THEMILITANT

SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

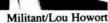
Fight against secret police 4 U.S. fears Salvador negotiations 10 Anti-immigrant bill poses threat

MARCH 4, 1983

75 CENTS

Blacks, unionists assail gov't in L.A. trial of socialists







Militant/Cindy Jaquith



Militant/Fred White



Among those who have spoken out against court attack on SWP are: (clockwise from top left) civil rights leader Rev. Ben Chavis; Irish liberation fighter Bernadette Devlin McAliskey; Anthony Mazzocchi, former vice-president of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; and Tommy Kersey, Georgia leader of American Agriculture

Charge court action threatens basic constitutional rights

BY HARRY RING

Prominent public figures have sharply protested the ominous legal attack against the Socialist Workers Party by the federal

Among them are Anthony Mazzocchi, former vice-president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; Tommy Kersey, a Georgia leader of the American Agriculture Movement; Irish liberation fighter Bernadette Devlin McAliskey; and civil rights leader Rev. Ben Chavis.

The Socialist Workers Party goes on trial March 1 in federal court in Los Angeles. At stake is an attempt by the government to establish the dangerous precedent that the courts have the right to determine who the members and leaders of the party shall be and to intervene in the party's political life.

The case began during the SWP's political campaign against the FBI and other government police agencies for spying and disruption. One aspect of that campaign was a legal suit against the attorney general. In 1978 a man who held membership in the SWP - Alan Gelfand, a Los Angeles county government lawyer filed a court brief designed to damage the SWP case against the government. He was expelled from membership.

Gelfand then went to court with the totally unfounded charge that the SWP had actually been taken over by government agents decades ago. He asked the court to order him reinstated as a member and to remove the party's elected leadership.

While freely admitting that Gelfand has produced no evidence whatever of a government takeover, presiding Judge Mariana Pfaelzer has stubbornly insisted that the trial continue.

It is this attack on the right of organizations to function free of government interference that has evoked the growing pro-

Union leader Mazzochi warned that "This case threatens to establish the precedent of government interference in any political organization, from the NAACP to NOW [National Organization for Women] to the Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.'

Mazzocchi added that the claim that the SWP has been taken over by government agents "flies in the face of all the activities of the SWP." He pointed out that the SWP suit against the government has been central in efforts to halt government spying and disruption.

Tommy Kersey, Georgia chairperson of the American Agriculture Movement, declared the courts have no right to dictate who the members and leaders of an organization shall be. What is now happening, Kersey charged, is not simply an attack on the rights of the SWP but on those of all

Irish leader Devlin McAliskey declared that Pfaelzer's attack on the SWP threatens the entire workers' movement, the anti-imperialist movement "and all of us who hold dear our democratic rights."

Anne Braden, veteran southern civil rights activist, saw the attack as one that obviously deprives the Socialist Workers Party of all semblance of constitutional rights, and thus threatens the rights of all of

"As a trade unionist," said Alice Peurala, former president of United Steelworkers Local 65, "I oppose the actions of the federal court in Los Angeles. The workers movement has a long history of struggling for political freedom and the right to exist without court interference."

Rev. Chavis said he supports the SWP's fight on the basis of his opposition to any moves to prevent people from organizing independently of the government.

Attorney James Lafferty, a Michigan leader of the American Civil Liberties Union, said that on the basis of having worked with members of the SWP in the movement against the Vietnam War and other progressive causes he knows the Continued on Page 5

GM-Toyota out to bust Fremont UAW

BY MALIK MIAH

On February 17 a historic deal was struck between the world's largest and third largest auto companies, General Motors and Toyota.

At the cafeteria of GM's Fremont, California, plant, Roger Smith, chairman of GM, and Eiji Toyoda, chairman of Toyota, signed an agreement to produce a panese-designed subcompact car in the United States.

Seven hundred laid-off Fremont GM workers showed up at the plant. And they were screaming mad.

Why? Smith and Toyoda announced that they intend to run the new company nonunion. Toyoda said, "We are going to start from scratch, and we are going to hire new people."

This bold move is a direct violation of the contract that GM signed with the United Auto Workers (UAW) at Fremont. Under that contract, workers who were laid off when GM closed Fremont 10 months ago must be recalled on the basis of seniority if the plant reopens.

The UAW's top leadership expressed shock. Douglas Fraser, UAW president, said Smith assured him "pointblank" that the union would represent the workers at the reopened plant.

The laid-off workers weren't so polite. Many said that if GM and Toyota tried to bust their union and bring in scab labor, there would be a confrontation.

If the union-busting move is carried out, it will represent a major defeat for the UAW. Indeed, it will give GM, Ford,

Chrysler, and other auto companies the green light to go after other UAW-organized plants. It will embolden the bosses to move against other contract provisions immediately - such as work rules regulating the assembly line, health and safety codes, and seniority provisions.

Both Honda and Nissan have already made it clear to the UAW that it isn't wanted in their U.S. plants.

At the same time GM and Toyota threatened to do away with the union, it was suggested that if union officials agreed to more "flexibility" on work rules, perhaps the union could stay. GM's Smith said his company was looking for "a satisfactory labor agreement."

Clearly what would "satisfy" GM and Toyota most is a plant where there is no union to protect workers from speedup, arbitrary firings, low wages, and dangerous working conditions. If they can't get that, they obviously intend to use the blackmail of refusing to hire back UAW members as a way to ram through the worst possible contract from the viewpoint of the

The fact that this trial balloon could be floated at all reflects the view of the auto bosses that the three years of concession bargaining by the UAW leadership - beginning with the big giveaways at Chrysler in 1979 — has sufficiently weakened the union to allow a probe at running Fremont

So far neither the UAW's local or national leadership have said what they intend to do to respond to this frontal assault.

But, there is a sickening irony in the GM-Toyota deal. The top UAW leadership for the past two years has argued that the way to save or create new jobs is by lobbying Congress for what is called a Domestic Content law. This law, if adopted, will save or create one million jebs, they say.

According to the UAW's magazine Solidarity, "The legislation . . . would require all auto companies with annual U.S. sales of over 100,000 vehicles to locate some production here, hire workers here, and buy auto parts here."

Continued on Page 8

Pope's Central America trip spurs protests of U.S. policy

BY MARGARET JAYKO

At a time when the U.S. government is stepping up its aggression against the peoples of Central America and the Caribbean, Pope John Paul II announced his March 2-9 trip to that region.

The Mexican daily Excelsior observed that the pope's trip is "eminently political." Vatican officials claim that the pope wants his trip to "provide an opportunity for at least a truce in the civil wars in the region," said the New York Times. The pope is also trying to "rescue the influence the church had previously among peoples and governments" there, Excelsior added.

Even before the trip began, it became a

bone of contention among the conflicting class forces in the region.

The pope's itinerary includes: Belize, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua, and Panama. According to the New York Times, the Vatican also initially "sounded out Cuba on the possibility of including it on the Pope's tour, but was turned down."

The announcement of the tour has had the biggest impact in Nicaragua, serving to deepen the polarization and debate between supporters and foes of the revolu-

The majority of working people and Continued on Page 2

Pope's trip spurs protests of U.S. policy

Continued from front page

peasants in Nicaragua are Catholic and supporters of the revolution. An editorial on the pope's visit in Barricada Internacional, the international weekly of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN), explained, "In Nicaragua, the fictitious barrier between Christians and revolutionaries was erased long ago by the people's efforts to build a better future and their tenacious defense of their right to build that future in peace."

On the other hand, the Catholic church hierarchy in Nicaragua — backed to the hilt by the Vatican — is an outspoken opponent of the revolution. It sides with and is a tool of the U.S.-backed forces of counterrevolution who oppose reconstructing Nicaragua as a country run by and in the interests of the masses of toilers.

The Catholic workers and peasants thus have different class interests from the church hierarchy. The editorial quoted a member of a Christian community organization in Managua, which summarized the opinion of many Nicaraguans, "We would like the pope to bring a message of commitment to the kind of peace we need, with jobs, health, hospitals and schools." Another citizen added, "I hope the Holy Pope's visit will help stop the assassination of our brothers and sisters along the border; I hope the criminals will retreat and stop attacking."

The border referred to is the one shared with Honduras, and the criminals are the U.S.-backed terrorists who are waging a war against Nicaragua in the border areas.

When the Vatican first announced the pope's intent to visit Central America last year, it threatened that the pope would not go to Nicaragua unless the five priests who serve in the Nicaraguan government re-

Anne Chester dies in San Francisco

SAN FRANCISCO — Anne Chester, a longtime member of the Socialist Workers Party, died in her home here February 21. She was 77 years old and had been active for half a century in the revolutionary movement.

A meeting in tribute to Chester will be held Sunday, March 6, at 6 p.m. at the Women's Building, 3543 18th St., San Francisco. It is sponsored by the SWP. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

A future issue of the *Militant* will carry an article on Chester's contributions to building the socialist movement.

signed from office.

The government rejected this blackmail, without retracting an invitation to the pope to visit Nicaragua. All five priests refused to leave their posts. The right wing, led by the church hierarchy, went on a big propaganda campaign to blame the government for the pope's threat not to come to Nicaragua. This was part of a broader campaign to smear the government as anti-Catholic and to turn people against the revolution

But the campaign failed and in January the government announced they had reached an agreement with the Vatican on plans for the pope's visit to Nicaragua. Not only didn't any of the priests quit the government, but they also refused the Vatican's demand that they make themselves scarce when the pope shows up, in order to lessen the Vatican's embarrassment at having to back down.

The Nicaraguan government has taken total responsibility for organizing the pope's visit, treating his visit as that of a head of state. To organize his 10–12 hour stay in their country, the government has set up a special national commission headed by René Núñez, secretary of the FSLN's National Directorate. Núñez explained that he regards the pope's visit as "positive and necessary."

According to Barricada Internacional, "Initially, spokespersons of the Archdiocese of Managua had made a call to form private commissions to assure the Pope's security and transportation." But the government has taken over all arrangements, working with religious leaders and businessmen.

The FSLN is encouraging the various mass organizations of the people, led by the Association of the Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs of the Revolution, to mobilize to greet the pope and urge him to condemn the war being waged by the counter-revolutionaries and their U.S. imperialist backers.

The response of the Vatican was to summon three top opponents of the Nicaraguan government to Rome. The Vatican thereby broke its agreement that all arrangements would be handled by the Nicaraguan government

Archbishop of Managua Miguel Obando y Bravo, Bishop of León Julían Barni, and Bismarck Carballo, the archbishop's spokesperson, told the pope that the divisions in the church in Nicaragua and the political atmosphere made it "inadvisable" for him to visit.

In El Salvador, the people are also taking advantage of the pope's visit to demand an end to the U.S.-backed war being waged by the dictatorship there.

Exiled Salvadoran trade union leader Alejandro Molina Lara gave his views on the pope's visit at a Salvador solidarity rally in New York on February 11. "We know the kind of pastoral visit that Pope John Paul II is accustomed to making. He went to Poland. He went to England and Argentina when the colony was fighting against the United Kingdom. And now he's going to El Salvador.

"Our people are going to go out into the streets and our working class is going to close the factories and join the people in the streets. . . . We're going to greet this saint and demand that when he kisses our land, at the same time he condemns the intervention of [the U.S.] government in our country."

In a sermon on February 6, Archbishop of San Salvador Arturo Rivera y Damas called on both the Salvadoran army and the freedom fighters to observe a cease-fire during the pope's visit. His sermon condemned the government's "indiscriminate bombing" of the town of Berlín, which had been held by the rebels temporarily.

Rivera y Damas also attacked the "revolutionary violence" of the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FDR-FMLN).

"I would like to ask the FDR-FMLN whether the military and political targets reached by a temporary occupation of a city justify the suffering of thousands of persons."

The archbishop called for the freeing of political prisoners and the lifting of the state of siege in honor of the pope's visit.

Defense Minister José Guillermo García rejected the call for a truce, saying, "The armed forces cannot ask for a truce because it is not fighting a conventional war against another nation, but a dirty war."

According to the *New York Times*, the rebels' radio station broadcast a statement by Rev. Miguel Ventura.

The statement reportedly vowed that the rebels' "advance toward victory" will not be stopped.

"Be aware that those who desperately seek to stop the people's advance toward victory are trying to use the visit of the Holy Father. Since they don't have any other recourse to achieve this, they try to use the authority of the Pope. It's our responsibility to guard that which has cost the people so much blood."

In Guatemala, the visit has become somewhat of a rallying point for the opposition to the bloody regime of Gen. Efrain Ríos Montt, a "born again" Protestant.

The Protestant churches have begun mobilizing against the pope's visit, calling him the "beast" and the "antichrist." Opposition forces are hoping the pope will issue a call for peace with justice in Guatemala, and condemn the repression of the masses there.

5 convicted in grand jury frame-up

BY NELSON GONZÁLEZ

The FBI, the courts, and the cops have teamed up to imprison five supporters of Puerto Rican independence.

On February 16, a jury in the Federal District Court in Brooklyn found the five activists guilty of "criminal contempt" for refusing to testify before a federal grand jury regarding recent explosions in New York City. The police have attributed the explosions to the Armed Forces of National Liberation (FALN).

The five — who face a maximum of 10 years in jail — will appeal. They are Julio Rosado, Andrés Rosado, Ricardo Romero, Stephen Guerra, and María Cueto. All are members of the Movement for National Liberation (MLN), a public group that organizes solidarity with the struggle to gain Puerto Rican independence from U.S. colonialism

In the past, individuals refusing to testify before the grand jury were charged with "civil contempt" and the government was able to impose a maximum sentence of 18 months in jail. However, by convicting the five of "criminal contempt," the government can lock them away for 10 years.

The five have repeatedly explained they have no links with the FALN and no information on its activities. They have refused

to testify or collaborate with the grand jury because of its role as an instrument of repression against the Puerto Rican independence movement.

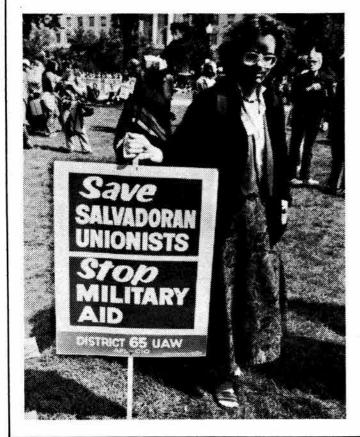
In his instructions to the jurors before their deliberations, Judge Charles Sifton told them the case "did not involve charges [that the defendants] were members of the FALN." Yet the judge allowed the jurors to be given an FBI press release accusing the five of being FALN leaders.

In addition, Sifton granted the government prosecutor's request that the jurors' identities be kept secret. The government argued that the jury chosen "should be permitted to reach its verdict uninfluenced by concern arising from the FALN's proven record of violent criminal conduct."

Michael Deutsch, one of the attorneys for the five, called the procedure "outrageous" and denounced it as prejudicial because it "creates the impression with the jury . . . that there's danger involved in this case and that these people [the five defendants] are involved in violence."

These manuevers by the court and the cops were supplemented by the media coverage of the case, which from the beginning slandered the five defendants as "terrorists."

Read the truth — every week



Subscribe to the Militant

That way you'll get facts about Washington's bipartisan wars against working people at home and abroad: from El Salvador to Lebanon; from unemployment to racism. Read our proposals for how to stop U.S. intervention in Central America and how to fight back against the employers here and how to replace their system of exploitation and oppression with a system that's in the interests of working people.

At the plant gate, unemployment lines, and picket lines, the *Militant* is there, reporting the news and participating in the struggle. Subscribe today.

☐ Enclosed is \$3 for 12 weeks☐ Enclosed is \$24 for 1 year	ATE
Name	
Address	·
City/State/Zip	
Telephone	W
Union/Organization	
Send to Militant 14 Charles I a	ne New York N V 10014

The Militant

Closing news date: February 23, 1983 Editors: CINDY JAQUITH DOUG JENNESS

Business Manager: LEE MARTINDALE

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

Published weekly except two weeks in August, the last week of December, and the first week of January by the Militant (ISSN 0026-3885), 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office, (212) 243-6392; Business Office, (212) 929-3486.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Subscriptions: U.S. \$24.00 a year, outside U.S. \$30.00. By first-class mail: U.S., Canada, and Mexico: \$60.00. Write for airmail rates to all other countries.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the *Militant's* views. These are expressed in editorials.

Public figures denounce trial of SWP as an attack on all

The following statements were released through the Political Rights Defense Fund on the eve of the trial of the Socialist Workers Party in federal court in Los Angeles.

Anthony Mazzocchi,

former vice-president of Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers Union

I protest the grave violation of constitutional rights represented by the Los Angeles Federal Court's conduct of the Gelfand v. Smith, et al. case.

First Amendment rights to voluntary political association are basic to our constitutional rights. The Courts must be prevented from intervention in political groups to determine who can be a member, who can be elected a leader, and what policies should be followed.

This case threatens to establish the precedent of government interference in any political organization, from the NAACP to NOW to the Labor Committee for Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador.

Gelfand's claim that the Socialist Workers Party has been "taken over" by agents of the FBI and CIA flies in the face of all



Alice Peurala

the activities of the SWP. In particular, the SWP has been in the forefront of efforts to halt government spying and disruption through its suit against the Attorney General, which has dramatically exposed FBI crimes and helped defend the political rights of all groups and individuals.

The Gelfand v. Smith case should be immediately dismissed. Defense of the SWP's constitutional rights will protect the civil liberties of all.

Tommy Kersey,

Georgia chairperson, American Agriculture Movement (AAM)

I protest the trial in Los Angeles in the Gelfand v. Smith case. The trial itself is a violation of the most fundamental right of the American people, the right to band together in voluntary organizations like unions, civil rights organizations, and the AAM. The U.S. courts have no right to dictate to voluntary organizations who its members are, who its leaders should be, or whether its activities are in conformity with its program and goals. The intervention of the courts is an infringement of the First Amendment rights not just of the Socialist Workers Party but of the rights of all Americans. I particularly protest the upholding of the informer privilege by the

Stop this travesty of justice!

Alice Peurala, former president, USWA Local 65

As a trade unionist, I staunchly support the right of political organizations to exist without the repressive interference of the government and I oppose the actions of the federal court in Los Angeles in the Gelfand v. Smith case.

The workers' movement has a long history of struggling for political freedom and the right to exist without court interference.

We have paid too much in blood, sweat, and tears for these rights to lose them now.

I oppose any and all government or court interference with efforts for social change. For that reason, I fully support the efforts of the Political Rights Defense Fund to have the case of Gelfand v. Smith dismissed immediately.

Anne Braden, longtime civil rights activist

This case is an obvious intrusion by the courts into the internal affairs of a private citizen organization.

Furthermore, it seems to be a backhanded way of harassing and attacking that organization and causing it outrageous expenses and trouble.

Thus, it obviously deprives the Socialist Workers Party of all semblance of constitutional rights, and thus threatens the rights of all of us.

Rev. Ben Chavis,

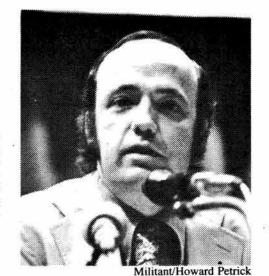
deputy director, United Church of **Christ Commission for Racial Justice**

I stand opposed to any attempt by the state or federal government to stop the right of people to organize politically independent from the government, specifically the Los Angeles Federal Court's conduct of the Gelfand v. Smith, et al. case.

James Lafferty,

attorney and chairperson, Oakland County, Michigan, ACLU

Having worked with members of the Socialist Workers Party for many years in the anti-Vietnam War movement and many other causes, I know the charges raised in the case of Gelfand v. Smith to be utterly false. Far from being controlled by the government, for nearly 50 years the SWP and YSA have been among its chief vic-



James Lafferty

The actions of Judge Mariana Pfaelzer are not only continued government harassment of the SWP, but are unprecedented challenges to the right of voluntary political association free from government harassment.

As an early supporter of the Political Rights Defense Fund, I wholeheartedly join you in denouncing this miscarriage of justice now underway in Judge Pfaelzer's Los Angeles courtroom.

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey, Irish freedom fighter

I support the right of the Socialist Workers Party to exist fully free of government interference. The attacks on the party's existence by Judge Pfaelzer threaten all of us in the workers movement, all of us in the anti-imperialist movement and all of us who hold dear our democratic rights.

Rev. Fred Taylor,

director of Chapters and Affiliates, Southern Christian Leadership Confer-

We protest the trial in Los Angeles, the Gelfand v. Smith, et al. case. The trial itself is a violation of the most fundamental rights of the American people: the right of the people to band together in voluntary organizations like labor unions and civil rights organizations, and to set their own policies, elect their own leaders, and determine their own membership.

The intervention of the U.S. District Court into this area of democratic rights is an infringement of the First Amendment rights, not just of the Socialist Workers Party, but also of the rights of all Americans.

As a voluntary organization, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference could be opened up to a similar attack by the government by this type of court intervention. We know the U.S. government, through the FBI, has intervened into the SCLC by intense surveillance of our founder, the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and by the use of informers.

The SCLC would no more welcome the invasion of the rights of our organization and its members through the means of a Federal District Court.

We also protest the upholding of the "informer privilege" by the court. This is obviously a fig leaf to maintain a pretense of reason for the court holding jurisdiction in

Stop this travesty of justice!

Political rights rallies slated across U.S.

Initiated by the Political Rights Defense Fund, a major national campaign is under way against new government moves to interfere with the independent functioning of political organizations that are opposed to government policies.

At issue is the case of the Socialist Workers Party, which is the target of a trial in which a federal district judge in Los Angeles has taken upon herself the right to issue legal decisions relating to the membership, leadership, and policies of the organization.

Public protest rallies have been slated in

PRDF RALLIES

LOS ANGELES — Friday, Feb-

ruary 25, 8 p.m. Angelica Luther-

ST. LOUIS - Saturday, March

12, 7:30 p.m., First Unitarian

ATLANTA - Saturday, March

12, 8 p.m., Wheat Street Baptist

TOLEDO — Saturday, March 12,

8 p.m., OCAW Local 7-346, 2910

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Friday, March 18, 8 p.m., Shiloh Baptist

BOSTON — Saturday, March 19;

reception 6 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. Church of the Covenant, 67 New-

Church, 5007 Waterman.

Church, 18 Yonge St.

Church, 15 9th St., NW

Consaul.

bury St.

cities across the country and more are being organized.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is also conducting an emergency \$75,000 fund campaign.

PRDF has mailed a fund appeal to several thousand supporters. In the first week since the mailing, the committee reports, \$1,700 has been received.

One campaign that has gained particularly significant support has been that of the Atlanta Political Rights Defense Fund, as indicated by the story that follows.

BY JON BIXBY

ATLANTA — Support is growing among unions and civil rights organizations for a rally here March 12 in defense of workers under assault by government and

tense rund, the rally was initiated to sup Socialist Workers Party.

The rally will also hear an account of the current attack on the rights of the SWP in

Rae — a leader in the drive to unionize J.P. Stevens textile mills throughout the south.

leader of the campaign to free Eddie

Other speakers include Georgia American Agriculture Movement leader Tommy Kersey; Richard Turner, a plaintiff in a suit against racist officials in Wrightsville, Georgia; and James Orange, an official of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers. A representative of Atlanta's Church, is supported by Local 1644 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal workers, the principal union of city employees.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, which will be represented at the rally by Rev. Fred Taylor, has issued leaflets for the meeting that are being posted and distributed to members by several area

Representatives of the Political Rights Defense Fund have spoken before 10 local union bodies and received a friendly response from all.

In a discussion with members of the American Agriculture Movement, the issue in the court suit against the SWP was readily apparent to the farmers. Several noted that members of their movement were the target of selective victimization by banks and the government for their ac-

an Church, 1345 S. Burlington Ave., one block south of Pico Blvd. Organized by the Political Rights De-NEW YORK - Friday, March port a damage suit filed by unionists fired 11, 8 p.m., Marc Ballroom, 27 from Lockheed-Georgia on the basis of Union Sq. West. membership in or association with the

federal district court in Los Angeles.

Among the speakers will be Crystal Lee Sutton — portrayed in the movie Norma

Also speaking will be General Vann, a Carthan, former mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, who was framed up for fighting to improve the lives of people there.

Mayor Andrew Young will also speak.

The meeting, at the Wheat Street Baptist

\$75,000 Emergency Defense Fund

The Political Rights Defense Fund is seeking to raise that amount of money by May 1, most of it before the end of March. The money is urgently needed to help defray the huge cost of the trial of the Socialist Workers Party which onens March 1

The basic constitutional right to function free of government interference is at stake in this trial and defending that right in the courts is extremely expensive.

Please do your part. Send as large a contribution as you can, as soon as you can

Name			
Address			
City	State	Zip	

Fight against government's secret police: a decade of battle for political rights

BY DAVID FRANKEL

When independent truckers went out on strike January 31 they had to confront the U.S. government. President Reagan falsely accused the strikers of "murder" and said in his February 4 news conference that he had directed the FBI to work with local cops "to put an end to this violence."

There was nothing unusual about the experience of the truckers. With the deepening of the capitalist crisis, the use of the repressive power of the state against working people is becoming more and more common.

Last year striking meat packers in Dakota City, Nebraska, had to confront the National Guard, complete with armored cars and helicopters, when their union was forced onto the picket line.

Wanton police murder of the kind that led to the explosion of the Black community in Miami's Overtown section last December is something that Blacks are familiar with wherever they live.

Farmers fighting to save their land have had to deal with both the courts and state police, as have striking coal miners. When Reagan set out to destroy the air traffic controllers' union in 1981, he also used the FBI

What is involved is quite clear. The burden of the capitalist economic crisis is being dumped onto the backs of working people at home and around the world. They are resisting. The U.S. government is using its police power to intimidate and counter the growing opposition to these reactionary policies.

A major test

Another test in the ongoing class struggle over how far the capitalists can go in using their police apparatus and in restricting the rights of working people is taking place in a Los Angeles courtroom where the Socialist Workers Party goes on trial March 1.

A U.S. district court has decided to rule on who can be a member of the SWP, who can be a leader of the SWP, and whether or not the SWP's political activities, program, and internal functioning are consistent with genuine Marxism.

For an arm of the government to step in and announce that it will decide such questions makes a mockery of the right to freedom of association guaranteed in the Bill of Rights.

The government is saying that it, through its courts, has the right to determine the membership, leadership, and activities of a political party — a party whose sole purpose for existing is to convince the majority of American people of the need to get rid of this government and its courts. The SWP is working to replace this state that rules in the interests of the bankers and industrialists with one that defends the workers and farmers.

If the government can dictate the membership, character, and activities of such a political party, it can do the same thing to unions, Black rights organizations, women's rights groups, and other organizations formed to advance the interests of working people.

The occasion for the government to stage this trial of the SWP has been provided by one Alan Gelfand, a lawyer employed by the Los Angeles County government. Gelfand claims he was wrongly expelled from the SWP and has asked the government to step in and set things right.

To understand how this case arose and the issues that it poses, it is necessary to go back to what happened in this country in the 1970s, to the blows suffered by the government's political police apparatus, and to the role of the SWP in those events.

Nixon's cover-up unravels

During the early 1970s, as the victory of the Vietnamese liberation struggle was approaching, millions of working people became convinced that they could not believe the U.S. government. Lie after lie had been exposed, from the bombing of civilian targets in North Vietnam, to the secret bombing of Cambodia, to the biggest lie of all — the claim that Washington was fight-

ing for democracy and the rights of the Vietnamese people.

"Credibility gap" became a household phrase during the Johnson administration. President Nixon found the exposure of his lies so damaging that he formed a special White House security team — known as the plumbers — to stop information from leaking to the press. It was the plumbers who were caught burglarizing the Democratic Party National Committee headquarters in June 1972, thus kicking off the Watergate scandal.

As Nixon's cover-up unravelled and more and more of the illegal activities carried out by the plumbers against the president's political opponents began to come to light, the capitalist rulers decided to cut their losses by tossing Nixon to the wolves and saying that it was all his fault. Congressional hearings on Watergate were televised, and capitalist politicians began falling all over each other in their rush to denounce Nixon's illegal activities.

How to fight back

Most groups on the left also focused on Nixon. Some said he should be forced to resign, others demanded Congress impeach him.

The SWP took a different stance. The actions of the Nixon gang were not an aberration, the SWP argued. The crimes against the antiwar movement were not excesses committed by Nixon alone, but were in fact the real face of the capitalist government. The SWP set out not to impeach one president, but to expose the whole secret police operation that the ruling class was desperately trying to protect.

Burglaries, wiretapping, the use of agents provocateurs to foment violence, frame-up prosecutions of political activists and union militants, and even murder are the *normal methods* used by the capitalist government's secret police against the working-class movement, both at home and internationally.

Replacing Nixon with Gerald Ford, or with any other capitalist politician, would do nothing to defend democratic rights or advance the interests of the working class. What is needed is political action by the working class and its allies — above all, the oppressed nationalities — independent of the capitalist two-party system.

To advance this perspective, the SWP launched a political campaign to expose the decades-long record of crimes of the FBI, CIA, and other political police agencies. As part of this campaign, the SWP, along with the Young Socialist Alliance, filed a lawsuit in July 1973 demanding a permanent injunction against government spying, harassment, and disruption of the socialists and millions of dollars in damages for past government crimes.

FBI crimes come out

At that time nobody knew the real extent of the secret police operations under way in the United States. Those with years of experience in the labor and Black movements, especially, had their suspicions. But there was no proof. If anybody had claimed in 1973 that the FBI was burglarizing the SWP national headquarters on the average of once every week, most people would have dismissed the idea as utterly paranoid.

Working people generally were not aware in 1973 that the FBI had infiltrated and sought to disrupt the civil rights movement from the very beginning. Nobody knew that FBI informers working with the Ku Klux Klan had helped beat up freedom riders. Nobody knew that one such informer was involved in the murder of civil rights activist Viola Liuzzo in March 1965.

Although it was obvious that the FBI went after the Black movement with a special vengeance, the proof about how the political police had targeted Malcolm X and Martin Luther King was not available.

Nobody knew that former FBI Director
J. Edgar Hoover had ordered his agents to
"get King." The details on the FBI's sixyear campaign to fulfill Hoover's directive
were still secret — details contained in
documents describing how the FBI bugged

the civil rights leader's hotel rooms, tried to smear him with anonymous poison-pen letters, and sought to destroy his marriage.

To this day the government has refused to release most of its secret files on Malcolm X and King, despite the many unanswered questions about their assassinations, and despite the fact that both men were under intensive FBI surveillance until the day they died.

But in the case of the Black Panther Party, enough has been brought to light to show that the FBI not only wanted the Panthers dead, but actively organized to ensure that result.

Perhaps the most notorious FBI operation in this regard was undertaken in conjunction with the Chicago police. It resulted in the murder of Black Panther Party leader Fred Hampton — gunned down in a predawn raid as he slept in his bed — and of 17-year-old Mark Clark.

An FBI informer provided the floor plan of the apartment where the December 1969 raid took place.

After a broad political campaign lasting nearly a decade, a U.S. appeals court ruled in 1979 that "a reasonable jury could find" that the FBI and Chicago police had taken part in a conspiracy "designed to subvert and eliminate the Black Panther Party and its members," and in a second conspiracy "to conceal the true character" of their murderous raid.

Late last year the government finally made an out-of-court settlement, awarding \$1.85 million to relatives of Hampton and Clark.

Although the case of Hampton and Clark is the best known, similar attacks against the Black Panthers took place throughout the country in 1969 and 1970. Following the murders of six Black Panther members in San Diego, the FBI office in that city boasted in a memo to Hoover: "As a result of our efforts the Black Panther party in San Diego is no more. It has been completely done away with."

Such documents were not easily pried out of the government's files. It was necessary to fight every step of the way. And the efforts of the SWP and YSA were a big component of this fight.

200,000 pages of police files

Through their offensive, in court and out, the SWP and YSA forced the government to turn over more than 200,000 pages

of previously classified documents between 1973 and 1981. Although they were heavily censored, these documents presented the most extensive picture of U.S. secret police operations ever amassed.

Most of what is now known about the FBI's massive "Cointelpro" (Counterintelligence Program) operations against Black and women's rights organizations, the antiwar movement, and left-wing groups came out as a result of the fight carried out by the SWP and YSA and the broad support they organized.

A July 2, 1976, editorial in the New York Times — written at a time when the SWP had obtained less than half of the documents the government was eventually forced to turn over — admitted: "The Socialist Workers Party lawsuit is prying out of the F.B.I. files information that was in existence but was withheld from both of the [congressional] committees expressly charged with investigating intelligence abuses"

Documents obtained by the SWP and YSA showed the FBI had carried out a 40-year "investigation" of the SWP, beginning under the Roosevelt administration and continuing under every president since then. What was involved was not just spying, the planting of informers, and illegal wiretapping. As various government officials explained when the suit finally came to trial in 1981, the purpose of counterintelligence operations is "to take measures necessary to assure [the target] won't attain their objectives."

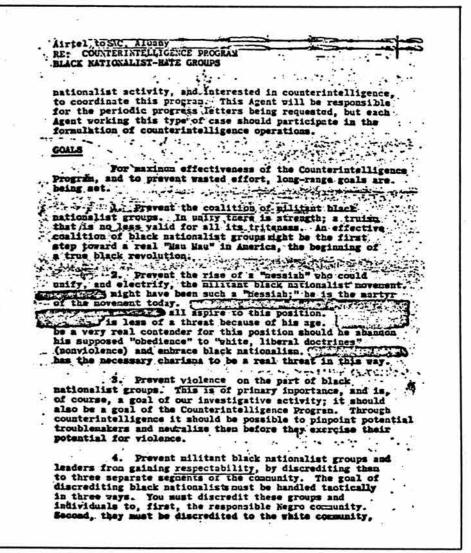
The political police attempted to actively disrupt the functioning of the SWP and the lives of its members.

SWP headquarters and apartments of SWP members were regularly broken into by FBI agents, who also sought to get SWP members and supporters fired from their jobs.

FBI agents worked with local police departments to organize harassment and arrests of SWP members selling the party press, speaking at street meetings during election campaigns, or carrying out similar political activity.

The FBI and U.S. Army intelligence also worked with rightist thugs to carry out physical attacks on SWP members and headquarters.

In 1961 the FBI set up a special "SWP Disruption Program." The feds were outraged that the party was "running candi-



Above is part of March 4, 1968, Cointelpro memo from J. Edgar Hoover. The names of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, and Stokely Carmichael fit in the censored spaces in goal 2. The memo was issued one month before King was assassinated.



Militant/Lou Howort

Reagan used FBI and mass firings to break air traffic controllers union in 1981

dates for public office and strongly directing and/or supporting such causes as Castro's Cuba and integration problems arising in the South."

Another cause for concern by the government was the role of the SWP and YSA in the movement against the war in Vietnam. Documents obtained through the SWP's suit described how the CIA's "Operation Chaos" had sought to disrupt conferences and demonstrations against the war, and to provoke violence. The documents also provided information on how the CIA worked with foreign police agencies to spy on and disrupt political activity.

Retreat by government

The revelations about secret police crimes that came gushing out during the 1973–76 period made a huge impact. Working people were outraged over the government's subversion of democratic rights. Each new spate of revelations led to a new surge of anger and prevented the government from clamping a lid on the disclosures. It was in this context that the fight organized by the SWP and YSA was successful in prying secret documents out of the files of the political police.

Because of the impact of the information that came out, the government had to go further than it had ever dreamed in allowing the truth about its secret police to emerge. Revelations were headlined in the press day after day during 1975 and '76, and widely publicized congressional hearings were held.

Real blows were dealt the capitalist secret police apparatus. Illegal activities previously undertaken without a second thought had to be carried out with greater care. After a number of FBI agents were indicted for illegal break-ins and wiretaps, others began getting nervous about sticking their necks out.

But reining in the FBI and CIA — curbing what were labeled "abuses" — was also part of the process of trying to convince American working people that a new leaf was being turned over.

The political police apparatus had to be rebuilt. The government was doing whatever was necessary to establish a new foundation on which to rebuild. By the autumn of 1976 the government was ready to launch its "new" FBI.

"Guidelines" for the FBI were drafted.
Congressional oversight committees
were established to bolster the appearance
of controls.

And in September 1976 the attorney general publicly announced that he was directing the FBI to end its 40-year operation against the SWP. But the investigation — and the disruption and harassment that are an essential part of all secret police "investigations" — never stopped.

What did stop was the coverage in the

What did stop was the coverage in the capitalist media on the fight organized by the SWP and YSA to expose the political police. Meanwhile, the government stepped up its counterattack.

In moving to take back what it had given up, the government relied heavily on its propaganda campaign against the threat of communism around the world. Revolutionary advances internationally, it argued, showed the need to free the hands of the CIA. And the FBI, we were told, was falling behind in the war against "subversion" at home.

Washington's campaign against Cuba and the presence of Cuban internationalist fighters in Africa began at the end of 1975 and reached another peak in the spring of 1978 when the Cubans helped defend the Ethiopian revolution against an invasion by the Somalian army.

The triumph of the Iranian revolution and the hostage crisis that followed it in 1979 and 1980 was used by the imperialist media as the occasion for a racist campaign designed to whip up support for military action and CIA-type operations in the Middle East.

But Central America has been at the center of the ruling-class drive. The Cuban revolution is no longer alone. It has been joined by Nicaragua and Grenada. And in El Salvador the revolution is steadily advancing.

The capitalist class in the United States cannot stand idly by while the workers and farmers take political power in Central America. That is why U.S. advisers have now begun flying combat missions in El Salvador. That is why the CIA has been turned loose to organize a counterrevolutionary army on the Nicaraguan-Honduran border.

At home, the campaign to restore the freedom of action of the secret police has included President Reagan's decision to pardon FBI agents convicted of illegal break-ins; the drawing up of new FBI and CIA guidelines explicitly allowing many of the crimes condemned during the Watergate period; and moves to undermine the already limited Freedom of Information Act.

Reagan, however, is only continuing a process that began under Ford and Carter. Although the 1976 FBI guidelines were warmly welcomed by liberal believers in capitalist democracy, these guidelines simply codified the previous practices of the secret police. FBI Special Agent Edgar Best, head of the bureau's Los Angeles office, testified in the 1981 trial of the lawsuit brought by the SWP and YSA that the guidelines "basically, with some very limited exceptions . . . put into formalized writing what our general practices and procedures has been. . . ."

The trial transcript records the following exchange:

"THE COURT: Are you saying that the guidelines in general simply embodied prior practices?

THE WITNESS: That is correct, your Honor."

Political firings

Both Washington's escalating aggression in Central America and the attack by the employers and their government on working people and union rights at home have led to an upsurge in political firings and victimizations of union militants. The mass firing of air traffic controllers in August 1981 was a dramatic example of this trend.

Members and supporters of the YSA and SWP have been singled out in many areas. The FBI has been involved in these cases despite the government claim that its "investigation" of the socialists stopped in 1976. Five pipefitters at the Brooklyn

Navy Yard, for example, were fired in November 1980 because of what the company called their "engagement in political activity."

Although the company backed down when it realized it could get nailed in court, documents on the case showed that the U.S. Naval Investigative Service had instigated the firings and had been in contact with the FBI.

Another case came up in December 1980 and January 1981. Fifteen workers at the Lockheed-Georgia plant outside Atlanta were fired, Company officials denied that the firings were political, but Lockheed's security chief admitted going to the FBI for information on his "suspects." Files on the fired workers were headed "SWP Case."

Similar victimizations have taken place in Kansas City, San Diego, Denver, Newport News, St. Louis, and other cities around the country.

The trial in the socialist suit against the government came in the midst of the government's counteroffensive. In December 1980 — three months before the suit by the SWP and YSA was scheduled to go to trial — government lawyers put aside the pretense that secret police agents were only trying to investigate actual or possible violations of the law.

"The issue in this case is not whether the SWP, the YSA, or any of their members can be proved guilty of a crime beyond a reasonable doubt," the government's court papers asserted.

"The issue is whether the Government has a right to keep itself informed of the activities of groups that openly advocate revolutionary change in the structure and leadership of the Government of the United States, even if such advocacy might be within the letter of the law" (emphasis added).

After 40 years of spying and disruption, the FBI had been unable to come up with a single criminal act that could be used to justify its attacks on the SWP. The government's real guidelines were finally out in the open.

Simply advocating socialist ideas and organizing a political movement around them — publishing books and newspapers, organizing demonstrations, taking part in election campaigns, holding forums and public meetings, talking politics on the job — means you are not protected by the U.S. Constitution, as far as the government is concerned.

As former FBI agent Arthur Greene put it when he testified in the trial: "[the FBI wants] to know who is on the side of this government and who was not."

Other aspects of the government's ongoing war against all those not on its side also came out at the trial. For the first time, for example, information was uncovered on the Immigration and Naturalization Service's "Subversive Deportation Program." This program, which continues in one form or another to this day, has involved the INS in collusion not only with the FBI and CIA, but also with foreign governments, including the racist, white-minority regime in South Africa.

To carry out its "Subversive Deportation Program," the INS maintains a "subversive index," which includes the names of both native-born Americans and noncitizens. The INS also employs a stable of informers and maintains an index of forbidden literature.

Whose 'national security'?

But above all else, the SWP was successful in bringing out the fact that the criminal actions and violations of basic democratic rights carried out by the FBI, CIA, INS, and other secret police agencies were not the result of the secret police running out of control.

On the contrary, as the government repeatedly argued in court, the attacks on the Bill of Rights were explicitly authorized by every single U.S. president since Franklin Roosevelt. The government argued that the guarantees in the Bill of Rights do not apply in "national security" or "intelligence" investigations.

Thus, the fight waged by the SWP and YSA came full circle, back to Nixon's claim that he had a right to order illegal wiretaps, break-ins, and disruption programs against antiwar activists and others in order to defend "national security."

But "national security" for whom?

"National security" for the capitalists means more unjust wars like the one in Vietnam, more union-busting, and more discrimination against Blacks, Latinos, and women.

The SWP's battle to expose the secret police has received wide support within the Continued on Page 15

Court refuses to disqualify judge

On February 17 a federal judge ruled against a motion by attorneys for the Socialist Workers Party demanding that Judge Mariana Pfaelzer remove herself from the March 1 trial against the SWP. The motion had charged that Pfaelzer was biased and prejudiced against the party and its members.

Pfaelzer, who could have decided the issue herself, turned the motion over to her colleagues on the U.S. District Court. It was assigned to Judge Malcolm Lucas, who refused to hear oral arguments before deciding against the SWP.

From 1974 to 1978 Pfaelzer was a member of the Los Angeles Board of Police Commissioners. During that time, she was directly responsible for authorizing police spying and disruption operations against the Socialist Workers Party and its members, as well as many other political and religious groups.

The SWP pointed out that by personally approving undercover police operations inside the party, Pfaelzer had already decided a key issue in the case — "whether the SWP is protected by the First Amendment from governmental interference and inquiry."

Furthermore, two Los Angeles under-

cover police agents are scheduled to be key witnesses against the party during the trial. Both functioned in the SWP during the years Pfaelzer was overseeing their operations. SWP attorneys argued Pfaelzer cannot be unbiased about undercover operations she personally authorized as a police commissioner.

Blacks, unionists assail gov't

Continued from front page

charges now raised against the SWP are "utterly false."

The actions of Pfaelzer, he charged, "are unprecedented challenges to the right of voluntary political association free from government harassment."

Rev. Fred Taylor, a leader of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), vigorously assailed the court action against the SWP.

He noted that as a voluntary organization, SCLC itself "could be opened up to a similar attack by the government."

The complete texts of these support statements appear on page 3.

-SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE

BY MALIK MIAH

Last week's Militant was a great hit among transit workers in New York City.

Brooklyn Socialist Workers Party sales organizer Dave Prince reports that 73 papers were sold at the Jay Street transit office, 18 at the Coney Island maintenance shop, and 35 more at the nearby Marlboro housing project.

Why such good sales? For four weeks Militant salespeople have regularly sold at the Coney Island yard — at times selling only two papers. However, the paper became known by the workers.

So, when the latest issue featured an interview with transit worker Dennis Dixon, the papers sold quickly.

Dixon is one of three Black members of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 who were brutally beaten by a mob of racist thugs June 22, 1982. One of the workers, Willie Turks, died. All three worked at the Coney Island yard.

Eleven members of the Brooklyn and Manhattan branches participated in the sales.

Dick McBride, a member of Local 100, added that 10 of the 40 workers at the TWU's car maintenance division union meeting bought the paper. "We had a moment of silence for Turks, and the meeting heard about the case against the racist attackers from Dennis Dixon." McBride said the union leadership went out of its way to express support for the case and said an article will appear in the next issue of the union's paper.

Socialists in Manhattan and Brooklyn are planning to follow

sales at the transit barns and shops have already increased the influence of socialist union members

on the job. These experiences and others are encouraging many more Militant sales people to join teams going to plant gates. Such successes are also the most effective motivation to reach our weekly goal: 100 percent participation by supporters of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance.

We are also making progress around the country in achieving this objective.

In Seattle, for example, after going slowly the first few weeks of the year, things are starting to pick up steam. Everyone is now assigned to a team, and the teams are beginning to go out more regu-

One experience: a salesperson was driving by workers striking a meatpacking plant. After stopping he was able to sell a few papers. A couple of strikers later said they would attend the next Militant

Another inspiring story comes from Kansas City. One day a Black worker from the Colgate plant came to a Militant Forum. When asked to buy a Militant, he replied, "Oh, is this the new one? I buy it every week at Colgate-Palmolive." He first met the socialists on a college campus during their congressional election campaign

Socialists all over the country reported good sales and discussions with independent truckers. Now that the strike is over, getting back to these sales spots will be important in continuing our up these sales weekly. Regular dialogue on the lessons of the strike and the way forward for truckers and the labor movement.

Here are two experiences. Cantrick and Betsy McDonald writing from Phoenix report on their experience talking to truckers: "At first they are wary of the Militant salespeople. 'I'm not sure I like the name of that paper.' 'What do you mean by socialist? Isn't that the same thing as communist?

The initial questions are discussed. Everyone takes a long look at the paper and its coverage of the truckers' actions. Finally, Earl Wallace, an owner-operator from Scottsdale, Arizona, hands back a copy of the paper and says, 'There's one thing you can quote me on: everything I read in that paper is the truth.

"On February 3 Lynda Joyce and I," writes Janice Lynn from Seaside, California, "sold papers at Geig's Truck Stop in Salinas and stopped by the Salinas Truck Terminal. We sold two copies of the paper to two different sets of truckers and were able to have a long conversation with one trucker and his buddy who supported the

"These two were Polish. One had been here 10 years and the other two years. The latter was planning to return to Poland in several months to rejoin his family. They both were supporters of Solidarity [the independent trade union banned by the Polish government] and were interested in the fact that this was a socialist newspaper.

"When we passed them later on, they were sitting in the cab of their truck, totally engrossed in the Mil-

Militant/Nancy Cole

Selling to independent trucker in Wisconsin. Socialists have helped to get out truth on drivers' strike at hundreds of plant gates around the country.

"The other truckers were two each. The Iron Range SWP plans young guys who bought the paper. One said, 'You know, this is against everything I've been taught to believe in, but I'll read

Pathfinder Press has just published an important pamphlet that should complement sales at the plant gate, especially at steel mills. Steelworkers Under Attack: How to fight back and defend jobs," by laid-off Baltimore steelworker Geoff Mirelowitz, costs less than one dollar and is pocket-size.

Already the Baltimore, Washington, D.C., and Iron Range branches have ordered 50 copies

to advertise the pamphlet on its 'Read The Militant - Like the Chrysler workers, we say No to concessions" sign. Every city should consider ordering bundles of the pamphlet.

Finally, this week's Militant begins a series of articles by Elizabeth Ziers, a laid-off auto worker in Detroit, on the auto industry and the bosses' offensive against auto workers. With the unprecedented announcement last week by GM and Toyota reopening GM's idle Fremont, California, plant without honoring the United Auto Workers contract, auto workers will find these arti-

Reagan prevents Conrail engineers from striking

BY TOM PONTOLILLO

NEW YORK - President Reagan invoked the antiunion Railway Labor Act February 14 to prevent a strike by members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE) against the Consolidated Rail Corporation (Conrail).

The strike, which would have halted almost all rail freight traffic in 17 Northeastern and Midwestern states and two Canadian provinces, was scheduled to begin on

Reagan's action delays any strike by the BLE for 60 days, during which time an "impartial" Emergency Board, appointed by him, will hear both sides of the dispute and make settlement recommendations

The stage was set for a strike by nearly four and a half years of negotiations, which failed to resolve issues relating to wages, working conditions, and pay for working with a reduced engine crew.

Regarding wages, both sides are far apart. The engineers haven't had a wage or cost of living increase in over two years. Conrail is demanding that the BLE accept the same agreement forced on the other rail unions — the recently negotiated, miserly National Agreement, less a 3 year 12 percent deferral. Thus far, the engineers have refused to agree to the deferral.

Concerning working conditions, the BLE is fighting for a comprehensive agreement that would cover all aspects of locomotive design, construction, and maintenance.

And Conrail engineers are continuing to wage the struggle for reduced crew allowance parity, which idled trains in the rest of the country last fall. That strike was also broken by the government with the imposition of the Railway Labor Act.

If the BLE were to be successful in resisting the 12 percent deferral, this alone would cost Conrail \$600 million, because a "me too" clause in the deferral agreements signed by the other unions would win back the 12 percent for all Conrail workers.

The direct intervention by the Reagan administration against the BLE is the latest in a series of moves by the bosses' government aimed at increasing the rate of profit at the expense of rail labor.

Congress rallied behind Conrail's management in pushing the deferral two years ago in order to make the carrier "profitable" and "saleable." The government made strong hints that, without the deferral, Washington might let Conrail run out of money and shut down, or be chopped up into little pieces. And their tune hasn't changed.

But the engineers, having seen Conrail eliminate 65 percent of its work force in just over six years, don't buy the story that givebacks save jobs.

Congress also moved to split up and isolate the engineers by transferring all passenger engineers out of Conrail when they gave Conrail's passenger service to three transit authorities this January and by making illegal any strike by the passenger engineers in support of a Conrail strike.

The National Mediation Board tried to get the BLE to agree to binding arbitration, but the engineers wouldn't bite.

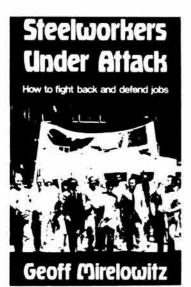
Against the combined power of the bosses and their government, the engineers are facing their toughest fight yet.

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



Conrail locomotive in New York. Reagan invoked antiunion law against

Just off the press!



Steelworkers Under Attack: How to fight back and defend jobs

by Geoff Mirelowitz, \$.95, 40 pp.

The bosses and their government are pushing the line that only big concessions from steelworkers can "save" the ailing steel industry - and workers' jobs. In this pamphlet, Mirelowitz, a laid-off steelworker, answers the employers' attempts to blame workers for the economic crisis. He outlines a fight-back course for the steelworkers' union and the entire labor movement.

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

Fired Black worker wins job back

SEASIDE, Calif. — A victory has been won by Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees International Union Local 483. Ken Collins, a Black member of the union at Monterey's Hyatt Del Monte Hotel, was reinstated in his job.

Collins had been fired on January 19 on trumped-up charges of insubordination, damage to company property, and threatening supervisors.

Collins was a picket captain during the strike of Local 483 last summer. Ever since then he has faced constant harassment from the company.

The union filed a grievance challenging this unjust firing. The company's trumped-

up charges fell apart in the first step of the grievance procedure. It was revealed that many of the statements of supposed eyewitnesses were actually interpretations of statements and were written by the company's personnel director.

Many of Collins's coworkers were elated to hear of this victory. They saw this attempt by the company to fire one of the most outspoken union activists as a move to try to weaken the union.

Collins and the union's fight on his behalf were supported by Seaside City Councilman Mel Mason, and other union activists in the area.

Cincinnati AFL-CIO backs farmers' fight



Crowd of protesting farmers at London, Ohio, foreclosure auction of Doug and Pam Dailey's farm.

Militant/Scott Breen

Farmers' action saves Kentucky home

BY DAVID WELTERS

FLIPPIN, Ky. - Duane and Ruth Copass have won a months-long battle to keep their farm near this south-central Kentucky community.

On February 5 the Copass farm was the scene of a bankruptcy auction. It was also the scene of the first effort by the newlyformed Kentucky Farm Survival Association to stop a farm foreclosure.

More than 100 farmers and supporters converged on the farm, their cars and pickup trucks lining the road in both directions.

The Copasses stood on the lawn in front of their home surrounded by relatives, friends, and supporters wearing red armbands. When the auction opened, the family called out their bid and waited.

Hal Hamilton, who along with Ruth Copass and her son Tim and other farmers formed the farm survival group, appealed to potential bidders to withdraw from the

For 15 minutes the crowd watched in silence. No other bids were submitted. The Copasses got their property back.

The fight to keep their farm began in October when the family filed for bankruptcy to get relief from debt not related to their farm mortgage. When the bankruptcy court ordered the auction, they feared that the Mammoth Cave Production Credit Association (PCA) or some other creditor would try to outbid them. The PCA is a major lender to farmers and has repossessed equipment from the Copass farm.

On top of that, the Farmers Home Administration (FmHA), which held the mortgage on the farm, initially told them they would not allow them to bid on the property, even though they hadn't missed a mortgage payment.

At a recent Farm Survival meeting, Ruth Copass explained their situation and asked farmers to help them keep their farm. News media from as far away as Louisville carried reports of the family's situation.

Local news programs have also given prominent coverage to farm protests in Ohio and Colorado. The idea of a large show of support began making FmHA and PCA officials nervous. During the week before the auction the Copasses received a call telling them that red armbands and protesters would not be allowed at the auction. The day before the auction, the FmHA agreed to let the family bid on their farm, and if there were no higher bids, to keep the terms of the present mortgage.

BY SCOTT BREEN

CINCINNATI — The AFL-CIO Labor Council here has taken an important stand in support of farmers fighting against

The Chronicler, monthly publication of the Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council, describes the plight of Ohio farmers in its February issue. The front-page article, entitled "A Blizzard of Foreclosures Has Made This the Harshest Winter Yet," reports the fight of Ohio farmers against foreclosures.

Focussing on the case of Doug and Pam Dailey, the Chronicler explains: "Doug and Pam, like farmers throughout the Buckeye State, found with the new year the threat of foreclosure on their 191-acre family farm outside of London, Ohio.'

On January 14, nearly 1,000 farmers turned out to try and block the auction of the Dailey's farm. The Federal Land Bank went ahead and bought the farm, but the Daileys are still fighting.

"Doug and Pam's story isn't all that unfamiliar to Ohioans this winter," the paper continues. "A young couple in their thirties, Doug and Pam found it didn't take much after a few years of bad crops, inflation, and steep cost increases in utilities to end up \$400,000 in debt to the massive Production Credit Association (PCA).

Yet Doug, Pam and the thousands of men and women who've joined Ohio's young Family Farm Movement are determined not to take the threat to Ohio farmers laying down. They're organizing to fight back.'

The Chronicler goes on to quote Doug Dailey, who has since been jailed indefinitely for refusing to turn over his financial records to the debtor's court, as saying, 'We've been trying every effort to get things straightened out, including talking to our congressman, but nothing was working. That's why our Family Farm Movement came upon the strategy of direct action tactics, a program which has brought the crisis of Ohio farms to the attention of national media."

The Chronicler also reports that two bills have been recently introduced in the Ohio State Assembly calling for an immediate moratorium on farm foreclosures

The Chronicler connects the destruction of family farmers with the attack on working people in an adjoining article about home foreclosures, what the Chronicler calls the "new scourge" of unemployment. "It's no accident," says the Chronicler, "that the number of home foreclosures and defaults climbs with rising unemployment. In fact, Ohio is among the 'top three or four states in foreclosures rates' according to Cincinnati's Better Housing League.'

As the Chronicler remarks, "some see the legislation introduced on behalf of farmers facing foreclosure as also being of possible benefit to homeowners who could be subject to some of the legislation's foreclosure moratorium provisions."

In concluding the article on farm foreclosures, however, the Chronicler cautions, 'Whether a legislative solution can be fashioned in time for the family farmers who, like Doug and Pam, don't have a moment to spare, isn't clear. For now, their Family Farm Movement is the best friend

Minnesota protest demands

political asylum for Banks

BY JAY RESSLER

ST. PAUL - More than 100 demonstrators, most of them Indians, turned out here February 12 to protest the appearance of South Dakota Gov. William Janklow and to demand that Minnesota grant sanctuary to Dennis Banks.

Banks is a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM) and has been fighting extradition to South Dakota since 1975.

AIM sponsored the protest, which was at the St. Paul Civic Center, where Janklow was the featured guest at a fundraising event hosted by the Minnesota Independent Republican Party's exclusive Century

Janklow has carried out a vendetta against AIM and Banks for eight years. He ran for South Dakota attorney general in 1974 on an anti-Indian platform in which he pledged to "put AIM criminals in jail."

At a campaign fundraiser in 1974, Janklow said the way to solve the "AIM problem" was to shoot its leaders. "Put a bullet in a guy's head and he won't bother you any more," he said, according to a fidavit by a witne

There is a warrant out for Janklow's arrest for the rape of an Indian woman who was babysitting his children. She was 15 at the time. While the cops refuse to arrest Janklow, the 1974 warrant remains in effect on the Rosebud Reservation.

To chants of "Janklow is a rapist, Janklow is a racist," GOP fatcats slunk past demonstrators on their way to the fund-

There was a short rally after the demonstration. All speakers demanded that Minnesota Gov. Rudy Perpich grant sanctuary

Banks was convicted of assault and "riot without intent to do harm" in South Dakota in 1975. "His trial was an abomination," Clyde Bellecourt, founder and national director of AIM, explained at the rally.

> Subscribe to the Militant

The prosecutor in the Banks trial was

On the jury hearing Banks's case were relatives of Darold Schmidtz, convicted murderer of John Wesley Bad Heart Bull.

The charges in the Banks trial resulted from a confrontation between Indians and South Dakota authorities in Custer, where AIM leaders were attempting to get civil rights hearings on the Schmidtz trial. Schmidtz was convicted only of seconddegree murder despite testimony that minutes before murdering Bad Heart Bull Schmidtz had declared, "I'm gonna kill an Indian tonight.'

Banks is fighting extradition to South Dakota where his life is clearly in danger. One South Dakota prison guard summarized it, "His life won't last 20 minutes." South Dakota prisons are notorious for their treatment of Indian inmates.

Since 1976 Banks has been living in California. Former California Gov. Edmund Brown refused on numerous occasions to extradite Banks, after an international support campaign gathered hundreds of thousands of signatures on petitions for Banks.

The new California governor, George Deukmejian, has ended the policy of

Presently Banks is chancellor of D. O. University, an accredited Indian college in California

In a letter to Perpich dated Nov. 11, 1982, Banks wrote: "I want to continue living in a peaceful manner and continue this work of educating our people to our spiritual beliefs and ways. Should I fall from this path of life I would like to fall on the grounds of my Ojibwa people - Minnesota. I want to come home and bring my family with me."

All supporters of Indian rights and civil liberties should rally to the defense of Den-

Appeals for political asylum for Banks can be sent to Gov. Rudy Perpich, Rm. 130, State Capital, St. Paul, Minn. 55155.

Contributions and requests for more information can be sent to Dennis Banks Defense-Offense Committee, 1519-A Franklin Ave., Minneapolis, Minn. 55404.

Deukmejian orders NOW leader extradited

Ginny Foat, a leader of the California National Organization for Women (NOW) and a Democratic Party activist, was ordered extradited on February 18 to Louisiana to stand trial for murder. California Governor George Deukmejian denied Foat's appeal for a special hearing on Louisiana's request that she be handed over to authorities there.

The previous week, Judge Michael Tynan had refused to release Foat from Sybil Brand Institute on bail.

Foat was arrested in Los Angeles on January 11 by L.A. cops, who say they got a tip-off that she was wanted by the Louisiana police on a murder warrant issued 17 years ago. The warrant charged that in 1965 she and her ex-husband, John Sidote, killed an Argentine businessman in New Orleans. Then, police allege, they fled to Carson City, Nevada, where they murdered a second man.

In return for immunity from prosecution for the Louisiana murder, Sidote testified in New Orleans on February 18 against Foat. Foat says she is innocent.

The big-business-owned media around the country have used Foat's arrest to step up their propaganda campaign against the struggle for women's rights. Front page headlines like "Nab NOW Big in Killing" and lurid stories about "The Strange Double Life of Ginny Foat" have appeared.

The Los Angeles Times referred to Foat as someone who "hates and fears men" and claimed that's "not unusual in feminist cir-

Supporters of women's rights in Los Angeles and around the country have denounced the use of this case to frame up all women's rights activists.

Auto bosses blame crisis on workers

Demand work-rule and wage concessions to increase profits



1979 auto workers demonstration in Detroit protesting Chrysler's decision to shut down Dodge Main.

BY ELIZABETH ZIERS

(First in a series)

On February 14 General Motors Corp., the largest auto company in the world, and Toyota Motor Corp., the largest auto company in Japan, announced an agreement to produce a subcompact car in GM's idle plant in Fremont, California.

Some 200,000 cars are to be sold, starting with the 1985 model year, at over \$6,000 a car.

"This inexpensive strategy will allow GM to offer competitively priced subcompacts on which it will earn a profit — a first for an American manufacturer — and devote its resources to the midsize and large cars that have always been GM's strength," said an economic analyst after the deal was struck.

But more than that's involved. At a news conference after signing the joint agreement, GM's chairman, Roger Smith, and Toyota's chairman, Eiji Toyoda, said the new company was not bound by the contract that GM has with the United Auto Workers (UAW).

"We are going to start from scratch," Toyoda said, "and we are going to hire new people."

If this union-busting move is carried out, it will be a historic defeat for the UAW.

Auto bosses' strategy

The GM-Toyota deal underscores the auto bosses' strategy for getting out of the crisis the auto industry has been in. Fundamentally it involves three things: further driving down the wages, working conditions, and union rights of the workers; improving technology; and shutting down unprofitable, underutilized plants, while opening up plants where they think they can make higher profits.

All this is aimed at increasing their rate of profit and improving their ability to compete with capitalists abroad.

This has had a devastating impact on the lives of hundreds of thousands of auto workers. Since 1979, 20 auto plants have shut down. A quarter of a million auto workers are laid off, with many never expected to be called back. The dues-paying membership of the UAW has dropped about 250,000 since 1979.

about 250,000 since 1973.

The auto industry is currently operating at 52 percent capacity. To the companies, that represents a tax write-off for closed plants; to the workers thrown out of their jobs, it means repossessed cars and eviction notices.

General Motors's profits in 1982 were \$962.7 million, compared to the record loss of \$763 million it claimed in 1980. Ford didn't make a profit in 1982, but it cut its losses and is expected to make a profit in 1983.

And even Chrysler, after "suffering" a successful strike by Canadian workers last fall, expects to register only a slight loss or even a modest year-end profit.

U.S. automakers, in fact, are spending \$80 billion over the 1980–84 period to be-

come more competitive while selling a reduced volume of cars.

The heart of the gains made by the employers is the attacks they've made on the work force and the union.

Talking about his company's profits, GM Chairman Roger Smith put it this way: "I think we did pretty well. It's not where I want to be, but compared to last year, it is better. The big gains really came from our people — improvements in productivity, quality, and cost control — and those are the best kind." (Emphasis added.)

The model, of course, for the auto bosses' drive against the workers was Chrysler.

Chrysler workers were put under heavy pressure by the company, the administration of Democratic President James Carter, and UAW officials, to give back hard-won gains by reopening their contract in 1979. Three times they were blackmailed to vote yes to concessions or have no job at all. They had to give up COLA (cost-of-living adjustments), PPHs (Personal Paid Holidays) and benefits worth a billion dollars.

With each vote, the margin of approval dropped; the 1981 concessions passed by a ratio of only 52 to 48 percent.

In September 1982 Chrysler workers were asked to make concessions again, and they overwhelmingly voted no. On November 5, 10,000 Chrysler Canada workers walked out of their plants and stayed out for five weeks.

Workers on both sides of the border won substantial raises even though Chrysler said it had no money to spare. Chrysler workers knew the money was there because it had been wrung out of them in previous concession contracts.

But Chrysler workers' defiant stand does not mean the capitalists will stop their attacks on auto workers. A standoff has been established at Chrysler, a standoff which may or may not survive the duration of the one-year contract that both sides signed in December. Meanwhile the attacks continue industry-wide.

Work-rule changes demanded

The auto bosses are eyeing work-rule changes, for example, as a means to raise productivity. According to Audrey Freedman, a chief economist for a business research group, "Japanese and other competitors have out-Americanized us in production management." She says these work rules have cut into productivity and profits.

What work rules are they talking about? The ones that benefit us. The modest gains in working conditions we won on the shop floor over the years. The work rules that regulate production rates, some health and safety standards, and that force the foremen to respect job classifications.

The work rule the bosses want is simple: "Do what you are told, when you're told, whether or not it affects your health and safety."

The "quiet revolution," as the Wall Street Journal calls eliminating work rules, will result in more cars per worker per year.

The workers who still have jobs are forced to turn out more production than before. This is enforced "legally" through a concession contract, or illegally through foreman terrorism. Lines are speeded up, and stamping plant hourly production quotas are raised. Job classifications are erased so more operations can be added on to each job. Entire shifts are eliminated, and the one remaining shift in a plant is forced to work 9 or 10 hours.

Another hard-fought gain the companies are attempting to take back is the affirmative-action advances won by Blacks and women over the last two decades. The bosses are doing this through discriminatory layoffs.

When thousands of workers are laid off, Black, Latinos, and women are the first to go. Layoffs are supposed to be "fair" due to the seniority system. They're not. The company alone decides when they are going to start hiring and promoting oppressed minorities and women. Therefore, they decide when they can wipe most of us out of a plant. This weakens the entire union.

The companies have other, indirect ways of putting the squeeze on workers.

The major auto companies, especially Ford, demand concessions from the smaller capitalists who supply their parts. They demand speedy, just-in-time, small-scale delivery of parts, rather than holding large inventories on hand. They insist on long-term contracts with the parts companies that bid the cheapest. All this penny-pinching, of course, gets passed on to workers in the small-parts shops, many of whom work for below-union-scale or minimum wages.

The bosses are using more class solidarity in ganging up on workers too. For example, General Motors's Chairman Smith threatened in December to take GM's business to steelmakers in other countries if the United Steelworkers of

America didn't reach a new take-away contract agreement with major steel companies by March 1.

The auto companies are also trying to increase the use of robots and other automation. GM is investing \$40 billion over a four-year period, much of which will be spent on robot technology. They reason that technology will increase productivity and therefore profits.

Some economists have predicted that very soon robots will replace auto workers altogether. This is false.

Productivity can only be qualitatively increased by new technological innovations. Workers are being pushed to the human limit as it is. Ask any assembly-line worker.

But technology has a long way to go to produce a robot that can connect together parts that really don't fit each other (as often happens) or read a ticket and determine which option each car model requires.

The bosses also have to pay the exact price a Unimate welder or an automated plant spray booth is worth. A worker is the only tool they can speed up, write up, lay off, and then throw in the streets without having to pay any more costs.

Clearly, the employers seek to combine new technology with low-cost workers in order to raise profits. When the auto plants start recalling workers, they intend to rehire fewer to produce the same number of cars.

The auto makers' final goal, of course, is to destroy the union altogether, pay minimum wage, and hire and fire us at will. In other words, return to the "good old days" of the early 1930s before the UAW was on the scene.

In our next article, we'll look at the policy of the UAW leadership in responding to the bosses' offensive.

Elizabeth Ziers is a laid off auto worker at Ford's Rouge plant near Detroit. She is a member of UAW Local 600.

GM-Toyota deal is antiunion

Continued from front page

For example, "a company that sold 500,000 cars in the U.S. would have to account for 50 percent of their value from U.S. sources. A company selling 900,000 or more cars would have to obtain 90 percent of their value here."

The House recently adopted such a bill, although there is little chance it will pass the Senate.

Fraser said, "The passage of this legislation by the House is a major step toward forcing the Japanese-based multinational auto companies to create jobs here in America where they enjoy a huge market."

So now Toyota is setting up a plant in the United States. Far from creating more jobs, it's reducing them. At Fremont's high point 7,000 workers were employed there. At most 3,000 will be hired under the new deal, and they may have no union protection at all

This illustrates the bankruptcy of the strategy followed by the UAW leaders. Instead of mobilizing union members to fight company takebacks, the UAW bureaucracy practices a policy of class collaboration. It accepts the idea that workers should sacrifice to improve company profits. Eventually, Fraser argues, some of the profits will find their way back to the workers. It hasn't happened yet.

The UAW officials also try to help out the bosses by arguing that anti-import, "Buy American" legislation will make them more competitive with companies around the world. This approach places blame for high unemployment here on the backs of Japanese and European workers — also victims of the employers — instead of on the U.S. auto companies and their friends in Washington.

The \$300 million Fremont deal is expected to reap big profits for both GM and Toyota. Even bigger ones if the UAW contract is overturned.

For GM, the deal is a way to cut labor and other costs to produce a small car profitably. U.S. auto companies say they make little if any profit selling small cars. It costs almost as much to build a small car as it does a large one.

The deal with Toyota will save GM \$1 billion because it will not have to design a new small car from scratch.

What makes the Toyota deal so attractive to GM is the fact that the Japanese cars imported into the United States still have a \$900-per-car advantage. The new car will sell at the competitive price, about \$6,000.

For Toyota the deal is quite important as well. It is not a goodwill offer to GM. Capitalists don't operate that way.

Japanese auto imports presently have 23 percent of the U.S. market. But the current "voluntary" export restraints agreed to by the Japanese are expected to whittle that down to 19 percent.

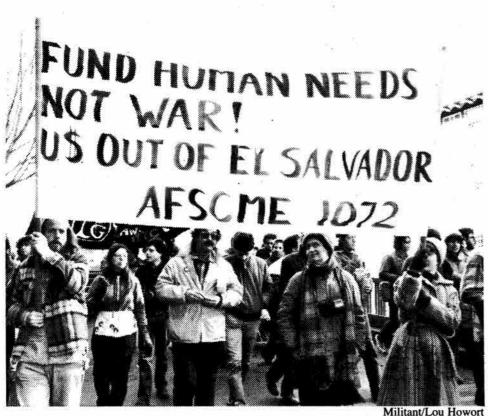
The strengthening of the yen in relationship to the dollar; growing protectionism in Washington; and the U.S. companies' ability to shut down underutilized plants and win major concession contracts from the UAW have helped to close the productivity and wage gap between the Japanese and U.S. companies. So Toyota made the deal as a defensive action. The new cars will not be counted as part of the "voluntary" import quotas. This will give Toyota time to prepare for a bigger plunge into the U.S. market.

What all this means for U.S. auto workers is obvious: the big international auto companies are going to make more cars and trucks with fewer workers. They also hope to organize their plants nonunion, or at least with unions that are extremely weak.

The Fremont situation is a test case for both the employers and the UAW, and the workers they represent.

The fight is just beginning.

St. Louis unionists, solidarity activists meet to discuss Central America struggle



Militant/Lou Howort

Unionists demonstrating in Washington, D.C., last year against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

BY JIM GARRISON

ST. LOUIS — A conference on Central America and the Caribbean featuring films, panel discussions, workshops, and addresses by guest speakers drew some 500 people from the St. Louis area January 28

The conference, sponsored by the Latin America Solidarity Committee, began with addresses by Francisco Campbell, first secretary of Nicaragua's embassy to the United States, and Víctor Rubio, representing the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador.

Campbell and Rubio traced the origins of the revolutions in their countries, explaining that a history of poverty and exploitation, rather than an East-West confrontation, was at the heart of understanding developments in their region. Both condemned the Reagan administration for its of intervention in Central

Campbell cited the election of Nicaragua to a seat on the United Nations Security Council as an important diplomatic victory. The election, actively opposed by the U.S. delegation, required the support of three-quarters of the nations represented in the General Assembly

"Nicaragua will use its seat on the Security Council as a pulpit to speak out for the oppressed countries of the world and against imperialist aggression," pledged.

Unions oppose intervention

A workshop discussion on Labor, Peace, and the Economy attracted about 25 participants Saturday afternoon. Panelists included Evelyn Battle White, president of the American Federation of Teachers Local 420 of St. Louis; John Heidel, member of Ironworkers Local 396; Pam McCann, an official of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 50; and Bob Allen of United Mine Workers of America Local

McCann noted that the national executive board of SEIU had recently stated its opposition to continued military aid for the government of El Salvador. "We need a movement of workers' solidarity throughout the hemisphere in order for workers to solve their problems," McCann stated.

She pointed out that while individual unions had gone on record opposed to aiding the Salvadoran government, the leadership of the AFL-CIO had been basically uncritical of U.S. policies in that region. Reports of a recent shift on the part of the federation leadership to take its distance from the Reagan administration's policies were a welcome development, McCann said.

Heidel, who is also mayor of St. John,

Missouri, noted that while there had been considerable attention in the union movement to the denial of workers' rights in Poland, very little attention had been given to what the U.S. government is supporting in El Salvador. Heidel pointed to the need to bring the facts of the situation in El Salvador to the attention of union members.

The panelists also pointed out that the Reagan budget proposals putting military spending ahead of concerns for education and other human needs were related to administration policies in Central America.

Jerry Tucker, director of Region 5 of the United Auto Workers (UAW), was unable to attend the conference as scheduled, but he sent a message stating that he opposed Reagan's recent certification of human rights advances in El Salvador, "and I can report that the UAW is working to maintain the spirit and letter of the law concerning certification. I am prepared to do all I can in this community to encourage all of us to work for that objective here in St. Louis."

During the discussion period one of the participants in the workshop suggested that solidarity committees should gather lists of unions and contact them to have a speaker on El Salvador. Víctor Rubio of the FDR, who was participating in the workshop, responded that the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES) had already gathered such a list and people should contact CISPES for this informa-

He emphasized, however, that people should not forget other social sectors, like churches and professional organizations.

Salvador solidarity workshop

In the workshop on El Salvador solidarity work, Rubio gave an interesting presentation outlining his personal assessment of the current stage of the struggle in his

Rubio pointed to two recent events in the war which help to clarify the character of the conflict as he saw it. The October offensive by forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) was highly successful and indicated a growing ability by the FMLN to act in a coordinated way in various parts of the country. On the other hand, Rubio noted, the government was able to amass a sizeable counteroffen-

Rubio said, "The important thing about those two points — our advances versus the abilities of the government to amass soldiers and send them to various areas to achieve a certain amount of mobility - is that it establishes the character of the war once and for all as a prolonged popular

Rubio spoke almost exclusively about the struggles in the countryside, saying they are decisive because the FMLN is not able to challenge the military might of the government in the cities.

The rebels, Rubio said, would have to follow the model of "prolonged popular war" as developed by the Vietnamese freedom fighters in their civil war. He said the guerrillas would have to take more and more territory, expand the liberated zones, and then surround and capture the cities. He tended to think that the struggle would be a very long one.

Developing his own point of view somewhat further, Rubio described the war in El Salvador as "very much different from that of Nicaragua, which ended up in an insurrectional struggle in somewhat of a premature time. And by that I mean the political and social level of the masses of people of Nicaragua had not really been elevated that much at the time they actually took over."

Rubio went on to add that he was glad they had taken power in Nicaragua, but in El Salvador that was not on the agenda. "We would take over tomorrow if we could," he said, but "what we face is a prolonged popular war.'

Later, in response to a question by a conference participant, Rubio explained that organizing within the major cities by the insurgent forces has been stepped up in the past year. The FMLN-FDR is now working to organize political and military activities, strikes, and demonstrations in the major cities, particularly San Salvador.

Grenada, Nicaragua

The final session of the conference heard Father Paul Reinert, chancellor of St. Louis University, and James Kazel, brother of one of four American missionaries slain in El Salvador in 1980.

Also addressing the conference were Joachim Mark, a journalist from the Caribbean island of Grenada, who described advances made in his country following their revolution in 1979 and Michael Ratner, president of the National Lawyers Guild, who discussed Washington's "secret war" against Nicaragua.

The conference closed with a minute of silence in memory of those who have fallen, including Flor "Terry" Santana, a prominent solidarity activist slain in New York last December.

S.F. meeting honors slain Salvador activist

BY ANÍBAL YÁÑEZ

SAN FRANCISCO — Cries of "Terry Santana!" "Presente!" echoed down the aisles of the Most Holy Redeemer Church in this city as some 80 people gathered on February 5 in a meeting to commemorate the life of Flor "Terry" Santana. A fighter against U.S. intervention in El Salvador, Santana was the victim of a political assassination in New York on December 4 of last year.

Santana's body was found after a blaze swept her apartment. The cops and media have claimed her death was either acciden-

A representative of Casa El Salvador of San Francisco, which sponsored the meeting, outlined Santana's involvement in the movement in solidarity with El Salvador.

Her work with the news agency El Salvador Informaciones (ES Info), getting information from the Revolutionary Democratic Front and Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) news sources in Mexico City and El Salvador via Radio Venceremos, was particularly important, he noted, in helping bring the facts about El Salvador to the American people.

The representative from Casa El Salvador emphasized that Terry Santana "lives on among us and is an inspiration to all of us to continue the struggle to which she dedicated her life, for which she was

The highlight of the evening was when Rick Trujillo, a Chicano bus driver and member of the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265 of San Jose, read a message from his union to the meeting (see text on this page).

This statement of firm solidarity by an important Bay Area union was warmly received, in particular by the many Salvadorans in the audience.

It was revealed at the meeting that Salvadoran activists in the Bay Area have recently received telephone death threats from individuals who identified themselves as supporters of Roberto D'Aubuisson, the Salvadoran government leader most associated with right-wing terrorist hit

The activists who have received these threatening calls were those whose names

were on phone lists that disappeared from Terry Santana's apartment shortly after her assassination, following a visit by the FBI's Terrorist Task Force. Salvadoran solidarity activists here strongly suspect their phone numbers ended up in the hands of D'Aubuisson's supporters in the United States thanks to links between these rightwing terrorists and the U.S. government's political police.

San Jose transit workers union pays tribute to Terry Santana

The January meeting of the executive not be allowed to set back the struggle board of Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265 in San Jose, California, passed a resolution endorsing a meeting in San Francisco to pay tribute to the murdered Salvador solidarity activist Flor "Terry" Santana (see story on this page). The board also voted to send greetings to the meeting.

Local 265 represents 1,500 bus drivers, maintenance workers, and control-

Printed below are the greetings, which were signed by: Dennis Campoy, treasurer; Richard Lofsted, vice-president; and executive board officers Eddie Johnson, Bronwen Britton, Steve Wong, Jim Middleton, John Carlson, Norma McNeal, and Barbara Lynch.

The circumstances around the death of Teresa Santana raise many questions. We don't believe it was a suicide and it is doubtful the authorities - NYPD [New York Police Department] and FBI — have acted in a responsible manner.

Our union is convinced this death must

against U.S. intervention in El Salvador.

We have learned of sister Teresa's dedicated work, which included very strong support for unions. We have learned about her work with the religious community and others in support of the sick, hungry and the poor of Central America in general and El Salvador in particular. We have heard of her continual struggle to bring the truth of events in Central America to the American people.

For this commitment she became a target.

It is an outrage that 84,000 persons remain unemployed in our Santa Clara Valley while millions of our hard-earned money is sent to maintain a murderous army in El Salvador.

Teresa Santana's work was invaluable, but the struggle must and will go on. It is a fitting memorial to this fighter for justice and dignity. Let it be known we will not be intimidated by this death.

Our union, the Amalgamated Transit Union Local 265 of San Jose, joins with you in mourning her passing.

-U.S. OUT OF CENTRAL AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN!

U.S. tour aids Nicaraguan school

BY GARRETT BROWN

ATLANTA — Fred Royce, a diesel mechanic from the United States working in Nicaragua, did a week-long fund-raising tour here February 1-8. Royce was an instructor at the Luis Hernández Aguilar School of Agricultural Mechanization in Matagalpa for the last 14 months. He presented a very lively, informative 40-minute slide show at six Atlanta area colleges, two churches and the Militant Labor Forum. He was also interviewed by three radio stations.

Some \$500 was raised in Atlanta as part of a national tour by Royce to purchase desperately needed tools and equipment for the school, which is run by the Nicaraguan Ministry of Agricultural Development and Agrarian Reform. A large box of tools was also donated.

Twin Cities labor tours Molina Lara

BY FRANK FORRESTAL

TWIN CITIES, Minnesota —

leader Aleiandro Molina Lara is gaining ground in the labor movement here and throughout the

On February 9, two members of the Labor Task Force of the El Salvador Committee spoke at the union meeting of Operating Engineers Local 34. The local endorsed the tour and said it would build it in the shops.

A lively political discussion place there. One member said, "I don't think we should give money to help finance the tour. If individual members want to contribute, that's fine." A woman member responded, "No, I don't agree with what the brother said. This is not an individual question. The union as a whole should help

A motion to allocate \$20 of union funds carried unanimously and an additional \$45 was raised by passing the hat.

Molina Lara's tour includes union meetings, meetings in the Black community, on college campuses, and in various churches. The American Indian Movement, the National Black Independent Political Party and the Coalition of Labor Union Women are also sponsoring meetings for

On March 3, Molina Lara will speak at a farmers meeting in Support for the February 21- Montivideo, Minnesota at the

March 3 tour of Salvadoran union Rural Electrical Coop Auditorium.

> To participate in the tour, contact: Labor Task Force, El Salvador Solidarity Committee, P.O. Box 14574, Minneapolis, Minn. 55414, or call (612) 375-0105.

Release jailed Salvador workers!

The National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS) is circulating a petition in this country to free 11 union leaders who are currently in jail. The petition is addressed to the U.S. government — the biggest supporter of the Salvadoran dictatorship.

Leaders of both FENASTRAS and the electrical workers union (STECEL) have been in jail since August 22, 1980. Their crime? They participated in a general strike of STECEL, which was demanding the reinstatement of more than 160 workers who were unjustly fired by the company.

To get copies of the petition, more information on the Salvadoran trade union movement, and to make donations to the fund for the families of the imprisoned trade unionists, write to FENASTRAS, 2360 Washington Blvd., Angeles, California 90018.

Picket hits U.S. war on Nicaragua

BY ROBERTO KOPEC

NEW YORK - More than 60 people who braved the cold and wind to picket for two hours at the U.S. Navy's Recruitment Center in Times Square on February 7.

The action was called by the Coalition for a Free Central America, which includes several solidarity committees in the New York area, to protest the war maneuvers held by the U.S. and Honduran governments in Honduras close to the Nicaraguan border during the first week of February.

These maneuvers were a direct threat against Nicaragua, whose people and government, led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, face constant and deadly attacks by counterrevolutionaries armed and financed by the CIA and operating from Honduran terri-

Signs and slogans denounced U.S. intervention in Central America and U.S. aid to the brutal regimes of El Salvador and Guatemala. Activists from the New York Committee in Support of Vieques carried signs condemning the participation of more than 200 National Guardsmen from Puerto Rico in the maneuvers. Vieques is an inhabited island off the coast of Puerto Rico used for

U.S. Navy target practice and "war games."

World Front paper is useful reading

FRENTE MUNDIAL

apoyo total a la propuesta de diálogo del fdr-fmln



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

Why White House fears negotiations on El Salvador

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Claiming that Salvadoran freedom fighters are "creating hell" in El Salvador, U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz declared February 16 that Washington would never support negotiations with the liberation forces. "To now say, let them shoot their way into that government," he said. "No

Shultz's sharp rejection of any talks comes at a time when the proposal for opening negotiations between the Salvadoran regime and representatives of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) is gaining greater support.

In October 1982, the FDR and FMLN proposed an immediate dialogue with the regime, without any prior conditions. The campaign they launched around this question has been an important weapon in deepening the Salvadoran dictatorship's political isolation, by placing the onus for continuing the war on the regime and its backers in Washington.

In an interview in the February 9 Paris daily Le Monde, FDR leader Guillermo Ungo reiterated this stance. "We are making this offer at a time when our forces on the ground are on the way to proving that they hold the initiative," Ungo said, referring to the FMLN's recent military advances. "We are making this offer not out of weakness, but because we are conscious that we cannot lose time in responding to the expectations of the greater and greater number of people in our country who are hoping for peace.'

The Committee of Trade Union Unity (CUS), which encompasses unions representing half a million Salvadoran workers, has come out in support of the FDR-FMLN negotiations proposal.

The Catholic church hierarchy has likewise been pressing the government to open negotiations, and acting Archbishop Arturo Rivera y Damas has been speaking out more sharply against the dictatorship's repression. Even the Christian Democratic Youth, affiliated to the former ruling Christian Democratic Party, has declared itself in favor of a dialogue. And a group of junior officers in the Salvadoran army has issued an open letter urging the government to open talks.

Internationally, the governments of Mexico, Venezuela, Panama, Cuba, Nicaragua, and other countries have come out in favor of negotiations, as has the Nonaligned Movement.

By ruling out such talks, the U.S. government is defying the right of the masses

10

of Salvadoran people to determine what happens in their country. This stance, of course, is nothing new. The U.S. imperialists have been imposing their will on El Salvador for decades, and they have no intention of giving up their domination

That is precisely why the Salvadoran workers and peasants have been forced to take up arms: to get rid of the bloody U.S.backed dictatorship and to free their country of the imperialist stranglehold that has kept them impoverished for so long.

But the Reagan administration's rejection of talks is not just an expression of imperialist arrogance. It is also a reflection of Washington's very real fears.

It is concerned that the opening of negotiations between the Salvadoran dictatorship and the FDR-FMLN will give the liberation forces greater international authority as the legitimate representatives of the Salvadoran people, and thus provide further political obstacles to U.S. military intervention.

Washington is also painfully aware of the weakness and isolation of the Salvadoran regime.

The Salvadoran army is showing signs of growing demoralization among its ranks.

The guerrillas have consciously sought to further weaken the troops' morale by appealing to them to surrender.

To try to cut down on the troops' opportunities to surrender, the army has pulled them back from dozens of smaller towns and outposts, thereby enlarging the zones under FMLN control.

Although U.S. officials often complain that the Salvadoran commanders are not using appropriate military tactics, their real problem is political: the Salvadoran regime, which is protecting the interests of imperialism and the country's small class of wealthy landlords and businessmen, is opposed by the vast majority of the population. It is the rebels who have the popular

It is obvious that the Salvadoran dictatorship cannot survive on its own. That is why the Reagan administration is moving toward greater direct U.S. military inter-

At the same time, however, the political

cost that such intervention would entail, both in Latin America and within the United States, has caused tactical rifts within the U.S. ruling class over how to pursue its goals in El Salvador. There have been many editorials in the big-business press urging Washington not to reject the possibility of negotiations.

Yet the Reagan administration is pushing ahead. It has proposed a massive increase in military aid to the Salvadoran re-

Even more ominously, the Pentagon has explicitly floated the idea of sending in U.S. ground troops, in addition to the several dozen advisers who are already there.

The Salvadoran people are sure to resist such intervention with the utmost determination. But they are also looking to the people of the United States to help check Washington's moves. In his Le Monde interview, FDR leader Ungo stressed the danger of U.S. intervention and asked, "But is public opinion in the United States ready to accept the loss of its boys in an armed conflict in Central America?"

From Intercontinental Press

Behind the U.S. provocation against Libya

BY WILL REISSNER

The Reagan administration's latest miliongoing U.S. campaign of threats and economic and political pressure against the government of Muammar el-Qaddafi. The U.S. aim is to compel Qaddafi to pull back from Libya's support for the Palestinian and other anti-imperialist struggles.

The latest U.S. probe involved the dispatch of four AWACS radar planes to Egypt, along with the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Nimitz to Libyan waters in the Gulf of Sidra. In August 1981 carrier-based U.S. aircraft shot down two Libyan planes over the Gulf of Sidra.

U.S. officials claim that the latest moves were in response to the discovery by Egyptian intelligence agencies several weeks ago that Qaddafi was plotting to overthrow the tottering regime of Gaafar el-Nimeiry in the Sudan.

Qaddafi has categorically denied this charge, stating that any revolution in the Sudan will be carried out by the Sudanese people.

According to Washington's story, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak asked Reagan to respond to the discovery of Qaddafi's plot by rushing the AWACS planes scan the skies for warplanes. Egyptian officials, however, deny they ever asked for the AWACS to be sent to their country.

Defense Minister Abdel Halim Abu Gharzala told reporters February 20 that he had not seen "any signs of a crisis or a possible aggression on Sudan at present.'

The Libyan news agency Jana reported that demonstrations were held throughout Libya to protest the "provocations of the U.S. Sixth Fleet" and the slander of Libyan involvement in a coup against Nimeiry.

Unable to provoke the Libyan government into an adventure that would give Washington an excuse for further military intervention, Secretary of State George Shultz announced the retirement of the latest frame-up of Libya in a February 20 television interview.

Dripping with racist arrogance, Shultz stated that, "at least for the moment, Qaddafi is back in his box where he belongs."

Since the alleged threat had receded, he explained, Washington will pull back the four AWACS February 22, and withdraw the U.S.S. Nimitz from the Gulf of Sidra.

Over the past three years, the Reagan adinistration has leveled a steady barrage of unsubstantiated charges, backed up with threats, against Qaddafi.

He was accused of preparing an invasion of the Sudan in October 1981. Former Secretary of State Alexander Haig initially claimed Qaddafi was behind the assassination of Egyptian President Sadat.

The administration provided reams of copy for sensationalist newspapers with its claim that Qaddafi had sent "hit squads" to the United States to murder President Reagan.

The latest manufactured crisis fits into a pattern. Without evidence, Washington charges that Libya is planning some terrible thing. It threatens military action if that thing is done. And when that thing is not done, in this case the invasion of the Sudan, Washington boasts to the American people that U.S. military muscle has contributed to world peace and stability.

As Secretary of State Shultz put it this time around, "the president of the United States acted quickly and decisively and effectively."

From Intercontinental Press



Sandinista border guards at El Ciprés on Honduran border.

Nicaraguans organize protests against U.S. troop maneuvers

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

PUERTO CABEZAS — If the weeklong U.S.-Honduran show of military force just north of here was intended to spread fear and demoralization, this correspondent can personally testify that Pentagon planners were handed a big disappoint-

On Nicaragua's northern Atlantic Coast, the area closest to the site of the maneuvers, the reaction among the population demonstrated how deep opposition runs to U.S. intervention. This includes among the Miskito Indians whom Reagan is so fond of portraying as "victims" of the revolution.

Several thousand Miskitos, Englishspeaking Afro-Nicaraguans, and native speakers marched together

through the streets here February 1 to protest the opening of the maneuvers.

Chanting slogans in all three languages, nearly one quarter of the city's population marched to protest the presence of more than 5,000 U.S. and Honduran troops 60 miles to the north.

The response was particularly noteworthy since the Atlantic Coast is the area where the Sandinistas have historically been the weakest, and where the counterrevolutionaries have had the greatest success in sowing confusion among the popu-

Protests against the U.S.-Honduran maneuvers continued the following night. Neighborhood bonfires made of scrap tires were lit - a traditión of the Sandinista Revolution against Somoza. Again, speeches, songs, and slogans were in all three languages.

Particularly warm greetings were extended to a visiting delegation of 26 U.S. citizens who had come to the area to join the protest, as a representation of the great majority of the American people who oppose U.S. military intervention in Central

The U.S. visitors, of whom this correspondent was one, were able to see firsthand some of the impact of Washington's war against the Nicaraguan people.

Organized by actor Drew Katzman, the group included a number of people who work in the U.S. film industry as well as representatives of antiwar and religious organizations. Argentine novelist Julio Cortázar and Salvadoran poet Claríbel Alegría also took part.

Our arrival at Bizmuna, the scheduled observation site 10 miles south of the border, was delayed for a day by heavy fighting. Two hundred counterrevolutionaries, armed with U.S.-supplied mortars and artillery, attacked the village.

Six Sandinista soldiers were killed in the battle, seven were wounded. No medical facilities are available in the area, and the same flights that flew us in carried the wounded out.

Several of the huts that had been prepared for us to sleep in were burned to the

Bizmuna is by no stretch of the imagination a military target. A former Miskito settlement, its huts had stood empty for more than a year. For their own safety, the villagers were among the thousands evacuated to a new settlement, Tasba Pry, 100 miles further in the interior.

Not all members of the visiting U.S. group had previously been convinced of the necessity for moving the civilian population out of the area. Their views changed, particularly after hitting the trenches in a midnight alert. During our stay, renewed fighting took place a few miles to the east, seven Nicaraguan soldiers wounded.

In five days spent sharing the lives of the Sandinista border guards and reserve battalions - both of which are all volunteer forces - we were able to see for ourselves the depth of commitment of these young fighters.

This is one of the most remote areas of Central America, with access only by river or small biplanes capable of landing without a runway. Conditions are harsh. Supplies are scarce.

The emergency mobilization of forces to meet both the maneuvers and the increasing contra attacks, had clearly stretched supply lines even tighter.

We saw an entire reserve unit of volunteers that did not have pots to cook in. Their food consisted of meat from stray cattle and fruit picked from abandoned orchards. The river provided their only

water for bathing and drinking. Although it rains here 10 months of the year, we did not see a single soldier with raingear. Several soldiers had combat boots but no socks - a recipe for torment in an area infested with garrapata, a voracious cattle tick that can make you forget about the mosquitos. In a situation of military emergency, these are the conditions that tens of thousands of young Nicaraguans volunteer to fight in and perhaps sacrifice their lives to defend the revolution.

Labor forum on jobs held in Milwaukee

BY ROBERT DEAVER

MILWAUKEE - "No cuts, no way, is the one message we have to send to the employing class," said Ted Krukowski, president of United Electrical Workers Local 1111, at a rally here February 5 sponsored by the Committee for the Survival of the Unemployed.

More than 300 people gathered to hear an impressive array of labor and community leaders respond to threatened cuts in unemployment compensation. The rally also heard greetings from Bruce Beresford, representing striking independent truckers, and from Antonio Gomez, a Salvadoran unionist living here as part of a churchsponsored sanctuary program.

Krukowski, whose union organizes the big Allen Bradley plant in Milwaukee, pointed out that fewer than 2,000 of 5,000 members of his local are still working. More layoffs are expected.

Prior to the rally, Gov. Anthony Earl elected last November with the unanimous support of the state's labor officialdom met with a delegation from the unemployed committee. Despite the delegation's demand that there be no cuts in unemployment compensation, Earl stressed that he would be "encouraging changes" that would result in cuts.

Among the changes being discussed are cutting benefits, restoring a one-week waiting period, and making it harder to

One of every four Wisconsin workers has received unemployment compensation in the last year.

A number of speakers at the February 5 rally refused to accept the government's plea of poverty. They stressed that the right of the unemployed to an adequate income should be defended.

While all the speakers stood firm for no cuts, few offered any perspective for how to fight Earl's attacks. Those who had a plan urged the unemployed to lobby state legislators and to elect politicians who would be "friends" of labor.

Howard Fuller, Earl's choice to head his Employee Relations Department and a well known Black leader in Milwaukee, chastised those in the audience who had voted for Reagan. Describing Earl as a good guy who was under intense pressure by the manufacturers, Fuller posed the critical task as that of lobbying Earl and other leg-

United Auto Workers regional official Bill Troestler — who had not been scheduled to speak — closed the rally by endorsing Fuller's proposals. "Unless you all go back to your union and give every member a pencil, pen, and paper and tell them to write letters, we're going to get cuts like you never saw," he declared.

The willingness of the unemployed and working unionists in the audience to consider other approaches was shown by the standing ovation given Salvadoran unionist Antonio Gomez. "I ask the president of the United States not to send more money or arms to the governments of Central America because they're being used to kill people there," he said. "I ask the president of the United States to use these millions of dollars being sent to Central America to create jobs here in the United States for the unemployed."

Wisconsin's workers got a glimpse of the real Governor Earl when he proposed his state budget in the week following the rally.

It calls for raising an additional \$976.2 million in taxes to balance the state budget, 78 percent of which will come from higher personal income taxes. Another 11 percent is to come from utility taxes, which are automatically passed on to the consumer. The budget also provides for \$16 million in tax give-aways to big business.

Following the afternoon rally here February 5, the Militant Labor Forum sponsored an educational weekend on "Why Can't Everybody Have a Job?'

Andy Rose, a Socialist Workers Party national committee member and former editor of the Militant, took up the solutions to the current economic crisis proposed by big business and the Democrats and Republi-

One of these is protectionist legislation, a popular proposal among labor officials too. In the steel industry, Rose explained, trade barriers led to a 27 percent decline in imports during 1978-80. Far from saving steelworkers' jobs, however, the number of jobs in the industry during the same period declined by 14 percent.

He pointed to increasing layers of workers who are refusing the concessions demanded of them, such as the Canadian Chrysler workers, the steelworkers, the miners, and the independent truckers.

Rose then mapped out a working-class solution to the economic crisis, which in-

- Scrap the war budget being used against workers around the world and use the money to fund a massive public works program to put people back to work and provide badly-needed services.
- Shorten the workweek with no cut in pay to spread the available work around.
- Solidarize with workers at home and abroad and chart a course of political action independent of the Democrats and Republicans, through the formation of a labor

PLO leader slams Israeli aid to dictators

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "Do you see any difference between the aid the United States is giving to Israel and the aid the U.S. is giving to El Salvador and other countries in Central America?" This was one of the questions put to leaders of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) at a press conference here January 14 during the meeting of foreign ministers of the Nonaligned Movement.

"The only difference I see," said PLO Ambassador to the United Nations Zehdi

Strike at 'Amsterdam News'

NEW YORK CITY - Workers represented by the Newspaper Guild are on strike at the Amsterdam News, a Black weekly published here.

The paper's ownership is trying to impose a four-day workweek with a 20 percent cut in wages for its 38 editorial em-

Union scale at the paper is said to average \$300 weekly, considerably less than Guild scale at New York dailies.

Terzi, "is that the help to Israel goes directly and openly while the aid to Central America is going via Israel because the [American] government is arraid that the people of the United States will not permit another Vietnam in Central America.'

Terzi pointed to the case of Guatemala, where Israel recently sold the dictatorship \$50,000 worth of assault rifles.

In Honduras, he said, the Israeli government plans to "donate" \$600,000 worth of supplies. "Where will they get the money? From the United States, of course. However, it will be called 'aid.'

When asked by a correspondent from the Sandinista daily, Barricada, if the Israeli arms industries were owned by Israel or the United States, Terzi explained that they were really a joint U.S.-Israeli venture, partly state owned but including participation by subsidiaries of such U.S. companies as American Electronic Laboratories, Aeronautics Corp. of America, Gerber Scientific Incorporated, Central Data Corp., and General Telephone and Electronics.

Marwan Tahboub, PLO ambassador to Nicaragua, added further details on the Zionist regime's support to military dictatorships in Central America.

Relations between Guatemala and Israel date back to the early 1970s when ex-Israeli President Katz visited Guatemala to establish four Israeli military plants there, he said. Since that time Guatemala has bought a great deal of Israeli arms, he explained.

In Honduras, Tahboub said, Israeli aid dates back to the late 1960s, at the time of the brief war between Honduras and El Salvador. At that time Israel sold weapons to both countries, mainly jet fighters.

Since that time, he said, collaboration had broadened between the Zionist regime and both El Salvador and Honduras to include military training, intelligence, arms sales, and maintenance.

Tahboub said the recent Israeli delegation to Honduras included high-ranking officers of the Israeli General Staff who are responsible for logistics, training, and in-

"Politically, U.S. arms sales to Central America, the Southern Cone, and South Africa are not positive for the so-called U.S. reputation," Tahboub said. Arranging the sales through Israel provides badly needed camouflage as well as a boost to the economy of U.S. imperialism's main Mideast ally, he added.

Iranian embassy opens in Nicaragua

The Islamic Republic of Iran officially opened its embassy in Managua, Nicaragua, on February 11, the fourth anniversary of the Iranian revolution.

Attending the opening ceremonies were about 100 people, including Nicaraguan officials Dr. Rafael Córdova Rivas and Jaime Wheelock.

A message from the Iranian government to the government and people of Nicaragua was delivered, the Iranian national anthem played, and verses from the Koran read.

-THE GREAT SOCIETY-

'jobs" bill being put together by Democratic and Republican members of Congress will, at best, provide a few hundred thousand jobs. Rep. Silvio Conte, ranking Re-



publican member of the House Appropriations Committee, ex-

Now you see it . . . — That plained, "It's all a matter of perception. They're putting together a fast bill that gives the perception they're doing something about unemployment.'

> Oops! — Canadian war minister Gilles Montagne told the House of Commons, "We believe in a strong credible deterrent in order to prevent peace." He insisted on correcting the record.

Touchy — A State Dept. official insisted the CIA would not be involved in Reagan's \$65 million project to promote "democracy" around the world. CIA participation, he explained, would "kill"

as a pretext to discredit it." Pre-

Try it on your '68 VW - With the "executive car wash," your vehicle is picked up in the morning, thoroughly cleaned, and returned in the evening with a rose on the dashboard. \$119.

Yes indeed — "Tobacco is a striking example of what the free enterprise system is about." -North Carolina's Sen. Jesse Helms.

Could call it 'Fortune II' — The Hospital Corp., which oper-

the project because it would "serve" ates 350 hospitals, will distribute the payment runs out. an in-house magazine to patients. They anticipate lots of ads from companies offering hospital-related goods and services. Like the personal loan and funeral indus-

> A steal — We scoffed a while back in reporting they wanted \$25,000 for a crocodile attache case. But we didn't realize that included a business card holder, some ball point pens, and a lighter.

The march of science — A patent has been issued for a parking meter that radios the cops when

Shopping tip — Loewe's, an international chain of boutiques, is opening shop in New York. Woolworth's it's not. But it does have a key ring for \$22 and while a sheepskin jacket will run up to \$1,800, you can pick up a men's suede jacket for \$795 or a women's suede T-shirt for \$595.

For a quick trip to Vegas — An increasingly popular corporate perk for chief executive officers is loans, up to \$50,000, at either nominal interest rates or interest-

CALENDAR-

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Black Freedom Struggle - Yesterday and Today. Classes on the history and lessons of civil rights battles in Alabama. 1) Independent Black Political Action. Sun., Feb. 27, 12:00 noon. 2) Not Yet Freedom: Birmingham in the 1970s and Today. Sun., March 6, 12:00 noon. 205 18th St. \$1 per class. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

CALIFORNIA

Berkeley

Meeting of Ad Hoc Committee in Support of Iranian Revolution. Sun., Feb. 27, 3:30-6:30 p.m. Finnish Hall, 1819 10th St. (near San Tablo Blvd.). Donation: \$2, \$3.50 dinner.

Oakland

From the U.S. to the Philippines: Fight Against the Marcos Dictatorship. Speakers: Christine Araneta, chair, San Francisco Union of Democratic Filipinos; others. Sat., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

San Francisco

International Women's Day 1983: Working Women Fight For Equality and Freedom. Panel discussion on affirmative action, women in unions, abortion rights, the fight against cutbacks and war, and the role of women in the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran revolutions. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 5, 7 p.m. Retail Clerks Local 1100, 1345 Mission St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 824-

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Nicaragua: Revolution and the Liberation of Women. Slide show and presentation. Speakers: Sonja Franeta and Julie Smith, members of Socialist Workers Party recently returned from Nicaragua. Sat., March 5, 7:30 p.m.; reception to follow. 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (404) 577-4065.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Fight for Political Rights: Victims of American "Justice." Speakers: Al Horsley, Black civil rights activist fighting frame-up in Louisville; Leroy Harper, Harper-Dean Defense Committee; Bill Warrick, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Sun., Feb. 27, 7 p.m. 4850 N College Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

Working Women and the Fight for Equal Rights. Speakers: Sue Wagner, National Organization for Women; Helen McCaliment, representative of local abortion clinic; representative of Socialist Workers Party. Sun., March 13, 7 p.m. 4850 N College Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

12

Socialist Educational Weekend. Two classes. 1) Lessons of the Civil Rights Movement. Speakers: Adlene Abstain, financial secretary, Kentucky Southern Christian Leadership Conference (KSCLC); Anne Braden, longtime civil rights activist; Rev. Odus Bush, president KSCLC; Mac Warren, national chairperson, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Feb. 26, 1 p.m. 2) Malcolm X's Legacy. Film: Malcolm X Speaks. Speaker: Mac Warren. Sat., Feb. 26, 3:30 p.m. 3) Forum — What Socialists Stand For: Working-class Solution to the Capitalist Crisis. Speaker: Mac Warren. Sat., Feb. 26; dinner, 6 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$1.50 per session, \$2.50 dinner. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis

Hear Alejandro Molina Lara on repression against Salvadoran workers. Molina Lara is a leader of National Federation of Salvadoran Workers. Sat., Feb. 26, 7 p.m. United Labor Center, 312 Central Ave., SE. Ausp: El Salvador Solidarity Committee. For more information call (612) 375-0105.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Crisis Facing American Farmers: Stop the Foreclosures! Speakers: Steve Hartnett, southcentral Kansas regional delegate, American Agriculture Movement; John Staggs, member, Printing and Paper Products Union Local 639 and Socialist Workers Party. Film showing: Prosperity the Simple Way. Sun., Feb. 27, 8 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

International Women's Day 1983. Speakers: Teresa Rodríguez, Guatemalan activist; Marty Pettit, member, Socialist Workers Party, just returned from Nicaragua. Sun., March 6, 8 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Fight Against Government Harassment and La Migra. Speaker: Héctor Marroquín, leader of Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party who is fighting deportation Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 4, 7:30 p.m. 11-A Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

Abortion Rights Under Attack. A panel discussion. Speakers: Nancy Ellefson, state coordinator, New Mexico Right to Choose and member of National Organization for Women; Sandy Giles, representative of Religious Coalition for Abortion Rights. Sat., March 5, 8 p.m. 1417 Central Ave. NE. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

International Women's Day Dinner. Slide show: "Basta Ya" about women in Central America; Teatro Claridad. Sun., March 6, 5-9 p.m. YWCA Downtown. Donation: \$3.50. Ausp: Las Compañeras. For more imformation call (505) 266-5009.

NEW YORK

Brooklyn

The Freedom Struggle in El Salvador. Film: Decision to Win with presentation. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 4, dinner, 6:30 p.m.; film, 8 p.m.; party to follow. 335 Atlantic Ave. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 852-7922.

Manhattan

Irish Freedom Struggle on Trial. Speakers: George Harrison, recently acquitted in "Freedom Five" trial; Will Reissner, staff writer, Intercontinental Press; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., Feb. 25, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks south of Canal). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

Schenectady

What Socialists Stand For: Working-class Solution to the Capitalist Crisis. Speakers: Judy Stranahan, national leader, Young Stranahan, national leader, Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., Feb. 26, 8 p.m. 323 State St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (518) 374-1494.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Rally to Support Workers' Rights in El Salvador. Speakers: Alejandro Molina Lara, organizational secretary of National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS); Jim Wolfe, rsearch and education director, International Molders and Allied Workers Union; Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth, Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Sun., March 6, 7 p.m. 745 Derby Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Central American Task Force. For more information call (513) 541-2344.

OREGON

Portland

Portraits of Revolutionary Women: From the Paris Commune to the Cuban Revolution. Speaker: Deborah Higdon, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., March 6, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Malcolm X and the Struggle for Black Liberation Today. Speakers: Al Duncan, member, United Mine Workers of America Local 2350, Socialist Workers Party; others. Sat., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., E Liberty. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

Socialists and the Fight for Women's Rights. Speaker: Betsy Farley. Sat., March 5, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., E Liberty. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

What Socialists Stand For: Working-Class Solution to the Capitalist Crisis. Peter Thierjung, national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., March 12, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., E Liberty. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

Dallas

Working People Keep Dallas Running -Working People Should Run Dallas. Socialist Workers Party campaign rally. Speakers: Greg Preston, SWP candidate for mayor; Mark Weddleton, editor, Young Socialist; others. Translation to Spanish. Sun., Feb. 27; reception, 5:30 p.m.; rally, 6:30 p.m. 2817 Live Oak St. Donation: \$3. Ausp: Greg Preston Campaign Committee. For more information call (214) 826-

Houston

What Socialists Stand For: Working Class Solution to the Capitalist Crisis. Speaker: Mark Weddleton, editor of Young Socialist, national leader of Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 4, 7:30 p.m. 4806 Almeda St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

UTAH

Price

You Can't Afford To Get Sick: Health Care Under Capitalism. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Feb. 26, 7 p.m. Oliveto Bldg., 23 S Carbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

Protest Norfolk School Board Program: Why Busing Must be Defended: Speakers: Johnny Hunter, Hampton teacher, member, Jesus Cares Committee; John Wood, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Sat., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 5412 Jefferson Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON D.C.

A Tribute to Malcolm X: The Importance of His Message Now. Speakers: Donald Massey, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Recordings of Malcolm X's talks. Feb. 25, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202)

The Civil Rights Movement: Lessons for all Working People. Speakers to be announced. Fri., March 4, 8 p.m. 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (202) 797-

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Grenada: Black Revolution in the Caribbean. Speaker: Michael Mitchell, First Secretdian Mission to the UN 3, 7 p.m. Fireside Lounge, University of Wisconsin Union, 3230 E Kenwood Blvd. Ausp: Black Student Union, Latin America Solidarity Coalition, Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (404) 445-2076.

Visit Grenada March 11-18

Come celebrate the fourth anniversary of the Grenadian revolution! Learn about the development of agriculture and agro-industry and the social gains of the rev-

Stay in a cottage on Grand Anse Beach south of St. George's. Visit a Center for Popular Education, the new international airport under construction, a school. Meet with activists of the New Jewel Movement, Grenada's leading party; National Women's Organization representatives; and Cuban volunteers.

\$950 includes: eight days, round trip flights from New York, guest house (double occupancy), two meals daily, taxes, and service charges.

To apply send \$150 deposit with your name, address, and phone number to: Militant/Perspectiva Mundial/Young Socialist Tours 410 West Street New York, New York 10014

(212) 929-3486

'Israel's Sacred Terrorism': diary of ex-prime minister

Israel's Sacred Terrorism: A Study Based on Moshe Sharett's Personal Diary and Other Documents. By Livia Rokach, Association of Arab-American University Graduates, Belmont, Massachusetts 1980. 73 pp. \$4.50.

BY PAUL SIEGEL

Livia Rokach, daughter of a former Israeli cabinet minister, is a sympathizer of the Palestinian liberation struggle. For *Israel's Sacred Terrorism* she examined closely 2,400 pages in which Moshe Sharett, Israel's first foreign minister and for two years (1954–55) the prime minister, recorded daily conversations and events in his family and in the government from 1953 to 1956.

From these intimate jottings, published in Israel by Sharett's son in 1979, she culled startling revelations that

BOOK REVIEW

exhibit the design of Israeli expansionism present from the very beginnings of the state.

Sharett's son, with the help of the Israeli Foreign Office, sought to stop publication of Rokach's book on the pretext that it violated copyright law and injured his economic interests by its unauthorized translation from Hebrew. The reality, of course, was that they were concerned about the political effects of the book.

They dropped legal action, however, when it was realized that the case would not be won and that the publicity would be counterproductive.

The calculations of the Israeli Foreign Office proved to be correct

The American mass media have not written a line about the book. Silence proved to be a better weapon than attempted repression.

Sharett was a "soft-liner" who fought within the cabinet against the "hard-line" approach of David Ben-Gurion and Moshe Dayan. Nevertheless Sharett did not differ fundamentally from his antagonists. He always wound up collaborating with them despite his expressions of anguish.

One of the book's most interesting revelations is the early plan to invade and partition Lebanon, long before the presence — or existence — of the Palestine Liberation Organization there. Sharett tells how Ben-Gurion and Dayan urged this plan.

In one diary entry he states: "According to him [Dayan] the only thing that's necessary is to find an officer, even just a Major. We should either win his heart or buy him with money, to make him agree to declare himself the savior of the Maronite population. Then the Israeli army will enter Lebanon, will occupy the necessary territory, and will create a Christian regime which will ally itself with Israel. The territory from the Litani [River] southward will be totally annexed to Israel and everything will be all right."

Sharett felt that this would be "a crazy adventure." "Who will vouch," he wrote Ben-Gurion, "that the bloody war that will inevitably explode as a result of such an attempt will be limited to Lebanon and not drag Syria into the battlefield immediately? . . .

"Moreover, if this plan is not kept a secret but becomes known — a danger which cannot be underestimated in the Middle Eastern circumstances — the damage which we shall suffer . . . would not be compensated even by an eventual success of the operation itself."

Sharett also reveals that it was the conscious policy of the Zionist government to provoke military confrontations with the Arab states that Israel was certain of winning. He speaks of "the long chain of false incidents and hostilities we have invented" and of "the many clashes we have provoked which cost us so much blood."

He quotes Dayan as saying that such actions "are our vital lymph. They . . . help us maintain a high tension among our population and in the army . . . in order to have young men go to the Negev we have to cry out that it is in danger." This deliberate heightening of border tension was among other things a cynical disregard for the safety of Israel's own border population.

The attitude of the U.S. government was most important for Israeli plans. Sharett tells how Kermit Roosevelt of the CIA gave the Israeli leaders the go-ahead sign after Egyptian President Nasser made an arms deal with the Soviet Union. Roosevelt informed his Israeli contact, "If, when the Soviet arms arrive, you will hit Egypt — no one will protest."

Ben-Gurion at a cabinet meeting declared: "Isser [Harel, the Israeli secret police chief] likewise concludes that the U.S. is hinting to us that as far as they are concerned we have a free hand and God bless us if we act audaciously. . . .

"Now . . . the U.S. is interested in toppling Nasser's regime . . . but . . . it prefers its work to be done by Israel. Hence, Isser proposes seriously and pressingly . . . that we carry out our plan for the occupation of the Gaza Strip now."

When, a year later, Israel did move against Egypt in conjunction with Britain and France, the United States demanded that its imperialist rivals withdraw in a matter of hours. But Israel's withdrawal came four months later after heavy Soviet pressure. This withdrawal was only tactical, as the 1967 war demonstrated.

Livia Rokach has indeed, as Noam Chomsky says in his introduction, "performed a valuable service... to those who are interested in discovering the real world that lies behind 'official history.'"

Philadelphia school workers fight denial of wage increase

BY HASKELL BERMAN

PHILADELPHIA — In a unanimous vote February 19, school workers decided to continue their strike against the Philadelphia School District. They turned down a proposal from the city that included a 6 percent wage increase but would have left them without a union contract.

The 4,000 custodial and maintenance workers and bus drivers, members of Local 1201 of the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, have been on strike since February 2.

The school workers have gained support. On February 9, the Philadelphia AFL-CIO Council voted for a "general minimum two-hour work stoppage" to back the strike, although no date was set.

The city's refusal to sign a contract with Local 1201 is part of a general attack against public workers in the Philadelphia area. Besides nursing home cutbacks and layoffs, there is also the refusal of the Southeastern Pennsylvania Transit Authority to bargain with rail unions representing workers on Conrail.

Members of Local 1201 walked off the job February 2 after five months of negoti-

ations and working without a contract. The strike began after the mayor torpedoed a "near" agreement that would have given 1201 members a one-year contract while the major item in dispute, a 10 percent wage increase owed in the previous contract, went before the State Supreme Court.

A 1980 agreement provided for the 10 percent increase in September 1981, but this agreement was never honored by the school district, which claimed a \$200 million budget deficit.

In 1981 Local 1201 took its wage claim to arbitration and won. The district refused to honor that court decision, and the union appealed to Common Pleas Court, which upheld it.

Again the district refused to pay and appealed to Commonwealth Court, which finally ruled against the workers, who have been working without a contract since September 1981.

The school board has made the union's dropping of the suit for the previously owed 10 percent a condition for getting a contract. But the union has refused to drop the suit.

The strike has been effective in shutting

down about a third of the 260 schools in the district every day.

Anthony Ottobre, newly elected president of Local 1201, told the news media after the unanimous vote not to go back to work without a contract, "We're not going to accept this. I'll be put away in jail first, for as long as the judge wants to put me there."

Joe Riccardio, a maintenance worker, told the *Militant*, "All public service workers across the country are looking to this strike. If they can take away our 10 percent, it's legal robbery."

An important element in the strike is the relation between Local 1201, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT), and the rest of the labor movement. How much solidarity can be brought to bear against the employers and their antilabor offensive is crucial. The resolution of the AFL-CIO Council is an important step.

In the past the leaderships of 1201 and the PFT have given little more than lip service to develop mutual support of their strikes. This has kept the members of both unions divided. The majority of PFT members have not honored 1201 picket lines.

There is much sympathy for the de-

mands of Local 1201 among the PFT membership, however, and this provides a good opportunity for overcoming the discord of the past.

While the PFT has not yet adopted a prostrike position, there has been much discussion of the strike among teachers. A few teachers have honored 1201's picket lines, while others have voted to donate a day's pay to the strike.

Haskell Berman is a member of the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers.

Miami cop charged in killing of Black

Policeman Luis Alvarez, who shot Nevell Johnson last December in Miami in cold blood, has been charged with manslaughter. The murder of Johnson, a young Black worker, led to a rebellion in the community of Overtown.

Three years ago, when several Miami cops were charged with killing another Black, Arthur McDuffie, their acquittal touched off a major rebellion in Liberty City.

-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-

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.

LOUSIANA: 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

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.

NEW YORK: Capital District (Schenectady): SWP, YSA, 323 State St. Zip: 12305. Tel: (518) 374-1494. New York, Brooklyn: SWP, YSA, 335 Atlantic Ave. Zip: 11201. Tel: (212) 852-7922. New York, Manhattan: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445. New York: City-wide SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 925-1668.

NORTH CAROLINA: Piedmont: SWP, YSA, P.O. Box 1026, Greensboro. Zip: 27402. 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 Almeda. 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.

Farm movement under attack

The ruling class has opened up a fierce attack on the farmers' movement and the struggle to halt mortgage foreclosures. Its thrust is to charge protesting farmers with violence and smear them as right-wingers.

Throughout the country these scandalous accusations are being spread by the bought-and-paid-for media. Nowhere has this campaign reached such a feverish pitch as it has in Colorado.

On Sunday, February 13, the banner headline on the front page of the *Denver Post* screamed, "Farmers Turning Militant: Movement Teaches Combat, Bomb-Making." An entire spread of articles attempted to link prominent leaders of the American Agriculture Movement (AAM) with right-wing, terrorist activity. It reports that federal agents have launched an investigation of the organization.

The AAM, the *Post* asserts, "has moved sharply to the political right of the flag-waving, tractor-driving group that rose from the chaff of the 1977 harvest to protest farm conditions." The entire violence-baiting charge is built around a meeting that AAM leaders, such as Alvin Jenkins and Gene Schroder, attended last spring in Kansas. The meeting allegedly discussed "bomb-making."

Jenkins and Schroder say the meeting was called an "Ecological Seminar — to Clean Up this Land of Ours," and they went to check it out.

Supposedly a few AAM members have joined rightwing groups and some right-wing literature is being circulated to AAM members. So, guilty by association, the entire AAM is charged with veering off to the right.

It's true that ultra-right and semifascist outfits are at-

tempting to influence the farmers' movement and to win adherents from it. But to label the AAM and its leadership as right-wing is pure hogwash.

This insidious attack has been cooked up for one reason: the direct action protests of exploited farmers to stop foreclosure sales is spreading like a prairie fire. Scores of such actions are taking place. New organizations are springing up bearing such names as: Wisconsin Farm Unity Alliance, Illinois Farm Alliance, Family Farm Movement, Citizens Organization Acting Together (COACT), and Farmers Survival Association.

Jenkins and other AAM leaders have been on an organizing drive to get the AAM more involved in the grass-roots protests.

More and more farmers are saying: "We're fed up with waiting on the politicians! We're taking action ourselves to stop being put off of our land!" It's this that big business and the banks want to stop. It's this their slander campaign is aimed against.

By associating this just struggle with violence and ultra-right politics, they hope to prevent workers from supporting it.

It's exactly the same line of attack that the employing class waged against the independent truckers' strike. The striking truckers were charged with fomenting violence. And the media was filled with lies about how the interests of union-organized drivers and those of independent drivers are diametrically opposed.

All working people — farmers and labor — should repudiate this attack and solidarize with the farmers' struggle to halt mortgage foreclosure sales.

Victory for birth control rights

In a victory for women's rights — especially the rights of young women — two federal judges have prevented the government's new rules on teenage birth control from taking immediate effect.

On February 17 a federal judge in New York temporarily barred the government from enforcing anywhere in the country its new law requiring parental notification when teenagers get prescription contraceptives from federally-funded clinics.

The next day, Judge Thomas Flannery of Washington, D.C., concurred with the New York ruling. The Reagan administration says it will appeal.

The major media portrays the new rules as simply a Reagan-Republican proposal. But it was the liberal Democrat Sen. Edward Kennedy who helped prepare the way for it in 1981 by uniting with Sen. Jeremiah Denton, a Republican from Alabama, to push the "Teenage Chas-

tity Act" through Congress. This piece of legislation allocated federal money to counsel pregnant teenagers against having abortions. The proposed alternative was adoption.

Supporters of the new regulations claim they are concerned about the health of teenagers who use the birth control pill and intrauterine device, and that's why the parents should be notified.

But the facts show that far from increasing the wellbeing of teenagers, this rule would result in a higher number of young women who end up with unwanted pregnancies and all the problems that go with them.

If this new law is upheld, it will effect far more than the nearly 700,000 young people who go to family planning clinics each year. It will be another step in the bipartisan effort to restrict the right of women to control their own bodies.

Anti-immigrant bill poses threat

The reintroduction into Congress in mid-February of the Simpson-Mazzoli anti-immigrant bill is a matter of grave concern for the entire labor movement.

It's the most sweeping revision of the immigration code since the McCarthyite exclusion of "communists" and other "undesirables" was passed in 1952.

The present measure would tighten surveillance of the Mexican border to further curb the entry of undocumented Latino workers, as well as the increasing number of political refugees from El Salvador and other nations of Central America.

If passed, the law would give immigration cops unrestricted power to exclude people at the border or at ports of entry.

The bill would intensify job discrimination against Latino workers by establishing penalties for employers who "knowingly" hire undocumented workers.

Within three years of passage, no American worker, native or foreign-born, could get a job without producing a counterfeit-proof ID card.

It could mean mass deportations for more than a million undocumented workers now resident here.

The bill was introduced last year by Sen. Alan Simpson, a Republican from Wyoming, and Rep. Romano Mazzoli, a Democrat from Kentucky. It had the support of Democrats and Republicans alike and was approved last August by the Senate in an 18–81 vote. But then it got bogged down in the closing days of the House

An ominous aspect of the bill is its provisos for "streamlining" the handling of appeals for political asylum.

There are more than 100,000 people now in this country seeking such asylum, including several thousand Salvadorans who face death if delivered back to the regime there.

When the bill was introduced last year, Simpson argued that immigrants from impoverished nations "have the potential to create here a measure of the same political, social, and economic anguish which exists in the countries from which they have chosen to depart."

This reactionary theme was echoed in a lead editorial

of the February 21 New York Times entitled, "Time to Turn the Illegal Tide."

The *Times* urged speedy passage of the Simpson-Mazzoli bill. Detailing the economic crisis in Latin America, it declared that this is "compounded by violence and political instability."

Both Simpson and the *Times* suggest that the "anguish" and "violence" was created by those now trying to come here, and that they will bring that violence here too.

But the very opposite is true. The violence and economic misery in Central America stem from the determination of U.S. big business and its puppet regimes in those countries to maintain a bankrupt social system against the will of the vast majority of working people there.

The present move to clamp down even further on immigrant workers is part and parcel of Washington's war policy in Central America and the Caribbean.

Latino workers opposed to the U.S. war drive would be an immediate target.

One case in point is Héctor Marroquín. A socialist forced to flee a political frame-up in his native Mexico, Marroquín has been ordered deported. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) authorities have openly stated Marroquín's Marxist views are the reason for expelling him from the country. On January 27, a federal appeals court upheld the INS in denying him political asylum.

Can there be any question that if the Simpson-Mazzoli bill is enacted, there will be an accelerated drive against others seeking asylum here?

In the midst of an employer war against the rights of working people at home, this bill attempts to scapegoat the foreign-born for the inability of the capitalist system to provide jobs.

And to promote their war in Central America, the politicians in Washington are working to whip up sentiment against "aliens." It is one of the means by which they hope to muzzle the mounting antiwar sentiment in this country.

The attack begins with the foreign-born workers. But it won't end there. It never does.

Contributions of Jose Marti to Cuban revolution

BY MIKE TABER

Delegates from 89 countries attended a seminar held in Havana December 14–16 to discuss the ideas of the great 19th century Cuban revolutionary José Martí and his relevance today.

Martí, Cuba's national hero, was born 130 years ago in January 1853. A leading intellectual, he was the founder of the Cuban Revolutionary Party and led the 1895 uprising against Spanish rule. He was killed in battle that same year.

Jesús Montané, a member of the Secretariat of the

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

Communist Party of Cuba and head of its General Department of Foreign Relations, gave the opening address to the seminar. Montané's speech was printed in the January 9, 1983, *Granma Weekly Review*.

One of the milestones in the fight against the Batista dictatorship in Cuba was the 1953 attack on the Moncada Garrison, led by Fidel Castro and Abel Santamaría. A veteran of that action, Montané spoke of Martí's influence on the young people who participated in it.

Montané also mentioned some of the misconceptions that exist about the political development of that generation of Cuban revolutionaries. "Some say that Fidel and those of us with him had no defined ideology," he stated. "Others say that the leader of the Revolution and his closest comrades were simply liberal democrats. . . .

"Even today there are those who, while friendly to our country, echo the version according to which the cause for the Cuban Revolution's having taken the socialist path is to be found in the hostile policy of harassment and aggression implemented by successive U.S. administrations."

"Our Revolution did have an ideology from the very beginning. The reason we did not reveal it as a form of doctrine or theory was due, as Fidel has often explained, to a series of political and tactical considerations and to our innermost conviction that we should devote all our energies to the struggle itself and to the unity of all revolutionaries around concrete objectives."

"What ignorance and prejudice prevented our people from understanding in other circumstances, life itself enabled them to understand when their eyes were opened to reality. The revolutionary struggle became a vast school of ideology for millions of our workers and humble people. The ideology that was our guide even before the Moncada, the ideology in which the leaders of our movement sought the answers to understand and transform the situation in Cuba, could be none other than the ideology of the working class, the ideology of socialism, integrally linked to the most advanced Cuban patriotic and revolutionary thought."

Montané went on to pose a question: "Was it possible to take up Martí's thought and at the same time embrace the universally just ideas of socialism? For us there has never been the slightest contradiction between the one and the other. . . . A profound and dialectical continuity is what united Martí's Revolution with the Revolution that our people are now building and defending. Both are, essentially, one and the same Revolution."

In examining the Cuban independence struggle of the 19th century, Montané pointed out that the Cuban working class was not then in a position to take the lead. The fight for independence "was, thus, to be carried out by the middle classes in the urban and rural areas. José Martí was the most fitting and radical representative of the revolutionary feelings of these classes and a pillar of revolutionary strength, in contrast with the usual unstable, vacillating nature of leaders of the petit bourgeoisie."

Nevertheless, Martí recognized that "the cause of national sovereignty could only be taken up by first taking a stand on the social problems and taking up the cause of the great mass of the nation's poor and dispossessed."

Martí was also one of the first to recognize the threat of U.S. imperialism to Cuba's independence. "While some illustrious Latin American politicians were still dreaming of copying U.S. formulas to eliminate the caudillism, provincialism and backwardness of Spanish America," Montané explained, "Martí was a horrified witness to the inner inequality, intolerance, racism, exploitation, social struggles and political wheeling and dealing that existed in the United States.

"Paradoxically as it may seem," Montané continued, "the frustration of Cuba's independence in 1898 projected Martí's thought onto subsequent generations, as a dream yet to be fulfilled, as an aspiration for which it was worth fighting. The postponed tasks of national liberation and the new tasks of class liberation of workers exploited by capitalism and imperialism became one in history. The patriotic and anti-imperialist struggles and the workers' and peasants' battles against their oppressors became one."

14

Auto worker looks at GM's 'Care and Share' idea

BY MARCIA GALLO

KANSAS CITY — "The prolonged recession has depleted many families' resources to the point that they simply do not have enough food to eat. I am asking each of you who are fortunate enough to be working now and who care about your less fortunate friends and neighbors to share your food with them."

With these words Roger Smith, chairman of General Motors, announced the "Care and Share" program. The

UNION TALK

United Auto Workers (UAW) and GM launched this eight-week campaign in early January. GM has earmarked \$2 million for this program and will put in 50 cents for each can of food and/or match dollar for dollar cash contributions contributed by its employees. The UAW is urging its members to participate.

This campaign follows GM's \$300 Christmas payment to 100,000 laid-off auto workers who have run out of unemployment benefits. GM received most of the good publicity when this was announced. In fact, the UAW deserves the credit for this payment since it was part of the 1982 contract.

General Motors is known for many things. A concern for the hungry is not one of them.

In January GM reported 172,000 employees on indefinite layoff. Food for these workers and their families are needed but this is only a band aid solution to a major crisis in the lives of millions of people. What the unemployed want and need are jobs.

Most UAW members want to help their brothers and sisters who have been thrown out of work and willingly share from their families' income. But there is a healthy skepticism about GM's motives. One worker pointed out that the \$2 million represents the money GM took back from us in the last contract. Many believe that GM's "share" will simply become a tax write off for the company.

This questioning also appeared in the Grease Pencil Nuze, a newsletter which is put out as part of the GM-UAW "Quality of Worklife" program. One person wrote, "I see GM now has a "Care and Share" program. I wonder if they'd care to share in the paying of my utilities this winter?" And another comment: "NO COMPRENDO. I mean no disrespect for GM's Care and Share program, but if times are so hard and we need to keep costs down how come they have two million dollars just laying around to give away?"

Those of us who are lucky to be working, for the pre-

sent, could give a few suggestions to help solve the problem. Why not shorten the workweek with no reduction in pay? This would provide jobs for some of those laid off.

In the midst of this "Care and Share" program, our plant has scheduled nine-hour work days, four days a week for February. Why don't they hire more people and give them work instead of taking it out of our hides? The answer is that overtime is more profitable.

The Democrats and Republicans in Congress could help by extending unemployment benefits at union wages for the duration of the layoffs, and enact a massive public works program to provide jobs.

However, it's clear we can't count on our bosses or their Democratic and Republican parties to solve the problems of jobs and hunger, because to do so would require that GM and other large corporations "share" a lot more of the profits they make from our labor.

I believe we have to turn to our unions and begin discussing ways to solve these problems. To do this we'll need to organize ourselves politically, in a labor party, so that members of every union and progressive organization can use our power to fight for a just solution to the problem of unemployment and all the other ills of this society. An eight-week charity drive just isn't the answer.

Marcia Gallo is a member of UAW Local 31.

Behind media campaign to attack Margaret Mead

Page one of the January 31 New York Times had a story headlined "New Samoa Book Challenges Margaret Mead's Conclusions."

The story began: "Two.months before its official publication date, a book maintaining that the late anthropologist Margaret Mead seriously misrepresented the culture and character of Samoa has ignited heated discussions within the behavioral sciences."

The major media has participated in the controversy surrounding the announcement of Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropologi-



WOMEN IN REVOLT Margaret Jayko

cal Myth by Australian professor Derek Freeman.
Why has Freeman's book gotten such attention?

Mead's Coming of Age in Samoa, written in 1928, was the first anthropological bestseller. Based on her field studies, Mead described the Samoan people, who live on the Samoa islands in the south-central Pacific. Mead found the Samoans to be gentle, peaceful people, free of religious conflicts and devoid of jealousy.

Mead focused on adolescent girls in Samoan society, and observed that the Samoans condoned sexual relations among adolescents uninhibited by legal, social, or moral restrictions. As a result, Mead said, the youth of Samoa didn't suffer the extreme stress that is a fact of life for that age group in capitalist societies.

Mead's book had a big impact. It was a challenge to many things that had previously been considered natural — like taboos on youthful sexual activity and the view that humans are inherently warlike and violent.

Upholders of the status quo denounced Mead, while millions of people around the world read her book on Samoa. Mead went on to become a world-renowned anthropologist — one of the very few females to do so. Mead also became well-known for her attacks on conventional sexual mores.

Freeman now says that Mead's observations are "fundamentally in error and some of them are preposterously false."

He asserts that:

- "The Samoan people are intensely competitive.
- "They have high rates of homicide and assault, and the incidence of rape in Samoa is among the highest in the world.
- "Samoan children, adolescents, and adults live within an authority system that regularly results in psychological disturbances ranging from compulsive behaviors to hysterical illnesses and suicide.

"They are extremely prone to fits of jealousy.

"Not only are Samoans not given to casual lovemaking, but also 'the cult of female virginity is probably carried to a greater extreme than in any other culture known to anthropology." (New York Times, January 31)

Freeman did his field studies 14-42 years after Mead did hers. The destruction of old behavior patterns and the creation of new ones — based on enormous changes brought about by decades of Samoa's domination by U.S. imperialism — must be assumed.

As the article in *Newsweek* magazine commented, "To some extent they [Mead and Freeman] were studying different Samoas. Freeman examined a more church-dominated part of the islands than Mead did. . . . One can see in his findings the effect of 'progress' and increased Westernization."

Freeman has also challenged Mead's academic integrity. He told one reporter, referring to Mead's work on Samoa, "There isn't another example of such wholesale self-deception in the history of the behavioral sciences."

In explaining why Mead allegedly committed this fraud, Freeman says, "it was her deeply convinced belief in the doctrine of extreme cultural determinism that led her to construct an account [of Samoa] that appeared to substantiate this doctrine."

Here Freeman begins to get to the bottom of things and touches on one aspect of a very sharp debate that has taken place for years in the field of anthropology — a debate that has important ramifications not only for all the social sciences, but also for the fight for women's liberation.

Freeman belongs to the anthropological school of sociobiology, which says that humans are not fundamentally different from animals. Sociobiologists seek to ex-

plain all aspects of human society by pointing to the supposed existence of similar phenomena in the animal world. Thus, women's inferiority, men's dominance, racism, the existence of unequal social classes, widespread violence and warfare — all are inevitable and natural because supposedly that's the way all animals do things.

This pseudo-scientific theorizing becomes a justification for the racism, sexism, exploitation, and war which are necessary attributes of modern-day capitalist society.

Mead's writings undermine the view that biology determines destiny. There is a demonstrable difference between humans and every other species of animal.

Mead's — and others — field studies show that in different societies, very different things are considered natural.

For example, in Mead's book Sex and Temperament, she describes three different cultures, each of which is quite different from the others as far as sex roles are concerned.

One of the conclusions Mead drew from this study was "The knowledge that the personalities of the two sexes are socially produced is congenial to every programme that looks forward toward a planned order of society."

Marxists have fundamental disagreements with the functional school of anthropology of which Mead is one of the most prominent representatives. The functionalists are never able to explain what causes the variations in cultures. They reject the pivotal role that the evolution of the economic underpinnings of society plays in shaping culture.

But it's not these weaknesses of Mead that Freeman objects to. It's the revolutionary implications that can be drawn from the reality that women are not predestined to be oppressed, that class exploitation is not natural, and that the status quo is not eternal.

Freeman's attack on Mead fits into the ruling class's current reactionary propaganda offensive, particularly its stepped-up campaign against the idea of women's equality.

For further reading on sociobiology, as well as a critique of Mead's views, I recommend Sexism and Science by the late Marxist anthropologist Evelyn Reed. It's available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. The book is \$4.95, and you should include \$.75 for postage and handling.

The fight against the government's secret police

Continued from Page 5

labor movement, from Black organizations, and from civil libertarians. It has rightly been seen as a fight to defend the rights of all working people and to uphold the Bill of Rights.

As United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser put it in his endorsement of the SWP lawsuit: "In a free society, political parties and their members should not be spied upon and harassed by government agencies."

The Rev. Joseph Lowery, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, is another supporter of the SWP suit. "We must demand an end to FBI interference in legal political activity that is guaranteed by the U.S. Bill of Rights," Lowery says. "We have the right to speak out and demonstrate against unemployment, job discrimination, cuts in social services."

But as the current suit against the SWP by attorney Gelfand indicates, there were forces that were profoundly displeased with the campaign against the political police waged by the SWP, and anxious to disrupt the effort.

Role of Gelfand suit

Gelfand joined the SWP in early 1976 when the exposé of police operations was receiving the broadest publicity.

In 1978 he moved to intervene directly in the SWP's fight against the government.

At that time the SWP was trying to obtain the files on 18 informers who had operated inside the party. The government insisted on its right to keep secret the identity of its spies and provocateurs. It called this supposed right "informer privilege," and asserted it was crucial to the government's ability to function.

When the SWP succeeded in getting a court order for the files to be turned over, Attorney General Griffin Bell took a step that Richard Nixon had never dared to — he defied a federal court order. In June

1978 Bell became the first attorney general in U.S. history to be cited for contempt of court. Although the Supreme Court later reversed the ruling against Bell, the episode illustrated the stakes in the fight being organized around the SWP's lawsuit.

In December 1978, in the midst of the appeals on Bell's contempt of court citation, Gelfand stepped in with his own "friend of the court" brief attacking the SWP.

Gelfand, of course, was promptly expelled from the SWP. He responded by filing a lawsuit in July 1979 charging that the SWP is run by government agents and has been for nearly 40 years; demanding that the "agents" who expelled him be removed from their elected leadership positions in the party; and demanding that he be reinstated in the party by the courts.

The SWP's decade-long fight against the government police agencies, according to Gelfand, is nothing but a cover-up! "Massive collusive litigation" — that is, a put-

up job between the FBI and the SWP—conducted in order to divert suspicion from the government agents supposedly in the leadership of the SWP!

By this logic, the more active and effective a party is in fighting the capitalist government and its policies, the more suspicious it is.

But the question must be asked, suspicious to whom?

Who stands to gain from a campaign to slander and discredit as a cop operation, the party that has played such a crucial role in exposing the crimes of the political police?

With the help of the courts, Gelfand is accomplishing a violation of the SWP's constitutional rights similar to what the FBI intended to accomplish with its "SWP Disruption Program."

That's why waging the most vigorous campaign possible to expose the issues in this case is crucial to defending the rights of all victims of the U.S. secret police.

15

THE MILITANT

N.Y. subway workers campaign to free jailed trade unionists in El Salvador



Militant/Roberto Kopec

Salvador unionist Alejandro Molina Lara addresses one of his New York meetings. At left, translator Mirta Vidal.

BY WAYNE HIEBER

NEW YORK — The tour of Salvadoran union leader Alejandro Molina Lara in the New York area February 5-11 provided subway workers here with an opportunity to do something about the repression of the labor movement in El Salvador by the U.S.-backed regime there.

Freed from jail in El Salvador through an international campaign organized by the Red Cross, Molina Lara was general secretary of the Fishing Industry Union and organizational secretary of FENASTRAS. the National Federation of Salvadoran

Five Transport Workers Union Local 100 members at the 239th Street subway repair barn in the North Bronx circulated a petition in the barn as part of an effort to gain support for jailed Salvadoran unionists and to publicize Molina Lara's tour.

In five days, 150 of the 300 workers in the barn signed. The petitions spread to other barns and by the end of the week, over 250 members of Local 100 had signed

One worker described his petitioning efforts: "Two of us went to the Pelham barn at lunch time. There were about 50 guys in the locker room eating at this long lunch

"I asked for their attention and explained that we wanted TWU members to sign this petition to Reagan, asking him to tell the Salvadoran government to free imprisoned electrical union officials in El Salvador.

"I told them we were doing this for Molina Lara, an exiled union official. We handed out reprints of an article on Molina Lara in the paper of the United Electrical workers. I talked about labor conditions in El Salvador and how 1,000 union officials have been killed. I told them that they blow up union halls down there, that people work for \$2.50 a day, and that's why we don't want Reagan sending any more mili-

tary aid to El Salvador.
"I put the petition on the table and asked if they wanted to sign. There was silence - 30 seconds worth. I thought no one wanted to sign. I was going to pick up the petition when a Polish guy named Joe said, 'I'll sign.' Then Mike signed.

"The petition moved down the table, across the table and back up the table, as some guys changed their minds and decided to sign. It even disrupted a domino game at the end of the table.

"Thirty-five guys signed the petition. They signed as union members who don't want another Vietnam and want to see workers in El Salvador get a fair chance to improve their lives."

A meeting for Molina Lara took place at the 239th Street barn on February 11, during the morning coffee break. Most of the 50-60 workers who came out into the street to see him and shake his hand were not dressed for the 16 degree weather. Yet over 30 remained for the entire coffee break, with many more waving from the windows of the barn.

"In the name of FENASTRAS and the

Salvadoran working class I give you our heartfelt thanks for the solidarity you have extended to us in our difficult struggle for a better life," Molina Lara began in

"For us, this is a crucial year. Our workers can no longer stand this indiscriminate war, the economic crisis which falls on the backs of the most marginal sectors of our

"We cannot assemble to discuss problems. FENASTRAS and the other unions are forced to function underground. There are no functioning public union offices. Over 1,000 union officers and leaders have been murdered. Most of the rest have been forced to flee the country.

"Our government does not permit us to negotiate for collective bargaining agreements. All strikes are illegal. Sixty percent of the factories are shut down. Only 30 percent of the labor force is working. They get about \$80 per month."

The crowd stirred. "No wonder there's a war down there," someone whispered. "Eighty dollars a month!"

'We have reached an important stage in our struggle," Molina Lara explained. He talked about preparations for a "nationwide general strike. . . . The objectives of this strike will be to rid the country of the illegal regime that has murdered so many innocent people, and to establish a new government supported by the people that will fully respect the rights of the workers and

'Our struggle is the same as yours because we fight the same bosses. Texas Instruments and ITT and Standard Oil are among the U.S. corporations operating in El Salvador.

A worker standing next to Molina Lara opened a folder containing a stack of petitions filled with signatures. "We want to thank you for coming here to talk with us," he said. "Here are petitions to Reagan signed by members of our union. We hope that these petitions will help win freedom for the imprisoned union leaders and get the U.S. government out of your country.'

That afternoon the talk in the barn was all about El Salvador.

Workers donated \$112 to aid the families of the jailed unionists and two women electricians started a clothing

People talked about why they signed the

An older Black mechanic explained, "The reason I signed is disenchantment with the government and its policies. Reagan will get out of El Salvador when we make him.

A Puerto Rican car cleaner in his 30s said "I know what they've been through. I've been there. I lived it. Having to suffer to make peanuts. Having to choose between paying the rent or buying food for my family.'

"I haven't been that political since I came back from Vietnam," said a 33-yearold mechanic. "I've been involved in a conflict, so I can sympathize with Molina Lara when I hear him. The Vietnamese fought the most powerful country in the world. . . . They fought for generations. . . . They had the help of other countries, but it was the people, the Vietcong, that did it.

"Plus it was their own country. They weren't strangers in a strange land. The Vietnamese had more reason to fight than we did. They had a cause. The Salvadorans just had enough. They just had enough so much that they're willing to die."

A young Puerto Rican mechanic recently finished a hitch in the U.S. Navy. "This petition is good stuff because it can help get those guys out of jail in El Sal-vador before they kill them. . . . I signed just because at least that way Reagan knows people like us are against another war. The idea of us going to El Salvador to kill people like Molina Lara is just ridicul-

A Black mechanic in his thirties said, "I fought in the last one and we don't need another war. We should be doing everything we can to keep our country from being involved in another Vietnam.'

Wayne Hieber is a subway car mechanic and a member of Transport Workers Union

Carthan on hunger strike, supporters jailed

BY HARRY RING

Eddie Carthan, former mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, is continuing a hunger strike he began February 1 when he was transferred to the Mississippi State Penitentiary at Parchman.

A spokesman for Carthan's defense committee, General Vann, said in a telephone interview that he had been able to visit Carthan even though he's being held in a maximum security area.

"He's in real good spirits," Vann said. "He's lost some weight, but he's okay and he says people should not worry. He just hopes everyone will keep working for his freedom.'

Vann said Carthan was on the hunger strike because it is "the only way he can protest what is being done to him," and also because he fears he may be given poisoned food.

In 1977 Carthan was elected the first Black mayor of Tchula. He utilized his office to bring significant improvements in the life of the impoverished people of this mainly Black community. For this, the racists who wield much power in the area set out to destroy Carthan,

He was charged with murder, but a jury acquitted him after 45 minutes' delibera-

However, Carthan and six associates were convicted on frame-up charges of assaulting a police officer. Carthan was sen-

tenced to three years. The other six of the Tchula 7 got suspended sentences.

Now Carthan has been vindictively transferred to the state farm at Parchman, one of the worst prisons in the nation.

Vann, a spokesperson for the National Campaign to Free Mayor Eddie Carthan and the Tchula 7, said a Prayer Day had been slated in Tchula for February 26. Ministers from a dozen cities were expected to participate in the demonstration of solidarity with Carthan.

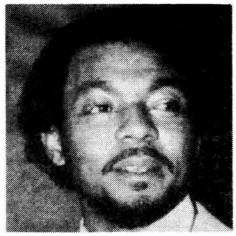
Sponsoring groups included Clergy and Laity Concerned, Methodist Council on Racial Justice, Equal Rights Congress of Atlanta and Chicago, and others.

Vann also said that harassment and victimization of Carthan supporters was con-

The day Carthan was transferred to Parchman, his wife Shirley and eight others were arrested in a protest at the county jail. They face trial March 5 on charges of disturbing the peace. If convicted they could get up to a year in jail, plus \$500 fines.

In addition, Vann and Carthan's brother Joseph were both arrested the following day on phony charges.

Vann said he was arrested on the basis of something that happened a year and a half ago. He had paid a mechanic for work on his car, the check was returned, and Vann sent him a postal money order. Now he's charged with not paying, even though he



Eddie Carthan

has the money order receipt. He had to post \$5,500 bond.

Joseph Carthan, he said, has been hit on an old charge, previously resolved, of nonsupport of a child. He had to post \$300 bond.

Messages protesting the victimization of Carthan and his associates should be sent to Gov. William Winter, State Capitol Bldg., Jackson, Miss. 39201.

Copies should be sent to the National Campaign to Free Mayor Eddie Carthan and the Tchula 7, P.O. Box 29, Tchula, Miss. 39169. The committee will also welcome contributions to aid its efforts.

16