

## Stop U.S. move to send more GIs to Salvador!



U.S. helicopters fly over borderland into El Salvador.

The Reagan administration's plan to dispatch more GIs and millions more in military aid to El Salvador marks a major escalation of Washington's war against the Salvadoran people.

It must be met with the loudest possible outcry from all opponents of a new Vietnam — from the unions to antiwar groups to Black and Latino organizations.

On February 28 a "senior presidential

### EDITORIAL

aide" — who insisted on remaining anonymous — told reporters Reagan is considering scrapping the present informal limit of 55 U.S. military advisers in El Salvador.

The aide also disclosed that the U.S. government had told the Salvadoran regime it was considering an end to the present "noncombat" status of the advisers who are supposedly there only to train troops. In fact, several advisers have already been photographed *in combat* and at least one wounded on a combat mission.

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## Trial of socialists opens in Los Angeles

BY DAVID FRANKEL

LOS ANGELES — A trial of the Socialist Workers Party opened in U.S. District Court here on March 2. The opening witness for the prosecution was Alan Gelfand, an attorney for the Los Angeles County government, who was expelled from the SWP in 1979. He is demanding that the federal court reinstate him in the SWP.

In their final pretrial brief submitted February 25, Gelfand and his lawyers simply dismissed the constitutional right to freedom of political association, stating that the SWP is trying "to hide behind the belated assertion of their alleged First Amendment rights."

But unionists, leaders in the struggle for Black rights, representatives of numerous political tendencies within the workers movement, defenders of the Bill of Rights from a broad spectrum — all have rallied to the defense of the SWP. It is clear that the attack the SWP is currently fighting is a threat to the democratic rights of all working people.

Gelfand's brief argues that he does "not ask the court to enter upon anything approaching constitutionally proscribed territory. . . . No ideological position nor political dispute need be resolved."

Yet on the very next page, he asks the court to "weigh the defendants' conduct in light of the principles, traditions, and historic necessities of the movement they purport to represent." In other words, a federal court, representing the interests of the capitalist class, is being asked to decide whether the conduct of the Marxist leadership of the SWP is in keeping with the "principles, traditions, and historic necessities" of the working class!

Gelfand was expelled from the SWP in 1979 for filing a court brief against the party in an attempt to disrupt the SWP's 10-year offensive to expose the U.S. government's secret police.

Gelfand argues that his expulsion was the work of government agents who took over the leadership of the SWP several decades ago.

He admits he has no evidence — only a circumstantial case from which his conclusion

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## CIA plot to overthrow Grenadian gov't

BY HARRY RING

It has been publicly exposed that the Reagan administration had plans under way in 1981 to overthrow the government of Grenada. A key role in the plan was assigned to the CIA.

A Caribbean island with a Black, English-speaking population of 110,000, Grenada was the scene of a victorious popular revolution in 1979. The dictatorship of Eric Gairy was ended and a government established representing the interests of Grenada's workers and farmers.

Since the revolution, unemployment has been reduced from a staggering 49 percent to 14.2 percent. Housing has been improved, and the island's economy significantly developed.

Despite heavy economic pressure coupled with political and military threats, the Grenadian government, headed by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, has refused to remain under the U.S. thumb. It has pursued its own independent course and has not hesitated to accept the friendship and aid of Cuba.

It is for these "crimes" that Washington wants to bring down the Bishop government and force Grenada to return to the U.S. "backyard."

The *Washington Post* reported February 27 on the plans to "destabilize" the Grenadian government.

The paper reported, "The details of the operation are not known beyond a general description from knowledgeable sources that the CIA developed plans in the summer of 1981 to cause economic difficulty for Grenada in hopes of undermining the political control of Prime Minister Maurice Bishop."

For reasons of its own, the Senate Intelligence Committee opposed the CIA plan.

"Sources said the aborted 1981 CIA covert plan in Grenada included actions to destabilize Bishop's government politically.

"CIA officials presented the covert action plan to the Senate Intelligence Committee in July 1981. Because of what were perceived as unusual and unspecified components, it met strong opposition."

The committee members were not concerned about whether the U.S. government had the right to plot to overthrow another

government. Their concerns seemed to focus solely on the "practicality" of the plan. And they apparently decided that trying to topple the revolutionary government in Nicaragua was a higher priority.

"Six months after the Senate Intelligence Committee nixed the CIA's Grenada plan," the *Post* reported, "the members supported a covert campaign against the Cuba-Nicaragua arms supply line to the Salvadoran insurgents."

That covert plan against Nicaragua is now in full swing. Stopping an alleged flow of arms to El Salvador is simply a cover story. CIA-organized Nicaraguan exiles are conducting murderous raids into Nicaragua across the border from neighboring Honduras.

At the same time there have been ominous threats to Cuba. In the fall of 1981, Fidel Castro warned of the danger of U.S. aggression, and the people of Cuba were organized into a mighty, popular militia.

Now the *Washington Post* confirms that in November 1981 the National Security Council (NSC) authorized possible military action against Cuba. The paper quotes NSC minutes as stating that the CIA, possibly using U.S. personnel, might take "unilateral paramilitary action against special Cuban targets."

Meanwhile, the drive against Grenada continued.

In 1981, while the CIA was busy plotting overthrow, a bullying military threat was directed against the tiny island.

That fall, U.S. military forces conducted a full-scale mock invasion of the Puerto Rican island of Vieques, under the code name "Amber." Amber was code for Grenada.

Additionally, strong economic pressure has been put on the island. At least twice Washington has used its clout to block international financial agencies from making much needed loans to Grenada.

Last summer during his vacation in Barbados, Grenada's neighbor, Reagan launched into a vitriolic attack against Grenada.

"El Salvador isn't the only country that's being threatened with Marxism," Reagan declared. Grenada, he asserted, "bears the Soviet and Cuban trademark, which means it will attempt to spread the virus among its

neighbors."

From the viewpoint of the big-business interests he so fervently represents, Reagan has a point about the Grenadian "virus."

What he fears is not that Grenada will try to subvert neighboring governments — that's a U.S. specialty. But the example of what the Grenadian revolution is accomplishing is certainly inspiring to Grenada's impoverished neighbors, who remain under the imperialist domination of the United States, France, and Great Britain.

Nor is it only the Reagan administration that is out to do in the Grenadian government. As the *Post* now confirms, covert operations against Grenada were first discussed by the Carter administration.

Even the superliars in charge of U.S. propaganda against people reshaping their own destinies find it difficult to paint up a 130-square-mile island as a military threat to the United States. So the ploy is that Cuba and the Soviet Union are preparing to

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## Chicago socialist candidate rejects big-business bribe to drop from race

BY JON HILLSON

CHICAGO — This city's February 22 mayoral Democratic primary made national headlines with Black Congressman Harold Washington's upset triumph over incumbent Mayor Jane Byrne, and Cook County State's Attorney Richard Daley, Jr.

When Chicagoans go to the polls on April 12, three mayoral candidates will be on the ballot: Democrat Harold Washington, Republican Bernard Epton, and Socialist Workers Party candidate Ed Warren.

A massive voter registration drive in the Black community before the primary netted 100,000 new Black voters. Washington won 83 percent of the votes of Blacks, who comprise 40 percent of the city's population. Washington received 10 percent of the votes of Latinos and 8 percent of the ballots cast by white voters, for a total of 36.3 percent of the vote.

Byrne's share of the total vote was 33.5

percent, including almost two-thirds of the votes from Latinos. Daley got 29.8 percent.

On February 27, Warren's campaign committee alerted working people in Chicago to a move to change the names that will appear on the ballot, a story that got wide play in the major media.

On February 24, four men approached the socialists' campaign committee, offering money and city government posts in return for the socialists' ballot spot. The men said they were representing the North West Entertainment Association, "a loose coalition of businessmen." They said their names were Steve Lombardo, Phil Farley, Bob Marscolli, and Dan Nolan. The first three said they were businessmen and the last an attorney.

The men told the SWP they were interested in "making you a lucrative proposition whereby you would step down and we

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# Quebec teachers battle gov't union-busting

BY WILL REISSNER

The battle by Quebec's 80,000 teachers against the provincial government's union-busting drive has temporarily moved from the picketlines to the negotiating table.

The teachers — locked in one of the most important union struggles in recent decades in North America — had been on strike since January 27. Under Quebec law, public employee strikes are banned until 1985.

The teachers voted to suspend their walkout for three weeks beginning February 21 to try to force the provincial government to come to the bargaining table.

Unless a settlement is reached, the Quebec Teachers Federation (CEQ) is scheduled to resume its strike on March 14. Some 1.2 million students throughout the province have been affected by the walkout.

The confrontation between Quebec Prime Minister René Lévesque's Parti Québécois (PQ) government and its employees began in late December when the government passed a special law gutting existing public sector union contracts until 1985.

The law took away government employees' right to strike for three years. It ripped up the existing contracts and imposed wage cuts of up to 20 percent. Work rules were changed arbitrarily, and about 11,000 teaching positions would be eliminated.

Union federations representing more than 200,000 provincial workers set up a Common Front to resist this union-busting law. A public sector general strike began January 26. At its high point, January 31, more than 150,000 workers were out. Some 40,000 trade unionists participated in a Common Front demonstration against the law on January 29 in Quebec City, the provincial capital.

The government moved to break the strike by imposing fines of \$25 to \$100 per day for each individual, \$1,000 to \$10,000 per day against union officials, and \$5,000 to \$50,000 per day for each union.

By February 8, only the teachers remained on the picketlines. To force them back to work, on February 17 the Lévesque government passed an even harsher law against strikers. Daily fines were doubled. Strikers face the loss of three years' seniority for every day they remain off the job. Unions lose their dues check-off for six months for every day the strike continues. And teachers can be fired permanently at the stroke of a pen.

To enforce these measures against the 80,000 teachers, the February 17 law also suspended the Quebec Charter of Rights and Liberties. All strikers are now presumed to be guilty unless they can concretely prove their innocence.

By suspending their strike for three weeks, teachers hope to put the govern-

ment on the spot because Lévesque had claimed he could not negotiate while teachers were off the job. The government has now been forced to the bargaining table, although it still demands that the teachers accept its antiunion measures.

The return to work has not meant an end to the resistance to the government's onslaught. In approving the three-week strike suspension, Montreal teachers voted to use their classes to explain the issues in the strike. Mathematics classes, for example, will practice calculating how much public-sector wages will decline if the law is not challenged.

The CEQ is also building meetings of parents and teachers throughout Quebec on March 9 to protest the government's attempts to gut public education.

Quebec's main labor federations — the National Trade Union Federation (CSN) and the Quebec Federation of Labor (FTQ) — have called on their affiliates to stage support activities if the teachers resume their strike on March 14. Among the suggestions are work stoppages, collections for the CEQ strike fund, and rallies and demonstrations.

In an important show of solidarity from the labor movement in English Canada, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) is conducting a membership referendum on a proposal that all CUPW

members donate \$5 per paycheck to the teachers' strike fund.

The Parti Québécois government's war on the unions could have a lasting impact on political developments in Quebec. Public service workers, including the teachers, were among the strongest supporters of the PQ in its rise to power.

The overwhelming majority of Quebec's 6.3 million inhabitants speak French as their native language. But Quebec society has been dominated by English Canada. French-speakers suffer severe discrimination in employment. Their standard of living, medical care, and educational levels lag far behind those of English Canada and of English-speaking residents of Quebec itself.

In the 1960s, a powerful nationalist movement arose, whose aim was to reassert the right of the French-speaking majority to control the destiny of Quebec. Many favored total independence from Canada.

The PQ came to power in 1976, riding the twin waves of the growth of the nationalist movement in the 1960s and the explosion of trade union strength in the early 1970s. The PQ's promise to make the Québécois "masters in our own house" was especially appealing to workers, who bore the weight of the domination of Quebec's economy by foreign-owned capital.

Many French-speaking workers, for

example, had to know English to hold a job.

Lévesque himself claimed to have a special feeling for Quebec's workers, and describes himself as a social democrat. The PQ has even applied for membership in the Socialist International.

In an attempt to combat sympathy for the public sector strike, the PQ government has tried to turn Quebec's 475,000 unemployed against the government workers. Describing the government workers as "privileged," Lévesque accuses them of refusing to make the sacrifices needed to allow Quebec's limited resources to be used to create jobs.

One PQ cabinet member compared the teachers union to the CIA-inspired truck owners who shutdown the transportation system in Chile in the early 1970s to destabilize Salvador Allende's government.

Despite its rhetoric, the PQ leadership never had any intention of challenging foreign capitalist domination of Quebec's economy. Today Lévesque is implementing the austerity programs demanded by the big bankers in Toronto and New York.

The foreign banks have lowered Quebec's credit rating and insist on higher interest for loans. They have warned that no more loans will be made unless the province's budget deficit is cut sharply.

Any savings in public-sector wages will

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## CIA plot to overthrow Grenada gov't

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use Grenada as a military base that will allegedly threaten this country.

The pretext for this scare charge is that Cuba is helping Grenada build a modern airport that can handle large, wide-body planes.

Tourism has always been an important part of Grenada's economy and its present tiny airport cannot accommodate direct flights from abroad. Tourists headed for Grenada must go to Barbados and wait there for small planes to shuttle them to Grenada. Because of this problem, an estimated 20 percent of Grenada-bound tourists don't get there.

With Cuban financial and technical aid, Grenada plans to have the new airport ready by March 13, 1984, when it celebrates the fifth anniversary of its revolution.

### Human rights

Washington asserts that its hostility toward Grenada also stems from Grenada's alleged lack of concern for human rights.

Coming from a government that got

along so nicely with the brutal Gairy dictatorship, that takes brass.

In fact, the revolution is bringing the people of Grenada a greater degree of freedom and democracy than they have ever experienced.

Unionization has been encouraged, and the unions have an increasing voice on work-related issues.

Newly established women's organizations are changing the status of Grenadian women, who were long and bitterly oppressed.

Through community-wide meetings the people are being involved in the country's decision-making process.

Prime Minister Bishop recently commented that Washington's professed concern about human rights in Grenada is "highly hypocritical."

"It's no problem," Bishop observed, "when it's South Africa or Chile or South Korea or Haiti. . . ."

"It's very clear to us that human rights is just really being used as a red herring to try to hide the reasons for hostility to Grenada."

That hostility, Bishop said, "has much

more to do with the fact that we are very determined to pursue an independent and nonaligned path and to build our own process in this part of the world: a part of the world that U.S. administrations keep regarding as their own backyard, which we do not accept."

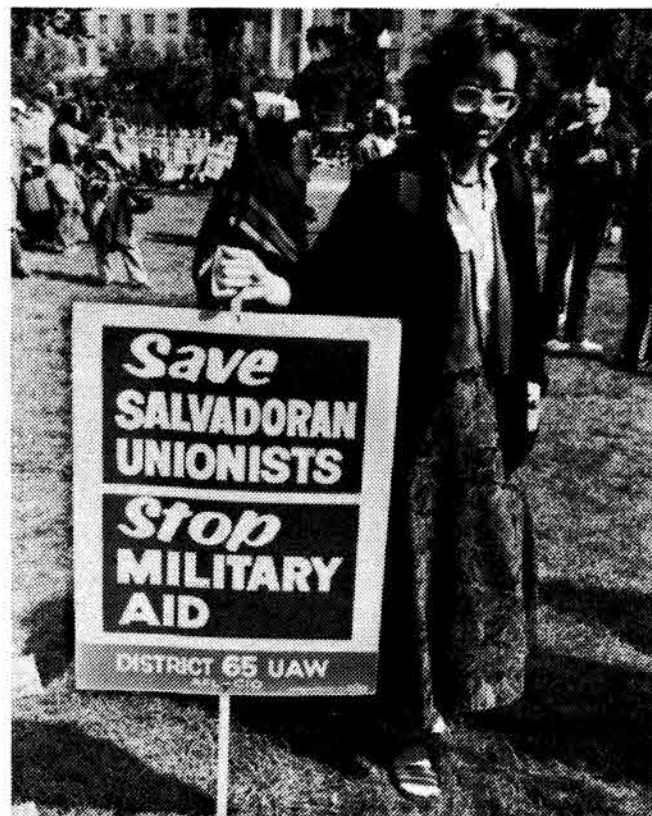
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Militant/Charles Ostrofsky  
SWP leader Larry Seigle



Militant/Gary Leonard  
Pentagon Papers defendant Anthony Russo.

# Bill of Rights rally in L.A. hits trial of Socialist Workers

BY DICK ROBERTS

LOS ANGELES — A spirited rally was held here February 25, the first of dozens like it that will be organized around the country in coming weeks. The purpose of the meeting was to mobilize opposition to a dangerous abuse of the political rights of the Socialist Workers Party by the federal court in Los Angeles.

A suit brought against the SWP goes to trial here the first week of March. At issue is a basic constitutional question. Can a U.S. court dictate membership policies and interfere in the political activities of organizations opposed to the U.S. government and its policies? That was the question addressed by all the speakers and in a number of the messages of support that were also read at the meeting.

The rally, attended by close to 100 people, was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund. More than \$6,000 was raised to help pay for court costs.

The pending trial stems from an action brought by a Los Angeles county government lawyer, Alan Gelfand. A former member of the SWP, Gelfand was expelled in 1979 for attempting to obstruct the campaign being waged by the SWP to expose decades of FBI and CIA secret police operations against the party and other progressive political groups.

Gelfand's suit alleges that the SWP is not a legitimate political party. He charges that it was taken over by U.S. government agents some 40 years ago, and that he was expelled because he sought to expose the agents dominating the leadership of the party. He demands that the court reinstate him in the party and remove the SWP leaders responsible for his expulsion.

The suit is before U.S. District Court Judge Mariana Pfaelzer. Pfaelzer has ad-

mitted on record several times that Gelfand and his lawyers have produced no evidence whatsoever to substantiate any of their allegations. But she has also repeatedly refused to throw out the case.

As a longtime member of the Los Angeles Police Commission, Pfaelzer approved massive spying, infiltration and disruption operations by the Los Angeles Police Department's Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID), including against the SWP itself.

Following recent new disclosures of the extent and nature of PDID operations, the public outcry has been so strong that the Board of Police Commissioners has been forced to order the political police unit disbanded. At the same time they announced that its personnel and programs would be transferred to other departments.

The obvious character of the Gelfand suit as an attempt to smear and disrupt the SWP, and the prominent role of Pfaelzer in PDID activities in recent years, all came together for the participants in the rally here.

## All on PDID's list

"I want to join everyone in saying that this case is really bizarre, but it is also real and shocking to anyone who is trying to bring about needed social change," stated Carol Downer, one of the speakers and a leader of the Feminist Women's Health Center.

In fighting to "control our own bodies through abortion rights," Downer said, "we are also very much on the PDID's list. We want to support all the efforts of the SWP in exposing police spying and to make it possible for political groups to exist in this country."

"A political organization that holds

views that are not always popular has to be able to control its membership character," Downer said. "It's a practical necessity. If we in the women's movement couldn't do this, very shortly we'd cease to exist as a women's health center."

Sandra Morgan, statewide president of the Service Employees International Union, said, "What frightens me most of all is the threats to my freedom, my First Amendment rights — the right to have who we want in our union."

Jaime Bismarc, a Central Committee member of Casa Nicaragua, expressed the solidarity of his organization with the SWP in this fight.

Larry Seigle, a defendant in the suit and a member of the SWP Political Committee, was the featured speaker. Focusing on the democratic right of freedom of association, Seigle explained: "Gelfand is going to court to try to get the decision of the SWP expelling him overturned and trying to get the court to readmit him as a member. The membership of the SWP does not want Gelfand to be a member of the party."

"What's posed here is whether we have the right to organize as a party. An organization like the SWP is based on agreement: that is, membership is open to those who agree to carry out a certain program, to defend certain ideas, and to organize in a certain way to advance those goals."

"You have to have the right to exclude those who don't agree. It doesn't mean they don't have the right to organize their own party, but they don't have the right to be a member of your party."

## The right to exist

If the court has the right to do all the things Gelfand is asking it to do, Seigle continued, "if our membership, leadership, and program can be decided by the courts, then what we really face is that the Socialist Workers Party has no right to exist as a legal party in this country."

What's at stake, of course, is not just the rights of the SWP. "This is an attack on the right of the working-class movement in this country to organize, to fight for our interests," Seigle emphasized.

"The right of working people to organize unions and keep the bosses out of the unions; the right of Blacks to organize civil rights organizations and keep people wearing white sheets out of their organizations — this fundamental right is embodied in the First Amendment to the constitution. It was one of the great victories of the first American revolution. And working people have fought many battles to preserve that right since then."

"If you think about it, this right to organize a group to work to achieve a particular, agreed upon goal is what distinguishes a supposedly democratic country from a totalitarian dictatorship. Do individuals, ordinary people, have the right to get together and set up an organization without having a government representative present at every meeting? Without the government approving its aims, dictating its structure? That's what the First Amendment is all about, and that's why this case is so important."

Many speakers also addressed themselves to the fight to expose the political disruption, counterintelligence operations, and smear campaigns that are standard operating procedure for the government and its political police agencies.

Paul Vanotti, one of the evening's speakers, has been under police surveil-

lance since he joined Students for a Democratic Society when he was 17. An FBI report on his SDS membership, passed to employers at Hughes Aircraft, recently lost him a prospective job.

Vanotti attacked the dissemination of lies by government police agencies to employers and the effects of this on the lives of thousands of workers. He filed suit in 1981 against Hughes and the FBI.

Also speaking was Virginia Garza, SWP candidate for Los Angeles City Council from District 4. Garza attacked the long history of the use of police spies and provocateurs against working people in Los Angeles, as well as the notorious racist brutality of Los Angeles cops.

"The Los Angeles Police Department is infamous in its brutal racist manner, its treatment of the Black and Latino communities," Garza said. She pledged to use her campaign to expose and mobilize opposition to "the entire police department and its racist choke-hold practice."

## Founded on lies

Tony Russo of the U.S.-Vietnam Friendship Association noted how important it is to fight the kind of government harassment the SWP is now being subjected to.

"This is the way the government operates," Russo said, "the only way it stays in power."

Russo, along with Daniel Ellsberg, was responsible for bringing the Pentagon papers to public attention during the Vietnam War. "This government is founded on lies," Russo said. "And this suit is more of these same lies."

"We in the U.S.-Vietnam Friendship Association support this effort completely. The SWP is effective. We hope it will go on being more and more so."

## Political disruption

Larry Seigle also addressed those aspects of the current suit against the SWP that are so obviously an attempt to smear the SWP as cops and disrupt its functioning.

Gelfand's suit is not an isolated action, or that of an individual. It is being financed to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars by an organization that masquerades as part of the workers movement — the U.S.-based Workers League (WL) and its London-based sister group, the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP). This outfit has for several years been publishing volumes of materials containing the same slanderous accusations against the SWP, repeated over and over.

"A couple of points give you some idea about this group," Seigle said. "Among the things they believe is that cops are workers, and militant cops are militant workers who should be supported."

"They think that Malcolm X was an arch reactionary and posed a serious threat to the fight for Black rights."

"They were and are opponents of the Cuban revolution."

Today the advancing revolutions in Central America and the Caribbean are having a big impact around the world. Twenty years ago the victory of the Cuban revolution was having a similar effect.

The groups that became the WL and WRP were not inspired by the advances of the Cuban workers and farmers. In fact, they were repelled by them. "They distin-

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## Bond, Dellums join the fight

Georgia State Sen. Julian Bond and U.S. Rep. Ronald Dellums have joined the growing number of figures speaking out against the trial of the Socialist Workers Party.

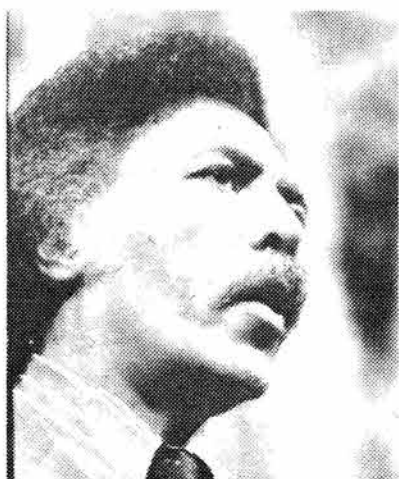
"The trial is a violation of the most fundamental right of American people: the right to band together in voluntary organizations like labor unions, organizations fighting discrimination, or working to advance the cause of the oppressed and exploited anywhere in the world," said Bond.

"The U.S. courts have no right to dictate to any voluntary organization who its members are, who its leadership should be, or whether its activities are in conformity

with its program or goals," he added. "These must be the sole right of the membership. The intervention of the courts is an infringement of First Amendment rights, not just of the Socialist Workers Party, but of the rights of all Americans."

Dellums said the trial "raises serious questions regarding First Amendment Rights."

"Judicial interference in the internal affairs of a voluntary organization jeopardizes the right of free speech and assembly. The right of free people to organize politically independent of government intrusion is a basic right which must be preserved."



Ronald Dellums



Julian Bond

Militant/Osborne Hart



# Fighters for civil rights join emergency defense campaign

Encouraging support is building for the nationwide series of public protest meetings slated by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) to protest the Bill of Rights violations in the Los Angeles trial of the Socialist Workers Party.

Two of the meetings already scheduled indicate the scope of this support. These are in Detroit and Toledo.

In Detroit, the speakers list includes: Joe Madison, director of Voter Education for the Detroit area NAACP; Attorney James Lafferty, chair of the Oakland County American Civil Liberties Union; Robert F. Williams, veteran Black rights fighter; Russ Bellant, editor of the Wayne State University campus paper, *South End*; and Dean Kinmith, editor of the *Lansing Star*.

Andrew Pulley, 1980 SWP presidential candidate, will speak for the party.

The meeting will be held Friday, March 11, 8 p.m., at the Central Methodist Church, corner of East Adams and Woodward.

The Toledo PRDF rally will hear Larry Boyd, cochair of the Bowling Green National Black Independent Political Party; Johey Crawford, president of Toledo Na-

tional Organization for Women; a representative of the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC); Shamus Metress of Clan na Gael; and Mike Spychalla, former president of the Toledo Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO).

The Toledo rally will also hear Andrew Pulley. The meeting will be held Saturday evening, March 12. There will be a reception at 6:30 p.m., with the program at 7:30. It will be held at the OCAW Union Hall, 2910 Consaul, East Toledo.

Other slated rallies are listed on this page.

In addition to a discussion of the rights issues involved in the trial, these meetings will be important in the effort by PRDF to raise a \$75,000 emergency fund to help defray the heavy cost involved in the case.

*Militant* readers can help by clipping the coupon below and mailing it to PRDF.

And, of course, everyone is urged to attend these important rallies and to bring coworkers, friends, and relatives.



Robert F. Williams

Militant/Lou Howort

## Bill of Rights rally in Los Angeles

Continued from Page 3

guished themselves from other critics by developing the theory that there had not been a socialist revolution in Cuba, that capitalism still existed in Cuba, that Fidel was another Batista," said Seigle.

While noting the absurdity of such a view — which is hardly shared by the Cuban capitalists who left Cuba or U.S. imperialism, which is trying to smash the Cuban revolution — Seigle underlined its relevance to the Gelfand suit.

"One of the main proofs Gelfand and his collaborators put forward in support of their accusation that the SWP is dominated by U.S. government agents, and has been for decades, is the incontrovertible evidence that the SWP believes there has in

fact been a socialist revolution in Cuba. That shows the SWP members have been duped into abandoning Marxism!"

Absurd though the charge of a government takeover may be, Seigle said, we have to recognize its seriousness.

This kind of frame-up is not new. It is "a constant policy of the class enemy and especially of the political police. There is a long history of accusing revolutionists of being police agents," Seigle noted.

"When they decided in the middle of the McCarthy era they wanted to get some communists and Jews, they framed the Rosenbergs as agents of the Soviet Union and sent them to the electric chair.

"Lenin was accused of being a paid agent of the German Kaiser, a story spread

by the Russian capitalists to discredit the revolution.

"Stalin accused his political opponents, including Leon Trotsky and other leaders of the Russian revolution, of being Nazi agents.

"And in our own generation, as the secret Cointelpro documents have been pried out of the files of the FBI over the last decade, we've learned the lessons of history anew. The policy of accusing activists of being police agents was a standard policy of every FBI disruption operation from the Communist Party, to the antiwar movement, to the Black Panther Party.

"The pernicious and destructive character of these kinds of smear attacks must be understood and repudiated."

### PRDF RALLIES

**DETROIT** — Friday, March 11, 8 p.m. Central Methodist Church. Corner East Adams and Woodward.

**NEW YORK** — Friday, March 11, 8 p.m. Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Sq. West.

**SALT LAKE CITY** — Friday, March 11; reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30. Central City Multipurpose Center, 615 S. 300th East.

**TUCSON** — Friday, March 11, 7:30 p.m. El Rio Neighborhood Center, 1390 W. Speedway.

**ALBANY** — Saturday, March 12, 7:30 p.m. Channing Hall, 405 Washington Ave. (Cosponsor: Social Responsibility Council of First Unitarian Society of Albany.)

**ATLANTA** — Saturday, March 12, 8 p.m. Wheat Street Baptist Church, 18 Yonge St.

**PHOENIX** — Saturday, March 12; reception, 6:30 p.m.; program 7:30. Covenant Presbyterian Church, 1210 E. Virginia.

**PRICE, Utah** — Saturday, March 12; reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30. 23 S. Carbon Ave., Rm. 19.

**ST. LOUIS** — Saturday, March 12, 7:30 p.m. First Unitarian Church, 5007 Waterman.

**TOLEDO** — Saturday, March 12, 8 p.m. OCAW Hall, 2910 Consaul.

**PORTLAND** — Sunday, March 13; reception, 6:30 p.m.; program, 7:30. Northwest Service Center, 1819 NW Everett.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.** — Friday, March 18, 7 p.m. Ethical Society 7750 16th St., NW. (Note new location and time.)

**BOSTON** — Saturday, March 19; reception, 6 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. Church of the Covenant, 67 Newbury St.

**PITTSBURGH** — Saturday, March 19; reception, 7 p.m.; program, 8 p.m. Soldiers and Sailors Hall, Fifth Ave. and Bigelow, Oakland.

## 'A grave violation of the First Amendment'

The following are excerpts from greetings sent to the Los Angeles Political Rights Defense Fund rally.

**Bishop H. Hartford Brookins and Rev. Cecil Murray**

African Methodist Episcopal Church, Los Angeles

This lawsuit poses a serious threat to the right of all political and social activist organizations to function free from government harassment, interference, and regulation.

This [court] intervention must be protested as strongly and vigorously as we protested in the past against spying and disruptions by the FBI, the CIA, and the Los Angeles Police Department's Public Disorder Intelligence Division.

This attempt by the courts to dictate to a voluntary political organization who its membership should be and what its policy should be is a grave violation of the First Amendment rights of all Americans.

We strongly urge all supporters of the First Amendment to stand with the Socialist Workers Party in this case.

**Dorothy Healey**

National vice-chair, Democratic Socialists of America

Can a federal judge determine who shall be a member and who shall be an officer of any voluntary political organization?

Can a federal judge take away from the membership of a political organization their right to determine for themselves what rules, procedures, and policies shall govern the internal operations of their organization?

I share your concern and your opposition to the ominous possibility that these questions may be answered "yes" in a federal courtroom here in Los Angeles in the coming weeks.

Members of the Socialist Workers Party in the first place and all of us on the left have a great stake in the outcome of this case. If the courts can do this to the SWP, who will be next?

Let me add that this action reveals the utter political bankruptcy of the Workers League and the Workers Revolutionary Party, for even considering the use of the capitalist courts to determine who should be a member and officer of a revolutionary organization.

**John McTernan**  
attorney

This lawsuit represents a misuse of the judicial process in seeking to involve the courts in determining internal affairs of political organizations.

This, of necessity, causes intrusion into the functioning of a political organization and places intolerable financial burdens upon it. As a result, this action constitutes a serious impediment to the exercise of First Amendment liberties by political organizations and their supporters.

**Linda Ferguson**

member, National Conference of Black Lawyers

I join in supporting those who oppose any further erosion of our rights to freely associate without government spying, infiltration, or participation on any level, whether it be through the legislature, law enforcement, or the judicial branches of our local and national government.

**Socialist Party, Los Angeles local**

The Socialist Party supports the demand

of the Socialist Workers Party for the removal of Judge Mariana Pfaelzer from the current lawsuit brought by a dissident former member of the SWP.

It is obvious that the entire left is jeopardized by the willingness of the court, through Judge Pfaelzer, to perform investigations that are now forbidden to the FBI.

**Marc Cooper**

News Director, KPFF-FM

Federal courts have no business sticking their noses into the internal operations of progressive political organizations.

The courts, like the other institutions of this society, are not neutral. Anyone who thinks such institutions can be relied upon to secure justice for the oppressed is either a fool or a knave. Knowing the character of the Workers Revolutionary Party and the Workers League, the political inspirers of Alan Gelfand, it is clear we are dealing with knaves.

Pacifica [Radio] will be happy to assist you in publicizing the issues in this important struggle. An injury to one is an injury to all. And a victory for the Socialist Workers Party will be a victory for all of us.

## PRDF \$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.

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.

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

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

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

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



# Texas cops beat up anti-Klan demonstrators



400 cops came out to "protect" Klan

BY JOHN SARGE

AUSTIN, Tex. — A series of militant demonstrations against racism and the Ku Klux Klan occurred here on February 19. The focus of the protests was an attempt by the Klan to march on the Texas state capitol.

The day's activities began with 1,000 people marching to the state capitol chanting, "Fired up can't take it anymore," "People united will never be defeated," and "Reagan and the Klan go hand in hand."

This march was planned by the Austin Black Citizens Task Force and the Brown Berets, a Chicano community group. Organizations participating in the march included All Peoples Congress, Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, Democratic Socialists of America, Nov. 27 Coalition, Socialist Workers

Party, Young Socialist Alliance, and John Brown Anti-Klan Committee.

After the march the Black Citizens Task Force urged everyone to attend a Freedom Day Rally at Rosewood Park in East Austin, the major Black community in the city.

That afternoon, 54 Klanners, some dressed in sheets and hoods, others in fatigues or black uniforms and crash helmets, gathered. Protected by over 400 helmeted cops who were overseen by the Texas Rangers, they began their march to the state capitol.

Between 400 and 500 young people opposed to the Klan gathered at the KKK assembly point. As soon as the first racist showed his hood a chant of "Klan out of Austin" started. As the Klan marchers proceeded toward the capitol, they taunted

people along the way with racist and anti-gay slogans. This helped swell the number of anti-Klan demonstrators to over 2,000. The Klan's planned rally was completely drowned out by the chanting of antiracist fighters.

The cops began attacking people as the Klanners were dispersing from their assembly area. A group of about 200 people got separated from the main body of antiracist demonstrators, and the cops attacked them, brutally beating anyone who got in their way.

Paul Hernández, an Austin Chicano community activist, was one of the victims. A local TV crew filmed him on the ground, handcuffed, and being beaten by seven cops.

In all, seven people were treated in local hospitals and 13 people were arrested.

## Trial of Socialist Workers opens in Los Angeles

Continued from front page

sions must be inferred. However, he argues the court can identify these "agents" by examining the record of the SWP leaders responsible for expelling Gelfand and ruling on whether they have deviated from Marxist principles. And he asks that the courts determine who can be a leader of the SWP by removing from leadership in the party the "agents" that it thus identifies!

Clearly, this kind of trumped-up charge can be used against any union, any Black or Latino organization, any group organizing against the government or its policies, thus giving the federal courts a handle to intervene in and disrupt them.

### Innocent concern

Gelfand's story is that he was a loyal party member who happened in August 1977 to stumble across evidence that Joseph Hansen — a veteran leader of the SWP for 40 years — was really an agent of both the FBI and of the Soviet secret police, who used to be known as the GPU.

Gelfand innocently requested information and an investigation of his suspicions, so the story goes. His innocent "questions" about the integrity of Hansen brought an inexplicably hostile response from the leadership of the SWP, he claims. His attempts to raise his suspicions at internal meetings were ruled out of order (by membership vote, of course, which he neglects to mention). The refusal to discuss his questions about Hansen, he asserts, was so universal that he became suspicious other SWP leaders were engineering a cover-up. Eventually he came to the conclusion that they too must be agents, helped to their places of leadership in the party by the nefarious Hansen.

A somewhat different picture emerges from the statements made by Gelfand under oath in pretrial depositions taken by lawyers for the SWP.

Gelfand's initial legal intervention in the SWP's fight against the FBI and CIA took place in December 1978, when he was still a member of the SWP. That move, he admits, followed secret consultations between him and leaders of both the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) in England, and the Workers League (WL) in the United States.

The WL is an outfit whose central activity since 1975 has been to slander the SWP as an organization dominated by FBI agents. Although the group puts out a 20-page, twice-weekly, multicolored newspaper, the paper is not circulated in the working-class movement. The WL maintains only one public headquarters in the U.S. It participates in no coalitions working in solidarity with the revolutions in Central America, in no Black rights organizations, in no political activity within the labor movement.

The Workers League is little more than a U.S. branch office of the British WRP.

According to Gelfand's testimony he traveled to England in July 1977 on what he says was a vacation.

When he returned at the beginning of August he voiced his "suspicions" about Joe Hansen to participants at an SWP convention. A few weeks later he tried to disrupt a meeting of the Los Angeles branch of the SWP with the same "questions."

The following summer, Gelfand was back in England. As he explained in his first deposition, "While I was in England in 1978, I called the newspaper of the Workers Revolutionary Party."

Gelfand said that "eventually arrangements were made" for him to meet with somebody from the WRP, who he eventually identified as Alex Mitchell, a central leader of the group.

Upon his return from England, Gelfand said, "It's my recollection that I telephoned [WL National Secretary] David North sometime in the late summer or early fall of 1978."

Gelfand estimated that he had as many as six substantial discussions with North between his return from England and his expulsion from the SWP in January 1979.

Thus, while still pretending to be a loyal member of the SWP, Gelfand was conducting a systematic operation designed to disrupt the party. Further, it seems clear now that the intention all along was to turn to the courts as a weapon against the SWP.

As the prosecution's trial brief explained, "Mr. Gelfand, a lawyer, not only understood the full implications of the evidence implicating Mr. Hansen, he researched and grasped the Party's democratic procedures. . . . Moreover, he knew how to make a record operating within those procedures."

It is this carefully constructed fictitious "record" that Gelfand has utilized to demand court intervention, a gross violation of the rights of the SWP.

### Finances too

Return trips to England to meet with Mitchell and other WRP leaders were made by Gelfand in the summers of 1980 and 1981. Gelfand and one of his lawyers also met "more than 15" times with WL representatives in the U.S., Gelfand estimated.

Not only were the WRP and WL intimately involved in helping Gelfand work out the strategy for his campaign against the SWP. They also helped finance it.

In Gelfand's original deposition, taken in October 1980, the following exchange was recorded:

"Q. Mr. Gelfand, is anybody helping you to bear the expenses of this litigation?"

"A. No."

"Q. So all the expenses of this litigation are being borne by yourself?"

"A. That's right."

At that time, Gelfand's suit against the SWP was already more than a year old. He had put up thousands of dollars in court fees, travel expenses, transcript costs, and other outlays. Although he declined to say how much his attorneys had been paid, he admitted in a later deposition that he paid \$30,000 just in lawyers' fees in 1980. Gelfand's salary from the Los Angeles county government in 1979 was approximately \$28,000.

The second deposition of Gelfand took place in March 1982. According to Gelfand's testimony at that time, he began receiving money from David North of the WL "to help with some of the costs of this case" immediately after his October 1980 deposition, when he had claimed that he was paying all expenses himself.

Legal fees alone in 1980, 1981, and the first three months of 1982 cost him a total

of \$115,000, according to Gelfand. He admitted he had already received \$40,000 from North to help meet these expenses. On top of all this, Gelfand admitted that North and two other WL members had been working full-time on his suit as "investigators."

Clearly, Gelfand's suit against the SWP is a WRP-WL operation, from start to finish. This is also reflected in the witnesses Gelfand has indicated he will call. These include North; Jean Brust, who is another WL member; and Cliff Slaughter, a long-time central leader of the WRP.

### Cops testify for Gelfand

Prominent among the witnesses Gelfand is calling are cops. These include Rickey Gibby and Vincent Perizzi, two Los Angeles cops who infiltrated the SWP in the 1970s to spy on and disrupt it. The trial brief submitted by Gelfand's lawyers relies on Gibby's reports on SWP meetings to back up its claims that Gelfand was being silenced by agents in the SWP leadership.

Gibby, apparently an expert on First Amendment rights, said he had "never seen anything like it" — referring to the fact that Gelfand was ruled out of order at a meeting of the Los Angeles SWP branch when he attempted to raise his "suspicions" that the SWP was led by cops.

Another Gelfand witness will be former FBI informer Edward Heisler, who has proven quite cooperative in Gelfand's endeavor. Heisler has provided Gelfand with thousands of pages of SWP documents.

Defending the admitted fink in his October 1980 deposition, Gelfand stated: "What we are talking about are highly trained intelligence agents not agent provocateurs. Ed Heisler, contrary to what [SWP leader Larry] Seigle said, was not an agent provocateur. Their job is to carry out

the party line as best they can so that they can elevate themselves to positions of leadership."

Gelfand notwithstanding, however, in 1969 Heisler's intelligence reports helped set up members of the SWP for an attack by ultraright thugs in the Chicago-based Legion of Justice. He also repeatedly urged inexperienced members to violate the SWP's policy against use of illegal drugs, thereby putting them and the party in a position to be victimized by the police.

The fact that Heisler's attempts at disruption and provocation had so little success was due not to his intentions, but to the political strengths of the party he was trying to destroy.

While professing great concern over the infiltration of government agents in the SWP, Gelfand is relying on the testimony of real, proven cops as his authorities on the SWP!

Another of Gelfand's activities as a loyal member came to light recently when he submitted into evidence tape recordings of meetings between himself and SWP leaders in Los Angeles. These meetings, which took place while Gelfand was still pretending to be an innocent, concerned member of the SWP, were taped secretly — an illegal action in California. Gelfand has refused to say how the recordings were made.

The real objective of Gelfand and his collaborators in the WRP-WL is recorded in the last section of their trial brief. It presents an extensive legal argument on why the government, through its courts, should indeed be able to intrude on the internal life and functioning of political organizations. Thus, while Gelfand pretends to be defending the workers movement against government agents, in reality he is defending and promoting government disruption of the working-class movement.

## Press conference assails trial

LOS ANGELES — A courthouse news conference was held here March 2 as the trial of the Socialist Workers Party got under way. This trial "threatens the essential freedoms guaranteed by the Bill of Rights," charged Holbrook Mahn, national coordinator of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). Frank Wilkinson, of the National Committee Against Repressive Legislation, joined Mahn in protesting the trial of the SWP. "I'm here today to express moral support for the Socialist Workers Party in the problem they are facing in this trial," Wilkinson said.

Noting that "I myself, and my organization, have been under surveillance for 40 years," Wilkinson declared: "I'm not here just as a disinterested supporter of the First Amendment. First, the government becomes involved in infiltrating and spying on our organizations, then they get involved in determining who should or should not be a member. I think this is an outrageous thing."

Also speaking at the news conference was Jan Briendach, field representative of the Service Employees International Union Local 535. "If the government feels free to spy on and interfere with groups organized

to pursue their political ends, there's nothing that can stop them from doing the same thing to the labor movement," she pointed out.

During the question period, Wilkinson explained the role of the Los Angeles police in spying on the American Friends Service Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, Unitarian Church, and on his own organization. The judge in the SWP case authorized such political surveillance against the SWP as well when she was president of the L.A. Police Commission.

"I think any connection (of the judge) with the LAPD and its ongoing spying and surveillance is extremely important," Wilkinson said.

Taking up a question from a reporter on whether PRDF was controlled by the SWP and only defended SWP cases, Wilkinson noted that he himself was a sponsor of PRDF. He explained that although it was originally set up to organize support and to raise funds for the SWP's suit against the FBI and CIA, a big task in-and-of-itself, Wilkinson noted, it had also helped in the fight against police spying and disruption by the Los Angeles cops.



BY MALIK MIAH

*Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* salespeople in Cleveland are circulating the following Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) statement as they sell to workers entering or leaving plant gates:

"The lawsuit brought against the Socialist Workers Party, now being heard by United States District Court Judge Mariana Pfaelzer, and scheduled to go to trial March 1, 1983, represents a grave threat to political freedom.

"This attack on the constitutionally guaranteed right to free political association is an attack on the rights of all.

"I demand that this suit be thrown out of court and that this attack by the government against the Socialist Workers Party be immediately halted because the U.S. government has no right to interfere in the internal functioning of any political association, group, or party that opposes its policies."

Judge Pfaelzer has taken upon herself through this trial to rule on who the leaders and members of the SWP may be, and to intervene in the party's internal political life.

The Political Rights Defense Fund has initiated an emergency national campaign to oppose these new government moves to interfere with the independent func-

tioning of political organizations opposed to government policies.

"What we're trying to do as we go on sales and to political meetings," Cleveland socialist Greg Jackson explained, "is to get people to sign the PRDF statement and get involved in this important defense case."

Jackson had just returned from his team's regular sales at the General Electric plant in Cleveland. He said over the last five weeks they've sold one or two papers each time; with the recent issue reporting on the trial of the SWP they sold seven copies.

We asked Jackson what the discussions were like on the Los Angeles trial.

One worker told him, "They're attacking everybody — so it don't surprise me."

Jackson replied, "You should read this article, because what this does is point to a way to fight back . . . what we're trying to do is get support for this case because it's an attack on everybody."

"He bought the paper and said he would read it," Jackson said. "It went like that a lot — people wanted to see how this was an attack on the union and an attack on everybody."

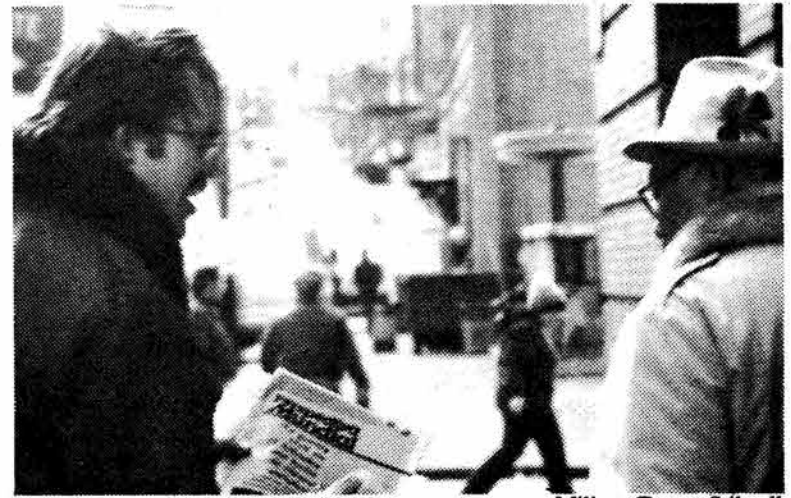
Jackson added, "The conversa-

tions mainly centered around the fact that the government is attacking all the unions. The interesting thing is that people's reaction wasn't, 'Well, this is just the Socialist Workers Party.' They wanted to talk about how it's an attack on everybody's rights, and especially the unions."

Socialists in Atlanta report they've also been using the *Militant* to win support for the SWP case. Chris Hoepfner, a worker fired from the Lockheed Corp. for his union activity and socialist ideas, told us, "At plant gate sales, we explain how the case of workers fired from Lockheed-Georgia, the Pfaelzer case, the Eddie Carthan case, and others all illustrate what the government is up to. This has been very effective."

In Phoenix *Militant* salespeople are using the *Militant* to get endorsements for the SWP's fight and encouraging supporters to subscribe to follow the trial.

In Los Angeles salespeople passed out the new PRDF brochures on the case at the gate of an ARCO oil refinery where regular weekly *Militant* and *PM* sales are just being established. Socialist workers in the plant reported that the brochures were being read and discussed by co-



Militant/Duane Stilwell

Selling in New York's garment district

workers.

Other cities are thinking out and trying varied ways to use plant-gate sales to discuss this unprecedented case with workers.

As the Cleveland experience shows, plant-gate sales will be a central way to discuss with workers the government's use of the courts to attack the First Amendment and other democratic rights. In the *Militant* workers will learn why the government has slandered and hounded a legitimate political party for over 40 years; learn what's really happening in the

court and how that courtroom battle is a reflection of the life-and-death struggles of the oppressed and exploited everywhere in the world.

This trial, in fact, offers salespeople an opportunity to firmly establish the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, our Spanish language biweekly, with a permanent presence at hundreds of factory gates.

The next issue of *PM* will focus on the issues in the trial and a special effort should be made to get it out.

## Black party meeting discusses electoral politics

BY OLLIE BIVINS

LOS ANGELES — Fifty people attended the Far West regional conference of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) held here February 12 and 13. The themes of the conference were "Organizing independent Black political action," "Stop police terror," and "Jobs not war."

The serious tone of the meeting was set in the opening session by Jonina Abron, an NBIPP Far West regional representative. In her comments Abron stressed the need for NBIPP to become immersed in struggles in the Black community around such issues as police violence, school desegregation, and housing. Unless this happens, she said, the party will continue to decline in membership.

Four workshops took place at the conference. The first workshop held was on "Electoral Politics." The panelists were Bob Duren, Los Angeles NBIPP chapter cochair, and Sam Manuel, NBIPP member from Seaside, California who spoke for regional representative Mel Mason. Mason was unable to attend the conference.

Duren and Manuel stressed the need for NBIPP chapters, where possible, to immediately begin running candidates in the 1983 elections. In a position paper on the subject distributed to conference participants, Mason stated, "Running NBIPP candidates can be an effective vehicle for reaching many more people with the goals and program of the party. This can help recruit to the party and extend its influence. Running candidates can also help project NBIPP as a serious political party, which 'aims to attain power to radically transform the present socio-economic order . . . as the [NBIPP] charter states."

"Running candidates is also an effective way to present a real alternative to the Democrats and Republicans and help explain the need for Black people and others to stop supporting these twin parties of our enemies."

The paper called for NBIPP to consider endorsing candidates independent of the Democrats and Republicans, and taking stands on local referenda and initiatives. Chapters were urged to organize educational on issues, host candidate panel discussions, and issue position statements in line with the party charter.

In discussion from the floor, conference participants eagerly supported the idea of running candidates as a key component of building the party. The position paper was adopted by consensus.

The featured speaker at the "Repression in the Black Community" workshop was Michael Zinzun, a longtime community

activist framed up by the Los Angeles Police Department after he observed a police arrest and beating near his home.

Zinzun places his case in the context of the continuing capitalist economic crisis and the accompanying repression. The major focus of the Michael Zinzun Defense Committee will be reaching out to the general community about the case and sponsoring a conference in the spring on political repression.

At the workshop "Black Women's Liberation: It's Role in NBIPP," a lively floor discussion ensued on the issue of abortion rights. Some men in the audience argued that abortion rights were not important to Black women and that Black women should have as many babies as possible so that they can be trained as fighters for Black liberation.

Many women vehemently argued against this perspective saying that Black

women can never be free if they don't exercise control over their own bodies. In its charter NBIPP takes a firm position in support of abortion rights.

The panelists at the workshop in support of liberation struggles in southern Africa and Central America were Halisi, a representative of the Patrice Lumumba Coalition, and Porfirio Acevedo, a member of NBIPP.

Halisi surveyed the history of the freedom struggle in South Africa and endorsed the campaign underway to get American entertainers to boycott the apartheid regime.

Acevedo stressed the importance for the Black community of the struggle in El Salvador, and the seriousness of U.S. threats against Nicaragua.

On the night of February 12 an NBIPP community rally was held. Speakers included Jonina Abron; Michael Zinzun; Ad-

jua Codjoe, Los Angeles NBIPP chapter cochair; Bob Duren; and Ramón Díaz, director of Casa Nicaragua in Los Angeles.

In his comments Díaz said that like Black people in the United States, Nicaragua is striving to chart an independent political course.

At the Sunday plenary the conference ratified a number of proposals. These included recommendations to the next NBIPP Central Committee meeting that the party join the World Front in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador and that chapters sponsor activities in celebration of the fourth anniversary of the Grenadian revolution; support the cultural boycott of South Africa; sponsor activities around International Women's Day; endorse the Michael Zinzun defense effort; and circulate more widely NBIPP's position on abortion rights. The idea of publishing a regional newsletter was also approved.

## Louisville frame-up victim wins wide support

BY CHUCK PETRIN

LOUISVILLE — Support is growing for the campaign in defense of Al Horsley.

Horsley is a 41-year-old Black union and political activist who was arrested last month by city police on frame-up charges of kidnapping and robbery. On February 8 a state circuit court jury returned a formal indictment. If convicted, Horsley could be sentenced to 40 years in prison.

The Al Horsley Defense Committee was formed to fight for his freedom. Civil rights leaders, community activists, union members, and socialists have joined together in demanding that the charges against Horsley be dropped. The committee aims to publicize the case, mobilize support, and raise money for legal defense.

Rev. William Bell, pastor of the Calvary Baptist Church, is cochair of the defense committee along with Arlene Rubinstein, a leader of the Louisville Socialist Workers Party. Rev. James Eliot, pastor of the New Jerusalem Baptist Church, is the committee treasurer.

Among the prominent endorsers of the defense committee are civil rights leader Anne Braden; Kentucky chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and Maury Granger, president of the NAACP branch at the University of Louisville.

Several hundred people have already signed petitions circulated by the committee demanding that the frame-up charges

against Horsley be dropped.

At the Philip Morris cigarette plant here, union members signed up 16 coworkers on defense committee petitions. One young Black worker grasped immediately the racist character of the frame-up; his own brother had spent four years in prison for armed robbery, only to be cleared of the charge later when another man confessed.

Another 20 people registered their support for Horsley at an educational conference here on apartheid in South Africa, which was sponsored by the Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression and other groups. Leaders of the Fel-



Militant

Al Horsley

lowship of Reconciliation circulated petitions among their membership and signed up 30 people.

At a defense committee meeting February 3, Bell highlighted the important example that is being set in this case. A broad coalition of individuals and organizations, he explained, has come together to prevent the authorities from railroadng Horsley to prison. If successful, he said, this campaign will inspire other victims of racist and political persecution. It will give them courage to know they are not alone in their fight.

Horsley was released from jail February 9. The defense committee succeeded in raising a \$20,000 property bond needed to end his month-long imprisonment. Plans are now being discussed for stepped-up publicity and fundraising activities.

The committee is asking that letters or telegrams demanding that the charges against Horsley be dropped be sent to: David Armstrong, Commonwealth Attorney, Hall of Justice, 600 W. Jefferson, Louisville, Ky. 40202. Send copies to the defense committee.

The committee is also urging that financial contributions be made to cover legal expenses and pay for materials publicizing the case. Make checks payable to Al Horsley Defense Committee.

For copies of fact sheets, petitions, and other information contact: Al Horsley Defense Committee, P.O. Box 748, Louisville, Ky. 40201.



# Why NOW campaign against Quintin Dailey harms fight for Black and women's rights

BY MARGARET JAYKO  
AND JEAN PETERS

A campaign against Chicago Bulls basketball player Quintin Dailey has been launched by a variety of antirape organizations and other women's rights groups.

Dailey, who is Black, was charged in December 1981 with three counts of sexual assault and one count of aggravated assault against a female nursing student at the University of San Francisco. He pleaded guilty to aggravated assault and was sentenced to three years' probation.

The nursing student subsequently filed a civil suit against Dailey, suing him for \$300,000 in damages. On January 19, an out-of-court settlement of the civil suit was announced, which included a cash payment by Dailey to the nursing student and a letter of apology.

Last December, 100 women from Women Against Rape (WAR) and the National Organization for Women (NOW) picketed outside the arena in Milwaukee where the Bulls were scheduled to play the Milwaukee Bucks. They were protesting Dailey's presence in Milwaukee and have vowed to picket the Bulls every time they appear in Milwaukee.

The picketing women's groups felt that the three years' probation was inadequate punishment and called on the government to restrict Dailey to the state of Illinois and suspend his National Basketball Association contract as well as making other demands.

Illinois State NOW organized a protest at the Chicago Bulls' ticket office in downtown Chicago last October. The official national newspaper of NOW, the *National NOW Times*, printed a large photo of the picket and a story about it.

Illinois NOW submitted a resolution to the national NOW conference last October, which proposed that NOW nationally go on a big media and action campaign against Dailey. The resolution never reached the floor, but it was discussed in some workshops. The few Black women who were present at the NOW conference vehemently argued against NOW passing such a resolution.

## Controversy in Milwaukee

The picketline in Milwaukee created quite a controversy among women's rights groups and in the Black community.

The *Community Journal*, one of Milwaukee's two Black papers, ran a three-part series on Black women and the fight for women's rights. The articles concluded that the existing women's rights organizations don't address issues of concern to Black women, and pointed to the Dailey picket as proof of the wrong priorities of some women's rights groups.

The *Journal* also ran articles quoting Black women who explained why they refused to support the picket, which was viewed as racist by many Blacks.

For women's rights organizations and activists to be part of the anti-Dailey campaign in any way is a serious error that damages the struggle for women's equality.

## Wrong target

A leaflet advertising the Milwaukee picketline put out by WAR illustrates the problems.

One headline says "Superjock is never having to say you're sorry," and it calls Dailey a "dumb-ass jock" and a "grossly overpaid jock."

Are professional male athletes now natural enemies of women?

By organizing a campaign focused on Dailey, the individual, these women's rights activists ended up echoing crude, racist propaganda. The WAR leaflet says, "Say NO to this bull" with a picture of Dailey. It shows picket signs demanding "Neuter this bull." An article from *The Feminist Connection*, reprinted on the leaflet, calls for castrating Dailey — and by implication, all men convicted of sexual violence against women.

This type of literature feeds the racist stereotype of Black men being "oversexed" animals who are out to rape white women. The notion of Black men as rapists is one of

the most prevalent myths used historically to justify lynchings, executions, and long prison terms for Blacks. The campaign against Dailey gives credence to this racist myth and thereby aids government repression of Black people.

Not all the anti-Dailey literature is so blatant, but the effect is the same.

## Divisive

The worst result of the misdirected campaign against Dailey is that it gives foes of women's rights the perfect opportunity to advance their efforts to drive a wedge between the fight for women's rights and the Black struggle by bolstering the claim that women's equality is only important for middle-class, white women.

The facts are all to the contrary. While all women are oppressed in this society, working-class women — and Blacks and Latinas in particular — suffer the most from every aspect of women's oppression — from illegal abortion, unequal pay, lack of legal equality, to violence against women.

These sisters can and will play a leadership role in the massive movement for women's equality that will emerge as the ruling-class attacks against women propel more and more of us to fight back. But these women will never be attracted to campaigns that echo racist ideas.

## 'Anticrime' is antiwoman

The demand for "more punishment" for Dailey plays into the hands of the current "anticrime" campaign of the capitalist politicians and reactionaries of every stripe. This "anticrime" propaganda is especially designed to divide working people along race lines by portraying the entire Black nationality as a class of criminals.

The *National NOW Times* (NNT) recently provided another example of where anticrime campaigns can lead.

The January-February issue ran a story about the NOW chapter in Greater Rochester, New York. The chapter has started a reward fund to help find and arrest suspected rapists. According to the NNT, "Rewards would be offered for information leading to the arrest and conviction of rapists through a plan worked out with the police department and based on information received by the department."

Does this mean Rochester NOW will be in the position of endorsing every rape conviction made by the racist, sexist, anti-working-class "justice" system? What if police say they've "received information"

that a Black union leader has just raped a woman? Will NOW aid cop man-hunts or help find men who "look like" rapists?

Campaigns like this and the anti-Dailey campaign have *nothing* to do with the fight for justice and equality for women — for abortion rights, the Equal Rights Amendment, daycare, affirmative action, an end to U.S. intervention abroad, and an end to violence against women.

These campaigns point women's rights fighters away from an uncompromising struggle against the employers and their government — the real source of violence against women both in this country and around the world — and toward a futile battle against individual men.

In the case of Rochester NOW, it puts women's rights fighters in a direct alliance with the cops and the government *against* the Black community and the working class. Campaigns like these are the kiss of death for the fight for women's rights.

## Source of antiwoman violence

The wellspring of violence against women is the capitalist system. Rape and other forms of violence against women are horrendous crimes that affect not only the millions of victims each year, but all women who must live with the fear of physical assault and rape. The sexual repression, alienation, violence, and oppression of women that are endemic to this so-

ciety ensure that violence against women will flourish as long as capitalism does.

The only way to put an end to the violence and degradation of women is to get rid of this system and build a new, socialist society, where each human being is free to live in dignity, equality, and respect. In Cuba, a country that overthrew capitalism 23 years ago, where the workers and farmers are leading the way in constructing a new society, violent crimes against women have decreased dramatically, as the status of women has improved on all fronts.

The struggle for women's equality has a pivotal role to play in the process here of replacing this system with a new one.

Part of the job of the women's rights movement is to explain to working people the nature of the problems women face, the role of the government and corporations in perpetuating those problems, and the need to mobilize against them. The women's rights movement has already had a big impact — on men as well as women — in explaining that rape is a violent crime against women, which women are the *victims*, not the cause, of.

The campaign against Quintin Dailey and any other activity that miseducates women as to who are our allies and who are our enemies is an obstacle to ending violence against women and winning equality, and should be rejected by all women's rights fighters.



Illinois National Organization for Women picket line at Chicago ticket office of Bulls, Quintin Dailey's team.

# Antiabortion kidnappers convicted

BY SHEILA OSTROW

ST. LOUIS — Don Benny Anderson, the head of a terrorist antiabortion group called the Army of God, was sentenced to 30 years in prison on February 10 for the kidnapping of Dr. Héctor Zavallos and his wife Rosalie Jean last August. Anderson's two cohorts — Matthew Moore and his brother Wayne — pleaded guilty to the same charges.

In addition, both Anderson and Matthew Moore have been charged with setting fires at two abortion clinics in Florida in May 1982. The Army of God has also admitted to the pipe-bombing of a clinic in Falls Church, Virginia.

Dr. Zavallos owns the Hope Clinic for Women in Granite City, Illinois, which is just across the river from St. Louis. Abortions are performed at this clinic. On August 12, three men abducted Dr. Zavallos and his wife.

In a federal courtroom in Alton, Illinois, the Zavalloses testified that they spent their eight days in captivity believing they would never be freed, expecting to be killed at any moment by their abductors.

The defense attorney tried to convince the jury that the kidnappers had treated the couple "kindly and with compassion."

The Zavalloses testified to the contrary. They were blindfolded and handcuffed for

eight days, given only a large bucket for a toilet.

The three kidnappers told the Zavalloses that their intent was to hold them until Reagan declared an end to legalized abortion. They forced Dr. Zavallos, under threat of execution, to make a tape recording calling on Reagan to end abortion. This tape and a 44-page ransom letter — called the "Epistle" — were left in St. Louis.

The "Epistle" said that their crusade had been inspired by God and they would fight to the death to end abortion. Reagan refused to make any public statements condemning the kidnapping, despite the fact that the terrorists were appealing to him.

One of the kidnappers told the Zavalloses that they might be spared if Dr. Zavallos would stop performing abortions at his clinic. Dr. Zavallos said he would, and the couple was finally released on August 20 along a road near their home.

After their release, however, the clinic continued to function as before, including providing abortions.

The main line of the defense was to portray the men as harmless, honest people who are simply fighting for something they believe in. For example, the defense attorney said they kidnapped the Zavalloses "because they had a sincere, honest belief that abortion was wrong and that by their actions they felt they could help bring an

end to abortions in this country." He argued that they kidnapped the Zavalloses as a way to "win public sentiment to end abortion."

That didn't go over too well with the jury. According to the jury foreman, the jurors had very little disagreement in finding Anderson guilty of attempting and conspiring to obstruct interstate commerce through threats or violence. Government prosecutors said those charges had been filed because Anderson had tried to force Dr. Zavallos to close the Granite City clinic.

Federal kidnapping charges could not be filed because the couple was not taken across state lines.

The federal judge sentenced Anderson to 30 years, saying the factor he considered in deciding the sentence was "the brutal, traumatic experience that you subjected your victims to."

While this sentence is a victory for supporters of the right of women to choose abortion, attacks continue.

Acting on what he said was a message from God, a man with a sledgehammer smashed the windows of an abortion clinic owned by Dr. Zavallos in Shreveport, Louisiana, on February 25. He was arrested and is being held in a mental hospital.



# Farm workers, copper miners hear Salvadoran



Militant  
Salvador labor leader Alejandro Molina Lara appealing to meeting in Phoenix for support to imprisoned unionists.

BY ANDY ENGLISH  
AND SHERRY TURNER

PHOENIX — Hundreds of union members heard eyewitness reports on the struggle in El Salvador from Salvadoran labor leader Alejandro Molina Lara during his February 14-18 speaking tour in Arizona.

Molina Lara was the organizational secretary of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS), which consists of 22 unions and has 80,000 members. Molina Lara is a member of the Exterior Commission of FENASTRAS, formed to help organize support from U.S. trade unions.

Molina Lara's Arizona tour was organized by the Phoenix Molina Lara Tour Committee. Sponsors of the tour included John Blake, secretary-treasurer, Teamsters Local 274; Ron England, president, United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Local 586; and Chris Smith, vice-president, Arizona Federation of Teachers. Also supporting the tour was the Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Central America (CAUSA).

Molina Lara spoke to 40 copper miners at the USWA Local 586 union hall in Miami, Arizona, an hour before the regularly scheduled union meeting. Many of the Chicano miners nodded their heads in agreement as the Salvadoran unionist spoke. Afterwards, miners shook his hand and expressed their solidarity.

In El Mirage, a western suburb of Phoenix, Molina Lara spoke to 120 farm workers at a meeting organized by the Arizona Farm Workers (AFW). The AFW has been a firm supporter of the Central America solidarity movement here for many years. The farm workers — mostly immigrants from Mexico — gave Molina Lara a standing ovation and donated \$60 to FENASTRAS.

On February 15, Molina Lara spoke to 20 members of USWA Local 3937, which organizes the Reynolds Aluminum plant in Phoenix.

Later that evening Molina Lara addressed 25 members of Teamsters Local 274. All the unionists there signed the tour committee's mailing list.

One of the union officials asked how the unions in El Salvador had been able to survive. Molina Lara responded that the union movement in El Salvador is now a clandestine, underground movement. The Teamster leader said he could see the same thing happening here, referring to the attacks being made on the unions in the United States.

A public meeting was held at the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) Local 769 union hall. Teamsters Local 274 helped build the meeting by printing 5,000 leaflets. More than 60 people attended, including members and officials of the IBEW, USWA, and American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees.

Bill Thompson from the Unitarian Universalist Service Committee and Francis Cavazos, a leader of the AFW both spoke. CAUSA activist Ada El-Khahi chaired the rally.

Molina Lara was the final speaker. He explained, "Our struggle is aimed at

achieving democracy, freedom, and independence. Our struggle is against the 14 families of large landowners. Democracy has never existed in our country."

Molina Lara went on to explain that the Salvadoran working people were forced to take up arms against the violence of the dictatorship. "We had no other choice but to turn to the use of violence to attain democracy and freedom."

"How can it be explained that for three years now we have been able to stand the tremendous military power being brought against us? There are 30,000 men in the Salvadoran army; many U.S. Green Beret advisers; a Pacific fleet of 20 ships; planes; and helicopters."

"The only answer as to why this power has not been able to destroy us is that we are not just a group of subversives, but rather an entire people."

U.S. military officials, Molina Lara added, are now admitting that the Salvadoran revolutionaries cannot be defeated without U.S. military intervention.

Molina Lara then explained that U.S. imperialism is planning to use the pope's visit to Central America to undermine the revolutionary movements. He outlined how the phony elections sponsored by Washington in El Salvador last March have failed to restore credibility to its puppet regime in San Salvador. The U.S. government now hopes that the pope's visit will improve the image of the Salvadoran dictatorship.

"But," he said, "the people will go out into the streets and ask the pope to come up with a solution to a conflict that the people can no longer bear. They are going to ask that this pastoral visit be used to ask the government to agree to a dialogue" with the revolutionary forces.

Molina Lara went on to criticize the pope for not speaking out against the repression as the late Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero did. Romero was assassinated by the dictatorship. He then expressed his hope that the pope would make a statement in favor of a dialogue and a political solution to the war.

"The working class has also been able to get organized and has achieved the unity of all the different trade-union confederations. We are headed toward the organization of a general strike," Molina Lara reported.

"We have been able to gather together over half a million workers in this trade union unity committee." He explained that even those unions that previously supported the regime — those affiliated to the AFL-CIO — have not escaped the repression of the military and have therefore formed a common front with the other confederations. "So, soon the people of this country will become aware of a tremendous strike wave in El Salvador."

Molina Lara ended his talk by appealing to the American people to protest U.S. military intervention in El Salvador. "We know that the people will support the fight for independence and democracy not only in our country but throughout the world."

Originally the tour was to have begun with a meeting in Tucson sponsored by International Association of Machinists Lodge 933. However, due to the blizzard in New York, where Molina Lara had just completed a speaking tour, the start of the tour was delayed by one day. A local Salvadoran and former leader of the Bank Workers Union was able to substitute for Molina Lara, enabling the meeting to take place as planned.

Molina Lara received extensive media coverage in Arizona. He was interviewed by four radio stations; the *Phoenix Gazette*, one of the two main newspapers; and the *New Times Weekly*, a widely circulated news and arts tabloid.

## Nicaraguans celebrate victory of record coffee harvest

BY JANE HARRIS

MATAGALPA — "Whose victory is this?" asked Commander Jaime Wheelock, minister of agrarian reform. He was speaking to a celebration of 11,000 people from all over the country. They had just been demobilized after two months of volunteer work on the coffee harvest.

The victory that Wheelock was referring to was that this year's coffee crop had not only been saved, but had been the largest ever — more than 7 million tons. In mid-December it became clear that if all forces were not mobilized immediately to pick coffee, a large part of Nicaragua's largest cash crop would be lost.

"The victory is that the coffee has been harvested. But whose victory is it?" Wheelock continued.

"It is a victory for the people," he answered, "but this victory is going to mean the well-being of the people and it is going to mean the accomplishment of a revolutionary responsibility; at the same time, the happiness that goes with that accomplishment."

Furthermore, he explained, it was a victory because the counterrevolutionaries, who had attacked the coffee pickers continuously, kidnapping dozens and killing eight workers, had been defeated in their efforts to sabotage the harvest.

At the celebration in early February, vanguard brigades and individual coffee pickers were singled out for special awards. Among them was Mario Barreda, whose parents were kidnapped during the harvest. A single mother with five children was also honored and cited as an example of the revolutionary Nicaraguan woman.

Wheelock used his address to explain the world economic picture to the 11,000 volunteers. After contributing two months of hard work to the reconstruction of Nicaragua's economy, they listened attentively to the 70-minute speech.

Wheelock described the sharp drop in production in the imperialist countries, the high level of unemployment, the billions of dollars of foreign debt owed by Latin American countries, and the dramatically lower prices received for crops grown in Latin America.

"To give you an example, if we could sell today's coffee harvest at 1979 prices, we would get \$280 million. However, selling the harvest at today's prices we are barely going to get \$150 million; that is to say, only about half the price."

On the brighter side, Wheelock described the tremendous growth in production of basic foodstuffs needed for internal consumption, as well as the growth of export crops. However, he pointed out that for all its exports this year, Nicaragua would only take in \$460 million, whereas in 1979 prices, the figure would have been

\$740 million.

Wheelock described at length the camaraderie that developed in the coffee fields over the course of the two months. He said that one 87-year-old canecutter, who had lost a son in the war, had gone with the Sandinista Youth Organization to pick coffee and felt "reborn" in Matagalpa because of the gratitude that was shown him by the volunteers from all over the country.

The old man was among those who received vanguard awards. Inspired by the experience, he told *Intercontinental Press*, "I'm going home now, but I'm ready to do anything the Sandinista leadership asks me to do."

The conditions volunteers experienced on the *fincas* were a far cry from what they were used to in the cities where most came from. They slept on the floor and ate rice and beans three times a day for 60 days. After New Year's Day, on some *fincas* the large number of volunteers stretched thin the distribution of beans. They had to make do with rice alone.

Referring to the conditions in the countryside that the volunteers had coped with, Wheelock predicted that they would hate Somozaism and imperialism even more; that they would be better defenders of the revolution for what they had experienced.

But most important of all, he concluded, it was demonstrated that "the revolution has the capacity to mobilize the population for defense, for production, and for other revolutionary tasks — all at the same time."

From *Intercontinental Press*

## Quebec teachers battle union-busting

Continued from Page 2

go to pay off these foreign bankers, not to create jobs.

The disillusionment felt among Quebec's workers over the PQ government's confrontation with the labor movement runs especially deep among teachers, who are the government's special target. Many teachers have turned in their PQ membership cards and some have resigned from party posts. Several locals have expelled members who were elected to the provincial parliament on the PQ ticket.

The outcome of the battle between Quebec's teachers and the PQ government is not yet decided. As in any war, there are advances and retreats as first one side, then the other, takes the offensive or falls back.

The 80,000 teachers face a very powerful enemy — a government that is determined to cut their living standards and that has the power to write whatever laws it needs to break their struggle.

But they also have a major source of

strength — the democratic participation of the mass of union members in deciding how their struggle should be waged.

The Quebec teachers have waged an exemplary fight based on a mobilized membership, mass pickets, regular mass meetings to decide policy, demonstrations, strike bulletins, and daily ads explaining their struggle to the rest of the population.

At stake in this struggle, the CEQ has pointed out, is the future of public education in Quebec. Until 1964 Quebec did not even have a ministry of education. All schools were church-run.

The tremendous growth in public education since the 1960s has begun to reduce the huge gap in educational standards between French-speaking and English-speaking residents. But the gap remains large.

As Montreal Teachers Alliance president Rodrigue Dubé emphasized, no one elected the PQ to destroy the gains Quebec workers have won through two decades of struggles.

### Barricada Internacional

*Barricada Internacional*, the weekly official voice of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, is now available in Spanish and English. The price is 6 months for \$12.

Send check or money order to:  
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Salvador refugee camp, where thousands live in intolerable conditions due to regime's war on people.

# U.S. health workers find torture, disease in El Salvador

BY MARK SCHNEIDER

BOSTON — "Since the system of health care delivery is in collapse, political terror is unabated, and the institutions of repression, torture, and assassination remain unchanged, we believe that recertification [of human rights progress in El Salvador] should be denied."

This is the conclusion of an eight-page report by a public-health delegation of inquiry that visited El Salvador from January 15 to 19.

The medical professionals reported "a virtually complete breakdown in the health system," repression of medical workers, nonexistent sanitary conditions for refugees, and devastating physical and psychological effects upon children.

In addition, the delegates "witnessed the physical and psychological effects of the torture of political prisoners."

The trip was organized by the New York based Committee for Health Rights in El Salvador and was sponsored by the American Public Health Association; American Orthopsychiatric Association; National Association of Social Workers; American Medical Students Association; Committee of Interns and Residents; District Council 37 of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; the Massachusetts Nurses' Association; and the Physicians Forum.

According to Ann Hargreaves, a nurse and the executive director of Nursing Services and Nursing Education at Boston's City Hospital, "we visited two prisons where political prisoners are held, a refugee camp and several hospitals. We met with numerous health officials, including doctors in exile in Mexico City and religious leaders including Acting Archbishop Rivera y Damas. We also met the chief of the National Police, U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton, and some people at the State Department in Washington when we returned."

## 'Every prisoner tortured'

"There are 600 male political prisoners in Mariona prison and 80 women political prisoners in Ilopango," she said. "None of these prisoners has had a trial or confronted their accuser. This is legal under the martial law decree, which allows prisoners to be held for a certain period of time. But they hold prisoners indefinitely."

"Every one of the prisoners, male and female, had been tortured. They had been subjected to beatings, electrical shocks, and mock executions. The doctors in our group examined these people. I myself saw a man with deep burns that were clearly made with acid. There were people with fingernails extracted. There were children, including girls of 13, 14, and 15."

"The women and children had been sexually abused. Some were tied up and blindfolded for weeks and endured hallucinations probably because of sensory deprivation. One woman, a psychiatric social worker, was imprisoned for organizing a meeting to improve health care. She had all her teeth knocked out and had been raped."

Hargreaves said her experience in El Salvador reminded her of the concentration-camp survivors she treated at the end of World War II.

The Salvadoran prison warden told the delegates that torture did not occur in his prison. Statements like this are used by the U.S. State Department to show "human rights progress."

"The truth," said Hargreaves, "is that the torturing simply goes on somewhere else. Now they take over a home, use it as a torture center for a while, then abandon it and move on. Believe it or not, Ambassador Hinton told us that the increase in the number of political prisoners is a good sign, because while they're in prison, they're safe! The State Department does not deny there is an increase in political prisoners. But they see it as a step forward."

## Four doctors per 100,000 people

The delegates also studied the health situation in El Salvador as a whole.

Dr. Carola Eisenberg, dean for Student Affairs at Harvard Medical School and a psychiatrist, said, "In the United States, there are 175 physicians for every 100,000 people. In El Salvador, there are 4 per 100,000, and of those, some are going into exile. Because of the closing of the National University, no doctors have been graduated since 1979. They're going to run out of physicians soon, especially in the countryside. At the same time, there is an increase of all kinds of communicable diseases — malaria, diphtheria, tuberculosis, whooping cough, etc."

Eisenberg said that private medical academies are being established as diploma mills, charging 10 times the tuition of the National University, which has been ransacked by the Salvadoran army.

"A few courageous faculty members continue to teach, but they have no laboratories or dissecting rooms. That material, along with books, was looted by the army and police and can be bought near the university."

## Conditions of refugee camps

At the Santa Tecla refugee camp near San Salvador, Hargreaves said, disease runs rampant. "We found every single child at Santa Tecla had some sort of skin condition — fungus, scabies, etc. There's no mosquito control so malaria will develop."

There is no possibility of organizing relief through the Salvadoran dictatorship.

Dr. John Stanbury, an internationally known nutritionist, said that the Santa Tecla camp is just a few miles from the U.S. embassy and there is no sign of any

American food aid to the refugees. Upon the group's return, Stanbury testified against recertification before a Senate committee.

Maine surgeon David Halperin explained, "there's only one Green Cross worker at Santa Tecla to distribute any aid, and if anyone else organized to do that, the military would kill them. Money sent to the government for medical aid won't get to the people."

Halperin angrily reported that the State Department's El Salvador desk disputed the medical delegation's findings. A British journalist told him the State Department claimed the torture victims were lying. "Everybody knows better than that," Halperin said. "Corpses are found mutilated by the side of the road almost daily!"

"The other claim the State Department made is that physicians are fleeing because there is a civil war, and the guerrillas are to blame for that. Not true! The physicians we met in exile fled because they received death threats from rightist terrorists."

Copies of the delegation's report are available from the Committee for Health Rights in El Salvador, 66 W. 87th St., New York, N.Y. 10024.

# U.S. hopes Nonaligned will move to right

BY DAVID FRANKEL

New Delhi, India, will host the Seventh Summit Meeting of Nonaligned Countries on March 7-11. The New Delhi gathering will mark the end of Fidel Castro's three-and-a-half-year presidency of the Nonaligned Movement — a fact that is already producing sighs of relief in Washington and other imperialist capitals.

A front-page article in the February 6 *New York Times* expressed the hopes of U.S. policymakers with the headline: "3d-World Group Appears to Ease Radical Stance." The article, by Bernard Nossiter, argued that the main document that has been drafted for the New Delhi meeting reflects "a move from radical to more moderate leadership" because it "implicitly blames the Soviet Union as well as the United States for most of the world's tensions."

When the Cubans assumed the presidency of the Nonaligned Movement at its Sixth Summit Meeting, held in Havana in September 1979, there was no dramatic change in the formal positions of the movement. Support for national liberation movements such as the ones in southern Africa, and for the rights of the Palestinian people, were already part of the movement's program.

But under Cuban leadership these positions were advanced in a new way. To begin with, the anti-imperialist positions of the Nonaligned Movement were no longer blunted by condemnations — implicit or explicit — of the Soviet Union. Imperialism was the enemy.

As Cuban Vice-president Carlos Rafael Rodríguez explained in a January 1982 interview (see following article), Cuba's nonalignment "is not a 'neutral' nonalignment. . . . We do not at all believe in neutralism."

"We are nonaligned in Cuba," Rodríguez explained, "because we have no military pact, because we are fighting to liquidate the blocs. But in the historic contradictions between capitalism and socialism, we try to orient not only our

small piece of land, but also all those we can influence, toward socialism."

Rodríguez gave the example of how Castro filled in the vague idea of a new international economic order with specific anti-imperialist content. Another example of how the Cubans have advanced the struggle against imperialism through the Nonaligned Movement was their attempt to rally support for Argentina when it came under attack by British imperialism last April. Most recently, there was the special session of nonaligned ministers held in Managua, Nicaragua, January 10-15. That meeting approved an explicit denunciation of U.S. intervention in Central America.

With the approach of the New Delhi meeting, Washington and its allies are hoping to push back some of the gains that have been made as a result of Cuba's leadership. Nossiter, in the *New York Times* article quoted earlier, approvingly cites "passages critical of both superpowers" in the document that has been drafted for the upcoming summit. For instance, the Indian draft attacks "the inflexible positions adopted by the most powerful nuclear weapons states," and calls for a bilateral nuclear freeze.

Because of the character of the Nonaligned Movement as an organization of nations oppressed by imperialism, evenhanded criticism of "the two superpowers" has always been the way the right wing of the movement has attempted to push its line.

By focusing on this aspect of the Indian draft, Nossiter is also attempting to drive a wedge between the Indian government and the wing of the movement led by Cuba. The Indian government has, in fact, protested publicly against Washington's attempts to split the Nonaligned Movement.

However, whatever kind of initial draft the Indian government presents to the New Delhi meeting, the character of the document that finally emerges from the gathering will be determined by the overall relationship of forces in the Nonaligned

Movement and the pressures that the participating governments are under from working people in their own countries.

Since the 1979 meeting of the nonaligned countries, the imperialists have scored one big victory through Israel's invasion of Lebanon, although at tremendous political cost. But the socialist revolution is continuing its advance in Central America. The peoples of Indochina have made important gains in their struggle against imperialist aggression. In southern Africa, Zimbabwe has been established as an independent country. And the people of the entire world have lived through three years of the deepest economic and social crisis since the 1930s.

We can expect to see a proliferation of propaganda pieces such as Nossiter's as the New Delhi summit gets underway. But it will take more than propaganda to change the objective situation that the imperialists face. As a system of world domination, imperialism is weaker than at any time in its history, and a larger percentage of humanity than ever before understands that this system of class and national oppression can and must be fought. Until that reality is changed, the Nonaligned Movement will continue to be a thorn in Washington's side.

From Intercontinental Press

## CUBA: Dictatorship or Democracy?

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# Immigrant auto workers in France spark strike wave, beat back bosses and gov't

BY DUANE STILWELL

The French automobile industry has been hit by the most important labor battles in 15 years. Strikes and shop occupations paralyzed production at the two huge factories of the nationalized Renault Co. in Flins and Billancourt early in January. The Flins strike lasted three weeks. Now a wave of strikes and other job actions have swept throughout the industry as other auto workers follow the example of the Renault workers.

A relatively small number of workers, the majority of them immigrants from North Africa and the Middle East, took the lead in scoring important victories in the form of higher wages and improved working conditions. The gains they made will ultimately benefit all of the more than 100,000 hourly workers at Renault, as well as all 400,000 workers in the French auto industry.

Throughout the strike the immigrant workers stood firm against a virulently racist media campaign that the government and the bosses used to try to isolate them from the other French workers.

The combativity of the immigrant workers was the most important factor behind the unity of the different unions that organize auto workers. In France, where workers at a single plant can be organized by many different unions, united action by the unions is essential for any effective fight.

The two major unions involved in the Renault strikes are the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), led by the French Communist Party (CP), and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), which is under the influence of the French Socialist Party (SP). The SP currently heads the French government.

And it was the immigrant workers who moved the unions into action, despite the progovernment SP and CP leaders.

"The conflict at Flins and Billancourt has shown," wrote Michel Noblecourt in the January 27 *Le Monde*, "that the unions are not the masters of the game."

These indomitable workers, continues Noblecourt, "have imposed their own will." Speaking patronizingly of what he calls "the excesses of a rather maximalist rank and file," Noblecourt says "the unions" — he means their bureaucratic leadership — "have the formidable task of finding a solution without severing themselves irremediably from the strikers."

In an article in *Le Monde* on January 20, Jean Benoit explained how meetings were being conducted every two hours by union delegates to keep workers informed of any developments in the negotiations: "On a microphone of the CFDT, a CGT representative harangues the strikers in French. His CFDT companion translates into Arabic. Placed almost side by side, the flags of the two organizations illustrate this unity in action that is so seldom seen at Flins."

Another crucial aspect of this struggle by immigrant workers to defend their standard of living from the ravages of inflation is their resolute fight against the racist campaign by the government and the employers.

Heading up this campaign against what he called the "uncontrollable" immigrant workers was Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy, who charged that immigrant workers are being manipulated from the outside by "foreign interests." This dovetails with the government's racist campaign against the Iranian revolution, which includes propaganda against Muslims, and Shi'ite Muslims in particular. The French government, which has been in the forefront of the imperialist campaign to strengthen NATO's nuclear forces in Europe, has also sold more than \$4.1 billion in arms over the past two years to aid the Iraqi war of aggression against Iran.

The French CP and SP argue that it is wrong to elect the workers parties to head the government and to then go out on strike against that government. But the immigrant workers in France have been distrust-

ful of President François Mitterrand's regime from the beginning. The immigrant workers know the history of previous social-democratic governments as staunch defenders of colonial domination in their countries of origin. And they know that they get the worst jobs, are subjected to discriminatory layoffs, and that they cannot rely on the government to defend them.

Because of their struggles, the immigrant workers have been fiercely attacked by the press, which has accused them of causing unemployment, of being greedy, and of not caring about the welfare of French society in general. They are also accused of blackmail and of "undermining the anti-inflationary policies" of the government.

But by waging a determined fight — and by winning a wage increase that shattered Mitterrand's austerity program — they not only cut through this racist campaign, but they have also showed what the unions can accomplish when their power is set in motion.

On January 6, some 200 spray painters out of a paint shop of 1,000 went out on strike at Flins. They shut down production almost completely at the huge Renault factory that employs a total of 18,000 workers. Of these workers 7,000 are immigrants of 26 different nationalities.

These spray painters, almost all of them from North Africa, did not limit their demands to the issue of discriminatory job classifications that affect them directly, but also demanded a wage increase of 300 francs a month for all of the workers in the plant. By the following Monday, four days later, more than 10,000 workers were put on layoff. This action was denounced by the CGT and the CFDT as a "scandalous antistrike lockout," and as an "unacceptable use of force by the bosses."

The day after the lockout was imposed, the Renault plant in Billancourt, which employs 5,000 workers, was also paralyzed by a strike. After a union representative held a meeting to explain the demands of the Flins spray painters and to ask for solidarity, dozens of spray painters and other paint shop workers at the Billancourt plant walked out calling for the same wage increases.

By January 20 the Flins strike, which continued to bottleneck production, was beginning to have an effect on the rest of the auto industry. Workers from different shops at other Renault plants, and at Citroën, Chausson and Fiat plants, were going out on strike and slowing production down

to a trickle. They also began putting forth their own demands.

On January 27 the management of Renault reached an agreement with all but one of the unions that organize workers at its Flins plant, and two days later the spray painters voted to return to work.

The gains registered by this agreement are significant. The immigrant workers at the Renault plants not only wrested immediate gains from the company, but also hampered the efforts of the Mitterrand government to impose a strict austerity program on all French workers. Previous offers by the bosses of the nationalized industries were directly inspired by the government. In the case of Renault, wage increases for

1983 were to be limited to 7 percent, with an additional 1.5 percent tied to production quotas and worker efficiency.

The wage agreement won at Flins includes a wage increase of 8.25 percent for all workers and a clause to protect the purchasing power of that wage increase. If inflation rises by more than 8 percent, the company must negotiate a further increase in September. The Renault workers also got rid of the clause tying wages to worker productivity. The 76,000 lowest paid workers at Renault received an increase of 11 percent.

The Mitterrand government wants to keep French industry profitable in the midst of the current world economic crisis.

## GM-Toyota deal provokes anger

BY RAUL GONZÁLEZ

FREMONT, Calif. — Auto workers here feel they're getting the shaft. In March 1982, the General Motors assembly plant was shut down, making the total of GM workers on indefinite layoff more than 6,000.

On February 14 Toyota Motor Co. and GM officials announced that the Fremont plant would reopen, hiring up to 3,000 workers for the production of subcompact cars. The two international auto giants declared that the plant would reopen under this joint ownership as a "new" third company.

The "new" company would not be bound by the old GM-United Auto Workers (UAW) contracts, and thus would not be obliged to rehire any of the 6,000 GM workers on layoff, they said.

The joint announcement that the laid-off workers would not be rehired brought a quick and angry response from UAW members and officials. Two days later GM was claiming the statement about not rehiring the Fremont workers had been misinterpreted from the Japanese.

But on February 23 Toyota officials spoke up again to "clarify" things. The Fremont plant will reopen under the "new" ownership of a "new" company. The previous GM contracts would not be honored, and they are under no obligation to rehire GM workers.

Fremont workers were outspoken to *Militant* reporters at the UAW Local 1364 hall.

Most workers' comments on the GM-Toyota deal were focused on Toyota's role in it. The Bay Area big-business news media have portrayed Toyota as the hard-liner on the rehiring issue, with statements by GM officials sounding more conciliatory.

One worker told the *Militant*, "We have labor laws here [in the United States]. They can't just come in and take over."

Other workers thought GM was no less responsible than Toyota, and that the two auto giants were playing "hard-cop, soft-cop."

"They're just testing the waters. They want to see how strong the union is," one worker told us.

"We really don't know anything more [about GM and Toyota's intentions] than what we've read in the papers."

In 1963 the GM truck plant in Oakland moved its operations south to Fremont. At that time Fremont had a population of barely 20,000.

Massive tax breaks and cheap land and water deals were engineered by Alameda County and state officials to invite GM to Fremont. With GM's move, the unionized work force from Oakland came as well.

Due to the struggle of Black workers, the work force, which in the 1950s was overwhelmingly white, changed. Doors opened, and Black and Latino workers became a large proportion of the work force. In the 1970s, women fought to get in.

Fremont's population has grown to more than 100,000. Until it closed last year, the GM plant was for 20 years the biggest employer here.

The layoffs have struck hard at the lives of Fremont workers and their families. Peruvian worker with 19 years at GM explained how he was unable to find another job because he had ruined his back while working for GM.

His wife works. Between her income and his SUB (Supplemental Unemployment Benefits) and unemployment, the and their four children have been able to just scrape by. Before the shutdown their food bills averaged \$180 a week. They're \$115 now.

Should the SUB or unemployment be cut off, as they have been for thousands of GM workers, they'd be eligible for \$485 a month in welfare and food stamps — less than what they get now.

This situation is not atypical. Many Fremont workers haven't been able to find decent jobs anywhere else.

On February 22 and 23, Fremont workers with more than 10 years' seniority were called in for a meeting with GM officials at the plant. No information was given about the reopening, but the worker were offered a "deal."

GM said it needs 400 workers at its assembly plant in Oklahoma City. Fremont workers with more than 10 years' seniority were given the chance to relocate.

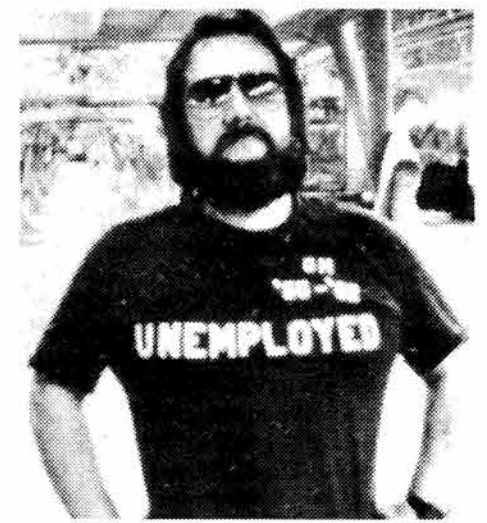
For now, they were told, it is voluntary. But if GM doesn't get 400 voluntarily, it could become mandatory.

A worker who relocates will have to pay the moving expenses out of his own pocket, save the receipts, and hand them over to GM in Oklahoma City. Ninety days later they're supposed to be reimbursed.

Once it becomes mandatory to move, the Fremont workers were told, refusal would make them ineligible for SUB and unemployment benefits. It would be the equivalent of refusing to come back to work if called, GM claims. They would lose everything — pension, seniority, etc.

Also threatened are workers with high seniority covered under the "Guaranteed Income Stream" (GIS), a plan under the 1982 contract highly touted by the UAW International leadership as a major step toward job security.

Newton Kamakani, financial secretary



Fremont auto worker: angry at threats against United Auto Workers union.

### Iran answers French gov't on auto strikes

Many Muslim immigrant workers who led the auto strikes in France identify with the Iranian revolution. In an attack on them and on the revolution, French Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy charged that the Iranian government had instigated the strikes and "stirred up the workers."

The February 3 *Jomhuri-e Eslami*, newspaper of Iran's ruling Islamic Republican Party, reported that at a Friday prayer service in Tehran, Hashemi Rafsanjani, speaker of the parliament, denied that Iranian agents were responsible for the strikes.

However, he pointed out, it is inevitable that workers in France will be affected by the Iranian revolution and its methods of struggle. That, he said, is the real expression of the exportation of the revolution.

Two days later an editorial in *Jomhuri-e Eslami* also discussed the strikes in France. It declared that they were the symptom "of a system that views these workers only as producers and not as human beings."





Lutte Ouvrière

Rouge

Immigrant workers led auto unionists in most important French labor battles in 15 years

That is why — besides holding wage increases down to 7 percent, well below the rate of inflation — it has also launched a big "buy French" campaign.

This campaign to "recapture the internal market" is designed to protect the profits of French industrialists. Through tariffs and import quotas, the government forces

working people to buy French-made merchandise for a higher price than similar merchandise available on the world market. The result is a lower standard of living for all French working people.

So these strikes and shop occupations unleashed by immigrant auto workers at Renault were seen as an important test by

all French workers. These recent strikes have been the most important in the French auto industry since 1968, when 10 million workers went out on a general strike.

Henri Krasucki, the general secretary of the CGT, was quoted in the Paris daily *Le Monde* of January 30-31 as saying that the agreement with Renault is "the best we

have gotten from the company in 10 years," adding that it represents "an authentic social victory."

Now that the pace has been set by the Renault workers, others are following in their footsteps. Workers at the Chausson plant in Gennevilliers and at the Citroën plants in Saint-Ouen and Levallois went out on strike demanding a wage increase of 300 francs a month, the original demand of the Renault spray painters. French auto workers affected by lockouts are still fighting for back pay for the days of work they have lost, as well as against having to work on Saturdays to make up for lost production. The government and the bosses are now attempting to stop any further strikes with court orders and to get rid of the immigrant union militants who led the first strikes. But the French auto workers are now in a better position to defend themselves and their union after these successful strikes.

*Rouge*, the weekly newspaper of the Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, had regular coverage of the strikes since they began in January. A front page editorial in the issue dated February 11 blasted the attempts to fire the immigrant union militants. "All workers," said the editorial, "must react in solidarity with the immigrant workers, now being repressed because they were the first to fight against the wage freeze and the decline in the purchasing power of hourly workers."

## discussion among United Auto Workers members

of the local, told the *Militant* GM is sending official notices to members of the transfer "offers."

"I have no choice," Earl, who has been with GM 25 years, said. "I have to go to Oklahoma. In a few more years I'll be eligible for retirement. I can't afford to lose that."

When the plant was in operation, Earl had bought three acres of land and a couple of horses. The Bay Area is his home. He explained that just recently he and his family had gotten back together after a five-year separation.

Moving to Oklahoma would break them up again. Stuck between a rock and a hard place, he figures the only way he can provide for his family and keep his three acres is to go, leaving them here.

"There's not even a guarantee we won't be laid off in Oklahoma. But I've got no choice."

Other workers felt that the Oklahoma offer was a way for GM to get some prounion workers out of Fremont, so that when the plant reopens it'll be with a less union-conscious work force, one without strong union traditions.

A retired Black worker told the *Militant* that workers here had been through a lot. "But they can only be pushed so far, before they fight," he added.

Fremont workers are waiting, as they've waited a year or more, to go back to work. The plant is scheduled to reopen in March 1984, under the "new" management. Its opening has been timed to coincide with the expiration of the current GM-UAW contracts.

At issue then for workers will be keeping their union and preventing a wage scale less than that of other GM plants.

Many Fremont workers know this and a determination is commonly expressed that if the "new" company tries to reopen without the "old" workers, there will be a fight.

BY DIANE SHUR

KANSAS CITY — "UAW [United Auto Workers] Local 31 held one of its best union meetings in years last Saturday at the union hall as over 200 rank-and-file members crowded the hall to voice their opinions and find out what stand the union executive officers would take on the GM/Toyota deal. After the preliminaries were out of the way, it was decided to stand behind the Fremont Local 1364 '1,000 percent' in their quest to be the representative body for the labor force at the presently closed auto assembly plant."

This was the opening paragraph of a front-page story which ran in the *Smooth Surface News*, an in-plant newsletter at GM's Fairfax, Kansas, plant. The recent announcement by GM and Toyota of their plans to ignore the present UAW contract when they reopen the Fremont, California, assembly plant has created tremendous concern among Kansas City auto workers over the future of all UAW locals, not only Local 1364.

"If they open that plant with nonunion workers we should have a national strike."

"I'd take my vacation time to go to California and help them make sure that the plant stays union."

"Maybe we should just wait until '84 to go on strike. We'll have a better idea of what's happening."

There are many discussions at Fairfax, and many points of view are expressed, but most workers agree that if GM gets away with their plans for Fremont, it will be a green light to attack working conditions and the union at all UAW plants.

Here at the Fairfax assembly plant, the news about Fremont has helped to tear the mask of "concerned communications and common interest" off the face of the Quality-of-Worklife (QWL) program. QWL is an attempt by GM to weaken the union by cutting across its role as the only legitimate representative of the workers.

While some workers have been willing to give it a chance, GM's real plans for the QWL program have been increasingly exposed.

## Fremont worker: GM, Toyota both mean to bust union

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Like thousands of others who worked at the General Motors assembly plant in Fremont, California, prior to the plant's being shut down indefinitely in March 1982, I read with great interest that GM was going to reopen the plant to build cars in a joint venture with Toyota.

Times have been hard for auto workers in the Fremont area. The Peterbilt and Mack truck plants shut down shortly before GM did, and the Ford plant in Milpitas is to go down too.

Thousands of us have had to look for scarce, and lower-paying, jobs. But state records show that only 800 of us have found new jobs, and those have been at half what we got at GM.

Home foreclosures in Alameda County, where two-thirds of the ex-GM workers live, have about tripled since 1981.

John Scrempo, vice-president of Local 1364 of the United Auto Workers (UAW) says he's "talking to people every day who're losing their homes. They've lost furniture, cars. They spend time sleeping in cars in the union parking lot. A lot of them are very frightened."

And at least four of them have committed suicide: Ronald Bergman, Steve González, Robert Luna, and Hugh Dewitt Self.

To this grisly toll, caused by the crisis of capitalism, must also be added six deaths from cirrhosis of the liver, and 23 heart attacks.

No money. No job, or prospects of one. The permanent uncertainty of everything about your life.

And even with the news of the plant's reopening, there's a grim underside. Many, probably most, of us won't get called back.

And hanging over all this is a cat-and-mouse game by GM and Toyota, a threat to destroy the union.

At a recent informational meeting for employees, GM made clear that a top priority for the company is cutting costs.

"I was very depressed," said a worker from the paint department. "My priority is making a decent living. How can we have common goals?"

Adding insult to injury, last week GM moved ahead with plans to increase the line speed at Fairfax from 50 cars an hour to 60. While they announced plans to hire more workers, the company also tried to enlist QWL representatives in a campaign to convince paint department workers to do the same number of operations when the line speed increases.

As a result, according to the *Smooth Surface News*, QWL meetings in paint on first shift have been suspended at the request of the union.

Diane Shur is a member of UAW Local 31.

Something was "lost in translation" from Japanese to English, GM Chairman Roger Smith assured us, when the chairman of Toyota said the "new company" will not be bound by the old contracts with the UAW.

But the Toyota president, Schoichiro Toyoda, repeated the next day that the joint venture will be a new company free to hire whomever it wants.

The union's top leaders, meanwhile, are assuring us that the plant will reopen under a UAW contract. And UAW President Douglas Fraser sent a letter to Toyota Chairman Eiji Toyoda that said, "We are certain we can establish a constructive and harmonious relationship."

Toyoda is also seeking cooperation: "Whether we can establish a spirit of cooperation is the most important question," he said. And GM, of course, wants cooperation too. Smith says so.

With all this cooperation being offered, why should auto workers in Fremont and everywhere else be so dubious about this deal?

GM's record in labor relations doesn't offer much ground for optimism among workers. GM only recognized the UAW in the 1930s after a series of hard-fought sit-down strikes. Prior to that it employed a private force of Pinkertons, company stool pigeons, and thugs to keep the union out.

GM has bitterly resisted the UAW a number of times, forcing long strikes on the union's members.

The Fremont plant has been no different.

In the 1950s, while the plant was still in Oakland, a fight had to be waged for Blacks to work for GM.

In the 1970s, women went through the same struggle to get in the plant. GM was forced to pay for sexist discrimination in a suit brought by the union.

And the plant has a long history of local strikes, many during the 1970s, as workers fought GM for a little dignity, or against speedup.

One such strike, which lasted a week, came about because the plant manager assaulted, then fired, the chairman of the shop committee.

We got him back, and we won a few other things over the years, like being called back by seniority regardless of the length of layoff. That, along with local work rules, is for sure one of the things GM and Toyota mean to change.

The kind of cooperation Toyota is promising is no different from GM's.

In the 1950s Toyota and other Japanese companies broke the unions representing their workers. Since then, they have dealt with much tamer ones.

A former Toyota worker described the present union: "shop union committee members are generally foremen, team leaders and sub-leaders. The position of shop steward is rotated among plant managers. . . . If someone tries to run for election, the management pressures him not to do it. . . . The positions of the three top-ranking officials and most of the executive committee in Toyota's union are filled by plant managers and . . . section managers."

Management serves as the election committee for union elections.

That's the kind of cooperation GM and Toyota have in mind. And they must think our union is now weak enough for them to impose their will. But Fremont auto workers will have the final word.

George Johnson was laid off from the Fremont assembly plant in 1981, with thousands of other UAW Local 1364 members. He worked in the cab and body shops and wet-deck department.



# Did truck shutdown aid the employers?

Reply to 'People's World,' 'Guardian'

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

The independent truckers who organized a shutdown last month to protest tax hikes faced some tough opposition.

Federal and state governments charged them with responsibility for violence, and the news media echoed and expanded on this slander.

President Reagan called them murderers at his news conference February 4 and announced he was calling out the FBI against the strikers.

The employers and their media tried to pit other workers — especially members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT) — against the independent truckers.

Speaking out of both sides of its mouth, the federal government told consumers the truckers weren't paying their fair share for highway upkeep. At the same time it told the truckers they shouldn't strike because they could simply pass on newly imposed taxes to the consumer!

And while the media warned that the shutdown would cause grave shortages of food and other goods, it simultaneously claimed the shutdown wasn't having any effect.

## Labor movement's response

The top officialdom of the labor movement was for the most part silent. The officials of the Teamsters, however, joined in the government-media violence-baiting of the independents.

A news release from the IBT office in Washington, D.C., on February 3 quoted Teamsters President Roy Williams as charging that "the over 1,000 acts of violence perpetrated" by the independents had resulted "in 75 injuries and the death of a fine Teamster member."

Even Williams was forced to admit, however, that many Teamster members "sympathize with the plight of the independent truckers."

In fact, the owner-operators had considerable support among Teamsters, as well as workers in other industries. They also won the solidarity of farmers. The American Agriculture Movement's national convention passed a resolution supporting the shutdown.

But two newspapers that claim to speak in the interests of working people — the *People's World* and the *Guardian* — campaigned against the independents' shutdown.

The *People's World* is a West Coast paper that reflects the views of the U.S. Communist Party. It condemned the shutdown in two articles appearing February 5 and 12 under the headlines "Bosses applaud truckers; Action hits wrong target" and "Strike support wanes; Truckers criticized."

When you get past the headlines, you discover that the main people "criticizing" the independents were none other than top Teamster officials.

The February 12 *People's World* prominently featured a statement by Teamsters President Williams, who said "nothing can condone any violent acts anywhere" and defended his union working during the shutdown with the excuse, "our members have contracts to uphold."

"While some independents are throwing bricks and shooting at union truck drivers, the employers are applauding from the sidelines," the *People's World* claimed.

The *People's World* also accused independents of stealing Teamsters' jobs: "hundreds of smaller union cartage companies have been forced out of business" as a result of "the cutthroat competition of the independents."

(The *Daily World*, sister paper of the *People's World*, took a different stance, reporting favorably on the truckers' shutdown in the few news items it carried.)

The February 9 *Guardian*, which describes itself as an "independent radical weekly," carried a major article headlined "Truckers' action isn't very progressive."

The article quoted extensively from leaders of Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), a dissident power caucus in the IBT.

TDU figure Pete Camarata was quoted as saying, "We'll support anybody trying to get a decent wage, but I have some criticism of the way they are going about it. Most of the independents are working as subcontractors to the big freight lines, so they could demand the companies raise their rates by enough to cover the new taxes, instead of supporting the companies' demand to eliminate the taxes."

"We don't want to break their strike . . . but if we don't go to work we'll be fired, because our union is not joining the strike. So we have to drive and the independents are out there breaking windshields."

Bob Masters, editor of the TDU paper *Convoy*, told the *Guardian*, "We think the best thing would be for [independents] to organize against the companies and not the government."

Masters conceded that "it should be up to the Teamsters union to represent them and protect their incomes." But he continued, "unfortunately, many of the independents see themselves as entrepreneurs — many of them are antiunion and think they are their own bosses."

The *Guardian* also fell hook, line, and sinker for Reagan's argument that highway taxes had to be raised so everybody pays their "fair share." It wrote, "trucks are responsible for a third of the damage to highways while paying only a quarter of the cost of construction and repair." It lumped the owner-operators in with the trucking bosses and condemned both for opposing "a modest and insufficient effort to slightly increase the truckers' share of maintaining the roads."

## What are the facts

To see where the *Guardian* and *People's World* go wrong, we have to start with some facts. Seventy-five percent or more of the independent truckers own one vehicle, which they drive. They are workers — pure and simple — who are forced to provide expensive tools. They — not the company — pay for their truck, oil and gas, upkeep, taxes, tolls, insurance, and so forth.

Under Reagan's new tax program, the owner-operators will have to pay an additional \$5,000 per year in taxes, due to the



Cleveland cop tells striking truck drivers they'll be arrested if they try to block trucks from entering Jones & Laughlin steel plant.

nickel-a-gallon increase for fuel and higher excise taxes on trucks and truck parts.

This means many independents will lose their trucks, and thus their livelihood. Unlike the big trucking bosses, they cannot "pass along" tax increases to the consumer. This is one reason the trucking industry encourages the independent sector, so these workers will absorb high overhead costs, especially during a recession.

The trucking bosses also try to encourage owner-operators' aspirations to become businessmen, and in this way foster promanagement, antiunion sentiment among them.

But the fact that some truckers are small businessmen is irrelevant to the issues posed for labor in the truckers' shutdown. Because they too are exploited under capitalism. By standing up and opposing Reagan's new tax program, they were acting in the interests of all working people, who are being taxed to the hilt at the same time they are hit with cutbacks, unemployment, and mortgage foreclosures.

The truckers were especially standing up for the interests of transportation workers. In their drive to increase their rate of profit, the employers have unleashed a fierce offensive against independents and Teamsters, rail and airline workers, through wage cuts, layoffs, new work rules, and antilabor laws.

The Independent Truckers Association, which called the shutdown, linked the plight of owner-operators to that of Teamster-organized drivers. It warned: "now the large truck fleets, in an attempt to squeeze a drop more profit from the sweat of Teamsters members, have asked that the National Master Freight Agreement be reopened, even though the current contract has another 37 months to go. If the Teamsters leadership goes along, Teamsters will take another cut in wages."

## Who laid off who?

It's not independent truckers who are responsible for Teamsters being laid off, contrary to the scandalous assertion of the *People's World*. It's the trucking bosses who are doing so, with the aid of the Teamsters bureaucracy, which has collaborated with them to impose major concession contracts on the IBT membership. But the class collaboration of the IBT tops gets no mention in the *People's World*.

Nor does the *Guardian* dare mention the bankrupt policies of the Teamster officials. Rather, it quotes approvingly statements by TDU leaders who advise the independents to get the companies to raise their rates and attack the strikers for focusing their fire on the government!

One might ask who the truckers should have acted against, since it was the government — through the Democrats and Republicans in Washington — that imposed the taxes.

In reality, both the *People's World* and the *Guardian* — one from the standpoint of the IBT bureaucracy, the other from the standpoint of a caucus trying to unseat that bureaucracy — adopt the same fundamental position: the independent truckers are enemies, not allies, of the working class. Their action aided the employers and hurt the labor movement.

But did the employers "applaud from the sidelines," as the *People's World* argues? Is that why they went out of their way to

persecute the strikers through their media, their government, and their FBI?

The fact is the rulers of this country saw it as a threat when a group of workers stood up and said no to their offensive and tried to mobilize the labor movement behind them. Like the air traffic controllers' strike and the rail engineers' strike last fall, the bosses saw the truckers' shutdown as a danger to their class interests, so they went out of their way to prejudice workers against it.

Rather than attack the shutdown or sit by passively, the labor movement should have championed the truckers and their demands, and put forward an alternative to the line of the bosses and capitalist politicians in Washington.

A positive step in this direction was taken by Local 7-346 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers in Toledo, which voted to support the shutdown.

Discussion in the local took note of the fact that independent truckers had crossed picket lines in previous strikes, a not uncommon occurrence. But, as one worker put it, "If we help them out now, maybe these guys will help us the next time we're out."

## Revolutionary tradition

The oil workers' approach to independent truckers as allies is similar to the policy developed by revolutionary-minded Teamsters in the 1930s in the Midwest. The story is told by Farrell Dobbs, who was a leader of the Teamsters organizing drive and later was national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party. Dobbs' four-volume series on the Teamsters (see ad) contains an appendix on the question of independent truckers that bears careful reading today. It's contained in *Teamster Politics*.

When Teamsters in Local 574 in Minneapolis set out to consolidate their union and make the city a union town, one of the questions they had to confront was the role of independent drivers. Dobbs explains how the trucking bosses tried to pit the independents against unionized drivers:

"Advantage was sought from ambitions that developed among independent owner-operators to expand their holdings and go into business for themselves. Illusions were fostered that such prospects were open to all individual owners, so as to trick them into identifying with the problems of management. To the extent that the scheme worked, divisions were sown between owner-operators and the drivers of company fleets. Unionization of the industry was thereby impeded; the laws of the open-shop jungle could better prevail; and the trucking bosses were able to wax fatter in all respects."

The national Teamsters leadership had ignored the problems of independents, Dobbs writes. But Local 574 in Minneapolis adopted a different policy:

"Careful examination of all the factors involved convinced us that those owning one truck, who did their own driving, should be approached by the union as fellow workers. Proceeding accordingly, we set out to organize as many of these individuals as possible."

"They were then extended the democratic right to shape the demands that were made upon their employers, the leasing companies. On that basis the union as a whole followed through by backing them

Continued on Page 14

## Teamsters union—lessons for today

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



# Who killed Karen Silkwood . . . and why?

**Who Killed Karen Silkwood?** By Howard Kohn, Summit Books, New York, 1981. 462 pp. \$8.95.

**The Killing of Karen Silkwood: The Story Behind the Kerr-McGee Plutonium Case.** By Richard Rashke, Houghton Mifflin, Boston, 1981. 407 pp. \$11.95.

BY BARBARA MUTNICK

On January 10, the U.S. Supreme Court decided to review the Karen Silkwood case. This will resurrect the \$10.5 million negligence suit brought by Silkwood's parents in 1976 against her employer, Kerr-McGee. Silkwood worked at its plutonium plant in Crescent, Oklahoma.

Two books on the case, Richard Rashke's *The Killing of Karen Silkwood: The Story Behind the Kerr-McGee Plutonium Case* and Howard Kohn's *Who Killed Karen Silkwood?* are eye openers, even for those who expect the worst from this government and the corporations it represents.

The two books cover the same material for the most part, but they are put together differently. Rashke's is the more direct and better organized — a plus when telling a story as complex and riveting in its own right as the Silkwood story is.

Kohn's book gives the reader a better idea of the personalities behind the names. But his fictionalized dialogue often makes one impatient to get on with the facts. Indexes would have been helpful — neither book includes one. But both authors are to be commended for the wealth of information they've made available on this important case.

## Murdered in car crash

Silkwood was killed in a car crash in 1974, one week after she had been contaminated with plutonium for the second time. She had worked at Kerr-McGee's Cimarron facility as a lab technician.

(Private investigators, skilled at accident reconstruction, were hired by Silkwood's union, the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW). They later reported that

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her car appeared to have been deliberately hit from behind, causing it to run off the road.)

A *New York Times* reporter and an OCAW staff person were waiting impatiently for Silkwood at a Holiday Inn. They expected not only her but a notebook and a thick manila folder full of documentation she had collected on safety hazards at the plant.

The photomicrographs and other papers proved that Kerr-McGee ran a "hot" operation — routinely exposing its work force to plutonium. The fuel rods being manufactured at a mad pace, destined for the planned Clinch River fast breeder reactor in Tennessee, were defective.

The night of the crash, Silkwood's small Honda was found in ruins. She was pronounced dead on arrival at a hospital. The documents had vanished.

## 'Case closed'

The Oklahoma Highway Patrol quickly classified the crash an accident, and the FBI declared the case closed after a brief investigation. Kerr-McGee claimed Silkwood had dosed herself with plutonium.

Thus began a nine-year battle to learn the truth about who killed Karen Silkwood and why. Both Kohn's and Rashke's books are packed full of facts about the case itself as well as about the nuclear industry and the movement that grew up against the dangers of nuclear power.

The books describe, in suspenseful detail, the embattled OCAW Local 5-283 that Silkwood became a leader of, government and company spying, and the determined band of activists who joined with Silkwood's parents to get out the facts of the case.

Not only did Supporters of Silkwood (SOS) bring the case to trial, but they won, at least initially and partially. On May 18, 1979, five and a half years after Silkwood was killed, a jury in an Oklahoma federal courtroom awarded her family half a million dollars in actual damages and \$10 million in punitive damages.

A U.S. Court of Appeals decision, however, overturned the Oklahoma jury's punitive damage award, arguing that under the Atomic Energy Act of 1954 only the federal government can regulate radiation hazards.

The Supreme Court's January decision to review the negligence case was made over the objections of the Justice Department, which took the position that there was "no issue which warrants review."

According to Rob Hager, an attorney who is coordinating the Supreme Court appeal for the Silkwood family, atomic workers as well as residents of areas affected by nuclear power plants, and uranium mines, would be forced to rely on the Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) as their "exclusive means for punishing the nuclear industry" if the appeals court decision is allowed to stand.

Also at stake, according to Hager, is the right to sue for punitive damages on the part of anonymous injured parties. For example, Hager said, reliable statistics indicate that last year's venting at Three Mile Island will cause 28 cases of cancer. No actual damages for specific individu-



Diana Romanchuk Kohn  
May 17, 1979. Supporters of Karen Silkwood planting a wooden marker in her honor next to culvert on Highway 74 where she was killed.

als can be proven because of the length of time cancers usually take to develop after cellular damage from radiation.

The Silkwood case was unusual in that actual damages could be proven. An autopsy demanded by her father revealed plutonium in her lungs. It was then possible to prove to the jury that the contamination had been caused by an ultrahazardous substance and that Silkwood was, as one scientist testified, "married to cancer."

If the appeals court decision is upheld, those affected by the Three Mile Island (TMI) venting, for example, will have no legal recourse against TMI. They will in effect be directed to have confidence that the NRC will protect their interests. But it was the NRC that okayed the venting. And it was the NRC's predecessor, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), that was "regulating" the Kerr-McGee plant when Silkwood and other workers were contaminated.

Rashke and Kohn both detail how the AEC-NRC has acted like a public relations firm for the nuclear industry rather than whistle blowers on it. For example, the Kerr-McGee management knew about "unannounced" AEC inspections well in advance, giving it a week or more to clean up the plant before the visits.

Rashke put it this way: "... the relationship between Kerr-McGee and the AEC was a cozy one. Both had something to gain by keeping the fuel rods rolling out of Crescent. The AEC's fast breeder dream would become a reality sooner; Kerr-McGee could hope to make a tidy profit under its fixed-fee contract. The OCAW stood between the dream and the profit."

## FBI's role

The bond with the AEC wasn't Kerr-McGee's only cozy relationship. The Silkwood investigating team and the negligence trial itself revealed that although the Justice Department closed its case on the circumstances of her death five and a half months after it happened, the FBI continued to play an extremely active role in the months and years ahead.

The agency floated letters and news releases separately charging a Tennessee newspaper editor, a congressional aide, and a Michigan representative with engaging in "illicit sex." All three men had gotten in the way of the government-industry coverup of the Silkwood case.

Evidence points to the attempted murder of Tony Mazzocchi, an OCAW staffer and later international vice-president of the union in the 1970s. Mazzocchi had met with Silkwood about conditions at Kerr-McGee and about union work there.

In February 1975, while driving to his home in Washington, D.C., he mysteriously blacked out at the wheel. Mazzocchi believes he was drugged. Thrown from his car, he regained consciousness by the roadside, still in a dream-like state.

Kohn's book tells of private investigator Bill Taylor's theory, developed after some pieces had unraveled from the Watergate events. Taylor speculated that a type of LSD that produces hallucinations and unconsciousness when absorbed through the skin had been smeared on Mazzocchi's steering wheel. (The existence of this "007" goo came to light when CIA operative Howard Hunt was reported to have proposed using it to assassinate columnist Jack Anderson.)

Also, Mazzocchi discovered that his home was bugged, as it turned out with a device so sophisticated experts believed it could only have come from the CIA or the National Security Agency.

Both books explain the role of the Georgia Power Company, which had a file on Silkwood. Georgia Power is controlled by the giant Southern Company — the owner of several nuclear power plants. According to ex-

employee William Lovin, Georgia Power called its security division "Risk Management."

"But," Lovin said, "it isn't a security division at all . . . it's a miniature CIA. We kept dossiers on everybody Georgia Power doesn't like. Union organizers, anti-nukers, little old ladies who made a fuss over their utility bills. We knew who they've slept with, who their creditors are, who's got a grudge against them, and why."

Georgia Power's operation was hooked into an international police network based near Fort Lauderdale, Florida. "An international intersection for spies," is how Taylor described the place, where there were "Iranian SAVAK agents, Chilean DINA agents, South Korean military police." Taylor found out that the Oklahoma City Police Department had some people who'd put in some time there also.

## Government-company spy system

The examples cited are but a few of the massive amounts of evidence the Silkwood investigation uncovered. The evidence proves the existence of a ruthless, elaborate government-company spy system aimed at thwarting the rights of millions of Americans — especially those in the labor movement, and especially those fighters in the labor movement like Karen Silkwood.

The question of who killed Karen Silkwood may never be resolved in the courts. The trial judge in Oklahoma dismissed two of the three counts in the original complaint — the counts that allege the existence of a government and company conspiracy to prevent Silkwood from improving conditions at Kerr-McGee and to cover up that conspiracy.

A three-judge appeals panel then upheld the trial judge's dismissal of the two counts, arguing that a union member is not protected in the same way a Black or civil rights worker is under existing civil rights laws.

Lawyers for the Silkwood family appealed again. According to attorney Hager, "the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals agreed that members of labor unions might be a class [legally speaking] and might therefore be protected, but this time the court stated that the charges of a conspiracy against Silkwood because she was a union member had not been proven."

## Attack on union

SOS leader and National Organization for Women (NOW) activist Sara Nelson called that decision "preposterous," explaining that "the appeals court simply ignored the powerful evidence we presented that Karen and other union members at Kerr-McGee were under attack because of their union activity."

The Supreme Court has refused to undertake a review of that appeals court decision, "which probably means the end of the line on the conspiracy counts as far as a courtroom resolution is concerned," said Nelson.

But interest in the Silkwood story continues to grow. The fact that the negligence part of the suit is back in the courts will no doubt stir further interest in all aspects of the story.

A major motion picture about Silkwood, directed by Mike Nichols and starring Meryl Streep, is in the works. There's also a play about her that has been toured by some unions.

Women's rights fighters have always had a special interest in the Silkwood case. At NOW's 1975 national convention, Silkwood was made an honorary NOW member. Rashke's book describes NOW's efforts to get justice for Karen Silkwood.

Every year on November 13 — the anniversary of Silkwood's death — protests and meetings about the case take place.

Supporters of Silkwood have combined with other organizations to found the Karen Silkwood Fund, which has begun holding regular meetings. They are planning to disseminate all the facts about the Karen Silkwood case, including material about the massive conspiracy the government, with the aid of its court system, is continuing to cover up. Working people, unionists, fighters for women's rights, and antinuclear activists have a big stake in learning about and publicizing this case.

Those interested in joining in the effort should contact the Karen Silkwood Fund at 1324 N. Capitol St., NW, Washington, D.C., 20002.



Evidence points to attempted murder of OCAW staffer Anthony Mazzocchi, who worked with Silkwood.



# Ind. farmers organize against credit vultures

BY DAVE YOUNG

NOBLESVILLE, Ind. — On February 16, about 40 fellow farmers and supporters of Ed and Ruth Campbell gathered at the Trappers Rendezvous in Metamora, Indiana, for coffee, biscuits, and gravy. They awaited word from the judge in Brookville, the county seat, on whether or not the sheriff's auction of the Campbell's farm would go ahead as scheduled. The Campbell's daughter Katrina and her friends spent most of the morning making protest posters in the event that the sale would take place.

The supporters gathered there included Jim and Barbara Adams, founders of Indiana COACT (Citizens Organization Acting Together). The day before nearly all the Adams' farm machinery was repossessed at their farm in Noblesville. The machinery repossession had been ordered to pay their debt to the Production Credit Association (PCA), a supposedly "farmer owned" cooperative founded 50 years ago.

Also in attendance were Indiana COACT leader Phillip Bright, and other COACT members from Indiana and Ohio. Farmers from an Ohio chapter of the Family Farm Movement (FFM) were there. Dan Griffith of Noblesville, whose farm will be put on the auction block on March 3, was there to show his support for the Campbells.

Ruth Campbell explained how only a few years earlier the PCA had actively encouraged farmers to build feed lots, storage bins and otherwise expand their operations. When farmers asked about a clause in the contract giving the PCA the right to call in their loan and demand full payment they were usually told that it was unimportant and nothing to worry about.

However, after the sudden devaluation

of land and fall in grain prices to nearly half their previous levels, the PCA began calling in their loans. In the Campbells' case the PCA began by first selling their 1,000 beef cattle at a price far below what their production costs had been up to that point.

At about 11:00 a.m. word arrived that the sheriff's sale would go ahead as scheduled. Friends and supporters of the Campbells were notified of the impending sale. As the crowd grew, the farmers discussed the tactics they might use to stop the sale.

At about 1:00 p.m. about 20 cars lined up with red bandanas on their antennas. The caravan proceeded to the sheriff's office in Brookville, eight miles away, where the court-ordered sale would take place. One van carried a coffin on top to represent the death of the family farmer. Some carried signs reading, "Sell Family Farms. Buy Your Groceries From The Lenders!" and "Corporations Take Over And Food Prices Rise."

A crowd of about 300 farmers and supporters of the Campbells were gathered outside the sheriff's office. The sheriff told the crowd, "I'm just an old country sheriff." He then proceeded to read the court order and announce the start of the bidding.

For more than three minutes the crowd shouted "No Sale! No Sale!" and then the sheriff announced he heard a bid of \$110,000 from the PCA, to whom the Campbells owed about \$1.2 million. The bid covered the Campbell's home and 340 acres of farm land.

A second parcel of land belonging to the Campbells was auctioned off to a man who had sold them the property on contract. He retook possession of the land at an enormous profit.

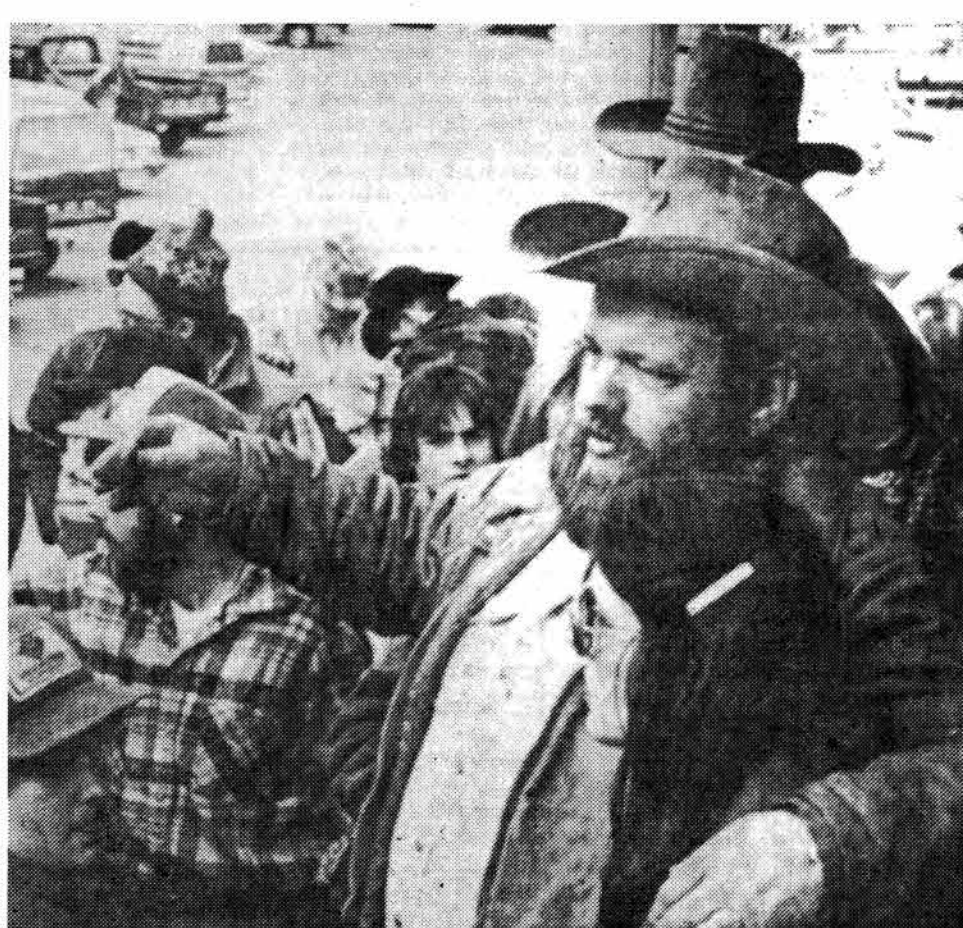
After the court-ordered sale, the farmers held their own auction to sell the local PCA office. The highest bid was for one and a half pennies.

"We have lost the battle but not the war," said Ruth Campbell. "We will be back."

She went on to say, "If what we have done today helps just one young farmer from going to those buzzards, then it was worth it."

Ed Campbell told the crowd, "Everybody who has dealt with an honest, true farmer knows he will do everything he can to pay his debts. Any farmer will pay you if he's given a decent chance."

Ruth Campbell concluded, "Let me tell you folks, when someone wants to take your farm and home away, that's violence!" The Campbells then invited the crowd to join their friends and family for a pig roast back at the Trappers Rendezvous.



Ed and Ruth Campbell, after auction of their farm, vowed to continue fight against Production Credit Association.

## TV's '60 Minutes' red-baits National Council of Churches

BY HARRY RING

The red-baiting attack leveled against the National Council and the World Council of Churches tells you something about what's going on in this country. It relates to the mounting opposition to U.S. aggression in Central America as well as to the brutal attacks on the rights of working people at home.

The big-business rulers of this country are determined to do everything they can to stifle that opposition. To accomplish this they are, among other things, using the commercial media — which they control — and political groupings that support their reactionary goals.

That's why the National Council and World Council of Churches were the target of an anticommunist hatchet job on TV's "60 Minutes" in January and a parallel attack in that month's *Reader's Digest*.

The attack against the church groups is also being pushed by an outfit that calls itself the Institute on Religion and Democracy. This group is being bankrolled by a number of the same labor-hating millionaires who are behind the American Enterprise Institute, a right-wing "think tank."

Particularly despicable in this regard is the key role played in the Institute on Religion and Democracy by Penn Kemble and David Jessup of Social Democrats USA, a group that calls itself socialist but identifies with the most conservative, anticommunist wing of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

The "60 Minutes" attack on the National Council and World Council of Churches was a classic McCarthy-style political frame-up. The segment was done by Morley Safer who opined that while the two related church groups "would seem not to exactly belong to the Marxist system . . . critics feel that [they] lean toward Karl Marx when it comes to giving certain financial support."

Example: The Presbyterian Hunger Program funded publication of a book, *Agribusiness in the Americas*, a study by NACLA (North American Congress on Latin America) of some of the causes of hunger in Latin America.

Needless to say, the attempt to discredit the church group for helping to make this study available did not include any rebuttal of the book's finding, namely that big agribusiness interests have been a key part of the problem of hunger south of the border.

Example: A World Council task force visited Australia where the aborigines are being driven from homelands rich in natural resources. A task force spokesperson spoke sharply of the consequences of the racist policies of the Australian government toward the aborigines.

Again, Safer made no attempt to defend the antiaborigine policy of the Australian government. He simply said the problem was "a terribly complicated historical situation."

Example: While the National Council of Churches does not endorse CISPES [Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador], various member denominations helped to get it started.

Here too, Safer offered no reason why the church forces should not give aid to groupings trying to prevent a new Vietnam in El Salvador.

Example: A National Council affiliate was among the organizations, in addition to journalists, who helped make available a "Dissent Paper on El Salvador and Central America," written anonymously by an obviously well-informed Carter administration member during the last months of that administration.

The document bluntly warned that U.S. policy was driving toward a Vietnam-type intervention in El Salvador.

Did Safer try to establish this was a false assessment?

No, he couldn't really do that, so instead, he took an FBI smear and pushed it one step further.

The FBI had tried to discredit the dissent paper by suggesting that it was also distributed by the Soviet KGB.

Safer parlayed this into the suggestion that the National Council of Churches affiliate had helped circulate a KGB "forgery."

This list of offenses is echoed by the Institute on Religion and Democracy, which tacks on another even more heinous "crime."

The National Council of Churches, it seems, allocated funds to help carry through the Nicaragua Literacy Campaign!

The campaign to teach Nicaraguans to read and write, these asserted partisans of democracy declared, is a front for radical political education.

If this gang feels the Nicaraguan government is eliminating illiteracy in their country in order to indoctrinate the people with their point of view, they really should explain why the late dictator Somoza didn't try a similar political venture.

No, each of the "crimes" cited in the indictment of the National Council of Churches and associated groups are worthy causes in the best sense of the word.

The right-wingers parading as religious partisans of democracy and media smear artists from "60 Minutes" and *Reader's Digest*, cannot discredit these causes in any rational way. They can only hope to frighten away supporters with the label "communist."

Fortunately, the Vietnam experience helped teach a lot of people what a reactionary hoax this is.

### Correction

In the article by Chester Nelson on "Farmer's struggle: who are its allies?" (February 25 *Militant*) the word "labor" was erroneously dropped when referring to the idea of an independent labor party. The second to last paragraph in the article should have read:

Workers will struggle to transform their unions into fighting instruments. This will open up the possibility of establishing and building an independent labor party based on the organized labor movement in alliance with the mass protest organizations of farmers. An independent labor party of workers and farmers that can help lead the day-to-day struggles for immediate relief and connect them to charting a course to political power is the road forward — not the NDPC's demagogic schemes nor its proposed alliance with big business.

## Did truckers' strike aid bosses?

Continued from Page 12

in struggles to improve their take-home pay."

What was the result? "In the major struggles of that period against the trucking employers generally, the union's owner-operator members served loyally. They both volunteered their trucks to transport pickets and shared in the picketing. A significant number of our casualties in battles with the cops were from among this category of workers. After the union had been consolidated, they continued to play a constructive role. Like other members of the organization, they looked upon those of their own kind who took an antilabor stance as finks and dealt with them accordingly."

This approach was then extended throughout the Midwest. By backing the struggles of independent drivers, the Teamsters were able to win many of them to the union and consolidate Teamster power in the region. The process was cut short by the government's arrest of class-struggle fighters in the union, including Dobbs, on the eve of World War II.

The issues remain fundamentally the same today. And the prospects for building an alliance between labor and the independents are greater. This was shown during the shutdown, when independents ap-

pealed to the unions for support and held numerous meetings to debate out precisely the big political questions on the agenda for the entire labor movement. Why can't we get any help from the Democratic or Republican politicians? Who are our real allies? What kind of government is needed to protect the interests of working people?

One answer to these questions came from a meeting of the American Agriculture Movement in Colorado. After an address by a striking trucker, the meeting put out a statement saying: "We are the productive people in this society. . . . We need a government composed of farmers, workers, and independent truckers. Together we could solve our problems in short order."

That resolution points in exactly the right direction.

The labor movement ought to take the lead in fighting for such a government of workers and farmers. To begin with, it should stand with the truckers in their fight. It should break from the Democratic and Republican parties and form an independent labor party that would champion the struggles of independent truckers, workers, farmers, Blacks, women, and others. Such a party would be a major step forward for organizing the kind of alliance needed of all the victims of capitalism.



# Vietnam today: still Washington's target

BY DON GUREWITZ

CAMBRIDGE — A decade after the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Vietnam, events in Indochina were the subject of teach-ins here at Harvard University and at the University of Southern California.

At the day-long Harvard teach-in on February 5, speakers retraced the history of Washington's attempts to stop the Vietnamese revolution and the ongoing U.S. policy of trying to bleed Vietnam. They also analyzed the effort now underway to rewrite the history of the Vietnam War and the antiwar movement in an attempt to justify U.S. involvement.

Written greetings were read from Vietnam's ambassador to the United Nations, who was prevented by the State Department from travelling to Cambridge. A representative of the Vietnamese UN mission was also denied permission to travel to Los Angeles for that conference.

At Harvard, Ngo Vinh Long, a Vietnamese social historian living in the United States, outlined current efforts by figures such as Henry Kissinger to resurrect the fiction that the Pentagon could have won in Vietnam if Washington had been "more decisive."

The unity and heroism of the Vietnamese people, forged in the struggle against French colonialism, Long declared, made it impossible for U.S. imperialism to win in Vietnam, even though successive administrations never "held back" from waging the war to their utmost capabilities.

The Pentagon, Long noted, dropped on Vietnam seven times the total tonnage of explosives used by all sides in World War II.

Professor Noam Chomsky, a noted linguist and political activist, added that the campaign to rewrite the history of U.S. involvement in Vietnam is an attempt to reverse the American people's opposition to the use of U.S. troops against national liberation struggles.

This "Vietnam syndrome," Chomsky stated, is simply the masses of people seeing a bit of the truth about the real aims and methods of U.S. foreign policy.

The rulers of this country, he added, had hoped that the knowledge gained in the Vietnam War would fade with time. But they have run into massive public opposition as they have prepared for direct military intervention in Central America, he stated.

Chomsky focused much of his attention on the role of liberal academics and politicians in planning and justifying U.S. military adventures abroad, especially in Indochina.

A number of these liberals, he pointed out, now argue that even if the U.S. war effort in Vietnam was wrong, it was carried out for "good motives." They cover up the fact that U.S. involvement always had the aim of denying the people of Indochina their right to self-determination in order to insure U.S. dominance over all of Southeast Asia.

Today, Chomsky notes, many liberal politicians are again helping to pave the way for new colonial wars in Central America and the Middle East.

New York University history professor Marilyn Young also refuted the argument that the Pentagon lost in Vietnam because it held back from waging the war fully. Even use of nuclear weapons was actively considered, she explained.

Michael Useem, of Boston University, pointed out that President Nixon concretely threatened North Vietnam with the use of nuclear weapons. The tremendous antiwar sentiment at home and abroad, Useem stated, was a major factor convincing Nixon to pull back from his threats.

The danger of nuclear war is not abstract, Useem reminded the audience. It flows directly from U.S. interventions in Vietnam, El Salvador, the Middle East, and southern Africa.

Chomsky made a similar point, stating that people who oppose nuclear weapons must focus their attention on stopping U.S.-Israeli aggression in the Middle East. The new nuclear weapons systems, he said, are aimed at preventing "the Russians from responding to our interventions in the Middle East."

Chomsky also focused on U.S. policy toward Indochina since the withdrawal of U.S. troops. Its aim, he said, was to make recovery as difficult as possible in order to

be able to point to postwar developments as justification for U.S. policy.

U.S. bombing of Kampuchea (then called Cambodia), for example, was so devastating that a U.S. study done after the 1975 withdrawal predicted that 1 million people would starve to death and at least two years of "slave labor conditions" would be needed to rebuild. The systematic destruction of Kampuchea was conscious U.S. policy, he added.

Acknowledging that "Pol Pot was one of the most murderous characters in world history," Chomsky argued that Washington is largely responsible for what had happened to Kampuchea after 1975.

In an interview with the *Militant* after the teach-in, Chomsky stated that he concurs with the evidence that Kampuchean society has now begun to recover from the devastation of the U.S. war and the Pol Pot regime. Pol Pot was overthrown in 1979 by Vietnamese troops and Kampuchean rebels.

In Chomsky's view, the current Heng Samrin government in Kampuchea is "probably the best government they have had in living memory."

United Nations recognition of Pol Pot should be ended immediately, he argued. Chomsky's personal view is that Kampuchea's UN seat should be left open for a

## NBIPP holds panel on civil rights movement

BY EVELYN NEWMAN

ATLANTA — A panel discussion addressing the question of what the civil rights movement should be doing today was sponsored by the local organizing committee of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) on January 22.

In the aftermath of an ice and snow storm that engulfed much of the southeastern United States that weekend, about 40 people attended the meeting, which began with a film showing of *I Have a Dream*, featuring Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The panel was comprised of Rev. Hosea Williams, former Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) executive director, and labor organizer James Orange, who both worked closely with Dr. King; Rev. Fred Taylor, current director of chapters and affiliates for SCLC; Roy Patterson, local television talk show host and former activist with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee; Georgianne Thomas, reporter of Third World News for Clark College radio; and Jennifer Milton, NBIPP's representative.

Taylor, in comments that paralleled the prevailing views of the most visible Blacks in leadership positions today, said that Blacks must gain economic security and "support candidates [for public office] who are sympathetic to the Black agenda." He also said Blacks "must use direct action wherever necessary and possible."

## IUE strike ends in San Antonio

BY MARK CHALKLEY

SAN ANTONIO — Members of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 1127 returned to work here on February 7, ending a 14 week strike against the Stainless Ice-Tainer Company (SITCO). Workers had voted at a membership meeting the previous Saturday to approve a new three-year contract by a vote of 80 to 9.

The strike began November 1 when management refused to budge from proposals that would have gutted seniority rights and threatened the job security of SITCO workers. Union members recognized these company attacks for what they were and voted almost unanimously to strike.

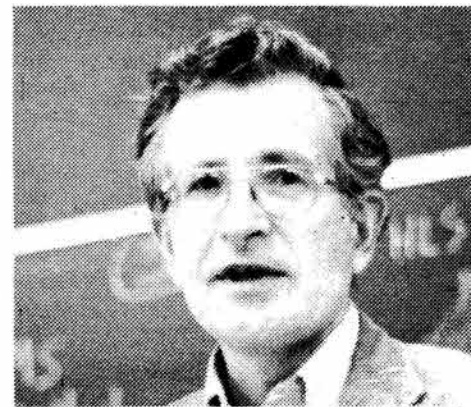
It was clear from the beginning that SITCO management hoped to break the union in the course of the strike. Dozens of scabs were hired to maintain production, and elaborate measures were taken to protect them. Extra security guards were hired. The company repeatedly charged the union with violence and sought to have unfair labor practices charges filed by the IUE thrown out of court on that basis.

City police harassed pickets and attempted to frame up one strike supporter on marijuana possession charges, planting a bag of pot seeds in his car.



Militant/Don Gurewitz

Ngo Vinh Long (left) and Noam Chomsky spoke at Harvard University teach-in.



Militant/Don Gurewitz

time, "pending some possibility of relatively independent expression of choice" by the people of that country.

"The United States should end its policies of bleeding Vietnam, including its support to Pol Pot and other insurgents operating on Kampuchea's border" with Thailand, Chomsky stated.

The U.S. campaign against Vietnam, Chomsky says, "has had an enormous retarding effect on their efforts at recovery. It is not the only factor, but is certainly a major one."

He added that it is "an outright scandal that we don't give massive reparations to Vietnam."

The Harvard teach-in was also addressed by Mustaffa Randolph of the Black Veterans for Social Justice, who stated that his organization "will not let Mr. Reagan spend billions on Trident submarines while telling our kids to eat ketchup instead of a vegetable."

"Our enemies are not in El Salvador, Namibia, or Nicaragua. They are in the White House and the USA," Randolph declared.

Patterson, who identified corporate America as the enemy of Blacks and oppressed people all over the world, pointed out the interrelatedness of economics and politics and the need to deal with both.

Williams called racism a facade for the economic problem in the nation and said Blacks cannot afford to back the Democrats or Republicans. However, in a later comment he indicated that he would run for a future office on the Democratic ticket to make winning easier.

Williams also pledged support and resources to NBIPP and said an independent party could be good leverage in fighting the system. He suggested also that the civil rights movement today, as in the 1960s, "cannot separate direct action from economic boycotting."

Orange said the civil rights movement

must work toward truth and look at what is best for all people, regardless of their color.

Thomas proposed taking the fight for civil rights and economic advancement into the corporate board rooms.

Speaking for the NBIPP, Milton gave a historical perspective on civil rights gains made by Blacks, pointing out that the Democratic and Republican parties have been perceived by Blacks as both friend and foe during different periods in American history. She also pointed out that both parties have enslaved Blacks.

NBIPP recognizes that a break from these parties is essential if Blacks are to acquire the kind of political power necessary to change the present socioeconomic system that perpetuates and maintains the oppression of Blacks and other workers.

## King holiday defeated in Virginia

BY JOHN WESLEY

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — On February 16 the Virginia House General Laws Committee voted 13-7 against making Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s birthday a paid state holiday. King's birthday is January 15.

Some 200 people, mostly Black, listened to a litany of racist slanders against King. "I think Black people should be cautious about who they call their champi-

on. The jury is still out on Martin Luther King," said George Burris to laughter and jeers from the audience.

Mary Lou Curtis stated "King said, 'shoot whitey, kill whitey.' He committed treason. He praised Ho Chi Minh and called for resistance to the draft. The U.S. did not win that war and I am ashamed. To honor Martin Luther King would be to dishonor the dead and missing from Vietnam." Curtis told Blacks that if they wanted a hero, they should look to "Jesus Christ."

Richmond Senator L. Douglas Wilder, the first Black state senator since Reconstruction, was the sponsor of the bill.

Five of the Democrats on the committee and all of the Republicans voted against the bill. There was no public pressure or endorsement from Democratic Gov. Charles Robb, elected in 1981 as a "friend" of Blacks.

The vote killing this bill before it even got to the House of Delegates is a conscious slap in the face to Blacks who have made clear their sentiments in favor of a King holiday. Along with a demonstration of 100,000 in Washington, D.C., on January 15, 1981, demanding that King's birthday be made a national holiday, large numbers of petitions have been turned in to the state capital of Richmond demanding a state holiday. Local actions are also held yearly in Virginia.

King led the civil rights movement until his assassination in 1968. During that period Blacks defeated Jim Crow segregation, making the greatest steps forward since the defeat of slavery in the Civil War. It is this history of struggle that the racist forces in Richmond and Washington, both Democrats and Republicans, are trying to silence by denying a national holiday to commemorate Martin Luther King, Jr.

rijuana possession charges, planting a bag of pot seeds in his car.

But the members of IUE 1127 stood firm in the face of all these attacks.

The new contract contains much stronger language with regard to seniority than the previous one. The complex system of job grades, which the company had created in order to foster divisions among the workers, has been eliminated and replaced by a much simpler classification of jobs.

The strike also changed the company's tune on many givebacks they had demanded. For example, SITCO dropped its insistence on the right to lay off workers who did not "qualify" after bidding into a higher job grade.

Workers did lose in some areas. Sick leave with pay was given up in exchange for a verbal agreement on profit-sharing. Absentee procedures will be harsher.

By resisting and defeating SITCO's union-busting efforts, the strikers won an important victory. Labor's enemies in San Antonio have been dealt a setback.

Mark Chalkley is a member of IUE Local 1127.



**It's only our money** — The Reagans will entertain the queen of England and 250 old buddies at a gourmet dinner in San Francisco.



**Harry Ring**

The menu includes pheasant soup, lobster, loin of veal, etc. Cost of the meal to taxpayers was not indicated, but the floral set-

tings will run between \$50 and \$100 per table.

**Silver lining** — The western farm region is in its worse shape since the Depression, reports the *New York Times*, with but one bright spot — farm auctioneering is doing well. The Western College of Auctioneering in Montana is booked solid and expanding "to handle the growing number of students who see their future in selling off other people's pasts."

**Moderate approach** — The Supreme Court ruled that state and local governments can change vot-

ing procedures in ways that perpetuate discrimination so long as the change doesn't worsen the discrimination.

**Deep Dish** — Some reports insist that the confetti at Anne Gorsuch's wedding came from the EPA shredding machine. But our sources found it was only packing from Nancy Reagan's latest set of dishes.

**Plus balancing the checkbook** — Elizabeth and Robert Dole lead a busy life. She's a cabinet member at \$80,000 per annum and he's knocking down \$60,000 as a

senator. But, suggests *People* magazine, they have to deal with the same problems as ordinary folk — making the bed, cooking breakfast, etc.

**May require more polish** — We were thinking of one of those Ferazano blazers of mink, beaver, and cashmere, but were put off by the \$8,500 price tag. However, the identical jacket is available for \$3,500 with brass buttons instead of gold. But we assume the matching \$2,000 cashmere slacks do feature a gold zipper.

**Gallows humor dep't** — We

don't mean to be morbid, but we've been wondering about those special bread lines that distribute food for hungry pets. If you eat some of the pet food yourself, can you be prosecuted as a welfare cheat?

**The march of science** — A patent has been issued to a Department of Commerce speech writer for a Twidd. It's a cylindrical piece of wood, with concentric holes at opposite ends to twiddle your thumbs with. A more sophisticated version includes an electric counter that flashes the number of twiddles.

## CALENDAR

### CALIFORNIA

#### San Francisco

**Grenada Celebrates Four Years of Revolution.** Speaker: Pedro Noguera, just returned from living and working in Grenada. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 11, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

**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) 824-1992.

### 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

**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.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**Defend Affirmative Action.** Speakers: Mark Brodin, law professor and civil rights lawyer speaking on firefighters-police case against affirmative action; speaker on recent affirmative action case won against General Electric in Lynn. Sun., March 6, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. (Kenmore T stop). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**International Women's Day 1983.** Speakers: Teresa Rodriguez, 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 information 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

**In Solidarity With the Peoples' of Central America and the Caribbean.** Benefit Dance. Band: "El Chinito." Native food. Sat., March 19, 9 p.m. to 3 a.m. Casa Nicaragua, 19 W 21 St. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Casa Nicaragua, Antonio Maceo Brigade. For more information call (212) 243-2678.

### 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, research 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.

#### Cleveland

**International Women's Day: Where Does the Struggle for Women's Rights Stand?** Speakers to be announced. Sat., March 12, 7:30 p.m. 2230 Superior Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

#### Toledo

**GM-Toyota Venture: What it Means for Auto Workers.** Speaker: Elizabeth Ziers, member, Socialist Workers Party, United Auto Workers Local 600. Sun., Mar. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2120 Dorr. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

### 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

**Women in Today's Economy.** Speakers: Rosemary Trump, president, Social Service Employees Union, Local 585; Janet Ford, member, Bakery and Confectionery Union, Nabisco worker; Flo Walters, member Mon Valley Unemployed Women's Committee; Patricia Brady and Jane Chabalka, members, California Area Education Association; Carolyn Clark, United Steelworkers of America Local 1557, Clairton; Dale Newman, chair, Pennsylvania National Organization for Women Labor Task Force; Norma Statler, activist in United Electrical Workers Local 506; "Why Aren't You Smiling?" slide show by 9 to 5, National Association of Working Women. Fri., March 4, 7:30 p.m. YWCA, 4th and Wood Sts. Donation: \$2.

**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.

**International Women: Celebrate the Struggle of Women Taking Control of Their Lives.** Speakers: Leonor Arquello de Hüper, Nicaraguan Consul; Cheryl Craig, Women for Racial and Economic Equality; Carol Edelson, New Jewish Agenda; Rahab Effawi, General Union of Palestinian Students; Molly Rush, Plowshares Eight; film: *South Africa Belongs To Us*, about Black women's lives and work under apartheid. Fri., March 11, 7:30 p.m. YWCA, 4th and Wood Sts. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Central America Mobilization Coalition, General Union of Palestinian Students, New Jewish Agenda, Thomas Merton Center, Women for Racial and Economic Equality.

**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.

### TEXAS

#### 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 Alameda St. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (713) 522-8054.

### WASHINGTON, D.C.

**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) 797-7021.

### WISCONSIN

#### Milwaukee

**Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution.** Speakers: Representative of Socialist Workers Party, and Patricia Larson, Young Socialist Alliance, both recently returned from tour of Nicaragua. Sat., March 12, 7 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

## Just off the press!

### Steelworkers Under Attack

How to fight back and defend jobs



Geoff Mirelowitz

### 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 for postage.

## Steel bosses impose big wage cuts

### Continued from back page

Where does the union stand now that this agreement has been pushed through? This will be the subject of much discussion over the next weeks and months. A few things seem clear.

The employers did not get everything they wanted. The two previous votes by the BSIC — under pressure from angry rank-and-file workers opposed to concessions — in July and November 1982 did have an impact. But at the end of this third round it is definitely steelworkers who got the short end of the stick.

A regular meeting of USWA Local 2609, representing workers at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant near Baltimore, was held the night before the BSIC vote. Reaction to the news of the tentative agreement was overwhelmingly negative. The meeting applauded when treasurer Bill Nugent reported that local President Eddie

Bartee had told him by phone he would vote to reject the pact.

Shop steward Marian Wilson said, "I'm not for giving up anything. We fought too long and too hard."

Thomas Payne added, "We may have to make some concessions, but not so the stockholders can get larger dividend checks."

Recording Secretary Ed Gorman said, "I think the announced contract is pie in the sky. I think there will be more severe cuts. If we can give up \$60 a week and get 5,000 people back to work, fine. But I don't think that will happen."

Despite the setback, this discussion will continue. In the mills and on the unemployment lines steelworkers will be talking about how we can defend ourselves from this profit drive and rearm our union for a continuing fight.



# Socialist rejects bribe to drop from race



Militant/Jon Hillson  
**Ed Warren, SWP candidate for Chicago mayor.**

## Continued from front page

would field a suitable candidate who could win the general election."

The men stated they were offering "big money," mentioning figures ranging from \$50,000 to \$1 million. They also suggested positions in city government for the socialists, such as head of the Chicago Housing Authority or a position in the labor department.

Warren issued a statement categorically rejecting their offer. "My party is not for sale — at any price. Last year 35,000 working people in Chicago signed petitions in order to put the SWP on the ballot in April. We didn't do this for money or posts in city government."

Warren blasted this crude bribe as a racist maneuver — not just against Washington — but also against himself as the other Black candidate in this election.

Warren explained why he's staying in this race — to the end. "The money and jobs that we are interested in are the money and jobs needed for the nearly one-quarter million unemployed in the Chicago area. That will take a united fight by the unions, the Black and Latino communities, women, and youth. To fight for jobs we need a labor party based on the trade unions, that can go up against the two parties of big business — the Democrats and Republicans."

"I'm talking about a new kind of party and politics. A massive struggle waged by

working people to fight for jobs, against racism and imperialist war ventures, and for a government run and controlled by the workers and farmers of this country.

"There are thousands of working people in Chicago — including many who voted for Washington, Byrne, and Daley — who are disgusted with the two-party system, but haven't yet figured out that the alternative is to strike out on their own."

"My proposal for breaking with the Democrats and Republicans and forming a labor party has already met with a good response from unionists and in the communities. This crisis is shaking up people's way of thinking, and I want our independent working-class solutions to be part of the big discussions going on among workers in this city," declared Warren.

Corruption is nothing new in Chicago politics. Rather, this city is infamous for its blatant ballot-stuffing and other "irregularities."

What is new is for the first time a Black person has won the Democratic Party nomination for mayor.

What led to Washington's victory?

Chicago, the most segregated major city in the nation, has been hit hard by the recession.

Slashes in locally funded social services have come on top of cuts in federal and state-funded programs. Official unemployment stands at 13 percent, with huge layoffs in the hard-hit steel industry — 28,000 steelworkers out of work — the rail yards, and the farm equipment plants. There are long lines of unemployed workers at soup kitchens.

For every problem faced by the entire working class, Blacks and Latinos have it qualitatively worse. Chicago's cops are notorious for terrorizing the Black community. Every city administration for decades has refused to desegregate the schools or housing.

Hundreds of thousands of workers who have come here from Mexico and other countries live in constant fear of deportation.

Richard Daley's machine, which ruled the city with an iron fist for years, made sure Blacks never got their share of political representation.

The fight over the Democratic Party nomination was marked by the open racism that is typical of this city's political establishment, with Byrne and Daley supporters attempting to woo white voters by threatening them with the prospect of a Black mayor.

Washington ran as an "antimachine" candidate who appealed to Blacks with the slogan, "It's our turn."

In previous elections, the Democrat was considered a shoo-in for mayor in a city where the Democratic Party has ruled the roost since 1931. But the ruling rich in Chicago — and nationally — have not yet

decided if they are going to let Washington win this one. Formally, Byrne and Daley have thrown their support to Washington. However, there's been a sudden influx of \$500,000 from around the country into the Republican campaign. Backing for Epton has come from formerly chilly Republican bigwigs and racist pro-Byrne and Daley Democrats.

What the ruling class fears is the masses of Black people who have high expectations that he will deliver once in office.

Across the country, papers are filled with the lessons Blacks can learn from Washington's victory. As Washington tells it, "We were slow to move from the protest movement into politics. We were lulled to sleep thinking that passing a few laws was enough. But we've got to be involved in the mainstream political activity. That's what's happening here in Chicago. And that's the lesson that's going out across the country."

Socialist candidate Ed Warren held a news conference on February 24 to explain how he views the elections.

Warren said, "I don't believe that the fact that Washington won the Democratic Party nomination is a step forward for Black people or any other working people in Chicago."

The 30-year-old South Side garment worker said, "You have to remember that Byrne was an antimachine candidate too. But nobody claims things have gotten any better with her as mayor — except her. The fact that Washington is Black is not enough, just like the fact that Byrne is a woman didn't mean that women gained anything when she was mayor."

Warren referred to Washington's statement to the *New York Times*, "I have no quarrel with the Democratic Party," to illustrate what the problem is.

Warren explained, "He should have some quarrel with the Democratic Party. All the evils we face that are commonly summed up as 'Reaganism' are the result of bipartisan policies. The cutbacks in social services, attacks on unions, blows against abortion rights and affirmative action, the gigantic military buildup, and the unrelenting escalation of the war in Central America are all carried out together by the Democrats and Republicans."

Warren said that "the problem is the two-party system, which keeps political protest inside the safe boundaries of the twin parties of big business. When you're sick of the Republicans, they offer you a Democrat. When anger builds against the 'machine,' they offer you an 'antimachine' candidate. When white capitalist politicians are in charge of driving through big business's austerity program, you get to vote for a Black capitalist politician."

"My Republican opponent, Bernard Epton, is a millionaire. He hasn't offered any program whatsoever to meet the needs of working people."

Turning to Washington's election campaign, Warren said, "Despite making an appeal as a 'people's' candidate, Washington openly tried to convince the superrich of Chicago that he would serve them better than his two rivals. He attacked Byrne for destroying big business's confidence in Chicago, and he campaigned on promises to establish a close partnership with business."

Warren countered, "You can't serve two masters. You can't be a partner with bosses who are laying off and ripping off workers, who are ripping up contracts and demanding concessions, and defend the rights of workers."

"You can't be a partner with bankers who are foreclosing mortgages on peoples' homes, and also side with the people losing their homes. You can't represent the needs and interests of Black people, and have an alliance with the racist ruling class whose profits depend on keeping Black people down."

Police brutality is rampant in Chicago, yet Harold Washington gave Blacks a campaign "promise" (Warren calls it a threat) that he would wage a war on crime by hiring 1,000 new cops.

Warren blasted this proposal "Is this what Blacks and other working people need? More cops to bust our heads and break our strikes?"

Warren pointed to the fact that the powerful union movement of Chicago did get involved in the Democratic primary elections. Thousands of campaign volunteers from local unions were drawn in.

"Imagine if all the resources and power of the unions and Black community had instead been turned into a fighting independent political movement in the streets, shops, and communities. A movement that used the elections to advance the needs of labor, the Black and Latino communities, women, and youth," Warren said.

"Such an effort could have taken on the two-party system," he continued, "by forming a labor party based on a fighting trade union movement. Then it would be a whole new ballgame in Chicago. We'd have a permanent gain to show for our efforts. A labor party could organize our struggles and take on the bosses where we are currently powerless — in the political arena."

"A labor party would have a program in harmony with the needs of working people, including Blacks, Latinos, women, family farmers, and all the victims of the capitalist system. A labor party would have workers and farmers as candidates, lots of whom would be Black, Latino, and female. And they'd have a program that was not just against the machine, but against the system."

"It would fight for a government of workers and farmers, so that society would be run in the interests of the majority, not the tiny minority of ruling rich."

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**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.

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# No GIs to El Salvador!

Continued from front page

One State Department official, Nestor Sanchez, tried to quiet the fears of those who see "the specter of Vietnam" in El Salvador. But in the same breath he noted that Vietnam is 10,000 miles away, while El Salvador "is right at our doorstep."

The move to increase the number of GIs in El Salvador and to openly involve them in the fighting was accompanied by a demand that Congress sink another \$60 million into military aid for the badly battered Salvador regime.

The \$60 million would boost this year's Salvadoran aid to \$86 million. Last year it was \$80 million. And \$85 million has already been requested for fiscal 1984.

These millions are being used to prop up a hated dictatorship at a time when 12 million people are out of work in this country. At a time when homes are being lost and farm mortgages foreclosed. A time when bread lines are growing and when Democrats and Republicans stubbornly refuse to take any meaningful action.

What is the "subversion" in El Salvador U.S. troops are supposed to fight? Consider the reports describing the grim massacre of 18 peasants by Salvadoran troops February 22.

These peasants, including members of a farm cooperative, were bound and then shot in the head.

The Salvadoran colonel who commands the government troops in the province said the victims were on a list of "subversives."

Area residents said there were two reasons why the army was rooting out "subversion."

One was that local landlords wanted to destroy the 200-acre cooperative so they could reclaim the land.

The second was that the cooperative had dared to defy a landlord demand to build a road through their property!

Should American working people fight and die to end that kind of "subversion"?

The plan for escalating intervention in El Salvador is accompanied by a continuing refusal to consider the growing demand in this country to enter into negotiations with the Salvadoran liberation forces.

Meanwhile, the rebels reiterated their willingness to join in such a dialogue.

At a February 28 Mexico City news conference, this offer was renewed by leaders of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN).

Guillermo Ungo of the FDR and Ana Guadalupe Martínez, a commander in the FMLN, announced the rebels would engage in a cease-fire the day of the pope's visit to El Salvador. They declared that despite their military advances of the past months they remained ready to begin "a dialogue without conditions."

The same day, in Senate testimony, Secretary of State George Shultz again flatly rejected any idea of negotiations, demagogically declaring that the rebel forces are trying to "shoot their way" into power.

Lashing out at U.S. proponents of negotiations, Shultz levelled a red-baiting attack on forces in the Catholic church favorable to negotiations.

He assailed "churchmen who want to see Soviet influence in El Salvador improved."

Sen. Daniel Inouye of Hawaii told Shultz that most senators "have been deluged with meetings, especially with religious leaders," almost none of whom "favors our support for El Salvador."

While some members of Congress are clearly edgy about mounting antiwar sentiment, it would be a mistake to rely on them to block Reagan's planned escalation.

Since Washington became involved in the civil war, first under Carter and now under Reagan, some Demo-

crats and Republicans in Congress have struck a critical posture about funding the military intervention for such a blood-soaked regime. But each time they have ended up supporting administration demands.

Officials say military policy in El Salvador is being reviewed "in light of the Soviet threat" in the region.

This theme was expanded upon by Sen. Henry Jackson of Washington. A Democratic supporter of administration policy in El Salvador, he asserted that it's "the region we have to be concerned about. . . . The real danger is the destabilization of Mexico."

Why?  
"There are severe problems in Mexico that could be utilized in an effort to destabilize it," Jackson explained. "Serious unemployment. Unrest. Corruption. The financial problems. It's all there."

The argument was amplified by Shultz. He said the Salvador issue is "connected right up to Mexico, with which we have a long border."

He added, "And so the emergence of another country, added to Cuba, Grenada, Nicaragua, and perhaps others, to Soviet and Cuban influence is bad news for this country."

Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada.  
Fidel Castro has referred to these small countries as the three giants of the region.

Shultz, and the capitalist class he represents, understand exactly what Fidel meant. That's why the CIA has been plotting to overthrow the government of Grenada and arming terrorists to attack Nicaragua.

The capitalist concern about Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua is not based on the lying claim that they are puppets introducing a "Soviet threat" in the region. That's simply a smoke screen. They fear these three giants as a threat to the future of the imperialist system of super-profits.

These three countries succeeded in breaking out from under the boot of imperialist domination and establishing governments that rule in the interests of workers and farmers.

That process — the advance of the socialist revolution — is what terrifies the U.S. imperialists, especially the specter of it reaching the U.S. border itself.

A free life and a better life for the people of Central America and the Caribbean is surely a threat to the interests of Wall Street profiteers. But it is no threat whatever to working people of this country. It can only help us in our own fight against the very same profiteers here.

In January three major union officials called on Congress to halt all aid to the Salvadoran regime. They were Douglas Fraser of the United Auto Workers, William Winpisinger of the International Association of Machinists, and Jack Sheinkman of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers.

That demand should be renewed and expanded: End the military aid! Get the GIs out! Let the people of El Salvador determine their own destiny! No more Vietnams!

There are important opportunities in the labor movement to voice these demands. Alejandro Molina Lara, a Salvadoran labor leader, is currently touring this country to get out the truth about the repressive, antilabor regime Washington is backing in his country. Bringing the largest possible number of unionists and other opponents of war to his meetings can help spread the word.

And on March 24, the anniversary of the murder of Salvadoran Archbishop Oscar Arnulfo Romero, activities are being organized in many parts of the country. With the plan to send more GIs and aid to El Salvador, the opportunities are great to involve labor in making these protests as powerful as possible.

# Were women always the oppressed sex?

BY BRENDA BRDAR

*We have to talk about what the position of women was before and after the revolutionary victory, and what the position of women will be in the beautiful future we are going to build. We must also — however briefly — talk about women in the context of the historical development of humanity.*

— Tomás Borge, Nicaragua's Minister of the Interior and founder of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, Sept. 29, 1982.

The Nicaraguan revolution is committed to the fight for women's emancipation. Tomás Borge, in the speech quoted above, presented a Marxist analysis of women's

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

oppression — its origins, history, and how only the advance of the socialist revolution, with the full participation of women, can eradicate it.

In describing the origins of women's oppression, Borge mentioned, in passing, the period of the matriarchy.

What he was referring to was the epoch before women became oppressed as a sex. This period of prehistory (human society before the development of written language), was called "primitive communism" by the founders of anthropology because of its egalitarian, collectivist character.

For over a century, Marxists have pointed to this stage in the development of society as evidence that the oppression of women is a social, not a natural phenomenon. It did not always exist.

Women were not second-class members of a primitive society ruled by men. In fact, they were central to the progress made by society. Women were largely responsible for the development of agriculture, animal domestication, the development of language, social cooperation, and other aspects of culture.

The matriarchy was not only egalitarian in relations between the sexes, but it was also not divided into social classes. There was no exploiting class. There was no exploited, oppressed class.

The basic social unit of society was the clan, a sort of extended family based on the mother's line of descent. Lewis Morgan, a founder of the science of anthropology, explained in his 1877 book, *Ancient Society*, that the clan was a genuine collective in which every individual was provided for and protected by the entire community, from the cradle to the grave. Of course, it was also a society based on great scarcity and backwardness. Not one we'd like to return to.

The matriarchy and primitive communism went hand-in-hand, both in their existence and demise. The matriarchy was violently overthrown, over a period of thousands of years, and replaced by the class-divided patriarchal (father-dominated) system. This occurred with the rise of private property and the development of the state, an instrument of repression wielded by the propertied classes against the oppressed and exploited. Women became the oppressed sex.

This analysis of the evolution of society has been rejected by most modern anthropologists. They deny women's leading role in primitive society.

Evelyn Reed, the late Marxist and feminist anthropologist, was one of the foremost defenders of the previous existence of a classless society, organized along matriarchal lines.

Reed explained, "The knowledge that female inferiority today is not biologically determined, that it has not been a permanent fixture throughout history, and that our sex was once the organizer and leader of social life, should heighten the self-confidence of women who are today aspiring for liberation."

Reed, the author of *Woman's Evolution: from matriarchal clan to patriarchal family* (1974), *Sexism and Science* (1978), and *Problems of Women's Liberation* (1969), was a long-time leader of the Socialist Workers Party.

Her books were translated into several languages and used for women's studies courses. She also presented lectures throughout the United States and Canada, Europe, Australia, and Japan.

With the development of an international movement for women's liberation in the last 15 years and the advance of the fight for socialism, especially in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, a new generation of women and working people are reconquering the Marxist view on the question of women's oppression.

The truth about women's role in the development of human society, and the roots of female oppression, are not academic questions. As Tomás Borge emphasized in his speech, understanding what caused the oppression of women and the importance of struggling against every aspect of it are key to advancing toward a socialist society where equality and dignity will be the order of the day.

# The Black Panther settlement

On February 28, a federal judge officially approved a settlement reached last fall in a suit stemming from the police murder of two Chicago Black Panthers. The money will go to the families of slain Fred Hampton and Mark Clark, and to survivors of the 1969 police raid.

The federal government, Cook County, and the city of Chicago will each pay a third of the damages in a clear admission of their guilt in this cold-blooded murder.

U.S. police agencies insist that their informers penetrate political organizations simply to collect information so as to thwart possible illegal activity. But that's just a cover story.

The real function of informers is to help set up targeted groups for illegal dirty tricks, frame-up, and, when deemed necessary, officially perpetrated murder.

Nothing illustrates this better than what was done to the Chicago Panthers.

From their inception, the Panthers nationally were high on the hit list of federal and local cops determined to destroy them by any means necessary.

In Chicago, the federal and local cops targeted the Panthers for a police raid on the pretext of seizing illegal

weapons. In a predawn attack, Chicago cops pumped bullets into the front and back doors of a Panther apartment.

Hampton, 20, was assassinated in his bed. Clark, 17, was also killed. Four others were wounded.

The police assault was carried out with the use of a floor plan of the apartment.

The floor plan was provided to the police by the FBI. The FBI got it from William O'Neal, an informer it had assigned to penetrate the Panthers. He had become Hampton's bodyguard and chief of security for the Panthers.

The families and survivors filed suit in 1970. During the protracted litigation damning evidence emerged. The federal and local cops decided to settle after an appeals court found an official "conspiracy . . . designed to subvert and eliminate the Black Panther Party and its members."

Those who waged this long court fight deserve public thanks for their service. They helped put the spotlight on the murderous character of undercover political police activity.



# WIFE activists: 'Farm women must stand up!'

The following is a guest column by Val Libby.

Women Involved in Farm Economics (WIFE) is a national organization of farm women that was formed seven years ago. Many WIFE members are also members of the American Agriculture Movement (AAM).

Two members of WIFE, Ruth Starra and Essie Mae Kemp of Lyons, Georgia, attended the national AAM convention in Nashville in January. I talked with them



## WOMEN IN REVOLT

Margaret Jayko

there about the growing involvement of farm women around issues of concern to family farmers.

I asked them what kind of activities WIFE is involved in. Starra replied that "all states work on different projects." She said activities include "selling vegetables and quilts to raise money for lobbying. But we work on educational projects, also. We've prepared literature on where food comes from for school children."

Kemp commented that WIFE has a "strong voice in Washington."

I asked if WIFE had participated in the AAM's 1979 National Tractorcade in Washington, D.C., which had



Militant/Val Libby

Essie Mae Kemp (left) and Ruth Starra

been organized to try to get some relief from the government for debt-burdened family farmers.

Kemp said that a lot of women in WIFE went "as individuals or as members of the AAM with their husbands."

Starra said that WIFE "has the same goals as the AAM. Some chapters work together with different farm organizations on projects. In Georgia, we're working hard to get women involved in farm problems."

This effort was bearing some fruit, Starra said. "We're

farmers too. We're trying to involve more of the young women. Some of the older women have the idea they just keep house. You know, cook the meals, wash the dishes, can the fruits and vegetables, and raise the children. Young women, and even the young men, have a different attitude."

We discussed why more women were getting involved. Starra explained, "Women have to take more responsibility on the farm today. Even five years ago, farmers were having trouble making a living. A lot of the men had to take outside jobs, and that increased women's responsibility for running the farm. It made clear that women are half the support."

Kemp added, "And we think things won't get better for farm women unless we stand up."

"Has WIFE tried to work with other women's rights organizations?" I asked. Starra said that even though they haven't done that in Georgia, "it's a good idea. Sometimes women can work together and get more accomplished. The AAM here has been talking about getting together with the independent truckers. We should look into getting together with other women's groups."

She was referring to the fact that the AAM convention voted to back the shutdown of the independent truckers, who were protesting the tax hikes recently passed by Congress.

Starra told me why she thinks women should join WIFE: "Women farmers have won the respect of the men. But being in WIFE, and working together with other women, builds our confidence to stand up as a farm wife. Things for the farmers are bad, and it's going to take both men and women to solve them."

## Klaus Barbie: Nazi war criminal and U.S. agent

BY PAUL SIEGEL

In connection with the 50th anniversary of Hitler's coming to power, American TV was full of "mini-epics" and pseudo-documentaries about World War II. These portrayed the leaders of the Allied governments as the "good guys" fighting for democracy and human decency — and against fascism.

But at about the same time, it was disclosed by the French Nazi-hunter Serge Klarsfeld that Klaus Barbie,

### AS I SEE IT

the former Gestapo chief in Lyons, France, was granted immunity by the U.S. government after the war and aided in settling in Bolivia.

Barbie was recently extradited from Bolivia to France, where he was responsible for 4,000 murders, 7,500 deportations, and 15,000 arrests during World War II. He was known as "The Butcher of Lyons." Many of the Jewish deportees died at Auschwitz and other camps. One of these was Klarsfeld's father.

Erhard Dabringhaus, a former U.S. military intelligence officer, has stated that in 1948 he paid Barbie

\$1,700 a month on order from his superiors.

Barbie, states a Reuters news story, was "just one of a number of former Nazis protected by United States agencies in exchange for their knowledge of Soviet activities or other expertise."

Charles Allen wrote in his 1963 book *Nazi War Criminals Among Us* that Gustav Hilger, Hitler's deputy foreign minister, was brought to the United States and paid by the CIA and the State Department. This has been confirmed by George F. Kennan, former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union and author of the "containment policy" against the Soviet Union under Truman.

"We were very glad [Hilger] was here," said Kennan, "because he had a tremendous knowledge about the Soviet Union."

Kennan added that Hilger, who is now dead, was "a very decent man." No doubt Kennan was observing the ancient maxim, "Speak no evil of the dead."

However, Allen has written that Hilger was "the liaison between [Foreign Minister] Ribbentrop's office and the SS Einsatzgruppen, or 'Special Task Forces,' which murdered some 1.4 million Soviet Jews on the Eastern Front."

Allen also stated that, among the 1,500 Austrian and

German scientists brought to the United States after the war was Walter Schreiber, who was declared guilty by a Polish tribunal of having engaged in torturous medical experiments at Auschwitz. The U.S. authorities, according to a secret memorandum obtained by Allen, then arranged for Schreiber to settle in Argentina.

Barbie lived for 32 years in Bolivia. Most of that time he had close connections with the military government, which used him as a "national security" adviser and refused to extradite him. The CIA got him his cover job and undoubtedly made full use of his "expertise."

It was only after a mass upsurge overthrew the Bolivian military dictatorship that Barbie was extradited.

The Bolivian dictatorship was just one of the Latin and Central American dictatorships propped up by the U.S. government. With equal justification as in his certifying that the Salvadoran government has been making progress in human rights, Ronald Reagan could certify that Barbie has made such progress. After all, Bolivia did not furnish him as much scope for his "expertise" as Nazi Germany did.

It seems that Nazism was not so completely defeated in World War II as the TV shows claimed. Its spirit lives on, protected by the U.S. government.

### LETTERS

#### 'Petty-bourgeois' truckers

I must tell you that, in my opinion, your *uncritical* support for the petty-bourgeois Independent Truckers Association during their short-lived strike was, at best, misguided.

Talk to a Teamster and you'll most likely be told that the "independent" truckers are, in reality, independent *scabs* who refuse to recognize union picket lines, who make their profits by undercutting union rates, and who are an important weapon in the bosses' union-busting schemes. Any union member who has ever walked a picket line knows that Teamster drivers never cross sanctioned (and, in most cases, even unsanctioned) lines, but the independents almost always do, and in fact are *used by the bosses for that purpose*.

There is no question that independents are, like other small businessmen, having financial troubles under the capitalist system they so wholeheartedly support. There's no question that the 5¢-a-gallon gas tax hurts them (just as it does *all* working people). But it is also true that their own antiunion tactics over the years have, in large measure, caused the crisis they are facing today.

If Bill Scheffer and his ITA members really want to prevent the "destruction of trucking," the best place for them to start is by working *cooperatively* with the Teamsters and other elements of organized labor. I wouldn't advise holding your breath while waiting for this antiunion bunch to make such a move, however!  
Dave Wyllie  
Bakersfield, California

[In reply — An article taking up many of the questions you raise concerning independent truckers appears on page 12 — Editor.]

#### Kampuchea I

I am writing you about your articles on Kampuchea. I have to admit that your articles, along with Noam Chomsky's and Edward Herman's book *After the Cataclysm*, have got me confused. Your articles on Kampuchea dramatically conflict with Chomsky's and Herman's chapter on Cambodia.

Their estimates of the number dead due to Khmer Rouge atrocities (which they do not deny) is "thousands" to an absolute worst of 100,000. They point out this is far from insignificant, but far less than the reports of millions

dying.  
Lee Kamensky  
Brighton, Massachusetts

#### Kampuchea II

Although I have been a reader of your paper for a number of years and have found it to be an accurate and reputable source of information for revolutionary socialists, there is a particular inaccuracy which repeatedly appears in the *Militant* and which continues to irk me.

I refer to the numerous and oft-repeated statements describing Pol Pot as the "butcher of Kampuchea" who is supposedly "responsible for the deaths of several million Kampucheans."

Writers and editors of the *Militant* would do well to study the voluminous evidence which conclusively demonstrates that starvation and disease, not wholesale genocide, were responsible for the overwhelming majority of the deaths that the bourgeois press and the *Militant* commonly attribute to Pol Pot.

In particular I would urge them to read volume 2 of Noam Chomsky's *Political Economy of Human Rights*. While Chomsky does not deny that atrocities did in fact occur, he demonstrates that the sensationalist figures of "several million" are grossly inaccurate

and are based on deceit, fabrication, and misrepresentation.

I am by no means a supporter of Pol Pot and I agree with the correct position in support of the Heng Samrin government [in Kampuchea] and the Vietnamese intervention [there].

Don Hanrahan  
Champaign, Illinois

[In reply — The *Militant's* policy has been to use the figures reported by the new Kampuchean government regarding the massive deaths that occurred under Pol Pot. We believe this to be a reliable source. They estimate that as many as three million died — through outright mass murder and starvation and disease — under Pol Pot's regime.

Among opponents of U.S. intervention in Indochina, there are disagreements on this figure. However, our readers will find interesting an article in this issue on page 15, where Noam Chomsky states his current view that, whatever the figure, "Pol Pot was one of the most murderous characters in world history." — Editor]

#### Disagrees on freeze

I believe the *Militant's* opposition to the bilateral nuclear freeze proposal is wrong.

You argue that the "freeze" puts

an equal sign between the Soviet Union and the United States, while the United States is solely to blame for the arms race. True, but the hard fact is that the Soviet Union vigorously supports the nuclear freeze proposal, since its adoption would halt (or at least curtail) the nuclear arms race and lift an onerous burden from their backs.

Most people see the freeze proposal as a fair and balanced one that would end the life-threatening nuclear arms race, while rejecting Reagan's phony argument that the United States is behind the Soviet Union militarily.

It is true that many Democratic freeze proponents don't oppose U.S. imperialist policies in El Salvador and Nicaragua and support conventional arms buildup. But why not oppose them within the "freeze" movement rather than abandoning the movement to their domination?

A reader  
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



## Steel bosses impose big wage cuts

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

BALTIMORE — After months of trying, the nation's biggest steel corporations have finally succeeded in imposing a concession contract on the United Steelworkers of America (USWA).

On March 1 local union presidents, who make up the union's Basic Steel Industry Conference (BSIC), voted 169 to 63 to accept a takeback agreement negotiated behind tightly closed doors by top industry and union officials. It marked the first time in the four-decade existence of the USWA that concessions had been granted on a national level.

Twice last year the employers demanded concession contracts, and twice they were rejected by the BSIC. But the companies kept up a steady barrage of propaganda blaming steelworkers' wages and "low productivity" for the depression-like conditions in the industry. On the heels of each contract rejection they announced massive new layoffs and plant closings. Finally, under this relentless pressure, the local presidents gave in.

While the new agreement appears to be not as bad as the November proposal, nevertheless it will severely slash wages and benefits, and it represents a major setback for the union. Because workers in

basic steel do not have the right to vote on the contract, it will take effect immediately. The old contract was not scheduled to expire until August 1.

The new contract includes a \$1.25 an hour pay cut, which is scheduled to be restored over the 41 months of the contract. This is not as bad as the \$2.25 an hour cut the industry demanded in November.

The Cost-Of-Living-Adjustments (COLA) will be eliminated completely until August 1984. Between Aug. 1, 1984, and July 31, 1985, COLA payments will be resumed only if the Consumer Price Index (CPI) rises 4 percentage points. Then COLA will be under the formula that existed under the old contract, one cent for each three-tenths point quarterly rise in the CPI.

The following takebacks are also part of the new deal:

- Every worker will lose one vacation week in 1983.
- The entire system of 13 week extended vacations every five years for workers with 20 years' seniority will be eliminated.
- Sunday overtime pay will be cut from time-and-a-half to time-and-a-quarter until May 1986.
- One paid holiday — United Nations

Day — will be eliminated.

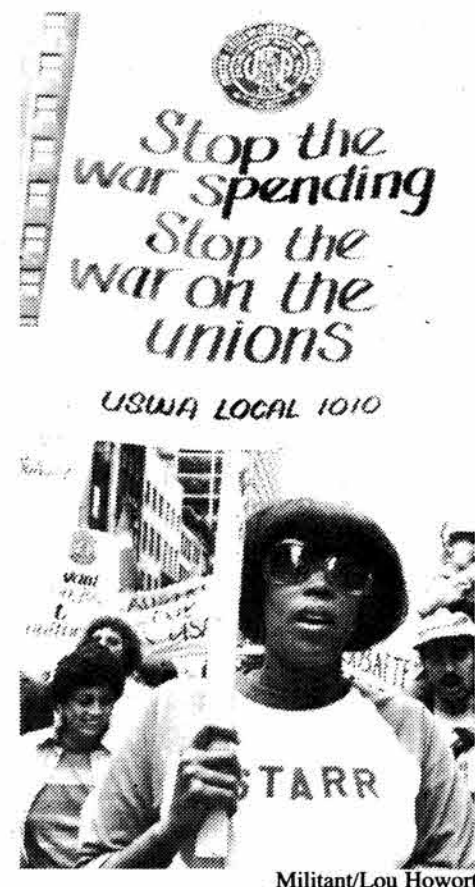
It is estimated by some analysts of the steel industry the companies will save \$2 billion a year. A steelworker making \$25,000 a year would give up an estimated \$12,000 over the life of the contract.

The only crumb the companies throw to the union is an increased payment into the Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB) fund — from 17.5 cents per hour worked to 67.5 cents. In Feb. 1986 this will be reduced to 42.5 cents.

Although this is an improvement over the November contract proposal, which called for an additional 75 cent wage cut by workers to refinance the SUB funds, what this new arrangement will mean for the tens of thousands of laid-off workers who have received no SUB money for months is unknown.

Other so-called concessions by the companies that were reported by the press include "guarantees" of reinvestment in steel plants rather than other businesses; "improvements" in the grievance procedure; and joint company and union "responsibility" for job training for workers affected by mill shutdowns. Such promises cost the employers nothing and are not worth the paper they are printed on.

Continued on Page 16



Militant/Lou Howort

## West Virginia miners' strike hits job combination

BY BILL BOYD

MORGANTOWN, W. Va. — Miners in Local 2095, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), have concluded a two-day strike at the Kitt No. 1 mine in Phillippi, West Virginia. The strike was aimed at management's total disregard for safety and union rights.

Kitt management provoked this action by informing the miners that as of February 7 all classified scoop operator jobs were eliminated. (The scoop is a machine that is used to carry supplies, transport materials, and clean up potentially explosive coal and coal dust that accumulates during the mining operation.)

Previously miners performing these jobs

were responsible for many important tasks involved in underground coal mining. Scoop operators were also responsible for making sure that ventilation is maintained when coal is mined and for spreading rock dust, which is one of the main methods used to prevent fire and explosions.

Any miner who has ever run a scoop knows it is a fulltime job that is crucial to the safe mining of coal. But, according to management at the Kitt mine, which is owned by Standard Oil of Ohio, this work can be added on to the work already being performed by other miners! In a steel mill or an auto plant this would be called job combination and speed up. It often results in layoffs.

In order to eliminate these jobs, the com-

pany conducted a phony time-study program, which "proved" that scoops were run for only two hours each shift. They also claimed "economic reasons" forced them to realign these jobs.

One day after the strike the company idled the mine and put the majority of the work force on a two-week temporary layoff. They again cited economic reasons for this and claimed they couldn't work the mine and move the longwall at the same time. (Longwall mining refers to a technique that is being used more by coal companies because it vastly increases coal production.)

The timing of the lay off was not lost to many rank-and-file miners who had never heard of a mine shutting down before in

order to move a longwall. In fact many saw it as a strike-breaking tactic aimed at confusing the membership and weakening the union's ability to fight around the issue of the scoop operator jobs.

Presently the scoop operator jobs are going through the grievance procedure.

Kitt miners are being continually threatened with layoffs. With 35 percent of UMWA miners out of work, the companies have increasingly used the widespread layoffs as a club against miners. For instance, "poor labor relations" was the excuse that Eastern Associated Coal Co. used to lay off over 100 miners at its Federal No. 2 mine near Morgantown earlier this year. At Kitt and throughout the country union rights are being constantly violated and UMWA members harassed and threatened with firings for exercising their rights.

Each time miners respond to these attacks it becomes clearer that they not only have to take on the companies, but also arbitrators, courts, and government.

Arbitrators have interpreted contract disputes in the companies' favor on major issues, including a decision against the right to strike. In addition to this the companies are refusing to settle many disputes at the mine site. This not only drains the union of funds but forces union officials to spend more time in hearings and meetings and less time with the rank and file.

The courts have played the same role. For instance, Consolidation Coal Co. got the courts to fine individual miners at the Blacksville No. 2 mine in northern West Virginia \$25 per shift for time lost during a recent strike.

The state and federal governments have jumped into this union-busting campaign with both feet. To add to their arsenal of laws like Taft-Hartley, they continue to push for new antilabor legislation.

Ninety percent of the West Virginia legislature recently voted for the Mandolidis Bill. This law in effect forbids workers to sue employers for injuries resulting from company neglect of safety. The federal government, with the approval of both Democrats and Republicans, continues to cut back budget money for mine safety and black lung benefits. The recent strike at the Kitt mine showed that the rank and file are willing to fight for the union.

## UMWA local on strike for higher wages

BY BILL KALMAN AND AL DUNCAN

PITTSBURGH — "I'm not used to losing, and the United Mine Workers isn't used to losing. Our union has a fighting tradition, and we're not about to lose here."

That was the message that Richard Trumka, recently elected president of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), brought to the workers at the Dowty Corp.'s Warrendale, Pennsylvania, plant on the eve of our contract expiration. The company refused us a decent new contract, so we went on strike.

The Dowty plant, located about 30 miles north of Pittsburgh, is organized by

UMWA Local 2350, representing 70 production workers.

The Dowty Corp. is part of the Dowty Group, a huge British conglomerate with subsidiaries and divisions operating in over 20 countries, including China, South Africa, and Australia. Dowty produces hydraulic and electronic systems for the mining, aeronautics, and war industries. The Dowty operation here assembles and repairs roof supports and conveyor systems for longwalls used in underground mines.

The contract between Dowty and the UMWA expired February 18, the day after Trumka's visit.

Since last fall, the local has been trying to get the company to agree to a new contract. The major demands are economic. For example, the average wage at Dowty is only \$5.58 per hour, lowest in the UMWA.

Like its counterparts at Chrysler, the Dowty management claims it doesn't have the money to meet the demands of the union and has sought to exploit the temporary downturn in the coal industry as an excuse for paying depressed wages.

For this reason, the company has made no serious attempt to negotiate with the union.

In fact, the company waited until six hours before the old contract expired to put forward a proposal. And their proposal was basically extension of the old contract.

It was against this background that the Trumka visit took place. Since the Dowty

contract was the first to expire under the new Trumka administration, a lot of people in the coal industry are watching the response of the union.

Local 2350, like most locals in the UMWA, voted heavily for Trumka in the November election. So, when it was announced that Trumka had approached the district officers about visiting the Dowty plant, workers were understandably excited.

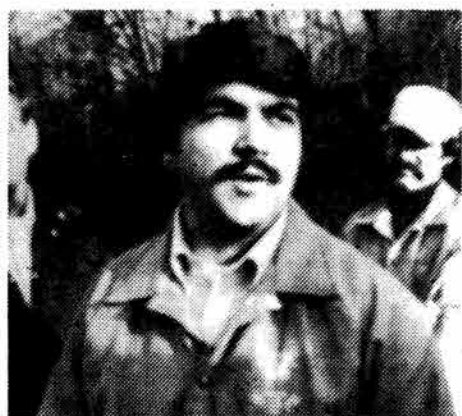
On February 17, Trumka and other union officials toured the plant. The fact that all the bosses were on the shop floor did not prevent workers from walking away from their jobs to talk to Trumka. In fact, for the two hours that Trumka was there, the mood in the shop was one of festive solidarity.

After completing the tour, Trumka addressed the day-shift workers over their lunch break.

Workers on the afternoon shift brought in TV sets to watch the event on the 6 p.m. news. After the story ended, we cheered and talked about it for the rest of the shift.

The strike at the Dowty plant may be a long one, but the visit of Trumka was a huge shot in the arm for this local. As the UMWA president explained, his administration "is interested in every unit whether it has 10 or 10,000 members."

Bill Kalman and Al Duncan are members of UMWA Local 2350.



Mine Workers President Richard Trumka.