-deer, Montana, found that on her reservation, over 50 of 250 women of childbearing age had already been sterilized. It dawned on her that she was actually seeing was genocide.

On an Indian reservation in the Rocky Mountains in Canada, over 80 percent of the Indian women there of childbearing age have already been sterilized. If that continues, the tribe will be wiped out.

We made sure that the Indian Health Service Hospitals on reservations had a 30-day waiting period before performing sterilizations. We made sure women had actually signed all the forms they were supposed to. But forced sterilization is still on the increase.

The problem isn't always that you don't know you're being sterilized. The social and economic pressure has its effects too.

A lot of young Indian women have a hard time. They can't find a job and they

don't get an education. Even though it's against the law for a social worker to tell a client that she has to be sterilized, the pressure is there.

If they have children, the pressure from the social service agencies becomes greater and greater, both through attitudes and actual laws. It's hard to stand up against that pressure.

**Q.** How would you define the right to choose as it applies to reproductive rights?

**A.** Proabortion or prochoice women and men feel that we have the right to freedom to control our own bodies. To decide whether or not you'll be able to take care of a child should be a right that we have. Forced sterilization is exactly the same issue — whether or not we have the right to have children. If they take away that right, if they sterilize, we no longer have to worry about abortion. Once you're sterilized that's it. The two are very definitely tied together.

A white court, or social service agency, or the government saying that you cannot have an abortion — that's a right being legislated away by people that have no business legislating that kind of issue. Forced sterilization legislation is equally bad.

In Indian country, and I guess that's any reservation or place where there's a lot of Indians, there's a lot of sterilization and

abortion going on. We used to joke with our non-Indian friends that if they really want an abortion, if they really want to be sterilized, just tell the physicians that they are Indians and they'll have no problem.

The right to choose can also mean the right to choose to have children.

There is one case, and it's not an isolated incident, where a young Indian woman's children had been taken away when she couldn't take care of them. When she was older, more stable, and wanted her children back, she became pregnant again and reported this to the welfare department. They told her that she was either to have an abortion and become sterilized or she wouldn't see her two children again.

We fought this case in court and won. The woman was allowed to carry her pregnancy to term and keep her other children.

The Indian Health Service, which is run through federal legislation, has limited the right of Indian women on reservations to have an abortion if they need it — this is the other part of the right to choose. Clinics on reservations will only perform abortions for women who have been raped or victims of incest.

So they've cut off another avenue of our rights.

**Q.** What can be done to fight attacks on reproductive rights?

## Activists gather at Newark 'Militant' forum to discuss defense of abortion rights

BY PRISCILLA SCHENK

NEWARK, N.J. — "Defend and Extend Abortion Rights" was the title of a forum held here January 28 to mark the 10th anniversary of the Supreme Court decision legalizing abortion. The forum was sponsored by the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Sally Buhite, representing the New Jersey National Organization for Women (NOW) task force on reproductive rights, outlined the legal attacks that have limited women's access to abortions in the years since it became legal.

Jeanne Fortin, a member of the Essex County Committee for Abortion Rights and Against Sterilization Abuse (CARASA), spoke about how the Right-to-Life committee in Essex County has been picketing a local clinic where women receive pregnancy testing and abortions.

They harass women entering and leaving the clinic, calling them "baby killers," and sometimes trying to physically block the doorway. "These people who are against abortion rights are really antiwoman, anti-people," Fortin said. "To them your life is sacred until you're born, after that they try to take away our right to education, welfare, jobs, and housing."

In response to the right-wing pickets, CARASA members and supporters gather every Saturday across the street from the clinic to show support for the women there. CARASA has combined their counterpicket with a petition campaign. A lot of people passing by the clinic stop, sign the petition, and have discussions. "It really demoralizes the Right-to-Lifers," Fortin said. "And it proves that the majority of people do support abortion rights."

The final speaker was Wendy Lyons, a member of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and a leader of the Socialist Workers Party. "I feel grateful for the opportunity to speak here tonight," she said, "because one of the things we need to do the most is begin to speak out on abortion rights."

Lyons explained that the right to abortion is fundamental to all the rights of women and is especially important to working women.

Attacks on abortion rights are part of a drive by the bosses and their government against the rights of working people as a whole, Lyons said. "If we can be driven back to the idea that we are inferior, that we don't have the right to control our lives,

then the entire working class will be affected."

Lyons set a tone of optimism when she said that women can and should take the offensive. "We have a lot of allies in this fight. We have to look to people like the Chrysler workers who said no to concession bargaining. To young people who are saying no to the draft. To farmers who are fighting against losing their homes and land. To the Black youth who are rebelling against injustice."

Following the presentations was a lively discussion among forum participants, including the president of North Jersey Coalition of Labor Union Women and activists from CARASA and NOW.

The Newark forum was one of 15 discussions sponsored by the *Militant* and *PM* across the country in defense of abortion rights.

## Abortion rights opponents in Miami exploit deaths at local clinic

BY CLAIRE MORIARTY

MIAMI — Foes of women's rights are exploiting the recent deaths of two women at an abortion clinic here to step up their campaign against a woman's right to choose abortion.

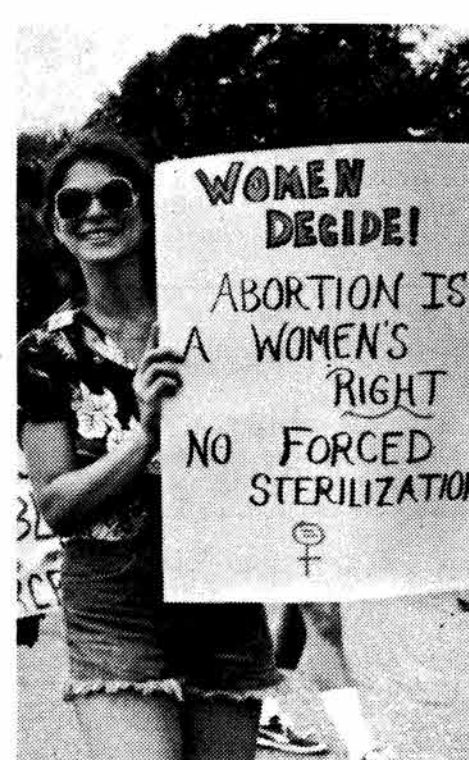
On December 18 a young Haitian woman died from a punctured uterus after getting an abortion at the Women's Care Center in Miami. Seventeen days later, another woman bled to death after an abortion at the same clinic.

In the four years since the clinic opened, four women have died following abortions there. Six others have charged the clinic with medical malpractice. At least two women were forced to undergo emergency hysterectomies to save their lives.

On January 7, the clinic's owner, Hipolito Barreiro, was arrested and charged with performing the abortion that led to the Haitian woman's death. Barreiro is not licensed to practice medicine in Florida. On January 10, the clinic was closed by court order.

The day before, about two dozen opponents of abortion rights demonstrated at the clinic chanting "Stop abortion now!" Rick Patterson of the Jesus Fellowship told reporters, "The problem is abortion itself."

Doctors disagree. "Abortion is one of



Militant/Lou Howort

Forced sterilization and restrictions on abortion rights both prevent women from controlling their own bodies.

**A.** One of the things is to educate as many people as possible to the fact that these things are happening. That is the first thing.

We need to give people the choice to help work in any way possible to stop this type of oppression — whether it be writing letters to congressmen or supporting a case in court. Indians and non-Indians need to learn to work together in coalitions.



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Wendy Lyons, garment worker and socialist, explained that right to abortion is a fundamental question for women, especially working women.

## Shotgun fired at Phoenix SWP office

PHOENIX — On January 31, the Militant Bookstore here, which includes offices of the Socialist Workers Party, received a call from a man who identified himself and threatened that a physical attack would occur against the bookstore by the weekend.

The police were contacted, the man's name turned over, and details given on the threat.

On February 1, a man by a different name, armed with a shotgun, fired into the bookstore. He damaged the door and walls. Had the socialist staffing the bookstore been near the front of the store at the time of the assault, he could have been seriously injured or even killed.

The assailant, identified by police as John William Cook, was taken into custody by the cops and booked on charges of reckless endangerment and criminal damage.

Then the cops let Cook go free! The prosecutor's office refuses to inform the socialists exactly what action will be taken against Cook, or when.

Charging that this serious attack and earlier vandalism of their offices is aimed at their political ideas, the socialists are demanding to know all the facts in the case and immediate action from city officials to protect their rights.

## Quebec teachers still on strike

BY WILL REISSNER

Some 90,000 Quebec teachers are beginning their third week on strike against provincial government decree laws that cut their wages by as much as 20 percent and unilaterally tear up existing union contracts.

Other public sector workers who had joined the strike have returned to work. Most recently, 9,000 provincial civil servants went back to their jobs on February 8 after the government threatened to fire them all if the strike continued.



**Spreading the word** — Faced with a critical shortage of priests, the Toronto archdiocese of the Catholic church has initiated a billboard recruitment campaign. A



Harry Ring

crucified Christ soars above a modern metropolis, exhorting,

"Dare to be a priest like me." The billboard blitz was financed by the Knights of Columbus. If they can raise sufficient added bread, the archdiocese will move on to radio and TV ads.

**Vital statistics** — According to one news report, Nancy Reagan has 12 clothes closets. They didn't say how many dish closets.

**Uniting the generations** — Since those news photos of Swedish children picketing because the film censors barred them from seeing *E.T.* we've been wondering if

it could be a plot by the censors to get kids to hate adults. They said no one under 11 could see the film because it portrays adults as enemies of children.

**Recession rock** — Rock stations are playing an increasing number of tunes with recession themes. Mayor Joseph Daddona of Allentown, Pa., says he's disappointed with Billy Joel's "Allentown," with its refrain, "Well, we're living in Allentown / and they're closing all the factories down." "It doesn't reflect the real Allentown," said the mayor from Florida, where he's vacationing.

**My goodness** — A Westport, Conn., church has been losing members since it began letting homeless people sleep in the church. "It's been very difficult on everyone in the church," the pastor explained, "to see homeless people sleeping in rooms where we usually have tea."

**For the cat who has everything** — Beverly Hills Kitty Litter consists of a pack of shredded \$100 bills.

**No \$2.50 cocktail?** — The Agriculture Dept. has cited Delta for violating federal animal trans-

portation standards by shipping two bloodhounds in undersized, structurally inadequate containers. They arrived "cramped and stiff," a federal attorney said. "It seems," he added, "Delta treated them just like airlines treat people."

**Easier on the lungs** — Anyone out there old enough to remember when a 6½ oz. can of tuna was 8 oz.? Or a 12 oz. beer 16? Well, R.J. Reynolds is test marketing smaller packs of coffin nails. Currently 12 for 85 cents rather than 20 for \$1.25. Wonder if the theme will be, "Less nicotine per pack!"?

## —CALENDAR—

### ALABAMA

#### Birmingham

**Black Freedom Struggle — Yesterday and Today — History and Lessons of the Civil Rights Battles in Alabama.** An educational class series, Sundays at noon from Feb. 13 through March 13. Class 1: From the Civil War to Jim Crow. Presentation by Martin Boyers. Sun., Feb. 13, 12 noon. 205 18th St. S. Donation: \$5 for series, \$1 per class. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

**What Socialists Stand For: Working-Class Solution to the Capitalist Crisis.** Speaker: Stuart Crome, national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St. S. Donation requested. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance and Militant Forum Series. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

### ARIZONA

#### Miami

**Repression in El Salvador: An Eyewitness Account.** Speaker: Alejandro Molina Lara, leader of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers, general secretary of the Fishing Industry Union. Translation to English. Wed., Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m. United Steelworkers of America Local 586 Hall. Ausp: Molina Lara Tour Committee. For more information call (602) 968-8515 or 234-1576.

#### Phoenix

**Repression in El Salvador: An Eyewitness Account.** Speaker: Alejandro Molina Lara, leader of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers, general secretary of the Fishing Industry Union. Translation to English. Fri., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 769 Hall, 3232 N 20th St. Ausp: Molina Lara Tour Committee. For more information call (602) 968-8515 or 234-1576.

**People's Power in Cuba Today.** Presentation and slide show. Speaker: Sherry Turner, garment worker and member, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to English. Sat., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. 613 E Indian School Rd. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Perspectiva Mundial. For more information call (602) 274-7399.

### CALIFORNIA

#### San Francisco

**Rebels Advance in El Salvador: American Workers Oppose Intervention.** Speakers: José Estrada, Salvadoran living in the U.S.; Andrea González, Young Socialist Alliance national secretary. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

### GEORGIA

#### Atlanta

**Malcolm X Speaks** Film and Presentation. Panel discussion: Roy Paterson, chairman of Atlanta Association of Black Journalists; representative from Wrightsville, Georgia, lawsuit against Sheriff Roland Attaway; Maurice Williams, National Black Independent Political Party. Sat., Feb. 12, 7 p.m. Canterbury Center, 791 Fair St. Free. Ausp: Atlanta National Black Independent Political Party. For more information call (404) 627-0288.

### INDIANA

#### Indianapolis

**Conflicting Interests** Film on corporate greed. Sat., Feb. 12, 7 p.m. 4850 N College Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

**Malcolm X and the Black Struggle Today.** Speakers: Abdul Malik, state coordinator, All African Peoples Revolutionary Party; Roger Jones, Socialist Workers Party candidate for city-county council; Mac Warren, national chairperson, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sun., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. 4850 N College Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

**Defending Political Rights: The Victims of American Justice.** Speakers: representative, Al Horsley Defense Committee; Bill Warrick, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, member of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; others. Sun., Feb. 27, 7 p.m. 4850 N College Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

### KENTUCKY

#### Louisville

**"Nicaragua Libre"** A slide show on the Nicaraguan revolution. Speaker: Peggy Kreiner; Sonja Devries, visited Nicaragua in 1980. Sun., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway (near Shelby). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

**Prisoners in Kentucky: Their Struggle For Human Rights.** Speakers: Thomas Bond, activist in Prison Project, spent 15 years in prison; Denis Link, editor of *Souls in Prison* newsletter; Anne Marie Regan, cocounsel for women prisoners in lawsuit challenging discrimination in Kentucky prisons. Fri., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway (near Shelby). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

### LOUISIANA

#### New Orleans

**Tribute to Malcolm X** A film showing. Speaker: Rashaad Ali, Socialist Workers candidate for mayor in 1982. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 3201 Dublin St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

### MARYLAND

#### Baltimore

**Affirmative Action vs Discriminatory Layoffs.** Speakers: Reba Williams Dixon, Young Socialist Alliance. Sun., Feb. 13, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

**Death Penalty: "Justice" or Murder?** Speaker: Salm Kolis, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

**From Montgomery to Memphis: the History of the Civil Rights Movement.** Speakers to be

announced. Sun., Feb. 27, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

### MICHIGAN

#### Detroit

**Spear of the Nation** Film on the fight against apartheid in South Africa, which includes interviews with Black freedom fighters. Speakers to be announced. Sun., Feb. 27, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**Socialist Campaign Rally.** Speakers: Bob Kutchko, SWP candidate for mayor; Rev. Sam Mann; Barbara Crist, president, Kansas City Urban National Organization for Women; others. Sat., Feb. 19, 7 p.m. All Souls Unitarian Church, 4500 Warwick. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Bob Kutchko for Mayor Committee. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

### NEW JERSEY

#### Newark

**Malcolm X: Struggle for Freedom** A film showing. Fri., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

### NEW MEXICO

#### Albuquerque

**Celebration of Black History Month: Legacy of A Dream** A film about Martin Luther King. Presentation and discussion to follow. Sat., Feb. 12, 8 p.m. 1417 Central NE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

**What Socialists Stand For: Working-Class Solution to the Capitalist Crisis.** Speaker: Mark Weddleton, national leader of Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Feb. 19, Open house, 7:30; presentation, 8 p.m. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

### NEW YORK

#### Albany

**Black Community Forum on Judicial Conduct.** Speakers: E.J. Josey, president, Albany NAACP; representatives from Charles Andrews Defense Committee. Wed., Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m. Mount Calvary Baptist Church, 58 Alexander St. Ausp: Charles Andrews Defense Committee. For more information call (518) 346-7090.

#### Brooklyn

**Support the Independent Truckers' Strike.** Speakers: Charlie Brown, New Jersey representative, Independent Truckers Association; George Johnson, staff writer, *Militant*; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

#### Schenectady

**Fighting Apartheid in the United States and South Africa.** Speakers: Boji Jordan, president, American-South African Peoples Friendship Association; representative, Williams College Anti-apartheid Coalition. Sat., Feb. 12, 8 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

### OHIO

#### Cincinnati

**What Socialists Stand For: Working-Class**

**Solution to the Capitalist Crisis.** Mac Warren, national chairperson, Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 18, 8 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

### Cleveland

**Malcolm X and the Black Liberation Struggle Today.** Speakers: Ron Daniels, national cochair, National Black Independent Political Party; Dr. Curtis Wilson, director of Black Studies, Cleveland State University; Lucius Woods, father of Michael Woods who was slain by cops; Sondra McCurry, Cleveland NBIPP; poetry by Mwatavu Okantak; film, *El Hajj Malik El Shabazz*. Sat., Feb. 19, 6 p.m. Cleveland State University, University Center, International Rm. Ausp: CSU Afro-American Cultural Center and Cleveland NBIPP.

### Toledo

**Malcolm X and the Black Struggle Today.** Speaker: Greg Jackson, leader of Young Socialist Alliance. Fri., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

### OREGON

#### Portland

**Malcolm X Speaks** A film showing. Sun., Feb. 20, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

**The Iranian Revolution Today: A Participant's Account.** Speaker: Reza Navid, Iranian activist. Sun., Feb. 27, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Pittsburgh

**The Mortgage: Workers and Farmers Fight Foreclosures.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

### TEXAS

#### Dallas

**Anti-Klan Demonstration.** Dallas contingent of Texas-wide mobilization against Klan in Austin. Sat., Feb. 19, 6 a.m. 2922 Martin Luther King Blvd. For more information call (214) 426-1561.

### VIRGINIA

#### Newport News

**What Socialists Stand For: Working-Class Solution to the Capitalist Crisis.** Speaker: Stuart Crome, leader of Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Feb. 12, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Tidewater YSA. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

### WASHINGTON

#### Seattle

**Malcolm X: The Man and His Ideas.** Speakers: Thabo Ntweng, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Film: *Tribute to Malcolm X*. Fri., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 4868 Rainier Ave. S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (206) 723-5330.

### WISCONSIN

#### Milwaukee

**What the Independent Truckers are Fighting For.** Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

New York's

**MILITANT BOOKSTORE Celebrates Black History Month February Sale**

20% off all books and pamphlets by Malcolm X  
10% off all other titles on Black and African history  
79 Leonard St. (5 blks south of Canal off Broadway).  
Hours: Mon.-Fri: Noon to 7 p.m.  
Sat: Noon to 4 p.m.  
Tel. (212) 226-8445.



# S. Africa book shows freedom movement's growth

**Recent Developments in South Africa (1981-1982).** Published by the African National Congress of South Africa Observer Mission to the United Nations. 801 Second Ave., Room 405, New York, N.Y. 10017. Phone: (212) 490-3487. 50 pp., \$2.00.

BY ERNEST HARSCH

A series of four carefully timed explosions spaced over a period of 12 hours on December 19, ripped through South Africa's nearly completed nuclear power station. The African National Congress (ANC), South Africa's foremost liberation movement, claimed credit for the action at the heavily guarded installation.

This attack came just a little more than a week after white army commandos massacred dozens of South African refugees in the independent country of Lesotho. It showed that the apartheid regime could no longer strike



South African gold miners

Consciousness movement of the early and mid-1970s, including such figures as Barney Pityana, one of the late Steve Biko's closest collaborators.

Today, the ANC can boast of massive support among South Africa's Black population.

In 1981, South Africa's largest circulation daily, the Johannesburg *Star*, conducted a survey of Black public opinion in three major urban areas. If Blacks had the vote, the paper asked, who would they vote for? Some 40 percent said the ANC, compared to 10 percent for the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and 11 percent for the main Black Consciousness organization. Imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela won the approval of 76 percent of those polled.

Shortly after the poll results were published, representatives of 109 organizations met in Durban and voted to endorse the ANC's Freedom Charter. The organizations included a wide spectrum of political groups, trade unions, student organizations (white and Black), and numerous local civic groups.

Alongside this growing popular support, the ANC has also significantly stepped up its armed actions over the past few years. Thus far, the fighters of Umkhonto we Sizwe have avoided hitting white civilian targets, concentrating instead on sabotage bombings of vital installations and attacks against police and military posts. Funerals for some of its fighters killed in these actions have drawn thousands of cheering Blacks waving the black, green, and gold flags of the ANC.

One South African newspaper, the *Natal Mercury*, noted the growing involvement of women in the armed struggle. "They are used to ferry weapons, ammunition and propaganda material — often concealed under their dresses to give the appearance of pregnancy — across borders into South Africa. . . . Like the men, women are also trained in blowing up targets such as railway lines, police stations, post offices, power stations, bridges etc."

Because of the ANC's increasing activity, the racist apartheid regime has targeted its members and leaders for attack. Scores are facing trial within South Africa and a number have been sentenced to death. South African assassins and commandos have killed ANC members in Lesotho, Mozambique, Botswana, and Zimbabwe in the past few years.

As the struggle in South Africa intensifies, the role of the powerful Black working class has become increasingly dominant. This is shown by the rapid growth of the militant Black trade unions. One young ANC supporter told a newspaper, "Today we realise that our struggle must be based on the working classes, not on intellectuals."

At the same time, socialist ideas are becoming more prevalent among the young fighters. One student told a reporter that the regime's policies "had taught him and millions of others to be less suspicious of socialism and its class interpretation of society's ills."

An old ANC song has been rewritten to include the names of not only current ANC and South African Communist Party leaders, but also Marx and Lenin. "The singers are young and idealistic," the reporter commented, "but never naive. Even the youngest remembers his baptism of fire on the township streets in 1976," a year of massive Black rebellions throughout the country.

## BOOK REVIEW

out at the liberation movement with impunity. The country's oppressed Black majority is acquiring the organizational and military capacity to fight back.

*Recent Developments in South Africa (1981-1982)*, issued by the ANC's observer mission to the United Nations, gives some of the recent background to the actions of the South African liberation movement. Composed almost entirely of articles taken from the official press in South Africa and elsewhere, it provides a picture of the ANC's growing influence.

The ANC was originally formed in 1912, making it the oldest liberation movement on the African continent. For decades it fought for the rights of the Black majority through peaceful means, including mass mobilizations. But after it was banned by the apartheid regime in 1960, its main leaders, including Nelson Mandela, decided that it was time to take up arms. On December 16, 1961, Umkhonto we Sizwe (The Spear of the Nation) was formed to carry out the armed struggle.

In recent years, the ANC's strength and influence has grown considerably. The ANC has also recruited thousands of young Blacks who came out of the Black

# Massachusetts protests hit investment in apartheid

BY LARRY LANE

WILLIAMSTOWN, Mass. — A hunger strike and teach-in calling on Williams College to divest its extensive holdings in U.S. companies doing business in South Africa made a wide impact here in western Massachusetts and northeast New York.

Six students, some fasting for a week, helped to spark an outpouring of activity here around the need to force the Williams College Board of Trustees to immediately divest from corporations refusing to comply with the Sullivan principles. They also called for withdrawal of deposits from banks that make loans to South Africa.

The students, members of the Williams Anti-Apartheid Coalition (WAAC), pointed out that they do not support the Sullivan principles (corporate guidelines drafted by General Motors board member Leon Sullivan for token improvements in Black em-

ployment conditions in South Africa). The students see these principles as serving a "chiefly cosmetic purpose which camouflages the role that companies play in South Africa."

They point out, however, that the College Board of Trustees publicly supports the Sullivan principles and WAAC therefore demands they divest from those companies that do not observe the principles.

WAAC sent numerous copies of its demands to the trustees, who refused to even acknowledge their receipt. Faced with the trustees' complete indifference to their hunger strike, the students decided to build a large teach-in that would involve broader forces than themselves. They called off the hunger strike and organized the New England Conference on Apartheid and Divestiture on January 27. It attracted 450 people from the campus and surrounding area.

Among those who spoke at the afternoon-long rally were Mike Dollard, chairperson of the Capital District New York Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism; Massachusetts State Sen. Jack Backman, who led the successful effort to pass a Massachusetts law requiring all pension funds to divest their holdings in firms doing business in South Africa; Boji Jordan, a South African exile who is chairperson of the U.S. South African Peoples Friendship Association; Prof. Thomas Spear of the Williams College History Department; Shupint Coape of the African National Congress (ANC); and others.

The hunger strike and teach-in received a number of messages of support from campus and community groups, including the Black Student Union and Central American Concern Committee. A message of support was also received from the

United Nations Special Commission on Apartheid. Student delegations came from other New England colleges, such as Harvard, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, Amherst College, and Smith College.

Many of those who attended the teach-in spoke of the need to continue the divestment fight and set up a region-wide network against apartheid.

The militant and determined mood of the conference was summed up by Boji Jordan, who stated that "those college trustees who invest in apartheid are not only abetting murder in South Africa but are themselves murderers." ANC leader Shupint Coape pointed out that U.S. companies are in South Africa not in spite of — as multinational companies would have us believe — but because of apartheid and the profits it produces.

## —IF YOU LIKE THIS PAPER, LOOK US UP—

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

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

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

**CALIFORNIA:** Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 2864 Telegraph Ave. Zip: 94609. Tel: (415) 763-3792. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 824-1992. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: Pathfinder Books, 1043A Broadway, Seaside. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

**COLORADO:** Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954. **FLORIDA:** Miami: SWP, YSA, 1237 NW 119th St., North Miami. Zip: 33167. Tel: (305) 769-3478.

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

**ILLINOIS:** Chicago: SWP, YSA, 555 W. Adams. Zip: 60606. Tel: (312) 559-9046.

**INDIANA:** Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405.

Gary: SWP, YSA, 3883 Broadway. Zip: 46409. Tel: (219) 884-9509. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

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

**KENTUCKY:** Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

**LOUISIANA:** New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

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

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

**MICHIGAN:** Detroit: SWP, YSA, 6404 Woodward Ave. Zip: 48202. Tel: (313) 875-5322.

**MINNESOTA:** Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

**MISSOURI:** Kansas City: SWP, YSA, 4715A Troost. Zip: 64110. Tel: (816) 753-0404. St. Louis: SWP, YSA, 3109 S. Grand, #22. Zip: 63116. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

**NEBRASKA:** Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 475-8933.

**NEW JERSEY:** Newark: SWP, YSA, 11-A Central Ave. Zip: 07102. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

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

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

**OHIO:** Cincinnati: SWP, YSA, 4945 Paddock Rd. Zip: 45237. Tel: (513) 242-7161. Cleveland: SWP, YSA, 2230 Superior. Zip: 44114. Tel: (216) 579-9369. Toledo: SWP, YSA, 2120 Dorr St. Zip: 43607. Tel: (419) 536-0383.

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

**PENNSYLVANIA:** Edinboro: YSA, Edinboro State College. Zip: 16444. Tel: (814) 734-4415. Harrisburg: SWP, YSA, 803 N. 2nd St. Zip: 17102. Tel: (717) 234-5052. Philadelphia: SWP, YSA, 5811 N. Broad St. Zip: 19141. Tel: (215) 927-4747 or 927-4748. Pittsburgh: SWP, YSA, 141 S. Highland Ave. Zip: 15206. Tel: (412) 362-6767. State College: YSA, P.O. Box 464, Bellefonte. Zip: 16823. Tel: (814) 238-3296.

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

**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 337 W. Josephine. Zip: 78212. Tel: (512) 736-9218.

**UTAH:** Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip: 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

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

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



# Israeli inquiry into massacre

On February 8 a three-person Israeli commission of inquiry admitted that Israel was "indirectly responsible" for the Sept. 16-18, 1982, massacres at the Sabra and Shatila Palestinian camps in West Beirut.

The commission found that "the massacre was perpetrated by the Phalangists" who were asked by the Israeli high command to "identify terrorists" in the Palestinian camps.

Defense Minister Ariel Sharon was accused of "blunders" tantamount to "non-fulfillment of duty" in not foreseeing the massacre after sending the Phalangists into the camps and in not giving orders to halt the massacres once they began. The commission urged Prime Minister Begin to dismiss Sharon if he refused to resign.

Other top military leaders were sharply criticized for their inaction and "insensitivity" while the massacres took place.

Begin was criticized for being "indifferent" and for blindly following Sharon and other military leaders. The commission proposed no action against Begin.

Washington, Israel's main political and military backer, however, didn't even get a slap on the wrist.

In Israel demonstrators rallied at Begin's office demanding justice after the commission's findings were released. The commission has no legal standing.

Yassir Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), said the commission conclusions were important but incomplete. He said the report should have included a "decisive condemnation" of Begin and Washington. Arafat also called for an international court to "follow up this ugly crime."

A survivor of the massacre said, "Sharon ought to be put on trial like the guy they brought from Bolivia to France" (Klaus Barbie, the wartime Gestapo chief in Lyon, who reportedly escaped to Latin America with the aid of U.S. authorities).

Another survivor said the commission's findings were a cover-up and that if there was justice, both Sharon and Begin would be tried for mass murder and executed.

In contrast to these views, the Reagan government hailed the inquiry report as proving Israel is a "strong democracy."

Editors of the *New York Times* also praised Israel for following "the fundamental principles of the civilized world" by "harshly" judging itself. Then they lamented that "Israel will be deeply shaken if Ariel Sharon is now forced to the sidelines."

The attempts to portray Israel as the great civilized democracy in the Middle East, as opposed to the backward Arabs (such a racist insinuation toward the Lebanese is made in the commission's report), doesn't detract from the impact of the inquiry's findings, which are a blow to Israeli and U.S. imperialism.

These modest admissions were made only after massive protests inside Israel, and around the world, following the massacres. They forced Begin's government to reverse its original position against an investigation and establish the commission on October 1.

Protests inside Israel, the largest in its history, brought to a head opposition that had been growing during the war against Lebanon. No war waged by the Israeli government has been so unpopular in Israel. The response to the massacres generated a gigantic debate in the country. And day after day there was massive coverage of the hearings on television and in the newspapers.

Changing consciousness inside Israel, fueled by worldwide sympathy and support for the PLO fighters and their allies among Lebanese workers and farmers, was a big factor in forcing the commission to at least indict Sharon.

The main purpose of those compiling the report was to try to reverse the gains the PLO made in world public opinion after Israel's bloody aggression into Lebanon. It was to tell Israeli workers and the world that it's not Israel's aggressive foreign policy that's the problem, but the excesses of a few individuals in the government and the military that are at fault.

Sharon and a few others in the military brass are made scapegoats. The aim is to rebuild the myth that Israel is a peace-loving, democratic, civilized, and humanitarian country besieged by its Arab neighbors.

This is false. Israel's invasion of Lebanon and the massacres at Sabra and Shatila were aimed at physically wiping out the Palestinian resistance movement.

The fundamental reason behind this racist, bloody policy is clear: Israel and the U.S. are imperialist countries that oppress and exploit the Arab nations. The Palestinian people are denied their homeland — stolen by Israel in 1948. It is this struggle of the Palestinians for self-determination against Israeli and U.S. imperialism that is deepening the anti-imperialist consciousness of the oppressed in the entire Middle East.

Every step taken by imperialism, including Reagan's phony peace plan, is aimed at undermining that fight and the worldwide support the Palestinians have won.

Instead of bringing divided Israel back together, the commission's report will deepen the discussions among Israeli workers on what the policies of the Israeli ruling class mean for them: more colonial wars, new attacks on their living standard and democratic rights, and alliances with the most reactionary forces in the world.

Arafat's call for an international court and the arrest and prosecution of those responsible for the massacres and oppression of the Palestinian people should be backed by all supporters of justice and Palestinian self-determination.

# Lessons of the fascist victory in Germany

BY DAVID FRANKEL

Fifty years ago, on Jan. 30, 1933, Adolf Hitler was appointed chancellor of Germany. Within a matter of months the rights and organizational gains won by the German working class through struggles over the whole previous century had been destroyed. The worst defeat ever inflicted on the world working class took place without a fight.

The tragic events in Germany confirmed the crucial role of leadership in the class struggle. During the Russian revolution of 1917, the existence of a mass revolutionary workers party, the Bolsheviks, enabled the work-

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

ing class and its allies to take political power and begin the construction of a new society. In Germany, the crisis of capitalist society was if anything even deeper than in tsarist Russia, and the working class far stronger and better organized. But no revolutionary party with a program that could lead the working class and its allies out of the impasse existed.

The Russian revolutionary leader Leon Trotsky was among those Bolshevik-Leninists who saw the danger represented by the Nazi movement from the very beginning. His writings on the struggle against fascism in Germany deserve to be studied by every revolutionary worker.

"Fascism in Germany has become a real danger," Trotsky warned in September 1930. Calling the fascist movement "a razor in the hands of the class enemy," Trotsky appealed to the Communist Party to follow "a policy of closing ranks with the majority of the German working class and forming a united front with the Social Democratic and nonparty workers against the fascist threat."

The Social Democratic Party (SPD) was the largest party in Germany until 1932. It dominated the union movement.

Although the masses of workers in the SPD wanted to fight the Nazis, they were held back by their leaders. Amid a social and economic crisis that was driving millions to desperation, the SPD leadership sought to maintain a coalition with the liberal capitalist parties, and to uphold business-as-usual within the capitalist order.

The Communist Party, the other mass workers party in the country, meanwhile denounced the SPD as "social-fascists" and rejected any policy of cooperating with the SPD leadership in a united front. Following Stalin's dictum that Social Democracy and fascism "do not contradict but supplement one another . . . they are not antipodes but twins," the German CP denounced the SPD as being an equal danger to the Nazis.

This blindly sectarian policy let the SPD leaders off the hook and made it impossible to unite the ranks of the working class in joint action against the Nazis. Trotsky bent all his efforts toward rousing the German workers.

"The coming to power of the National Socialists," he wrote in November 1931, "would mean first of all the extermination of the flower of the German proletariat, the destruction of its organizations, the eradication of its belief in itself and in its future. Considering the far greater maturity and acuteness of the social contradictions in Germany, the hellish work of Italian fascism would probably appear as a pale and almost humane experiment in comparison with the work of the German National Socialists."

But Ernst Thaelmann, the principal leader of the German CP, replied to the pleas for a united front by saying at a September 1932 meeting of the Executive Committee of the Communist International:

"In his pamphlet on how National Socialism is to be defeated, Trotsky gives one answer only, and it is this: the German Communist Party must join hands with the Social Democratic Party. . . . Either, says he, the Communist Party makes common cause with the Social Democrats, or the German working class is lost for ten or twenty years. This is the theory of an utterly bankrupt Fascist and counterrevolutionary."

In summing up the lessons of the defeat in Germany, Trotsky wrote: "It is undoubtedly true that the Social Democracy, like fascism, stands to defend the bourgeois regime against the proletarian revolution. But the methods of the two parties are entirely different. The Social Democracy is unthinkable without parliamentary government and mass organizations of the workers in trade unions. The mission of fascism, however, is to destroy both. A defensive union of Communists and Social Democrats should have been based on this antagonism. But blind leaders refused to take this approach. The workers were left divided, defenseless, without plans or prospects before the attacking enemy."

Most of Trotsky's writings on Germany are available in *The Struggle Against Fascism in Germany*, published by Pathfinder Press.

# Cranston the 'peace' candidate

Sen. Alan Cranston from California is the first Democrat to officially announce his candidacy for president in the 1984 elections.

Cranston calls himself the Democrats' "peace candidate." He says that former Vice-President Walter Mondale, Sen. John Glenn (D.-Ohio), and all the other Democratic Party hopefuls are against the "arms race." But "what differentiates me from the other candidates," he says, "is my absolute and total commitment to the attainment of nuclear peace."

His central "peace" proposal is support for a bilateral "freeze" on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons by the Soviet Union and the United States.

Does Cranston's campaign represent a challenge to the current military build-up and war drive of the U.S. government?

Not at all. In fact, his campaign is designed to divert the massive antiwar sentiment of U.S. working people into support for one of the two parties of war, nuclear weapons, and austerity — the Democratic Party.

The most striking single thing about Cranston's peace rhetoric is that he never mentions war — the real wars that the U.S. government is waging against the oppressed and exploited around the world.

He says nothing about the money and advisers that Washington is pumping into El Salvador to help the right-wing dictatorship wage a bloody war against its own people.

He is silent about the recent joint U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers on Nicaragua's border. This provocative move was the latest in Washington's campaign to try to intimidate, sabotage, and eventually crush the Nicaraguan revolution. The California senator is equally silent about Reagan's backing of right-wing Nicaraguan exiles who are carrying out a war against Nicaragua.

In the Senate, Cranston supports U.S. aid to the Salvadoran butcher regime.

Each of these wars, waged at the behest of U.S. corporations and banks, contains the risk of escalating into nuclear conflict. In fact that's the main way a nuclear war could begin.

Is the bilateral "freeze" proposal at least a step in the right direction?

Once again, the answer is no.

The freeze — and Sen. Cranston — puts an equal sign between the Soviet Union and the United States when he talks about an "arms race." But every move by the Soviet Union to increase its nuclear capabilities has come in response to U.S. escalations. It's the U.S. that not only threatens to use nuclear weapons, but actually has dropped the bomb — on the Japanese people.

And it's the old "Soviet threat" story which both Democrats and Republicans use to justify U.S. intervention in places like Vietnam, El Salvador, Nicaragua, and the Caribbean island of Grenada.

Bilateral nuclear disarmament takes the focus off the burning need to disarm the U.S. ruling class — the biggest obstacle to peace in the world.

Perhaps the most telling sign of the real content of the nuclear freeze proposal is that Cranston has no problem talking nuclear freeze while favoring a build-up of U.S. non-nuclear weapons — the ones that today are raining death and destruction on workers and peasants around the world.

The widespread opposition among working people in this country to new Vietnams, the mammoth U.S. military budget, and nuclear arsenal means that those who want votes talk about peace. But getting votes is not all — or the most important thing — that Cranston has up his sleeve.

Cranston tells us that peace can be won by relying on the Democratic Party to stop the "Reaganite Republicans" — conveniently ignoring the hard facts on the historically bipartisan nature of U.S. foreign policy.

Cranston, and the ruling class he represents, hopes to use his campaign — and others like it — to force opponents of U.S. imperialist war moves into the straitjacket of the nuclear freeze and the two-party shell game.

Building a massive working-class movement against U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean — independent of both the Democrats and Republicans — is the best answer to Cranston's hollow call for peace.



# Machinists at GE discuss layoffs, union solidarity

BY KATHLEEN DENNY

CINCINNATI — There was serious business to discuss when International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 912 held its January meeting. The lodge organizes 1,200 members of the skilled trades at the General Electric Aircraft Engine plant in Evendale, Ohio.

Management gave notice that they would eliminate 37 jobs in the Tool and Cutter Grind department. That amounts to sending half the department out the door.

Only a few months ago, the company told the IAM that plenty of work was available. The workers were prom-

tool regrinds to other machine shops, usually nonunion. Shop stewards think the figure is much higher. One steward has documented over 361,000 regrinds ready to be shipped out the door in mid-January.

"Just those could keep the whole department working for weeks," he says. "They say they subcontract out because it's cheaper. But they agreed to our wages when they signed the contract in July."

GE is also attempting to fire workers on charges of using drugs and alcohol. Hidden cameras and undercover company spies are widespread in the plant. GE is pushing "quality of life" circles and a hotline to encourage coworkers to report to the company complaints about each other.

IAM members voted at the union meeting to authorize the bargaining committee to call a strike vote over the loss of jobs in the cutter grind area. But most of the cutter-grinders never expect to get those jobs back.

Some IAM members point to the need for more cooperation with the UAW, which organizes 6,000 production workers at the plant. Members of the UAW have borne the brunt of the layoffs. In an attempt to pit the unions against each other, GE has been reclassifying job categories from one union to the other.

Several people feel the unions would be strengthened if the IAM recognized seniority accumulated in the UAW

at GE. Currently, a production worker who upgrades into a skilled job classified in the IAM unit loses all previous years of seniority. This policy has had the effect of limiting upgrades within the plant. Many of the cutter-grinders lost their UAW seniority when they took the upgrade — and now are about to hit the streets.

"We all work for the same company. It's stupid to have two unions," said one worker.

Members of the IAM are very disturbed about how things are going for working people. Many of their relatives and neighbors are farmers worried about foreclosure. Some of them may lose their house or can't afford to buy one.

On the other hand, GE got a big tax credit last year. The same year it made \$1.8 billion. The same company decided workers and their families didn't deserve more than \$147 a week to live on.

"GE acts like it is the government," says one young cutter-grinder.

A different kind of government — one that represents workers and farmers — makes a lot of sense to these unionists.

Leaving the union hall with a *Militant* under his arm, a young cutter-grinder turned to say, "You know, the younger ones — we're the ones who have to face 30 more years of this. And we're ready for something drastic!"

## UNION TALK

ised job security if they improved productivity and "attitude problems."

On January 6, management announced they were phasing out use of a brazed-tip carbide cutter, which needed to be ground, and replacing it with an Ingersoll cutter that uses throw-away inserts. That was their explanation for eliminating half the Tool and Cutter Grind Department.

Most workers in the department felt that explanation is worth as much as GE's earlier promises.

The company admits to subcontracting 3 percent of

## LETTERS

### Art and politics

In response to a letter by Rich Lesnik in the *Militant*, January 28:

Lesnik slights the review of the San Francisco Mime Troupe production by Ike Nahem, saying that Nahem is wrong in considering the musical play "revolutionary art." Lesnik does this *not on the basis of anything intrinsic in the production itself* but on the basis of his own abstract, undialectical admonishment against confusing "art with politics . . . and revolutionaries with artists." (When Castro announced Guevara's death, he called him an artist — was it a moment of confusion?)

I suggest that it is Lesnik who is confused here, and that Nahem's opinions about the Mime Troupe production cannot simply be dismissed by stating that "art is not inherently political therefore it is not revolutionary." To quote Lesnik against himself, "Ah, were it so simple!"

But it is not. The fine line Lesnik draws between art and politics does not exist in reality. No hard and fast abstract concepts can be applied to each and every case to separate the political from the artistic without judging it on its own merits and in its own context. Lesnik does not do this, he merely dismisses the matter out of hand.

I bring this up to encourage the *Militant* to continue to cover cultural news as part of the worker fightback. Any revolutionary manifestations originating in workers' culture in North America are to be encouraged. In addition, I appreciate the *Militant's* coverage of figures who have achieved political prominence through their cultural work, as novelist Gabriel García Márquez and Yilmaz Guney, film director of *Yol*. (Alerted by a *Militant* review, I saw the best film of my infrequent film viewings last year.)

Without going on at too much

length about this, let me give a good example of "when revolutionary politics and genuine artistic talent combine into something we can truly call 'revolutionary art.'" On their tour of Canada last fall, the Salvadoran musical group Yolocamba-Ita toured many towns and cities across the country, playing wherever they could get an audience. They were hosted by solidarity workers everywhere they went and, because they are exemplary musicians with revolutionary dedication, the response was always enthusiastic. Their songs convey the message of solidarity, of struggle and hope. It is not surprising that such successful "cultural ambassadors" of the FMLN/FDR are denied entrance visas into the U.S. by the government.

Sesshu Foster  
Seattle, Washington

### Sally Goodman case

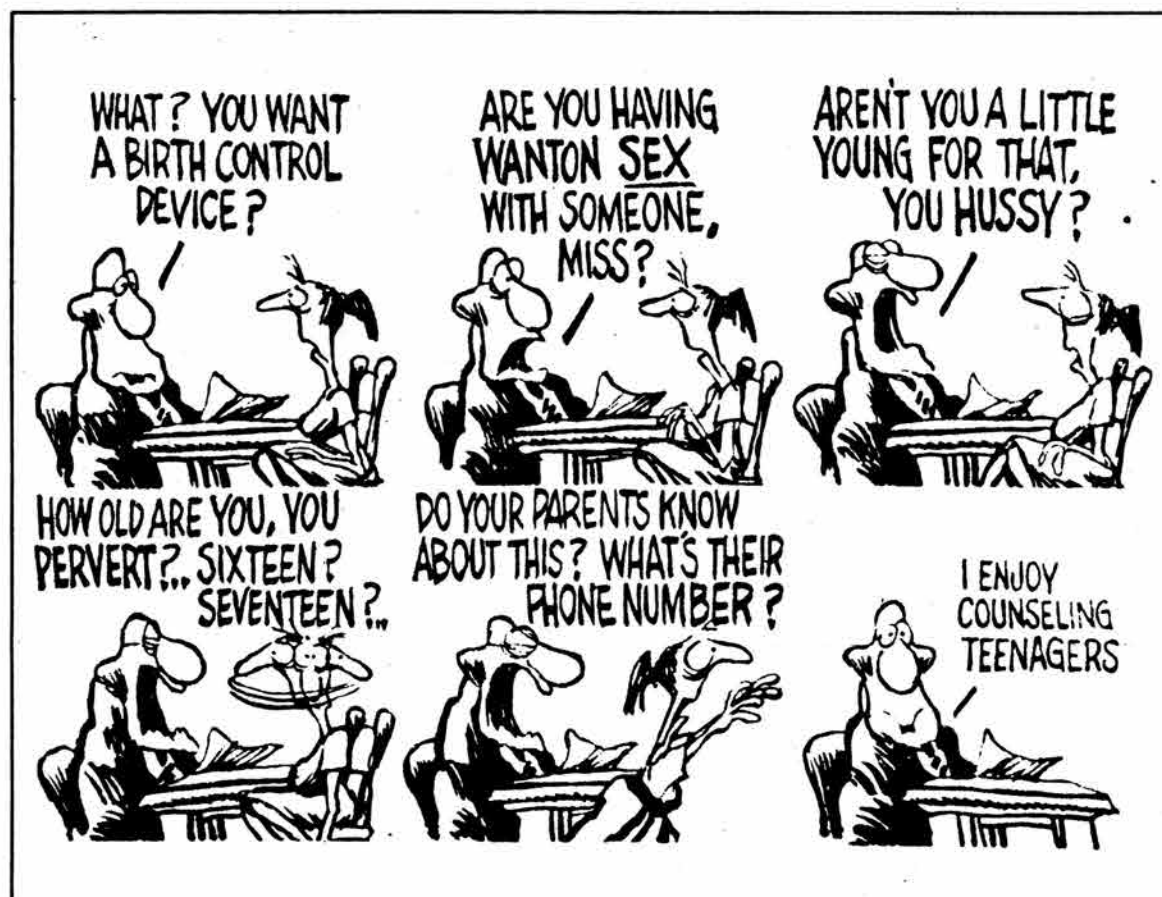
This letter is in support of Sally Goodman and her struggle against Martin Marietta Corp. I read your article in the *Militant* about the government harassment of Goodman.

[Goodman, a member of United Auto Workers Local 766, is being "investigated" by the Defense Investigative Service (DIS) concerning her political views and the allegation that she is gay.]

The government investigation is a bad joke. This so-called investigation is nothing but an attempt by the government to harass and destroy the unions.

If the DIS and Department of Defense want to investigate someone, why don't they investigate the CIA's illegal actions in Central America? Instead, they want to harass a unionist.

As for the allegations against Sally Goodman, I say it's none of their business. All of us should support her in her struggle against



By Mike Peters for the Dayton Daily News

the harassment by the government and Martin Marietta. Because if she were to lose this fight, it would mean defeat for us all. But she will win.

Michael Lewis  
St. Louis, Missouri

### Influenced my life

I am writing this letter to thank each and every one for help and support over the past eight years. The *Militant* has influenced and enriched my life.

Please keep up the good work, influencing all of the events around the world.

As for me, I will be released next month. I will continue to read the *Militant*. I hope another inmate enjoys the paper as much as I

have.

Thanks again for the time and consideration the *Militant* has afforded me.

Everything for the revolution.

A prisoner  
Ohio

### Asks for a sub

I have had the pleasure of obtaining your publication through a comrade. Since I am aware and very interested in the political, economic, and social change of my people, I am inclined to ask you for a subscription, in the hopes this is possible.

A prisoner  
California

### Thanks to fund

With many thanks to your Prisoners Fund, I received my first copy of the *Militant* this week and my clenched fist goes up for the party and the superb job being performed. I eagerly devoured the paper and passed it on.

Being aware and convinced that moribund capitalism is the source of our ills, the *Militant* is of great help to me in helping others to understand this; and books, pamphlets, etc. will aid us also.

A prisoner  
Michigan

### Marxist interpretation

I am familiar with the *Militant*

and Socialist Workers Party going back to the early 1970s.

As a formally unaligned revolutionary, I was of course not a member of any particular organization, but I am in agreement with rational Marxist interpretation of realities, such as the need for a separate Black party, endorsed by the Socialist Workers Party.

I am also in agreement with Leon Trotsky's book *Black Nationalism and Self-determination*, particularly his rare insight into the class separation within the movement, as well as the racism in the unions.

A prisoner  
New York

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

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## The mass deportations from Nigeria: behind the hypocrisy of U.S. media

BY ERNEST HARSCH

The U.S. media has been flooded with coverage of the mass expulsion from Nigeria of several million immigrant workers. The papers here and in Europe have been sharp in their criticisms. "Grim and cruel" is how an editorial in the February 3 *New York Times* termed it. The January 19 London *Guardian* blasted the Nigerian government's "inhumanity, high-handedness, and irresponsibility."

The expulsions certainly are cruel and inhuman. But the commentaries in the imperialist press are both hypocritical and implicitly racist.

What lies behind the deportations ordered by the Nigerian government?

Like his mentors in Washington, London, Paris, and Bonn, Nigerian President Shehu Shagari is seeking to blame his country's economic and social difficulties on the presence of workers from other countries.

By taking the drastic action of expelling millions of immigrants, Shagari is hoping to divert attention and mass anger from the capitalist ruling class that he represents, and from the real source of Nigeria's economic slowdown and rising unemployment: the crisis of the world capitalist economic system and Nigeria's continued domination by imperialist powers.

Because the Nigerian government is Black, its repressive policies are thrown under a spotlight by the imperialist media, while similar actions carried out daily by the white minority regime in South Africa have been given scant attention. Over the years, the apartheid regime has forcibly expelled more than 6 million Blacks from their homes and deported them to impoverished, drought-ridden rural reserves.

In a similar manner, these same newspapers have shut their eyes to the daily deportations of undocumented workers from the United States, and the racist policies of the British and French governments designed to keep people of color out of their countries.

One editorial in the February 1 *Washington Post* at least displayed a measure of frankness. Nigeria, it claimed, had the "right to remove undocumented aliens; the United States ousts people in this class every day."

And that is the model that the Nigerian ruling class is imitating.

The scale of these expulsions, which were first ordered on January 17, is truly

massive. It is estimated that between 2 million and 3 million people will soon be forced to leave Nigeria. About half are from Ghana, and the rest from other nearby countries.

The sudden flow of these unemployed workers into neighboring states will have a devastating impact on their economies, already enfeebled by the world capitalist economic crisis.

Ghana will feel this impact the most. The imperialists — and the Nigerian government as well — clearly hope that the influx of perhaps 1 million unemployed Ghanaians (in a country with a population of about 14 million) will cause difficulties for the government of Flight Lt. Jerry Rawlings, which has carried out some anti-imperialist measures over the past year and sought to mobilize Ghana's working people.

These workers from Ghana, Togo, Benin, Niger, Cameroon, and other countries in the region were originally drawn to Nigeria by the prospect of more and better-paid jobs, at a time when Nigeria's economy was expanding thanks to its earnings from oil exports. The Nigerian government then found it convenient to ignore the fact that these workers did not have valid papers.

But because of Nigeria's dependence on oil — which accounts for 95 percent of its export earnings — it has been hard hit by the glut of oil on the world market and the drop in its price. Over the past two years, Nigeria's oil revenues have fallen by more than half. This has led to disruptions throughout the economy and has contributed to rising unemployment.

As a result, social tensions within Nigeria have sharpened considerably.

The Shagari regime has faced more labor unrest than any government since the 1960s. In 1981, more than 350,000 workers went out on strike, and the following year dockworkers, teachers, water workers, and many others downed their tools to press for higher wages or to protest the policies of the government and the employers.

Under the political impact of the Iranian revolution, northern Nigeria, which is predominantly Muslim, has been swept by anti-imperialist ferment. Over the past two years there have been several uprisings in Kano, Kaduna, and other northern cities, led by Islamic religious groups. In putting down one such uprising in Kano in De-



Expelled immigrant workers on way to border. Massive coverage of deportations by Nigerian government stands in sharp contrast to way similar anti-immigrant policies of U.S. government are treated in capitalist media.

cember 1980, Nigerian troops killed some 4,000 people, according to the government's own admission.

As a justification for the mass expulsion, the government is now charging that the unrest in the north was stirred up by immigrants from Niger, Chad, and Cameroon. Yet police officials have admitted that most of those involved were Nigerians.

What the Nigerian government and its backers in London and Washington are particularly afraid of is the potential for an anti-imperialist political movement among the Nigerian population. During a demonstration at Bayero University in Kano in early 1982 to commemorate the Iranian revolution, students called for a similar revolution in Nigeria and condemned the country's continued domination by imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism.

"We are against the United States," the university's student union president said, "because the United States is the enemy of the black people. . . . If Iran and Libya can stand up to the United States, so can Nigeria."

To try to isolate such views, to try to politically confuse working people, the Shagari regime has now launched a major effort to turn foreign workers into scapegoats for all the country's social ills.

The ouster of these workers will certainly cause serious disruptions throughout much of West Africa. And the ruling class may be able to use it to whip up some chauvinist sentiments among Nigerians. But the mass expulsions cannot defuse the explosive tensions that are building up within Nigerian society.

From *Intercontinental Press*

## Sinatra blasted for performing in South Africa

BY KENNETH MILINER

NEW YORK — Patrons of Radio City Music Hall who came to see "Old Blue Eyes," Frank Sinatra, on January 23 were met by an informational picket line protesting the singer's recent performances in Sun City.

Sun City is located in the so-called independent country of Bophuthatswana, a bantustan within the Republic of South Africa. Sinatra reportedly raked in \$1.8 million in nine concerts.

The picket line, organized by the Unity in Action Coalition (UAC), reverberated with chants of "Sinatra sings for blood money" and "No, No, Sinatra don't go to South Africa." Some of the picketers carried pictures of the victims of the recent South African massacre of 42 Africans in Lesotho.

Elombe Brath, a central leader of the UAC and cochair of the International Affairs Committee of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), spoke at the end of the action along with Rev. Ben Chavis, a national representative of the NBIPP.

Previous actions in the campaign to get artists to boycott the apartheid regime have included protests aimed at Ray Charles, Millie Jackson, Tina Turner and others who have traveled to South Africa. Among those supporting the protests are the Organization of African Unity, African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa, Coalition to End Cultural Collaboration with South Africa, and leading activists of the Black United Front.

## Socialist on ballot in Chicago mayoral race

BY MELVIN CHAPPELL

CHICAGO — Ed Warren, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor here, has won a place on the ballot for the April 12 election. Supporters filed more than 35,000 signatures on nominating petitions with city officials on January 31. This was 10,000 more than legally required. Five days were permitted for challenges to be made to the petitions. According to election officials on February 7, no challenges were submitted so Warren's name will appear on the ballot.

Warren is the only candidate to file for a spot as an independent. The Democratic and Republican candidates are chosen by different procedures. The Republican nominee is Bernard Epton and the Democratic candidate will be chosen in a primary election on February 22. The three candidates in the primary are: incumbent Jane Byrne, Black congressman Harold Washington, and Cook County state's attorney Richard Daley.

The collection of the 35,000 signatures required a big effort and was a major

achievement for the supporters of the Socialist Workers candidate. According to Warren, the petitioners found a very warm response from the thousands of Chicagoans whom they talked to. He pointed out that the petitioners had explained that they were helping to put a socialist candidate on the ballot.

"We especially got a good response to our program for fighting for jobs," Warren said. "Chicagoans pay over \$40 billion into the war budget each year. This money should be used to help put the unemployed back to work, not spent on MX missiles or on provocative military maneuvers like the one recently carried out in Honduras."

Warren's proposals for immediate relief for unemployed workers and for launching a fight to end unemployment include: full unemployment benefits at union wages, a massive public works program, and reducing the work week in order spread the available work around.

In a release issued on the day the petitions were filed Warren stated, "None of the other candidates in the race are raising

proposals like this. The whole purpose of their campaigns is to keep the bankers and billionaires who run Chicago in the saddle. And that is why we working people need to form a new political party, a labor party, to wage a political fight for our interests."



Socialist Ed Warren

Militant/Lou Howort