

Reagan presses for more GIs, increased aid to Salvador



American 'adviser' lectures Salvadoran soldier

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

The Reagan administration has sharply increased its demand for more military aid to the dictatorship in El Salvador. The move comes as rebel forces there score more victories, urban workers renew their struggle against the regime, and popular support grows for the rebels' call for immediate negotiations.

On March 8, Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger told congressional leaders that instead of an extra \$60 million in military aid, the White House now is pushing to send the Salvadoran regime a total of \$110 million this year. Congress has already approved \$26 million in military aid. An additional \$205 in "economic" aid is also proposed for 1983.

The announcement came on top of Reagan's statements that Washington plans to raise the number of U.S. military personnel in El Salvador.

Speaking in San Francisco March 4, President Reagan said that Washington "may want to go beyond" the current limit

of 55 U.S. military personnel in El Salvador. NBC news said a White House official indicated the number of U.S. "advisers" could jump to 150.

Reagan piously pledged that restrictions preventing — on paper — U.S. GIs from participating directly in combat operations would remain untouched. Actually, the so-called advisers have already been photographed in combat, and at least one has been wounded in action. Washington is now laying the basis to brush aside even the formal restrictions.

Earlier in the week, White House officials explained that Reagan believes the Salvadoran civil war is approaching a critical stage, and that he is prepared to take "all necessary measures" to prevent a victory by the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) and Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR).

In his San Francisco speech, Reagan sought to con the American people by claiming, "I can give you assurances that there is no parallel whatsoever with Vietnam."

Few U.S. working people will find this very assuring, however. As *New York Times* columnist Anthony Lewis put it, "Vietnam is in the air, and everybody knows it."

Commenting on Reagan's pledge to keep U.S. troops away from combat, Lewis added that the American people "have not forgotten how we were slipped into the Vietnam War."

Reagan attempted to explain these latest moves just like every escalation of the Vietnam War was justified — by sending up an SOS about alleged outside communist subversion. He told the San Francisco audience that the Salvadoran rebels are armed and trained "by countries such as Cuba, and others of the Iron Curtain countries."

"If they get a foothold," he warned, "with Nicaragua already there, and El Salvador should fall as a result of this armed violence on the part of the guerrillas, I think Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, all of these would follow."

What Washington wants to protect in Central America and the Caribbean is not democracy, but the profits of U.S. capitalists. To do that, it supports ruthless military dictators that seek to stamp out every trace of democracy.

What Washington is combating is not outside subversion, but the struggle by workers and peasants to free themselves from these U.S.-backed dictatorships and from grinding poverty, both of which are part and parcel of imperialism's profiteering in these countries.

The mood of crisis in Washington deepens with each new show of strength and popular support by the FMLN and

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L.A. trial aimed at disrupting SWP

BY DAVID FRANKEL

LOS ANGELES, March 5 — "We've got multiple hearsay — hearsay on hearsay on hearsay."

That was what federal District Judge Mariana Pfaelzer said after listening to the first few hours of testimony by Alan Gelfand, a lawyer who claims that the Socialist Workers Party is run by agents of the U.S. government. Gelfand has dragged the SWP into federal court here on the basis of his slanderous charges.

"Because he thinks something, does not prove it," Pfaelzer remarked in regard to

Gelfand's testimony, which began with the opening of the trial on March 2 and continued until March 4.

But despite repeated objections by SWP attorney David Epstein, and despite her own repeated statements that Gelfand's attorneys have failed to introduce a shred of evidence to back up his charges against the SWP, Pfaelzer has made it quite clear that she will allow Gelfand to continue.

While admitting that Gelfand's testimony was proving absolutely nothing about the truth of his charges, and that most of it was not even relevant to the case, Pfaelzer allowed him to go on for hours.

She said she was permitting such testimony on the basis that it showed Gelfand's "state of mind."

Each day of the trial costs the SWP thousands of dollars and ties up a consider-

For further coverage on issues in trial, see pages 4-5, 10-12.

able part of its national leadership. And this operation has been going on for almost four years.

The party has already been forced to spend tens of thousands of dollars and countless hours in pretrial preparations. Thus, Pfaelzer's courtroom has become the headquarters for a major disruption campaign against the party.

Her courtroom is also the center for an assault on the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which prohibits violation of freedom of association. Gelfand is demanding that the courts put him back inside the SWP, which expelled him in 1979 for acting against the party.

Will the courts next begin to rule on whether unions must admit foremen into membership, or whether Black rights organizations must admit racists?

By agreeing to rule on this case, and allowing this massive abuse of the SWP's rights to continue for years, the court has already dealt a serious blow to the rights of all working people.

Gelfand is also demanding that elected

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Administration boosts FBI

In a political move to strengthen its secret police apparatus, the Reagan administration announced March 7 it had drawn up a new set of guidelines, which are supposed to govern the behavior of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

FBI Director William Webster explained to the press that the purpose of the new reg-

ulations is to assure that federal police will be less reluctant to investigate radical groups.

In the coming weeks there will probably be a number of congressional hearings and a flurry of "debate" concerning the relative merits of the 1983 guidelines versus those drafted in 1976. And that is certainly one of the goals.

Defenders of civil liberties will correctly point out that the changes from the old guidelines are all in an ominous direction. The new guidelines proclaim the government's intention to target, for increased police attack, groups and individuals that

advocate ideas the ruling class powers find threatening to their way of life.

The FBI is informing us there will be more agents provocateurs operating in the labor movement, the Black movement, and among those organizing against the increasing use of U.S. military power in Central America, the Caribbean, and elsewhere.

There will be more frame-ups and vic-

timizations under the guise of combating "terrorism" and investigating "circumstances" which "reasonably indicate" an "apparent intent" to commit violence, as the guidelines vaguely specify.

But there is a trap involved with the fanfare of "new guidelines" — an intended diversion. Congress and others may conduct a showcase debate over the technicalities of formulations. One can be sure, however, that the fundamental issues will never be posed.

No matter what guidelines or laws may or may not be on the books, the secret police will proceed to do what they have always done: uphold the increasingly threatened class interests of the bosses, bankers, and industrialists by any means necessary. The abuses and illegal acts are not unfortunate aberrations. They are the essence of political police operations.

The federal police force was born in the red scare and witch-hunt of the 1920s. It was a response to the social and political upheaval that accompanied the first imperialist world war and the victory of the first socialist revolution in Russia. The bosses needed a new, centralized tool of repression to deal with the growing strength and consciousness of the working class in the U.S.

A vast expansion of the FBI operations, however, came only in the late 1930s, under the liberal Democratic Party administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The titanic labor battles of the 1930s were in

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EDITORIAL

N.Y.-N.J. rail workers strike

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

More than 300 angry members of the United Transportation Union (UTU) in New Jersey voted overwhelmingly February 26 to reject a contract already signed by their leadership. That action led New Jersey into the first statewide commuter strike in its history March 1.

A week later UTU members in New York walked out after their own contract negotiations broke down. The two rail systems together carry 160,000 riders from the suburbs into New York City each day.

Railroad management in New Jersey demanded that UTU conductors and brake-

men take unprecedented pay cuts — \$6,000 a year. New York UTU members were told to give their bosses a blank check to eliminate hundreds of jobs. At the heart of both disputes is an all-out attack on work rules won by the rail unions over decades of struggle.

New York's Mayor Edward Koch urged management to "stand fast."

Plans to weaken the strike by busing thousands of rail commuters ran into trouble March 9 when picketers showed up in front of a major bus garage in Paterson, New Jersey. Bus drivers — also members

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Pope in Nicaragua: class divisions widen

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN
AND JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Pope John Paul's visit to Nicaragua March 4 dramatically illustrated the polarization of class forces in this country.

The size of the turnout for the pope's mass here, the centerpiece of the visit, was impossible to determine with accuracy. It appeared to be well over half a million, making it among the largest mobilizations in the history of the country.

Opponents of the revolution had come to show their support for the pope's attacks on the revolution.

Defenders of Nicaragua's freedom to choose its own destiny had come to ask the pope to use his moral authority to help stop the murderous attacks on Nicaragua's borders that are daily claiming the lives of their sons and daughters.

Between these two sharply defined poles, there were hundreds of thousands of others who came simply because they are Catholics. For them it was a day of political education. Laid before their eyes was an open confrontation between the church hierarchy and the revolution they themselves had helped to make.

The church hierarchy retains strong ties to the wealthy families who still control much of the country's economy.

As a group, the bishops of Nicaragua are allies of imperialism and sworn opponents of the revolution.

There is also something known here as the "people's church." These are the church units of the poor urban *barrios*, border villages, and the countryside that actively participated in the struggle to overthrow Somoza and that continue to support and participate in the effort to build a revolutionary new society.

The great bulk of Nicaragua's Catholic population is just beginning to come to grips with the contradiction between the revolution they are part of and the church officialdom they are used to respecting.

In the weeks leading up to March 4, two distinct political perspectives were laid out.

The reactionary daily *La Prensa*, main voice of the capitalist opposition, laid out a line that the pope's visit was strictly a religious affair, having nothing to do with "politics."

The Sandinista National Liberation Front's (FSLN) daily *Barricada* and the prorevolution daily *El Nuevo Diario* laid out a different perspective. They said that the Nicaraguan people should call on the pope to use his moral authority in the world to press for an end to counterrevolutionary attacks, which have taken a terrible toll in human lives.

These clashing perspectives were vocalized the day of the visit in the two slogans: "Pope! Pope! Pope!" and "We want

peace!"

In welcoming the pope at the airport, FSLN Commander Daniel Ortega, head of Nicaragua's Government of National Reconstruction, gave a brief speech detailing U.S. aggression against Nicaragua, and the peoples of the entire region.

"Welcome to Nicaragua," Ortega said. "You are being received by a heroic people, martyred yet jubilant, which after long years of suffering and war that meant the deaths of 50,000 brothers has undertaken deep social and moral changes."

"You come to a country that is blessed by the blood and sweat of the poor and humble and those who before were humiliated by the powerful but today are free of their chains, who are again confronting aggressive action from the same North American policy as that of 1921, when our country was occupied by U.S. intervention troops."

Ortega went on to explain that "62 years later that same U.S. policy still doesn't let our people heal the wounds that they caused." He called attention to the funeral of 17 high school students the day before, who had been killed by counter-revolutionaries earlier in the week.

To ensure that everyone who wanted to hear the pope had a chance to do so, a special committee made up of representatives of the government, FSLN, the local church hierarchy, and the Vatican was set up to make preparations.

With the exception of units patrolling the border, virtually the entire society ceased normal functioning March 4. Practically every unit of collective transportation on the Pacific Coast was pressed into service — buses, trucks, even farm tractors pulling cotton and sugar trailers.

Despite the shortage of gasoline, the government provided every single vehicle with fuel free of charge.

Scene in plaza

When the pope arrived in Managua's July 19 Plaza, hundreds of thousands awaited him, many of whom had slept there overnight. In the background stood an enormous billboard made by 600 Catholics. It said: "Welcome John Paul II, thanks to God and the Revolution."

Hundreds of Vatican, Nicaraguan, and FSLN flags were raised, as well as thousands of placards, both hand-lettered and printed, urging the pope to use his power to help bring peace to Central America.

In anticipation of the pope's upcoming visit to El Salvador, thousands carried placards bearing a photograph of martyred Archbishop Oscar Romero of San Salvador, whose murder was organized by members of the present government there. The placard read: "Monsignor Romero, in

Nicaragua we venerate your memory."

The ceremony began with opening remarks by the Archbishop of Managua, Miguel Obando y Bravo. As soon as he began speaking, organized chants of "Obando! Obando! Obando!" began to be heard from a group of clergy seated at the side of the main altar.

Obando y Bravo, the highest church official in Managua, is also one of the most outspoken opponents of the revolution. To organize a cheer for him is equivalent to booing the revolution.

In response, some in the crowd began to chant, "Between Christianity and revolution, there is no contradiction!" and "We want peace!"

When the pope began his sermon, the same group of clergy began chanting again, this time "Pope! Pope! Pope!"

Again the cry of "We want peace!" was heard from the crowd.

By that time it was 5 p.m. In the scorch-

ing summer heat, tensions began to mount as the pope got on with the text of his sermon, ironically entitled "Unity in the Church."

Earlier in the day, in León, he had launched an attack on the government's role in education, and against the rebellious sections of the church.

Here in Managua he spoke of the past natural disasters that had befallen Nicaragua (earthquakes, floods, and drought), but made no mention whatsoever of the present disaster — U.S.-engineered aggression against the country.

He spoke of what the bible had to say about the "sad inheritance of divisions between men, provoked by the sin of arrogance, . . ." which he blamed for producing "wars, oppression, persecution of men by one another, hatred, and conflicts of all types."

As the sermon continued large sections

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Pope's tour bolsters reaction

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The imperialist press has utilized Pope John Paul II's anticommunist pronouncements and condemnations of class struggle during his tour of Central America and the Caribbean to bolster reactionary forces in the region.

In Nicaragua, the pope openly sided with the counterrevolutionary Catholic church hierarchy against the masses of workers and peasants who support the revolution.

The Vatican released a statement the next day on the pope's private meeting with the Nicaraguan government.

According to the statement, the Nicaraguan leaders asked the pope to use his "good offices" to head off Washington's impending direct military intervention in El Salvador and Nicaragua, saying that such an intervention could lead to a regional explosion. The pope ignored this urgent request.

In El Salvador, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) called for a one-day truce during the pope's stay there. The FMLN and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) had called on the Salvadoran people to mobilize during the visit to ask the pope to support a dialogue between the rebels and the government.

As the pope's motorcade traveled from the airport to San Salvador, people in the crowd carried posters saying, "Catholics Support Dialogue."

To undercut the impact of the opposition's call for negotiations, and its recent military gains and renewed activity in the cities, Washington cajoled the Salvadoran

government to push up the date for scheduled elections from 1984 to later this year. The pope endorsed the call for elections as soon as he got off the plane in San Salvador. The FDR, on the other hand, denounced the elections as a sham, designed to give cover to the government's continuing war against the people.

The pope, however, did feel pressure to call for "an authentic dialogue" involving all sides in El Salvador. He also made a visit to Romero's tomb.

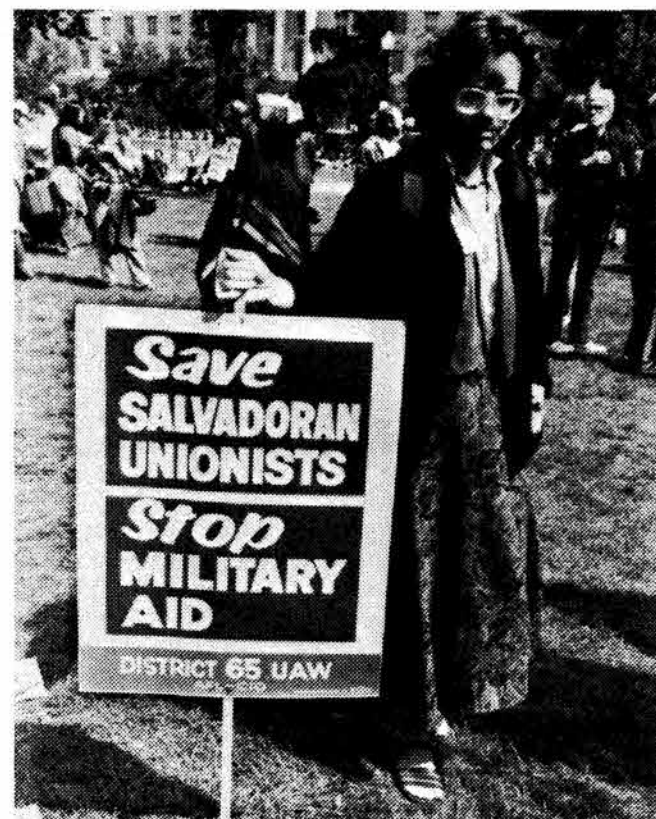
The next day, the U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Deane Hinton, rushed to warn people not to misinterpret the pope. He was not endorsing the call by rebel forces for a dialogue, Hinton said. "The pope did not say what kind of dialogue he was talking about."

The pope began his weeklong tour in Costa Rica on March 2 by warning that the solution to the people's misery must be found "without resort to violence or to collectivist systems that can prove no less oppressive to the dignity of man than pure economic capitalism."

In Panama, the pope urged Central America's peasants to reject "the temptation of violence, armed guerrilla struggle and the egoistic struggle of classes."

Putting the onus for violence and social injustice on the oppressed and exploited in the region, the pope warned, "there are those who wish you to abandon your work and take up the arms of hate to struggle against your brothers. You should not follow them. Where does this path of violence lead? Without a doubt, it increases hatred and the distance between social groups."

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Héctor Marroquín

Marroquín to appeal to Supreme Ct.

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit has refused to reconsider an appeal by Héctor Marroquín for political asylum, thus making him subject to deportation.

Marroquín will now ask the U.S. Supreme Court to hear his case, which will be his last opportunity for appeal.

Marroquín's lawyers had asked the full appeals court to reconsider a January 27 rejection of asylum by a panel of three judges from the court. Their refusal to reconsider was announced February 28.

The courts are denying him asylum, as was made clear by the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) lawyer who prosecuted his case in 1979, because of Marroquín's Marxist political ideas.

"Marroquín," the lawyer said, "has admitted from his own mouth that he is a Marxist . . . the U.S. doesn't grant asylum to those kind of people."

Nor, he should have added, does it grant

asylum to the thousands of others whose politics Washington suspects run counter to its interests, or to the interests of its clients in other countries. Thus, Salvadoran and Haitian refugees, along with others fleeing U.S.-backed tyrannies, find the doors to asylum blocked, as does Marroquín.

Marroquín is a leader of the Young Socialist Alliance and Socialist Workers Party.

He fled to this country in April 1974 after Mexican police, with the help of the U.S. FBI, framed him up on phony charges of terrorism.

Marroquín had seen his roommate and close friend murdered by Mexican police; he too was falsely accused of terrorism. And before Marroquín fled, he read accounts of others he had known who had been found dead in the street bearing marks of torture.

The Mexican cops circulated wanted

posters with his name and picture on them, planting these in national magazines.

Fearing that he would be dead before he could establish his innocence — he had in fact argued against terrorism with political acquaintances — he came to this country without papers, for the simple reason that he couldn't get them. For five years he has been battling with the U.S. government to force it to grant him political asylum.

The three-judge panel ruled that he hadn't presented enough evidence to prove he would be persecuted if he were deported to Mexico, despite the fact that he had what a spokesperson for the Political Rights Defense Fund, which is organizing support for his case, called "a mound of evidence."

Two other circuit appeals courts, however, have recently ruled favorably in asylum cases, one for a Philippine citizen, the other for a Yugoslav.

The latter case has been appealed by the INS to the Supreme Court, which has announced it will hear the case. Were the Supreme Court to rule against the INS, it would create a favorable precedent for Marroquín and others who seek political asylum in this "land of the free."

Marroquín told the *Militant* that the unfavorable ruling by the Circuit Court "does not intimidate me or demoralize me in the least. I know that the reason they're doing this to me is because working people in the United States, in Central America, and throughout the world are fighting back against the U.S. government and the big corporations it represents."

And that, he said, "is why I think that in spite of the seriousness of this attack, the opportunities to fight back in defense of democratic rights are greater than ever."

He cited broad support, especially from trade unionists, during his last speaking tours to build support for his right to asylum. "They're willing to listen to and solidarize with other victims of the government," he said, "because they're under attack too."

To help, or for more information about Marroquín's fight for political asylum, contact the Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Reagan presses for more GIs to Salvador

Continued from front page
FDR.

In mid-February the FMLN laid siege for 13 days to Suchitoto, a town of 6,000 only 27 miles northeast of the capital, San Salvador. On February 23 FMLN forces captured Tejutla, 12 miles north of Suchitoto, marking the third time in a month that the rebels had taken or surrounded a town of more than 10,000 people.

Protests against the regime are also on the upswing in the cities. Strikes by public and private employees have reemerged in late 1982 and early 1983. And on March 1 more than 5,000 farm workers camped in front of the Constituent Assembly in San Salvador, demanding that the limited land redistribution law be extended. With 400 chanting farm workers in the gallery, the assembly voted two days later to extend the law for 10 months.

Another powerful weapon in increasing the regime's isolation, both at home and abroad, is the standing offer of the FMLN and FDR to begin negotiations with the government with no prior conditions.

This negotiations proposal has been flatly rejected by the regime and its backers, although it has growing popular support inside El Salvador.

Turning its back on the negotiations proposal is more than just imperial arrogance by Washington that denies the Salvadoran people the right to determine their own affairs. It also reveals the U.S. government's fears that giving an inch on the question of dialogue will further demoralize and fracture the Salvadoran regime.

While rejecting negotiations and escalating U.S. military involvement, the Reagan administration cooked up a scheme in hopes of countering mounting criticism of

its backing to the bloody Salvadoran regime. It brought pressure on the Salvadoran government to move up the timetable for elections there from March 1984 to later this year.

According to the *New York Times*, White House officials admitted privately that this was a maneuver to "dramatize" the regime's "commitment to democratic rule and national conciliation."

The original plan was to keep the U.S. role a secret, so that the proposal would appear to be a Salvadoran initiative, hopefully timed to coincide with the pope's visit there. White House envoy Richard Stone let the cat out of the bag en route to San Salvador, however.

Despite the resulting embarrassment both for Washington and the Salvadoran rulers, provisional President Alvaro Magaña took the occasion of the pope's arrival at the San Salvador airport March 6 to announce that the elections would be moved up.

President Reagan immediately hailed this decision.

The elections will be for municipal officials and president. The Constituent Assembly, headed by ultraright death-squad leader Roberto D'Abuison, will remain unchanged.

This is not the first time Washington has promoted elections as a public relations ploy to polish up the image of the Salvadoran dictatorship. Rigged elections in March 1982 were trumpeted as proof positive that democracy was at work in El Salvador. In fact, opposition candidates were effectively barred from participation by government insistence that the FMLN lay down its arms as a precondition. Moreover, Salvadoran army bayonets "guaranteed" a large voter turnout, which was subsequently shown to have been vastly exaggerated by U.S. and Salvadoran government officials.

From Intercontinental Press

Machinists, Eastern Airlines square off

BY BOB SCHWARZ

MIAMI — A major confrontation between Eastern Airlines and the International Association of Machinists (IAM) may result in the first strike at the Miami-based airline since 1966.

On February 12 a federal mediator declared an "impasse" in negotiations. Negotiations were resumed on March 7. A 30-day cooling-off period ends at 12:01 a.m. March 13.

Eastern — which pays the lowest wages among the 14 major U.S. airlines, union and nonunion — is offering a three-year

contract with a two-year wage freeze and a 10 percent raise in the third year. Eastern also wants givebacks in work rules, introduction of part-time workers and split shifts, and a reduction in medical benefits. For the first time employees would be required to pay part of their medical insurance.

After claiming it was near bankruptcy in 1975, Eastern won seven years of concessions, beginning with a wage freeze in 1976 and a five-year 3.5 percent wage giveback called the Variable Earnings Program (VEP).

When VEP expired last summer, Eastern refused to stop taking 3.5 percent of employees' wages, claiming that all agreements are frozen during contract negotiations. IAM officials at first threatened a strike, but later agreed to continue deductions if Eastern guaranteed return of the money with interest after two years.

Recently, Eastern eliminated VEP in a bid to win over employees.

The IAM has held mass lunch-time pickets and rallies of several thousand in front of Eastern's Miami corporate headquarters, demanding Eastern negotiate in good faith.

Management has responded with a virulent antiunion campaign, staging its own rallies, issuing bulletins and letters to all employees, and distributing hundreds of "I Love My Eastern Job" buttons.

Eastern has vowed it will continue more than 65 percent of its service during a strike. During the 1966 strike Eastern maintained only token service for the first 10 days of the 43-day stoppage.

This confrontation is very important for the entire working class, but particularly in South Florida. Eastern Airlines is the largest private employer in this area and the IAM is a leading force here.

At a recent rally of 1,500 machinists,

Patricia Fink, president of Transport Workers Union Local 553, which organizes Eastern's 6,300 flight attendants, pledged support if the IAM goes out. IAM District 100 President Charles Bryan told this reporter he has received assurances of support from the unions representing workers who provide fuel for Eastern.

But even greater solidarity may be needed if Eastern really tries to drive the union out, because the IAM is in a weaker position than in previous strikes. Today, with Braniff out of business and other carriers laying off, there are thousands of skilled mechanics and ground personnel out of work. Some of them might be convinced to cross IAM picket lines if the labor movement does not organize broad, visible community support.

N.Y. protest: No U.S. intervention in El Salvador!

A broad coalition of forces in New York City have come together to organize an emergency demonstration on Saturday, March 19, at noon at the U.S. Mission to the United Nations at First Ave. and 47 St.

Among those sponsoring the protest are the New York Committee In Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES), Casa Nicaragua, New York chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party, New York Peace Council, *Guardian* newspaper, Socialist Workers Party, and New York Committee Against Registration and the Draft.

The demands include: no U.S. aid or advisers to El Salvador, stop the U.S. covert war in Nicaragua, and no Vietnam in Central America and the Caribbean.

For more information, contact CISPES at 19 W. 21 St., 2nd Fl. (212) 242-1040.

Pope Paul's visit to Nicaragua

Continued from Page 2

of the crowd, all too familiar with the real and present causes of war and social injustice, began to lose patience.

They had expected the pope to bring some message of solidarity and sympathy. And when none came, they made their feelings known to the pope chanting "We want peace!" This was especially true of two groups near the front of the crowd — the Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs of the Revolution, and the Disabled Veterans of the Revolutionary War.

By contrast, the chanting led from the altar was clearly organized from the start. It was picked up by groups well-distributed among the crowd, several of which had already shown their political character by hooting and jeering as the FSLN National Directorate walked onto the stage.

As the pope sought to continue his sermon, at times drowned out for five minutes or more, the momentum clearly shifted toward those chanting for peace.

In fact, the chant "We want peace!" resounded so loudly that the pope was finally forced to respond. "The church is the first to want peace," he shouted back in an-

noyance, and then returned to his text.

As can be imagined, in a crowd of such size and under such conditions, there was a lot of confusion.

This was reflected in the fact that some people remained silent during the chanting. Others chanted "Pope! Pope! Pope! We want peace!" — mixture of the two counterposed slogans. Still others had difficulty hearing what the pope was saying, or didn't realize he was attacking the revolution and those in the church who support it.

It is clear, however, that the counter-revolution failed to turn the pope's visit into a blow against the revolution. The fact that this was by far the largest open mobilization by opponents of the government since the overthrow of Somoza certainly put some wind in their sails.

But they paid a much bigger political price. The majority of those who mobilized for the pope's visit repudiated the views of the capitalist opposition and Catholic hierarchy. The overwhelming sentiment in the crowd was for a firm statement by the pope condemning the counterrevolutionary attacks on Nicaragua.

From Intercontinental Press

Los Angeles trial aimed at disrupting SWP

Continued from front page

leaders of the SWP be removed from their positions because, he charges, they are government agents. Pfaelzer's stance is that the capitalist courts have the right to decide on such questions, not the membership of the SWP.

Since Pfaelzer herself, as a former president of the L.A. Police Commission, approved the use of police agents to spy on and disrupt the SWP, her decision to rule on this issue is a particularly blatant abuse of the SWP's rights.

Gelfand tries to palm himself off as a loyal member of the SWP who was supposedly victimized by police agents in the party leadership. His own testimony, however, has clearly established that he was an opponent of the party operating within the ranks.

On the stand, Gelfand admitted he was secretly collaborating with the leadership of the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and its U.S. branch office, the Workers League (WL), for at least seven months before his expulsion from the SWP in January 1979.

Gelfand admitted meeting to discuss his campaign against the SWP with WRP leader Alex Mitchell in England in July 1978.

Since 1975, the WRP, along with its subordinates in the WL, has been peddling the slander that the SWP is run by agents of the U.S. government.

Joseph Hansen, a central leader of the SWP for 40 years, was the original target of the WRP-WL's smear campaign. Hansen played a leading role in exposing the anti-Marxist politics of the WRP and its followers, who were repelled by the Cuban revolution during the early 1960s. Cuba, they declare to this day, is really a

capitalist state! Other revolutionary and progressive developments also repelled the WRP-WL. They denounced the revolutionary nationalist ideas put forward by Malcolm X, and attacked the movement against the war in Vietnam as one of "middle-class protest."

But the WRP-WL long ago abandoned political debate for agent-hunting. Any opponent is immediately charged with a dubious history and labelled a government infiltrator. This course has left the WRP-WL wide open to forces outside of the workers' movement.

In the United States, the WL is no longer a political tendency within the labor movement. Its central activity for years has been its campaign to smear the SWP.

Because of this history, Gelfand's admission that he had been secretly collaborating with the WRP-WL was particularly damaging to his phony claim of loyalty to the SWP. Gelfand testified that while he was in England in July 1978 he was given the phone number of WL National Secretary David North, who he contacted upon his return to the United States.

Gelfand insisted in his testimony that he was "shocked" and "confused" by the unwillingness of SWP members to accept his charges that the party was led by government agents. At a Jan. 23, 1978, meeting of the Los Angeles SWP branch Gelfand was voted out of order by the members when he tried to raise the subject of Joseph Hansen's alleged connections with the FBI and Soviet secret police during a discussion about the upcoming tasks of the branch.

"I was shocked at what had happened, I was angry, and I was very troubled," Gelfand testified.

"You find it shocking that after a discussion and vote you were voted down?" SWP attorney Epstein asked Gelfand during the



Militant/Diane Jacobs
SWP's lawyer David Epstein (standing, right) questions Alan Gelfand. At bench is Judge Mariana Pfaelzer. SWP's lawyers Carla Riehle (left) and Margaret Winter are seated at table. Gelfand's lawyer is seated to right of Epstein.

cross examination.

Wasn't it true, Epstein asked, that "the question was already resolved, that the party had reached its position on this issue?"

Gelfand had to answer, "Yes."

Further testimony blew apart Gelfand's claim that he had been a loyal SWP member raising legitimate questions, looking for guidance from the party, and gradually becoming convinced that he faced a conspiracy to silence him and cover up the truth.

On Jan. 27, 1978, Gelfand met with

leaders of the SWP in Los Angeles to discuss the charges that he had raised at the branch meeting a few days earlier. His lawyer asked him in court:

"Did you have a tape recorder at this meeting?"

"Yes, I did," Gelfand replied.

"Did you tape the conversation?" he was asked.

"Yes, I did," Gelfand replied.

At this point, Gelfand's lawyer asked that the tape be accepted into evidence. Epstein then asked Gelfand:

"Did you request permission to tape record the conversation?"

"No, I did not," Gelfand replied.

Asked if he had informed the participants that he was taping the meeting, Gelfand admitted, "No, I did not."

Gelfand did not say how the secret recording was made. Did he have a tape recorder hidden in his briefcase? Did he have a microphone taped to his body?

Aside from the fact that taping a conversation without the knowledge of the participants is a felony in California, Gelfand's behavior makes it quite clear that he was already operating in a manner incompatible with membership in the SWP a full year before his expulsion from the party. It is not clear if Gelfand was in the habit of going around wired for sound, but when his attorney offered another recording into evidence, this one from an April 4, 1978, meeting with leaders of the Los Angeles SWP, the judge herself thought to ask:

"Did they know you were taping the meeting?"

"No, they did not," Gelfand replied.

"You didn't ask them if you could do that?" Pfaelzer inquired.

"No, I did not," answered the supposedly loyal member of the SWP.

What finally provoked Gelfand's expulsion from the SWP was his action in going into court against the party in the midst of its fight to expose the U.S. government and its secret police.

In June 1978, U.S. Attorney General Griffin Bell became the first man in his position ever cited for contempt of court. The occasion was his refusal to turn over secret informer files demanded by the SWP in its case against the government. That December, while the U.S. Court of Appeals in New York was hearing Bell's appeal of his contempt citation, Gelfand entered the case without consulting the SWP. He filed a "friend-of-the-court" brief, known in legal terms as an *amicus* brief, accusing the SWP of being run by agents.

"Did you intend to disrupt the SWP's prosecution of the government by filing the *amicus* brief?" Gelfand's lawyer asked him.

"No," Gelfand replied with a straight face.

"Did you believe that the *amicus* brief was in keeping with the positions of the party?"

"Yes," Gelfand claimed.

During Epstein's cross examination, the lawyer for the SWP had the following exchange with Gelfand.

"Didn't you file the brief without telling

Continued on Page 16

Socialists mobilize to aid defense effort

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — The Socialist Workers Party will make a major effort to help ensure successful completion of the Emergency \$75,000 Fund now being raised by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF).

The fund will help defray some of the huge costs related to the Los Angeles anti-civil-liberties trial in which the SWP is the defendant.

Mary-Alice Waters, a national chairperson of the party, said that while everyone concerned with democratic rights had a stake in the outcome of the trial, "the SWP obviously has a very particular interest since our party is the immediate target."

Members and supporters of the party, as well as of the Young Socialist Alliance, will be contributing as generously as possible to the emergency fund, she said.

The party will also make it a special priority to help build the PRDF rallies now being held across the country. In addition to gathering public support for the court fight, special collections at these rallies will be an important part of raising the \$75,000.

In a telephone interview from Los Angeles, PRDF national coordinator Holbrook Mahn emphasized the emergency aspect of the fund.

"That really is the case," he said. "The actual trial involves a huge outlay. For instance, our attorneys need to have the daily transcripts of the court proceedings. That alone will cost several thousand dollars.

"Plus, there's the travel expenses for our staff and witnesses. Add on office space, postage, and phone bills and you begin to get an idea of what's involved."

"Actually, we need more than \$75,000 and we hope we'll get more. The \$75,000 is really the bottom line."

Mahn said that, while the fund lasts until May 1, money is urgently needed right now. Supporters who can't make their full contribution right away, he explained, are encouraged to make at least part of their donation this month.

Mahn added that, "while this trial is going on, PRDF's 'normal' expenses keep piling up. There's the very important fight to block the deportation order against Hector Marroquin, who has been denied political asylum here because he's a Marxist. We're also fighting immigration authorities' moves to deport Iranian student Hamid Sodeifi."

"And," Mahn added, "we have the expenses of the suit now under way against Lockheed-Georgia Corp., which fired a group of workers on the basis of association with the SWP."

The initial response to the emergency fund appeal has been impressive, Mahn said. So far, a mail appeal to some 5,000 PRDF supporters has brought in \$8,102.

In addition, PRDF activists are using local mailing lists to circulate copies of the PRDF brochure which summarizes the key facts of the case.

The PRDF rally in Los Angeles February 25 also confirmed that the necessary

money can be raised, Mahn said. More than \$6,000 was pledged at that rally and, with additional contributions since, the total is expected to exceed \$7,000.

Waters said she was confident that SWP and YSA members and supporters would pledge all they could at the rallies.

"This past fall," she said, "the SWP set out to raise \$250,000 to cope with our party's inflation-induced deficit. The response of our members and supporters was so great that we wound up raising over \$300,000."

"Naturally, we don't expect to repeat that amount a few months later. But we're confident our people will dig in."

An early indication of this, Waters said, is that in a number of areas, groups of socialist workers holding jobs in relatively well-paying industries are considering setting a goal of each contributing one week's pay to the emergency PRDF fund.

Among those considering this, she said, are Machinist union members in the San Francisco Bay Area, auto workers in Kansas City, oil workers in Salt Lake, and coal miners in Morgantown, West Virginia. In New York City transit workers have already decided to do this.

"And party branches as a whole are taking hold of this project," Waters added. "For instance, Philadelphia, a medium sized branch, is helping the local PRDF chapter raise a quota of \$5,000. They're confident they'll make it, since they estimate that SWP members and friends alone will account for \$3,000."

"The entire party," Waters said, "recognizes the gravity of the attack and the membership is united in its determination to fight back every inch of the way. The success of this fund is essential to the fight."

Mahn was equally confident about the success of the fund drive as a whole. He said that the initial response to the national fund mailing was exceptionally good and that a good number of the contributors had included notes stressing their realization of the importance of the issue involved.

"People do recognize," he said, "that this attack on the SWP is aimed at everyone's rights."

We hope our readers will see it the same way. If so, you can register that sentiment by clipping the coupon below and sending the most generous contribution you can to the Political Rights Defense Fund.

PRDF \$75,000 Emergency Defense Fund

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.

Political Rights Defense rallies

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.

BALTIMORE — Saturday, March 12, 6:30 p.m. St. Marks United Methodist Church (Liberty Heights and Garrison).

PHILADELPHIA — Saturday, March 12; reception 7 p.m., rally 8 p.m. Antioch College (Mezzanine), 401 N. Broad St.

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.

CHICAGO — Friday, March 18, 7 p.m. Loop YWCA, 375 Wabash.

DENVER — Friday, March 18, 7:30 p.m. United Auto Workers Hall, 3774 S. Kalamath.

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

BAY AREA — Saturday, March 19; reception 5:30 p.m., rally 7 p.m. Bethel AME Church, 970 Laguna, San Francisco.

BOSTON — Saturday, March 19; reception 7 p.m., rally 8 p.m. Church of the Covenant, 67 Newbury.

CLEVELAND — Saturday, March 19; reception 7 p.m., rally 8 p.m. Marshall School of Law (East 18th and Euclid).

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

SEATTLE — Saturday, March 19; reception 7 p.m., rally 8 p.m. KAMP Firehouse, 722 18th Ave.

MILWAUKEE — Sunday, March 20, 7 p.m. Cross Lutheran Church, 1821 N. 16th St.

DALLAS — Saturday, March 26, 7 p.m. Martin Luther King Center Library, 2922 M.L.K. Blvd.

Messages of protest pour in

'Such an attack merits a united response'

The following are statements received by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) protesting the violation of constitutional rights in the trial of the Socialist Workers Party. The case, known as *Gelfand v. Smith*, is being heard in federal court in Los Angeles. Earlier protest statements have come from Rev. Ben Chavis; Irish liberation activist Bernadette Devlin McAliskey; Anthony Mazzocchi, former vice-president of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; and Tommy Kersey, Georgia leader of the American Agriculture Movement.

Organizations are listed for identification purposes only.

Horace Sheffield

veteran United Auto Workers leader

The civil rights movement and labor have had to fight long and hard to protect themselves from government harassment.

Based on the information I have seen, the case of *Gelfand v. Smith* now going on in Los Angeles appears to set a dangerous precedent threatening everyone's First Amendment rights.

Robert F. Williams

longtime Black liberation fighter

I've lived in other countries, including some the U.S. government denounced as dictatorships. But it is here in the USA that I have been harassed and framed up by the practice of police state policies.

I now join others in protesting the harassment of the Socialist Workers Party by the government in the case of *Gelfand v. Smith*. The government has no right to dictate to a voluntary political organization how to run its affairs. This is a threat to the First Amendment rights of all fighters for justice.

Lupe Sanchez

executive director, Arizona Farmworkers Union

Having just learned about the attack being carried out against the SWP in the Los Angeles courtroom, I am writing to extend my support and solidarity in your fight.

The very idea that the United States government could have the right to dictate to the Socialist Workers Party (and by extension, any other group) who its members are, who its leadership can be, or define its activities, is a gross violation of the First Amendment to the Constitution.

One only has to stop and think for a moment about the implications arising out of a victory of such an attack: any organization, including the unions, could then be a potential candidate for the government to come in and "reorganize" it, no matter what its constitution.

Such an attack merits a united response against it. Again, I extend my support and

look forward to working with your organization in the future as you continue to fight for the rights of all of us.

Victor Reuther

retired director, United Auto Workers International Affairs Department

The denial of long established constitutional rights to any individual must be looked upon as an attack on the heritage of all who profess freedom. As one who has been on the receiving end of FBI and CIA violations of those basic rights, I know this danger and contagion. That is why I join in calling for the immediate dismissal of the *Gelfand v. Smith* case, which is an affront to the judicial system and a blatant intervention in the freedom of political and organizational associations.

General Vann

National Campaign to Free Mayor Eddie Carthan and the Tchula 7

The Tchula 7 proclaims its solidarity with the Political Rights Defense Fund and all brothers and sisters who stand in support of justice and equality. We denounce the injustice and violation of human rights perpetrated against any political party. We protest the use of the courts in the *Gelfand v. Smith* case, where they are trying to dictate what the ideology and activity of voluntary political associations should be.

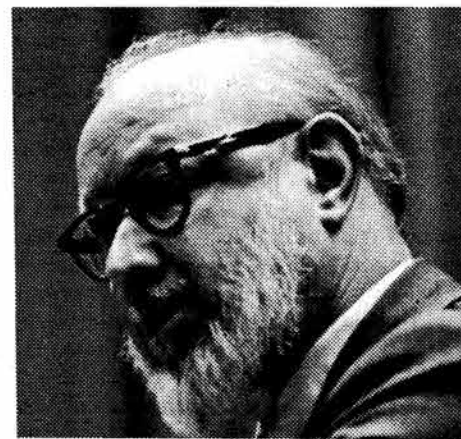
Tressy B. Taylor

president, North Jersey Coalition of Labor Union Women

In the name of the North Jersey chapter of the Coalition of Labor Union Women, I protest the grave violation of constitutional rights represented by the Los Angeles federal court's conduct of the *Gelfand v. Smith* case.

Judge Pfaltzer's decision to take jurisdiction over a voluntary association's membership, leadership, and political views represents a grave threat to political freedom. It is a gross violation of the First Amendment right of free and voluntary political association.

If the government can dictate the mem-



Victor Reuther



General Vann
Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

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

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

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

For these reasons, I fully support the efforts of the Political Rights Defense Fund to have the *Gelfand v. Smith* case dismissed immediately.

Ring Lardner, Jr.

Hollywood Ten witch-hunt victim

Without evidence that the government has taken over the SWP, how can a judge order Mr. *Gelfand's* case to trial? And if there were evidence, if he could prove it was government agents who expelled him, what meaningful association has he been denied? At the very least this case should be postponed for a year to put it into Orwell's 1984.

International Socialists Political Committee

The International Socialists solidarize fully with the position of the Socialist Workers Party in the *Gelfand v. Smith* suit. We agree, in particular, with the SWP's position that the very act of bringing this suit to trial constitutes serious and disturbing government interference with the right of voluntary association. It is even more sinister that such interference is being exercised against activist and progressive political organizations, which can only be regarded as a continuation of long-established government efforts to disrupt such organizations. In defending itself in this case, the SWP is in fact defending the rights of all who seek to organize politically in this country.

Rod Miller

Political Committee, Revolutionary Socialist League

Enclosed please find a check for \$25 to help support the defense of the Socialist Workers Party against government intrusion and harassment.

An editorial denouncing the government attack and stressing the importance to all progressive organizations of defeating it will appear in the March 15 issue of the *Torch/La Antorcha*.

Rev. Brian Schultz

Holy Spirit Church, Virginia, Minnesota

The First Amendment guarantees the right of free and voluntary political association. The lawsuit *Gelfand v. Smith* threatens the free exercise of this right by any political party — or any voluntary association like Bread for the World or Pax Christi. Can the Federal courts determine the membership and the leadership of voluntary organizations? No! I say again No!!

I hope this statement will help the Political Rights Fund to defend the First Amendment for all people including myself and for all voluntary organizations including the SWP.

SWP's lawyers: fighters for workers' rights

BY DAVID FRANKEL

LOS ANGELES — The Socialist Workers Party is being defended by a legal team of considerable experience in standing up for the rights of working people and their organizations.

David Epstein is the lead lawyer. A participant in the student movement and the antiwar movement of the 1960s, Epstein graduated from law school in 1969. He became part of the team that defended members of the Black Panther Party who were being victimized by the Los Angeles police.

In 1972 Epstein defended Black activist Gary Lawton against an attempt to frame him on a murder charge.

During the mid-1970s Epstein worked on cases for the United Farm Workers. These took up practically all of his time in 1973 and 1974, when the union was still battling to establish itself as the bargaining agent for farm workers in the southwest.

Epstein is part of a Los Angeles legal

firm that has a long history in the fight for democratic rights. Firm members Ben Margolis and John McTernan served as lawyers for the Communist Party when its members were indicted in the 1950s under the notorious Smith "thought control" Act. Margolis was also one of the lawyers for the Hollywood 10, people in the film industry who were victimized during the witchhunt for their alleged association with the Communist Party.

Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) attorneys Shelley Davis and Margaret Winter are also part of the team representing the SWP. Both have played key roles in the party's 10-year battle against the U.S. government and the operations of its secret police agencies. That fight has been successful in uncovering more than 200,000 pages of previously secret government documents.

Both Winter and Davis participated in the fight against Washington's war of aggression in Vietnam and have been strong

supporters of the women's liberation movement.

In recent years, as attorneys for PRDF, each has defended numerous victims of the Immigration and Naturalization Service such as Héctor Marroquín.

Robin Maisel, the fourth member of the legal team, has been working with a Los Angeles law firm for a little over a year. In that time he has helped challenge attempts to keep working-class candidates off the ballot in California and has represented workers at the Long Beach Naval Shipyard victimized by asbestos manufacturers.

As a student at the University of Pennsylvania in 1965, Maisel exposed "Operation Spicerack," a government germ warfare research project, and helped mobilize a movement that drove it off campus.

Finally, the fifth attorney is Carla Riehle, another veteran of the movement against the war in Vietnam and a former member of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks in Minneapolis.

—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY MALIK MIAH

"The Militant this week: Fremont Union Busting."

This sign was set up outside General Motors' Fairfax, Kansas, plant by the regular *Militant* sales team. Twelve papers were sold at the gate; 20 more inside the plant by socialist auto workers.

Diane Shur, who works at the plant, said at least 20 other people in her department read the issue of the *Militant* featuring the article on the GM-Toyota deal in Fremont, California.

Marcia Gallo said one of her Fairfax coworkers told her, "I didn't just like the auto articles. I like all the ideas."

This type of response was also true when Kansas City socialists sold to other workers. For example, eight papers were sold to rail workers on the Santa Fe line — mainly on the auto coverage.

Rail workers, like auto workers, are coming under fierce government-employer attacks.

Socialist auto workers around the country — as well as other *Militant* salespeople — report lots of interest in the *Militant's* coverage of auto, especially the new series by laid-off Detroit auto worker Elizabeth Ziers.

In Detroit, for example, socialist workers are beginning to sell regularly at GM, Ford, and Chrysler plants. Although other organizations sell their newspapers at many of those plant gates, more workers are beginning to pick out the *Militant*.

Socialists have also found that

at some plants sales can be organized during lunch breaks. These are sometimes just as good, or better, than sales at shift changes.

Many discussions with auto workers have also taken up the role of the government and its courts to undermine the rights of unions and all working people. There has been considerable interest in the current use of the courts to attack the Socialist Workers Party, now on trial in Los Angeles (see page 1).

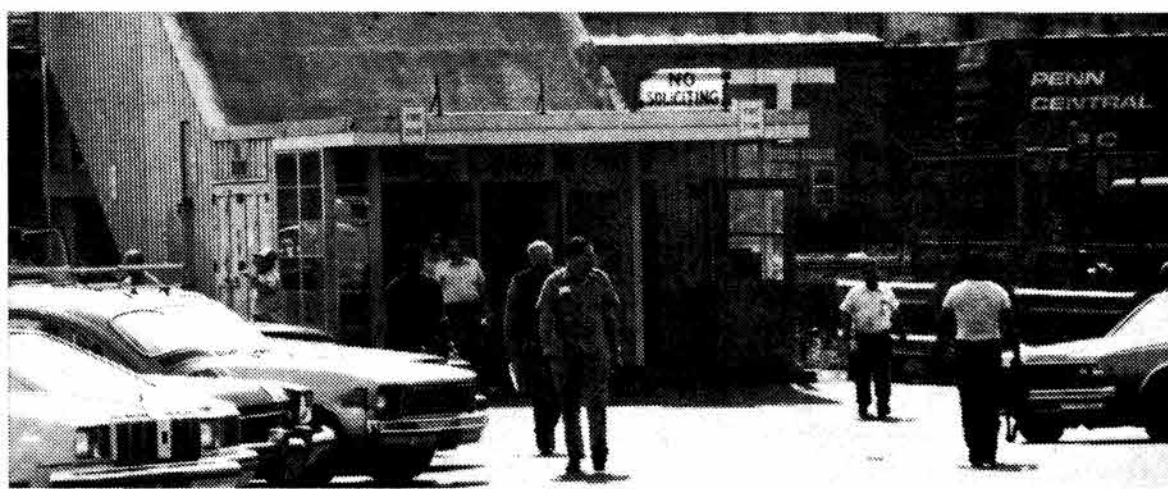
In Toledo, socialists decided to link efforts to establish plant-gate sales with a special two-week push to sell to auto workers. This includes distributing a leaflet at the plant gates announcing a special March 20 *Militant* Forum featuring Elizabeth Ziers.

At the Chrysler Twinsburg Stamping plant in Cleveland, socialists recently sold seven papers before the first shift was even out of the plant. One woman paid \$1.50 for her copy in order "to pay for some of the postage" used to send her *Militant* Forum leaflets.

Socialists in Indianapolis drew up a special leaflet publicizing Ziers' article on auto and the article on Fremont. They sold six papers at a Chevy plant — their best sale there.

They sold a total of 25 papers at plant gates for issue number 7 — all to auto workers.

They also report that sales to coworkers have gone up considerably — "a shot in the arm," said Curtis Steinmetz — as a result of



Auto workers at General Motors Tarrytown, New York, plant: *Militant's* coverage of the GM-Toyota union-busting deal was well-received by auto workers around country.

consistent plant-gate sales.

Milwaukee socialists report their highest plant-gate sales this year with issue number 7 — a total of 39. Twenty five of these were sold to auto workers at the American Motors plant in Kenosha, and at GM-Delco in Milwaukee.

It is clear the special effort in several cities to reach auto workers with the *Militant* led to enthusiasm, higher participation, and generally increased sales.

The big gain out of these sales, of course, is the ability of several cities to use these special auto and steel plant-gate sales to establish new sales spots and teams and to introduce new layers of workers to the socialist press.

* * *

Finally, we have a letter from

David Rosenfeld of the Morgantown, West Virginia, SWP sales committee. Rosenfeld goes over some of the experiences so far in selling to miners at the portals and some lessons they've drawn.

"Our general experience," he says, "has been that the first time we sell at a portal, many more cars stop than do at return visits. This is because people are curious as to who we are and what we are selling. This curiosity factor results in relatively high sales to start out with, then volume tends to drop."

"The fact that fewer cars stop is not a hostile reaction. Many people who bought the paper before will wave as they go by."

"At the Federal 2 mine," he continued, "socialists and other miners were laid off in January. They decided that the main way

they would continue to do political work among their coworkers would be through portal sales. They continued to participate in the teams that went to the mine."

"Because of this approach to sales, they are now known as socialists and identified with the *Militant* to a much broader layer of their coworkers. They are establishing a regular presence of the *Militant* at the mine. They are meeting workers on other shifts."

"We try," Rosenfeld concludes, "to schedule between six and seven sales each week in addition to Saturday sales. Most are two person teams, some are with three people. Participation has been picking up as we overcome organizational difficulties and as we get more experience under our belts and gain more confidence."

Rail workers strike N.Y.-N.J. transit authorities

Continued from front page

of the UTU — refused to cross the picket line, stranding 15,000 bus riders.

As the *Militant* goes to press both strikes are solid with other rail crafts respecting the picket lines. Commuter rail service in the metropolitan New York area is paralyzed.

UTU members had been working without a contract since January 1, 1983. On that date two state agencies — New Jersey Transit and the Metropolitan Transportation Authority's (MTA) Metro-North division in New York — took over commuter rail lines from Conrail. The transfer of Conrail's commuter service to local operating authorities was ordered by Congress in the Northeast Rail Services Act of 1981 (NERSA).

Under the guise of "saving" Conrail, NERSA was a smoke screen to involve the federal government in a broadside attack on rail labor.

The overall objective of the legislation was to make Conrail profitable in preparation for ending direct government supervision of the railroad by 1984. Congress created Conrail in 1976 as part of a plan to bail out the stockholders of bankrupt Northeast railroads. Since then Washington has provided it with federal operating subsidies.

NERSA pressured Conrail workers to accept a 12 percent wage "deferral." Conrail management was given special permission to immediately abandon nearly 3,000 miles of track, hurting farmers and small businesses.

Despite the wage deferral, thousands of Conrail workers were laid off.

Taking commuter service out of Conrail's hands was targeted as a further blow to rail labor.

As of January 1, 1983, Congress ordered all existing union contracts on the commuter lines torn up. State transportation agencies, Congress reasoned, could then demand the unions negotiate drastic work-rule concessions "in the public interest."

An important part of the ploy would be an attempt to turn commuters' anger over skyrocketing fares against the unions.

But the UTU rank-and-file answered the NERSA scheme with a firm no.

"All of this isn't just because New Jersey Transit took over," explained a brakeman

on one of the picket lines. "It's been coming at least since 1976 — knocking off jobs, the 12 percent deferral. We've been getting angry for a long time."

New Jersey rail workers at the February 26 meeting were stunned by the wage cut and work rule changes they were asked to approve. Although the UTU membership has no right to ratify contracts, regional UTU officials called the meeting hoping to get a warm reception for the pact.

The meeting "was the first time the membership was polled, or even consulted about what was going on. They made their feelings known," said Richard Velotti, chairman of one of the striking UTU locals.

Under the new contract New Jersey conductors and brakemen would be working 10 hours a day for 8 hours straight-time pay. Train crews now are paid for the time during their shift that they are forced to wait at outlying points for a return run.

Eliminating any pay for the waiting, or swing, time would mean an average pay cut of \$100 or more a week. Most conductors make below \$28,000 a year.

How could management justify such a massive takeback?

In a flyer distributed to commuters, NJ Transit claimed that conductors were "paid as much as \$40,000 to \$45,000" a year.

"That's a joke," answered a picketer at Penn Station in Newark. "I offered to show a reporter my W-2 form, but he wasn't interested."

Warning flags were hoisted earlier this year when Conrail turned over its Philadelphia commuter operations to Southeastern Pennsylvania Transportation Authority. SEPTA refused to sign any new union contracts, laid off most of the workers, and slashed wages almost in half.

Although the MTA negotiators in New York also sought concessions on pay for swing time, workers saw the demand that the union surrender all control over the size of train crews as a threat to the UTU itself. Determining the number of conductors or brakemen needed on any given train was solely a management prerogative, the MTA said.

Without any guarantees on crew size, the union argued, management will have a free hand to cut the work force right down to the bone.

The UTU struck March 7 after the MTA unilaterally posted new duty rosters. The agency claimed the new schedules would eliminate the jobs of 70 of the 622 conductors and brakemen on the commuter line. The UTU estimated that the move would immediately cut more than twice that number.

"We have sources at the MTA who indicate to us that [MTA head Richard] Ravitch actually intends to operate the railroad with 150 men," said UTU general chairman William Beebe. "That's the reason he won't put [any job guarantee] in writing."

Not only would such reductions gut the UTU, but passenger safety would be seriously compromised, the union pointed out.

The rail bosses in cooperation with the news media are doing everything possible to downplay that fact and whip up commuter hysteria against the strikers.

Ads placed in New Jersey newspapers by NJ Transit cynically try to direct public sentiment against the unions.

"Dear Rail Rider . . . we at NJ Transit have been working hard to do what you have been telling us to do: we are seeking to negotiate rail labor contracts which pro-

vide increased productivity through changes in archaic work rules . . ."

The MTA and NJ Transit's extraordinary demands confirm that the attacks on the unions associated with Conrail are once again being used as a battering ram against rail labor nationally.

At issue in the New York-New Jersey strike are work rules that the employers claim must be eliminated to "modernize" the U.S. rail industry. In fact, the rail bosses are after what employers in every industry are after — higher profits through cutting back their workforce and making those who remain work harder and more dangerously, for less wages.

Chief NJ Transit negotiator Martin Robins summarized this goal. Management is demanding workers accept a completely new structure of salary and work rules, he explained.

"It's a change for these individuals," Robins said. "We are really reconstituting the way in which these people are paid and it's not going down easy."

"I believe the leadership of the union became educated to this reality, but the education didn't reach as far as the rank and file."

Steel pamphlets selling quickly

BALTIMORE — Socialists here have sold 100 copies of the new pamphlet, *Steelworkers Under Attack: How to Fight Back and Defend Jobs*. The ideas in the pamphlet have been welcomed by steelworkers who are angered by the recent concession contract forced on them by the steel bosses.

Joe Kleidon, a steelworker who has sold 27 pamphlets on the job at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant, explained, "At first I thought sales would go down once the contract was settled. I thought people would be too discouraged to want to discuss politics. But actually the discussion has become more intense. And the ideas put forward in *Steelworkers Under Attack* mean even more to people than they did before."

Many workers have expressed interest in discussing the pamphlet once they've read it. A number came to a *Militant* Forum here on March 6. The speaker was socialist mayoral candidate and steelworker, Joey

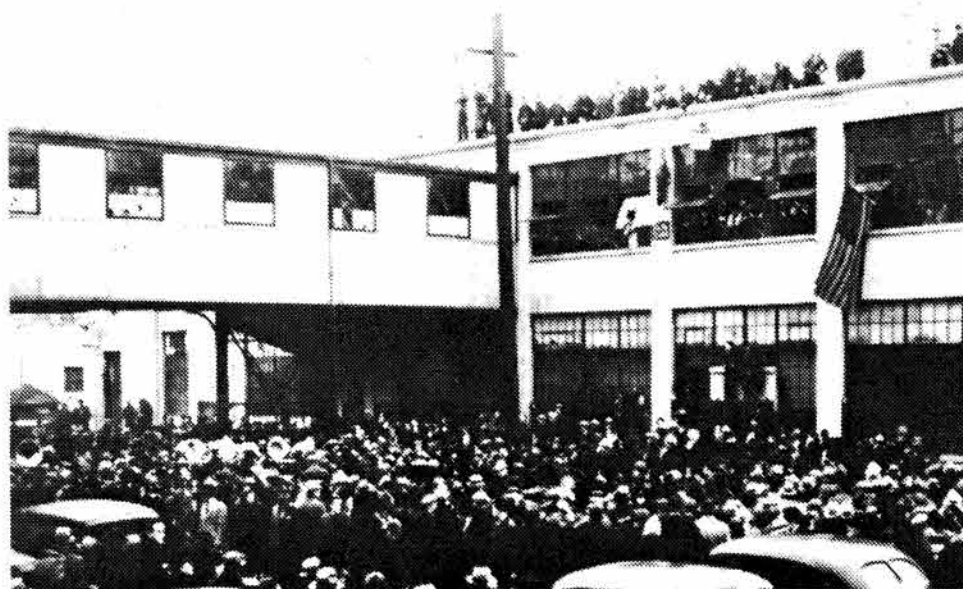
Rothenberg. The presentation and discussion focused on the recent developments in the steel industry and took up the ideas presented in the pamphlet on how steelworkers can organize a class-struggle response to the bosses' offensive.

Other workers have expressed interest in participating in more informal discussions after work or on the job.

Pamphlet sales have been coupled with stepped-up sales of the *Militant*. Over 20 copies of the paper are being sold by Baltimore and Washington, D.C., socialists at steel plants each week in addition to sales on the job, at union halls and in steelworker communities.

Workers in other industries are also interested in the pamphlet. Dana Burroughs, a member of Machinists Lodge 1140, reports that her coworkers, who face a contract fight this spring, are discussing the connection between the problems facing workers in different industries.

History of auto union officialdom: close cooperation with companies



Crowds gather outside GM Fisher Body plant in Flint, Michigan, after takeover by sitdown strikers in 1937. At right, Walter Reuther, president of United Auto Workers from 1946 to 1970.



BY ELIZABETH ZIERS

Second in a series

In October 1982, U.S. Chrysler workers — after rejecting a stingy contract offer from the company — voted overwhelmingly to keep working and not go on strike immediately. It wasn't because they were unwilling to fight for a better contract. They didn't trust their union president, Douglas Fraser, to lead them in a strike to win. (Later, a strike by Canadian Chrysler workers led to a contract with modest gains for U.S. and Canadian Chrysler workers.)

Owen Bieber is next in line for the presidency of the United Auto Workers (UAW), having been selected by the union's International Executive Board leadership caucus last fall. He is to take the helm at the upcoming UAW convention scheduled for May in Dallas.

Bieber wasn't around for the fierce struggles in the 1930s and 1940s to organize the union and negotiate the first UAW contracts. Workers assume he will treat the auto companies as friends, just as Fraser has, rather than as adversaries who the union must fight for better wages and working conditions.

Fraser and Chrysler

In 1979 the Chrysler Corp. said it was going bankrupt. Chrysler and the U.S. government ganged up on the workers and said, "Give more concessions, or federal loans to Chrysler won't be guaranteed."

Fraser told the membership to make the concessions if they wanted to save their jobs. He assured the workers that if they helped out the company during its profit crunch, they'd all be paid back later.

Over three years the Chrysler workers were pressured to reopen their contract three times, giving up \$1 billion in wages and benefits to the company.

They watched the number of Chrysler workers drop from 76,000 in 1979 to nearly 45,000 today — as Chrysler reduced "excess" productive capacity by shutting down plants.

They watched their wages drop \$2.68 an hour below that of their sisters and brothers at Ford and General Motors. Their rights and working conditions were continuously attacked by foremen emboldened by the union leadership's refusal to fight.

In return, Fraser was put on the Chrysler board of directors.

Subscribe to the 'Militant'

This article is part of a series dealing with the big questions facing auto workers and members of other industrial unions under the current offensive by the bosses. Don't miss the rest of this series and other coverage of the labor movement. For \$3 you can receive the next 12 issues. Fill in the subscription blank on page 2.

Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca praised Fraser's performance on the board and urged him to stay on, despite the fact that he is leaving the UAW presidency. Fraser accepted.

Policy of class collaboration

Fraser's role as president of the UAW has taught auto workers a great deal about the union bureaucracy that sits atop the entire U.S. labor movement. In particular, he graphically illustrates their policy of class collaboration.

Fraser's outlook is, "Help the capitalist class first, and then they will let some wealth trickle down to the working class."

Class collaboration — the idea that the employers and the workers have a common interest and therefore the unions should cooperate with the boss to solve his problems — is a giant obstacle for the labor movement. It ties the union's hands in struggles against the boss and undermines working-class unity and solidarity.

Because today's union officials follow this strategy, they identify increasingly with the problems of the employers — not the workers — and look upon themselves more and more as social "stabilizers." Thus they seek only modest concessions — at best — from the boss, and they discourage strikes, or end quickly those that do occur. They also seek intervention by the capitalist government — as a "neutral" third party — in disputes with the bosses. This only leads to more government intervention into the union.

Thus the class-collaborationist policy of the bureaucracy leads to subverting labor's inherent power and weakening it in the face of the onslaught by the employers.

The solution to this problem would be simple if all that were required was to throw out the "bad" officials and replace them with "good" officials. But the road to getting rid of the bureaucracy and establishing a new, class-struggle leadership starts by recognizing what's wrong with the present policy of cooperation with the boss and mapping a program of struggle that can mobilize the workers in their own class interests. In the course of doing this, every union official will be tested, and a new leadership will arise capable of leading the ranks in battle.

Understanding the character of the bureaucracy is important in learning how to fight it. An excellent pamphlet on the rise of the UAW bureaucracy is Bea Hansen's *A Political Biography of Walter Reuther: The Record of an Opportunist*.

Reuther's record

Although written in the 1950s, this pamphlet helps auto workers today understand how Fraser's class collaboration is a continuation of the strategy of Walter Reuther himself, who was president of the UAW from 1946 until his death in 1970.

Most UAW top officials credit Reuther with leading the battles to organize the auto plants in the 1930s. This is false.

It was the rank and file, ready and willing to fight, who went into the streets to take on the companies and the cops for

union recognition at that time.

Those union officials like Reuther who took a militant stance during this upsurge did so under the massive pressure of the ranks.

Nor is the image of Reuther as a militant, progressive union leader responsible for the achievements of the UAW accurate.

Reuther had radicalized during the Great Depression. In 1932 he joined the Socialist Party led by Norman Thomas. After he was fired from his job at Ford, he and his brother Victor went to the Soviet Union, where they worked in an auto plant built by Ford.

In those days Reuther was pro-Soviet Union and anticapitalist.

He became a political and union opportunist as he began to climb the ladder of the union hierarchy. Looking out for number one meant stepping on the workers he was supposed to represent.

In 1938 Reuther left the Socialist Party. At the time a political struggle was opening up in the union. Reuther identified with those supporting the Democratic Party. He ended up campaigning for the Democratic candidate for governor of Michigan in 1938.

This turnabout is notable because at the 1936 UAW convention a resolution passed calling for the formation of an independent farmer-labor party; and in 1937 the UAW entered a slate of candidates in the Detroit city elections.

Reuther backed both these actions.

But Reuther also went along with the decision of the 1936 convention to endorse Democrat Franklin Roosevelt for president after enormous pressure was placed on the delegates by officials of the CIO (Congress of Industrial Organization) bureaucracy. (The convention initially rejected a pro-Roosevelt resolution.)

This contradiction — for a labor party and running labor candidates, but then endorsing a Democrat for president — didn't last for long.

By 1938, the UAW top leadership, including Reuther, had adopted the famous position, "Now is not the time" to establish a labor party.

It was Reuther who first implemented the one-at-a-time strike strategy, despite the fact that the auto industry in the United States is an interrelated monopoly, which auto workers need to take on in an industry-wide fashion. Reuther stuck to this policy. This divided the union and weakened solidarity.

During World War II, while the auto companies' profits were bulging from war contracts, the UAW leadership, including Reuther who was then a UAW vice-president, tied the workers into a notorious "equality of sacrifice" program and supported a "no-strike" pledge.

1945-46 GM strike

In response to these slave-labor conditions, on Nov. 21, 1945, the workers struck General Motors, the giant of the auto industry. The auto workers won the support of other industrial workers. During

1945-46 labor's greatest upsurge occurred.

After 113 days, the GM workers forced the company to grant them a decent contract: an 18½-cent across-the-board wage raise, no company security clauses, and paid vacations. This was the largest and most extensive wage increase ever secured in a single period.

Reuther was head of the UAW's GM negotiations. By supporting the GM delegates' decision to go on strike and bucking the wishes of the other top union leaders, Reuther won the backing of the most militant workers. Their victory catapulted Reuther into the presidency of the union at the 1946 convention.

Reuther then used the period of capitalist economic expansion after the war, and the rulers' anticommunist campaign to drive his opponents — including past allies — out of the bureaucracy and to consolidate his control over the union.

Reuther-Meany split

Reuther's leading the UAW out of the George Meany-dominated AFL-CIO in 1968 is another case often used by the officialdom to prove Reuther's and the UAW's militancy and vision. At that time of growing protests against racism and the war in Vietnam, the UAW leadership became more and more embarrassed by the cold-war, anticommunist policies of the AFL-CIO and, in particular, of George Meany.

For example, the CIA had enlisted Meany's assistance to help break workers movements in Europe and Latin America in the 1950s and 1960s. Through the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD), established in 1962, the AFL-CIO openly collaborated with the most right-wing, antiunion agencies, both at home and abroad.

In this same period the UAW followed a similar policy — but not as craven as Meany's. During the 1950s, Victor Reuther, then director of the UAW International Affairs Department, acted as the traveling emissary for AIFLD in Europe. At one point he delivered \$50,000 in CIA funds to anticommunist union officials in Italy and France.

Victor Reuther later said this was a mistake and he toured the country exposing Meany as an international union buster for the CIA.

Although Walter Reuther disagreed with Meany over the issue of Vietnam and other questions, the difference that led to a split between them was over labor's image, rather than its policy of class collaboration.

Like Meany, Reuther advocated close labor-management cooperation. But while Meany proudly asserted, "I never walked a picket line," Reuther was willing to use the strike tactic if forced to.

Reuther argued labor should collaborate with the boss, but as an "independent" force; Meany openly slept in the bosses' bed and worked with the CIA.

Basically, Reuther felt that growing sentiment against the war in Vietnam, along with the rise of the civil rights movement, meant that 1950s cold warriors in the union

Continued on Page 12

Reading on UAW history

A Political Biography of Walter Reuther: The Record of an Opportunist by Beatrice Hansen. 23 pp. 40 cents.

Labor's Giant Step: Twenty Years of the CIO by Art Preis. 538 pp. \$8.95 paper.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.75 for postage.

PLO rejects Reagan plan for Mideast



PLO leader Yassir Arafat at Algiers meeting where Reagan's plan was condemned.



BY DAVID FRANKEL

Ending a nine-day meeting in Algiers February 22, the Palestine National Council (PNC) dealt a stinging blow to Washington's attempts to drive back and split the Palestinian national liberation struggle.

The 350-member National Council functions as the parliament-in-exile of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). This was its first meeting since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last June, and it was closely watched on all sides.

Would the military blows dealt to the PLO by the Israeli war machine result in a political retreat? The PLO's answer was a resounding "No!"

Among the positions adopted in the final resolution of the National Council meeting were the following:

- The PLO reaffirmed its independence from any government, vowing to resist "pressures aimed against this independence, from whatever quarter they may come."

- In keeping with its character as an independent national liberation movement, the PLO declared that the basis for its relations with the various Arab states is "commitment to the Palestinian people's rights, including their rights to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of their independent state under PLO leadership."

- Reaffirming its determination "to develop and escalate armed struggle against the Zionist enemy," the PLO also stressed "the right of the Palestinian revolution's forces to conduct military action against the Zionist enemy from all the Arab fronts." (The Jordanian, Syrian, Egyptian, and Lebanese governments have all refused to allow the PLO to carry out such military actions from their territory.)

- U.S. imperialism, the PLO declared, stands "at the head of the camp hostile to our just cause and the causes of struggling peoples."

Having reaffirmed its character as an independent national liberation movement committed to a policy of armed struggle and opposition to imperialism, the National Council also addressed President Reagan's plan for Mideast negotiations.

Immediately after the withdrawal of PLO fighters from West Beirut last August, Reagan tried to take advantage of the military blows dealt to the Palestinian struggle by the Israeli aggression. He proposed that the Jordanian government replace the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people and that Jordan's King Hussein open negotiations with Israel.

While explicitly ruling out the formation of any independent Palestinian state, Reagan stated his support for some kind of federation between Jordan and the West Bank, claiming that he would support Israeli withdrawal from the occupied West Bank on that basis.

In other words, in return for a U.S. promise to support a future Israeli withdrawal, Reagan demanded immediate political surrender by the PLO. If the Palestinians did not take this offer quickly they would get nothing, U.S. officials threatened.

During the months leading up to the National Council meeting, the major media in

the imperialist countries repeatedly sounded the theme that time was running out for the PLO. At the same time, the imperialist media tried to deepen existing divisions within the PLO and to create new ones, in hopes of contributing to a split in the organization.

Incredible feats of journalistic acrobatics were performed to portray PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat as a supporter of the Reagan initiative.

A typical example was a January 29 article in the *Washington Post*. "Hussein, Arafat Said to Back Reagan Plan," was the headline.

Quoting an anonymous "senior Egyptian official," the article claimed, "Arafat is a very moderate man. He is convinced of the [Reagan] initiative."

A February 12 Associated Press dispatch from Algiers, appearing on the eve of the PNC meeting, reported: "High-level Palestinian officials with direct access to the secret talks here told reporters earlier that the P.L.O. leadership was close to agreement on giving King Hussein of Jordan tacit authority to open peace talks with the Israelis under American auspices."

New York Times reporter Thomas Friedman insisted February 15 that proposals "not ruling out anything regarding the Reagan peace initiative" had Arafat's support and were "certain to be adopted."

Reporters poured momentous significance into Arafat's facial expressions, whether he embraced or shook hands with particular participants, and so on.

PLO replies to Reagan

But the attempt to stampede the PLO failed. The National Council declared in its resolution on the U.S. proposal:

"The Reagan plan in its procedure and contents does not respond to the Palestinian people's inalienable national rights. The Reagan plan negates the Palestinian rights to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of the independent Palestinian state. It also ignores the PLO as the Palestinian people's sole legitimate representative and contradicts international legitimacy. The PNC declares its refusal to consider the plan as a sound basis for a just and permanent settlement to the Palestinian question and the Arab-Zionist conflict."

Unable to contain their outrage over the PLO's refusal to give up its struggle, the editors of the *New York Times* declared, "What [the PLO] really rejects is reality, diplomacy and, as always, Israel."

By rejecting Reagan's offer, the *Times* shrieked, "the P.L.O. makes its 'parliament' as irrelevant as its army."

A similar tone was struck by the editors of the *Washington Post*, who argued February 22 that the PLO "assured itself a continuing position on the far fringe, with little influence."

Why all the fuss and bother if the PLO really is "irrelevant" and "on the far fringe, with little influence"? Why don't these far-sighted editors, who claim to know what's best for the Palestinian people and the rest of the Middle East, just ignore the rejecters of reality in the PLO?

Behind the demands that the PLO accept

"reality" — that is, the status quo of imperialist domination and the Israeli colonial settler-state — is fear that the ongoing struggle of the Palestinian people will help trigger new revolutionary upheavals in the Middle East.

Fear is also behind the racist abuse that has been heaped on the PLO. *Washington Post* reporter Jonathan Randal derides the "amateurish improvisation" and "self-defeating sloppiness" of the PNC arrangements. He suggests that the PLO has lost its effectiveness because it no longer has "a foothold in a modern, efficient, westernized society" (i.e., Lebanon).

Friedman of the *New York Times* referred to "a festival of bombast" and "an air of unreality" at the PNC meeting. "The radicals," he complained, "have declared 'a thousand no's' to American peace plans but have failed to outline any coherent alternative strategy for achieving Palestinian statehood."

It is certainly true that the PLO does not have the power to force the Israeli aggressors to retreat right now. It does not follow, however, that the PLO should give up its struggle for justice and accept imperialist dictates.

Rather, the PLO has correctly sought to hold firm, maintain its unity, and wait for the inevitable shifts in the balance of forces in the region that will create new opportunities for the Palestinian people to advance their struggle. Pursuing this course requires the PLO to take advantage of any diplomatic openings that appear, while continuing its organizational work in Lebanon, in the West Bank, and in various Arab countries.

Role of imperialist media

One point that is worth taking up in more detail is the role played by the mass media in regard to the PLO. Newspapers and television stations that reach tens of millions of working people are among the more powerful political levers in the hands of the capitalist rulers. Far from being objective or accurate, their coverage of major world events is intended to advance the political course being followed by the imperialists.

Thus, there have been frequent press reports about the possibility of Arafat meeting with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, with the implication that the PLO leader was ready to give up his opposition to the Camp David accords.

But at the PNC, Arafat spent nine hours meeting with Egyptian opposition leaders. Not at all fazed, the *Washington Post* explained February 21 that "the opposition is to serve as the conduit to the Mubarak government — a move to avoid possible friction [in the PLO]."

The PNC itself declared that relations between the PLO and the Egyptian regime could only be developed "on the basis of the latter's abandoning of the Camp David policy."

Of course, the imperialist media advances its line by quoting the views of individual Palestinian figures who favor moves such as recognition of Israel by the PLO. As long as the PLO remains a broad national movement representing different class forces and political viewpoints, such opportunities for distortion will abound. It is necessary to recognize them for what they are.

A case in point is the way figures in the PLO such as Issam Sartawi have treated the PLO's declarations of support in April 1981 for the Mideast proposal put forward by former Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, or the resolution agreed to at the Arab summit at Fez, Morocco, last year.

Sartawi, who called on the PLO to recognize Israel in an interview that appeared in the *Washington Post* February 7, argued that the PLO had already taken that step indirectly when it endorsed the Brezhnev plan. But Sartawi's views were repudiated by Arafat's Fatah organization, and Sartawi resigned from the PNC on February 20. Clearly, the PLO did not have the same thing in mind as Sartawi when it endorsed the Brezhnev plan.

Those favoring recognition of Israel by the PLO have also advanced Sartawi's argument in regard to the Fez summit resolution, saying that it was an implicit recognition of Israel. This was certainly true insofar as the Saudi regime was concerned.

But the same resolution was supported by the PLO for different reasons, as is made clear by the PNC statement on Fez.

The PNC urged that political action "be complemented by military action in order to alter the balance of power in favour of Palestinian rights and struggle." It also explicitly noted that the Fez resolution did not take precedence over the PLO's political program and resolutions.

Criticism from Syria

Criticism of the PLO leadership has not come just from the most proimperialist forces in the Arab world. The governments of Libya and Syria, themselves in sharp confrontation with imperialism, have also voiced dissatisfaction with the PLO leadership from time to time.

During the siege of West Beirut, Libyan leader Muammar el-Qaddafi urged the PLO to fight to the last, saying that "revolutionary suicide" would be its most effective course, not the negotiated withdrawal that the PLO was eventually successful in carrying out.

Since the PLO's withdrawal, the Syrian government has sharply criticized Arafat for meeting with Jordan's King Hussein, implying that the PLO leader was preparing to accept the Reagan plan. The bourgeois media has tried to use the Syrian attacks to bolster its own campaign to split the PLO.

Attempts by the Syrian government to reach into the PLO and determine its decisions included pressure on the organization to hold its National Council meeting in the Syrian capital of Damascus. It was in this context that the PNC stressed "adherence to independent Palestinian decision-making, protesting and resisting the pressures aimed against this independence, from whatever quarter they may come."

In its resolution, the PNC reaffirmed its desire to work with the Syrian and Libyan governments in the fight against imperialism through the framework of the Steadfastness and Confrontation Front. While calling for revival of the front "on a new, effective, and clear basis," the resolution added: "The PNC noticed that the front did not live up to the standard of the required duties during the Zionist invasion of Lebanon."

Washington looks to Hussein

Now that Reagan's bid to split the PLO has been thrown back in his face, Washington is trying to move ahead with the other side of the Reagan plan, which is to gain Jordanian recognition of Israel.

As Reagan himself put it February 23, the day after the PNC meeting ended, "the greatest security for Israel, and this is what's back of our plan, is to create new Egypts, more nations, more neighbors that are willing to sign peace treaties with [Israel]."

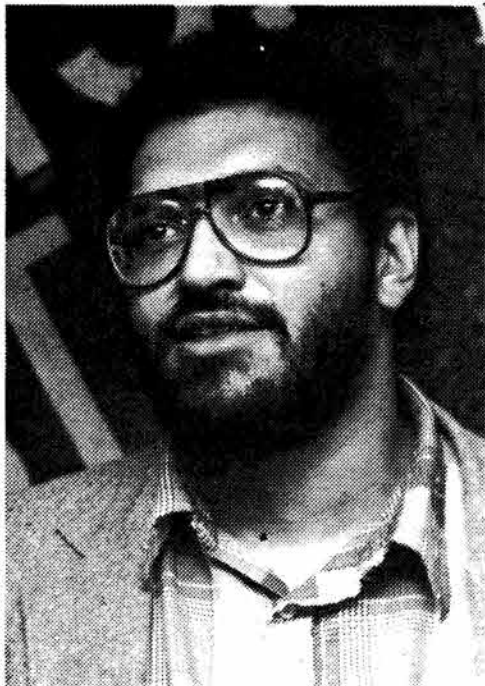
Just as the Camp David deal provided Egyptian President Anwar el-Sadat with the fiction of Palestinian "autonomy" in the West Bank and Gaza Strip as a cover for his sellout, Reagan offered Hussein a fig leaf by calling for "something in the nature of a homeland" for the Palestinians. He hastened to add that "no one has ever advocated creating a nation."

But it is one thing for Reagan, along with the well-paid editors in New York and Washington who are helping him push his policy, to pretend that the PLO is now irrelevant. It is another thing entirely for Hussein, who rules a mostly Palestinian country.

Although Reagan wants "new Egypts," masses of Arab working people have come to the realization that just as the bloodbath caused by the Israeli aggression in Lebanon was a direct result of the Camp David treaty, so a "new Egypt" in Jordan would free the Israeli regime for new aggression against Syria.

Meanwhile, Hussein knows very well that the Palestinian struggle and the PLO are not going to disappear. As Arafat declared at the PNC meeting:

"We adhere to the rifle for the sake of peace built on justice and international legitimacy and in order to restore our people's inalienable national rights, their right to repatriation, self-determination and the establishment of their independent state on their national soil."



Rev. Ben Chavis (left) and Malik Miah at Brooklyn Militant Labor Forum.

Transit worker asks support to halt anti-Black violence

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

NEW YORK — A theme of the February 25 Brooklyn Militant Labor Forum here, held to commemorate Malcolm X, was the fight for justice in the case of three Black transit workers who were brutally attacked by racists here last summer.

Dennis Dixon, one of the three workers assaulted, spoke at the forum. His co-worker Willie Turks was killed in the attack. All three belonged to Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100.

Also speaking were Rev. Ben Chavis and Malik Miah, a national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. Both pointed to the importance of the trials of the racist thugs who carried out the assault. Gino

Bova's trial opened March 1.

Dixon gave a brief account of the attack and how he came to the realization that he "had to take a stand." Many victims of ra-

On March 8 Gino Bova was convicted of second-degree manslaughter in the beating death of Willie Turks, as well as first-degree assault, first degree riot, and discrimination in violation of New York State's civil rights law. Bova was acquitted, however, of second-degree murder and first-degree manslaughter.

cist attacks have been intimidated from seeking justice, he said. "I'm trying to set a precedent, because this has been going on for years."

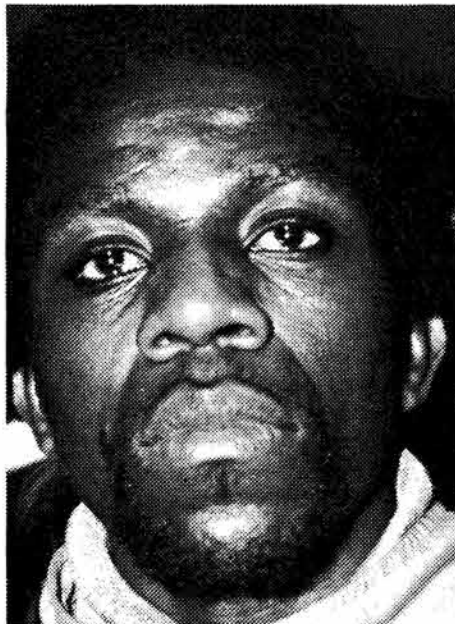
Chavis announced the formation of a defense committee to encourage people to attend the trial and give assistance to the Turks family. Plans for a public meeting April 9 about the case were also announced.

One of the ways the truth is being spread is through sales of the *Militant*, which featured an interview with Dixon in its February 25 issue.

More than 220 copies of this issue were sold here, mainly among transit workers.

"I've got to read this article," said one woman member of Local 100. "They're trying to cover up the whole incident and hope we forget."

At the 207th St. shop, TWU member Mark Satinoff reported that the interview with Dixon was widely discussed. "Word went around quickly and scores of papers were bought and passed around. It gave us an opportunity to explain the increasing support for Dennis's case and what we in the union can do."



Dennis Dixon Militant/Roberto Kopec

Rally hits racist assault in Ga.

BY MACEO DIXON

TALLAPOOSA, Ga. — "When I first moved here I didn't know what segregation was, because I wasn't raised up in it. All I know is I intend to try, to the best of my ability, to make a change for my children."

So said 42-year-old Warren Cokley to a rally here organized by the Atlanta Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The rally protested the beating of Cokley by a gang of white hooligans.

Cokley, a Black construction worker, explained to the *Militant* why he thought he was attacked. "We've lived here for two years now without any incidents whatsoever. The thing that led up to my being assaulted is the fact that my wife is white."

Cokley, his wife Peggy, and his 12-year-old step-daughter were in the kitchen making pudding on February 9. Suddenly without warning, five white men entered Cokley's home and proceeded to brutally beat him. The invaders had pistols and rifles. They shouted racist epithets and beat Cokley with the rifle butts. All five white men wore stocking masks. One shouted to Cokley, "You think you're a smart ass nigger."

Cokley fought back with a pocket knife. When he was taken to the hospital he

suffered from kidney injuries and a broken skull.

So far only one white has been arrested, William Lawrence Deering. It has been established by the Georgia Bureau of Investigation and Cokley that Deering has participated in Ku Klux Klan activities.

Tallapoosa is 65 miles due west of Atlanta. It is a small town of 2,800 people. Only 300 Blacks live here.

The town is run with an iron fist by companies dealing in rubber, steel, cotton, and textiles. These companies have pushed farmers, especially Blacks, off the land to work in the factories. Except for two company unions, there are no unions in Tallapoosa.

Joseph Lowery, president of SCLC, and State Representative Tyrone Brooks held a news conference in Atlanta to protest the violence. Standing on the steps of the state capitol, Lowery said, "We are absolutely shocked that in 1983 hooded night riders would invade homes of citizens of this nation and this state."

Messages of support can be sent to Warren Cokley, 50 Brock St., Tallapoosa, Ga. 30176. Copies should be sent to Gov. Joe Frank Harris, State Capitol, Atlanta, Ga.

Forum on Malcolm X discusses road to Black liberation

BY NAN BAILEY

NEW YORK — "Malcolm X: His Meaning for Black Liberation in the 1980s" was the topic of the Brooklyn Militant Labor Forum held here February 25.

Speakers at the forum were Rev. Ben Chavis of the United Church of Christ Commission for Racial Justice, and a national representative of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP); Malik Miah, a national chairman of the Socialist Workers Party; and Dennis Dixon, a New York transit worker and a victim of a racist attack by white thugs in Brooklyn last June.

Dixon gave a stirring appeal for support in his fight to publicize the truth about the attack and to gain justice (see accompanying article).

'Malcolm helped to educate'

The speakers reviewed the political lessons that can be learned from Malcolm's contributions to the fight for Black rights. "Malcolm helped to educate," Chavis commented, "that there will be no real victory here in America until the international situation is changed. And as we struggle to make life a little more tolerable here in the United States, until we do away with capitalism, we have to understand that the struggle itself has as a goal — the total and the absolute dismantling of the capitalist monopolistic state."

Both Chavis and Miah discussed their view of what is on the agenda today to advance the fight for Black liberation.

Said Chavis, "What we need today is a mass-based party committed to the most oppressed sectors of our community. I believe in mass struggle because I don't believe that we're going to be able to achieve the kind of perspectives [in the Black liberation struggle] in the absence of having a mass kind of involvement. But the question is where do we start?"

"I do not think that we start at the bourgeois level. I think we have to start at the most oppressed sectors, and I find much of the most oppressed sectors are still very religious. That's all they've got left."

"I don't know anywhere else in America where the majority of Black people meet once a week other than the church. And it's our responsibility to find the ways to get up in there and raise the right questions."

"I think that we have to call for a new kind of relationship inside these churches. Not just between the church and the community, but a new relationship inside the church. That's why I stay in there and try to fight for that."

Commenting on the tasks before the Black movement today, Miah said, "I think Malcolm's idea of the OAAU [Organization for Afro-American Unity] is completely relevant and correct. We need an all-Black organization to fight for Black liberation as an integral part of the struggle of working people against this racist system. That is the beginning point. That's why the NBIPP, as a beginning formation seeking to move in that direction, is so important."

"But that's not enough either. Because one of the things we can learn from other national liberation struggles, including our own is that the struggle for national liberation today is part of a broader class struggle against capitalism and imperialism. That's what we can learn from Cuba and Grenada and other revolutionary struggles."

"This does not take away the importance of Black self-organization. But, it's important to understand its relationship to the broader class struggle. It's a dialectical relationship between the Black struggle and the overall struggle of working people against the system here and internationally."

Harold Washington

The recent victory of Harold Washington, the only Black who ran in the Democratic primary for mayor of Chicago, was a topic of discussion.

Chavis said, "The Democratic Party in Chicago did not spend money on Washing-

ton's victory. Washington is fooling somebody. Either he's fooling the Democratic Party, which is a real possibility, or he's fooling the masses of Black people. Because the masses of Black people went to the polls in Chicago unprecedentedly, because this Brother ran as a Black Brother in the Black community, and committed to straighten out Chicago."

"Jane Byrne, the mayor, had \$10 million. Richard Daley's son had about three or four million dollars. Washington didn't have that kind of money. But what he had was troops. What he had was some people supporting him because they had a notion that he possibly could change their situation. Now he's going to have to come to grips with who he's going to ultimately serve. You can't serve two masters."

"And I think that out of that Chicago experience, at least I believe, there's some fertile ground for a more independent kind of organizing; a more mass-based kind of organizing [will result] regardless of what happens now in the [April] elections."

"I hope that the revolutionary forces in Chicago will seize this time to do the kind of political work that needs to be done — the kind of organizing work that needs to be done."

Miah said that Harold Washington's Democratic Party nomination did not represent an advance for the Black struggle even though most Blacks voted for him out of progressive sentiments: against the decades of racism of the Democratic Party machine.

"In fact," Miah noted, "Washington's objective, as with other Black Democrats, is to keep Blacks inside the racist capitalist parties that oppress us, that are tools of the rich. Washington, and other Democrats, are diverting the Black liberation struggle by telling us that we can win freedom by staying in the framework of the system. That's why Malcolm denounced the Democratic and Republican parties as enemies of Blacks."

Kabili, a leader of the Jersey City NBIPP chapter who was in the audience, disagreed with Miah. "I'm tired of people prostituting 'by any means necessary' . . ." he said. "Malcolm pointed out revolution is for land, state power, and democratic rights. That's where the question of the ballot or the bullet came up."

Malcolm, he said, called for "taking the so-called legal means of the state and using it and organizing in a revolutionary manner — even if it meant hooking up, which he did, with an Adam Clayton Powell. Powell was in the Democratic Party, and I want people to be clear on that contradiction."

"Malcolm understood progressive versus reactionary. It wasn't about whether you're in the Democratic Party or the Republican Party, or whether you were a Muslim or a Christian."

Kabili said "the clear analysis he [Malcolm] laid out" was to forge unity among all Blacks.

"Powell used to stand up and he raised the truth. He raised the contradictions [of society] and Malcolm was always in support of that," Kabili concluded.

Miah offered his views on this important point. "I have to differ with Brother Kabili. The issue is not the individual integrity of someone who's in the Democratic or the Republican parties. I have no problem having unity with these brothers and sisters around particular issues. That's important. That must happen."

"But unity on a particular question doesn't mean you can submerge the overall perspectives for Black liberation to that unity. Don't confuse the two. That's been part of the problem — inside the Black movement and inside the labor movement."

Chavis wrapped up the lively discussion. "The course of human history," he said, "is at this point on the side of the oppressed. Out of protracted struggle I believe the imperialists are going to be defeated. Our particular role is to agree to help defeat imperialism by heightening the struggle here inside the U.S."

How employers use their laws, cops, and

BY MALIK MIAH

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

Reagan utilized a similar strike-breaking act last fall when the BLE struck other railroads around the country.

A year and a half ago Reagan fired striking air traffic controllers, initiating a vicious union-busting drive that eventually led to the decertification and destruction of their union, PATCO. Reagan used all agencies of the state — the presidency, antiunion laws enacted by the legislatures, the courts, the police, the FBI — to harass, victimize, and blacklist the air traffic controllers.

The unusually raw display of power was not meant simply to smash the air traffic controllers' union and their strike. It was intended to teach a lesson to all working people opposed to the government's policies.

Last December, International Brotherhood of Teamsters President Roy Williams was convicted on charges of plotting to bribe a Nevada senator, and the Justice Department moved to bar him from holding any union leadership post.

Few would deny that the leadership of the Teamsters is one of the most corrupt and gangster-ridden in the labor movement. But the real target in the trial and conviction of Williams was the ranks of the Teamsters union and the entire labor movement. The purpose was to portray the unions as inherently corrupt, the members as incapable of defending their own interests, and to further legitimize government intrusion into union affairs.

These modern-day examples of government moves to hamstring the unions and prevent workers from effectively organizing to defend themselves are part of a long history. They are episodes in the permanent, ongoing class struggle in which the capitalists utilize the full range of their governmental powers against working people, and workers seek to defend themselves, invoking the constitution and its codification of political rights.

Since the United States was founded, the propertied classes have maintained their "right" to obstruct the efforts of the working class and its allies — small farmers, Blacks, and women — to organize themselves.

When necessary they use brute force — vigilante terror, cops, secret police, national guard, army. When possible they rely on more refined methods of coercion — laws, courts and executive decrees, always backed, of course, by the threat of brute force. But the objective remains the same: to prevent working people from effectively organizing to defend their interests.

As long as the capitalists hold state power, they will always use the institutions of their government to enforce their rule. There will be ups and downs, victories and defeats, for working people as the relationship of forces shifts and changes in this constant battle between irreconcilable interests. But the role of the legislatures, courts, cops, and prisons will not change until the workers and farmers take power and form their own government.

Thus the right of working-class organizations to exist, to democratically decide their own policies, elect their own leaders, and run their internal affairs free of hostile government interference, is one of the permanent battlefronts in the class struggle.

The recent government attacks on the rail workers, air traffic controllers, and the Teamsters, show how important this struggle is.

And the current government intervention in the Socialist Workers Party through the U.S. District Court in Los Angeles is part of this same historic battle (see story page 1).

A brief look at American history can shed some light on how the bosses have utilized their laws and courts and executive decrees — as well as their cops and politi-

cal police agencies — to attack and undermine the democratic rights of working people over the years.

The Bill of Rights

Let's begin with the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

The two exploiting classes that wrote the U.S. Constitution — the budding Northern industrial capitalists and Southern plantation slaveholders — agreed on one important point: that only they would have democratic rights such as the franchise. The vast majority of people — workers, slaves, women, and most small property owners — would be denied the democratic right to vote.

In *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*, Charles A. Beard explains that only property-owning classes were given voting delegates to the 1787 Constitutional convention. "The slaves, the indentured servants, the mass of men who could not qualify for voting under the property tests imposed by the state constitutions and laws, and women, disenfranchised and subjected to the discriminations of the common law," were excluded, says Beard.

Thus, after the Constitution was adopted in 1789, small farmers (a debtor class whose main representatives at the Constitutional convention voted against the draft) and workers waged a two-year struggle to force the inclusion of a series of amendments, known as the Bill of Rights, in the Constitution. Only then, in 1791, was the draft constitution able to win ratification by enough states to become law.

Slaves, of course, remained property of the slaveowners until freedom was guaranteed by the victory of the second American revolution (the Civil War) in 1865. Then the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments were added to the Constitution.

Democratic rights have always been taken by working people in struggle. The Bill of Rights — including the First Amendment, which mandates freedom of association, assembly, religion, and speech — was imposed on the dominant property-owning classes. Ever since then the capitalists have sought to keep as tight a rein as possible on the ability of working people to exercise these rights, which serve our interests, not the capitalists'.

The use of the conspiracy charge

The adoption of the Bill of Rights did not mean the capitalists were ready to concede that workers should have the right to freedom of assembly, the right to form their own organizations free of government interference.

The first permanent trade union was formed by Philadelphia shoe workers in 1792. Prior to that workers often organized mutual aid societies to help each other when they fell sick or suffered an accident.

But when some workers societies began to press on other issues — such as improving working conditions — state governments responded by passing laws prohibiting workers from using their societies to attempt to fix wages.

It was in this same period that the government first began to use conspiracy laws against workers seeking to form unions, and began blacklisting workers.

Philip S. Foner writes in *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, Vol. 1, "Eight shoe workers in November, 1805, were indicted in Philadelphia by a grand jury on charges of forming 'a combination and conspiracy to raise wages.'"

(Not only was the vague conspiracy charge used, but for the first time the government called a grand jury in order to get an indictment and frame up the workers. The exact same method used today to frame up Black and Puerto Rican activists!)

Foner continued, "The trial took place in the Mayor's Court before a jury composed of two innkeepers, a merchant, three grocers, a tobacconist, a watchmaker, and a master tailor. Job Harrison, the first witness for the prosecution, was a self-confessed scab and labor spy."

"A leading argument of the prosecution was that unless the union was crushed, in-



Government troops with bayonets confront 1912 textile workers strike in Lawrence, Mass. Tactics used by bosses to try to break strike. Bosses failed; Minneapolis became a union.

dustrial would leave Philadelphia."

The prosecutor also attacked the workers for being recent immigrants and being unpatriotic for trying to improve the conditions of workers.

They were convicted.

The working class at this time was quite small, and those organized were almost exclusively skilled workers. The bosses had a strong upper hand, and their legislatures, courts, and cops were blatant about support for the employers. Government institutions rarely felt pressured to portray themselves — as they do today — as neutral arbiters, standing above class interests, and regulating conflicts in the best interests of all.

With the introduction of the factory system in the 1840s, followed by the explosive growth of industry in the 1880s and '90s, the relationship of class forces began to change.

Role of the courts

As the working class grew in numbers, strength, and class-struggle experience, the bosses discovered that the use of conspiracy indictments was not always a sure-fire way to crush attempts by their employees to organize. Juries began to hand down more lenient decisions.

In response, the capitalists began to enact a growing arsenal of antilabor legislation and to shift more and more to the use of injunctions as a way to break workers' struggles. Court injunctions did not require convincing a jury — which might even include some workers — to break a strike.

"Soon [i.e., the late 1880s]," Foner wrote, "injunctions were issued to prohibit boycotts and to prevent union leaders who were not employed by a company from approaching its workers for the purpose of organizing them."

The courts were all too pleased to uphold antilabor laws and help the employers. The courts operated as subservient tools for the capitalists.

Attacks on rail labor

The openly antiunion role of the legislatures and courts, of course, did not stop workers from organizing unions to defend themselves as best they could from the savage attacks of the employers.

Some of the fiercest battles involved rail labor, which was one of the strongest sections of organized workers. As a result of these class battles — and many defeats for rail workers — some of the most stringent antilabor laws were put on the books.

From the 1880s on, every attempt by rail labor to win better wages and working conditions led to direct confrontations with the government — its army and courts — as the guardian of the rail bosses.

The direct government intervention flowed from the centrality of the railroads to capitalist profits.

Railroads — like the trucking industry — remain vital to U.S. industry and agriculture.

The rail brotherhoods initially functioned like mutual insurance societies to help protect their members and families from the hazardous consequences of the job. Most began as secret fraternal orders.

Later these societies evolved into trade unions that conducted collective bargaining for the membership.

The bosses first used company goons, and if that failed, federal troops, to break the struggles of rail workers.

That's how they smashed the great strikes of 1877.

That's how they smashed the Pullman strikes, organized by the American Railway Union led by Eugene Debs, in 1894.

The busting of the Pullman strike was quite an education for Debs and his fellow workers on the role of the government, police, news media, and courts.

The news media falsely accused the strikers of initiating violence and backed the bosses.

The courts issued an injunction denying rail labor the right to strike.

And then the government used federal troops to back up the court's injunction.

Such power smashed the strike.

It was during this period that the government began in earnest passing legislation to hog-tie rail labor. In 1888 Congress passed the Arbitration Act that established commissions to investigate rail disputes. The Erdman Act of 1898 introduced the federal courts directly into arbitration. The Newlands Act of 1913 set up the United States Board of Mediation and Conciliation, which is appointed by the president as a permanent mediation group. The 1920 Transportation Act established a tripartite U.S. Railroad Board with near-to-dictatorial powers over wages, work rules, and working conditions.

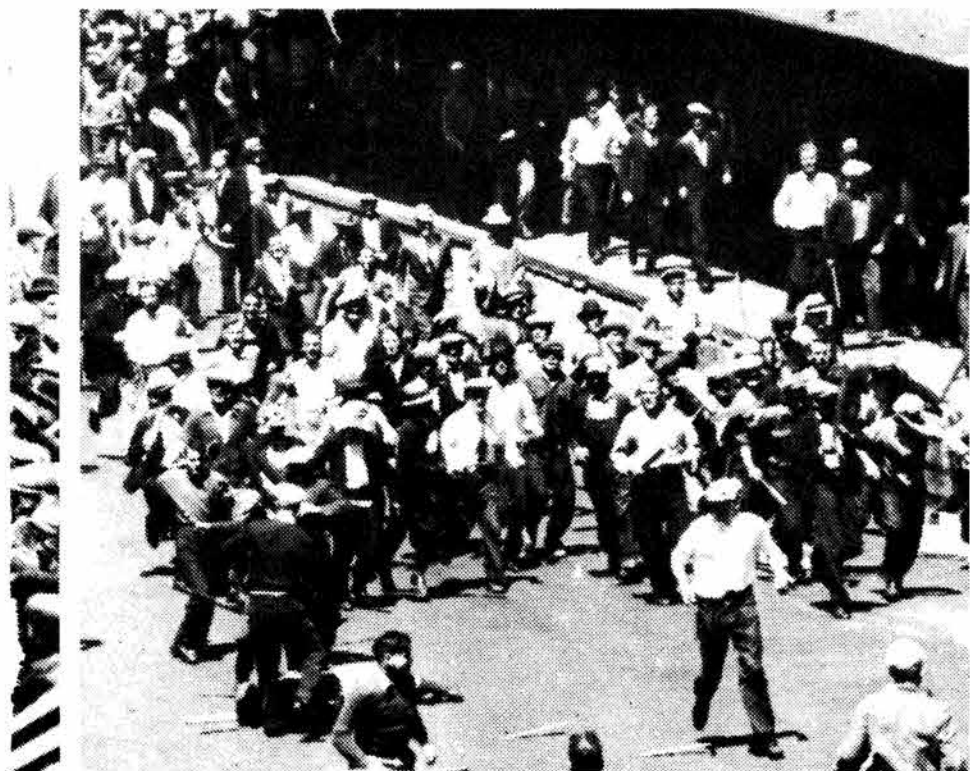
Finally, the Railway Labor Act, a law which drastically curtails the right of rail labor to strike, was passed in 1926.

(That's why the BLE had to wait 18 months before threatening to strike, and is under a 60-day cooling-off period by Reagan's order. And all that was done legally!)

This legislative, executive, and judicial interference by the government, acting on behalf of the rail bosses to obstruct the right of rail workers to organize and act in defense of their interests, set the stage for growing government intervention in other unions as well.

But as the working class continued to increase in numbers and potential power, the forms of governmental coercion took on greater sophistication. The bosses were always ready to resort to the brute violence of vigilantes, cops, and troops when all else failed. But they preferred the deception of antilabor laws that were portrayed as pro-labor. As long as unions were to

and courts against labor movement



Massachusetts (left). In 1934 in Minneapolis, striking truck drivers advance against dep-
vyn.

exist, the capitalists sought to mold the unions into tools to control workers rather than the unions being instruments to defend labor's interests.

The 1930s

Until the 1930s, most workers in unions were organized along craft lines — that is, as carpenters, painters, etc., and were generally the most skilled workers with relatively better wages.

The leadership of the American Federation of Labor was satisfied with this situation. All they wanted was relative peace between the classes and regular dues flowing into the union coffers.

The bosses went along because — bad for them as any unionization was — at least the millions of unskilled workers had no union. Wages could be slashed at a boss's whim. Safe working conditions were nonexistent.

That all changed with the 1934 mass strikes in San Francisco, Toledo, and Minneapolis. Soon after, the Committee for Industrial Organization was set up by Mineworkers President John L. Lewis and a few of the union officials on the American Federation of Labor Executive Board. Through great battles the striking masses of unskilled workers in basic industries such as auto, steel, and rubber were organized into industrial unions of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO).

The company Pinkertons (private cops) and goons were unable to stop this powerful unionization drive.

The balance of class forces had shifted toward working people and against the bosses and their government.

In response to this new situation the employers were forced to make concessions. But they did so in such a way as to prepare the recouping of their losses later.

This was where President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal" came in. Part of the New Deal was establishing a public works program (the WPA) and passing the 1935 Wagner Act.

It is not the struggles of the workers, but the Wagner Act, referred to as "Labor's Magna Carta," that liberals and the labor officialdom credit for the rise of modern trade unions.

The purpose of the Wagner Act was, however, to tie the workers to capitalist politics and lay a foundation for justifying permanent government regulation of the unions.

The employers were forced to recognize that the workers had won some real gains through their hard-fought battles of the early 1930s.

Concessions, incorporated into the law, included a section against "unfair practices" of the bosses such as compelling workers to sign individual "yellow dog" contracts (i.e., an oath not to join a union) or to join company unions. The act op-

posed the undisguised firing of workers involved in union activity.

These sections reflected the fact that labor was imposing its right to organize and bargain collectively through militant strike action.

General Motors, for example, only came to the bargaining table after the great sit-down strikes in 1937.

But more was in the law than these recognitions of labor's victories. For one, the Wagner Act set up the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB). Its purpose was to approve or void union representation elections, thus taking it out of the hands of the workers to regulate their own elections. It was used by the government to prevent walkouts and to arrange strike settlements favorable to the bosses.

Workers are also told that they can go to the NLRB to get justice when victimized by the company. But today, as most workers who have tried it know, going to the NLRB usually means that the union has failed to protect you.

The use of injunctions

In the 1930s the employers began to perfect their use of the courts as a weapon against labor and as a legal cover for violent repression.

It became common for the courts to issue injunctions against striking workers to "protect private property."

In response to the 1936-37 sitdown strike wave, for example, municipal and state courts declared such actions by the workers illegal because they trespassed on company property.

In 1940 the Supreme Court backed up these rulings as the massive strike battles continued.

Far from being their "best friend" it started to become clear to a growing layer of workers that Roosevelt was one of their most conscious and determined enemies.

Government attack on Teamsters

As Roosevelt prepared for war against the U.S. imperialists' rivals abroad, he had to intensify the war against the working class at home. He had to gag opponents of Washington's foreign policy and force the workers to subordinate their interests to the bosses as they pressed forward on wartime production.

This meant mobilizing all the instruments of repression against the most militant wing of the working class.

It meant tearing up the Bill of Rights.

Central to this operation was the combined government-employer attack on the Minneapolis Teamsters and the Socialist Workers Party.

As World War II approached, Roosevelt told the FBI to go after the "subversives" in the labor movement.

Federal police agents were sent into political parties like the SWP and into the

trade unions in increased numbers to disrupt their functioning. FBI operatives spied on labor organizations, functioned as agents provocateurs, planted or recruited informers in the workers' ranks — all to engineer frame-ups of militants. How? Usually they were charged with "conspiring" to violate a federal law.

That's what the government did to the Teamsters in the Midwest because they were led by class-struggle militants.

For example, in 1939 seven leaders of Teamsters locals in Des Moines, Sioux City, and Omaha were framed-up by the FBI and convicted for organizing a strike in 1938. The charge: conspiracy to burn a bakery truck.

In 1939, as well, the Federal Workers Section of Minneapolis Local 544 organized a strike against the government's WPA work-relief program. The government indicted 166 workers for conspiring to deprive the U.S. government of workers' services!

So much pressure came to bear on the government that eventually only 16 leaders were sentenced to a year in jail. The rest were let off.

These, however, were only the prelude to the coming onslaught.

In 1941, as the U.S. entered World War II, 28 leaders of Minneapolis Teamsters Local 544 and the SWP were tried on charges of conspiring to overthrow the government. The indictment was based on an 1861 law to put down the slave-owners rebellion and the newly enacted 1940 "thought-control" Smith Act. The main provisions of the Smith Act were later declared unconstitutional.

Central among those who testified against the 28 were FBI agents who revealed many of the now-familiar dirty tricks that they had employed in the frame up.

Daniel Tobin, then president of the Teamsters, openly collaborated with the FBI in going after the union local and the SWP's leadership. This included vicious red-baiting.

Tobin, as a representative of the trade union bureaucracy, was prowar and pro-capitalism. Busting a union local and railroad labor leaders to jail meant nothing to him.

This powerful assault by the government, utilizing Congress, political police, courts, and news media, and aided by the union officialdom, led to a December 1, 1941 conviction for 18 of the 28. Two years later they began to serve their sentences which ranged from a year and a day to sixteen months.

Therefore, the government was able to jail Local 544's leaders, and effectively behead the only class-struggle opposition to the imperialist war-drive.

In 1948, this same Smith "thought-control" law was used to indict and railroad top leaders of the Communist Party to prison.

Roosevelt's strike-breaking

During World War II the Roosevelt Administration utilized its wartime powers to drastically erode the democratic right of workers to organize and act to defend their own interests. Government interference and intrusion in the labor movement reached unprecedented new levels.

For example, in 1941 Roosevelt sent troops against picket lines at the North American Aviation plant in California after seizing it as part of a "national emergency" due to the imperialist war.

In 1943 Roosevelt pushed through Congress the wartime Smith-Connally Act making it a crime to strike or slow down production at facilities in the "possession" of the government. Resorting to strike-breaking "seizures" of private property under this law, he blocked a railroad walk-out.

In 1943 the government also seized the coal mines. But the strike-breaking move was defeated by the miners who refused to dig coal at the wages offered. That victory broke Roosevelt's wartime wage freeze.

Post-war government offensive

After the war the government sought to consolidate its wartime antilabor gains.

In 1946 Congress enacted, and President Truman signed, the antiunion Hobbs law. It provided for jailing of strikers convicted of "racketeering" which "obstructs, delays, or affects" interstate commerce.

The government and bosses couldn't immediately implement all their plans to obstruct the democratic right of workers to organize their own trade unions. In 1945-46, after several years of a wage freeze imposed under the pretense of equality of sacrifice for the war, the workers launched the biggest strike wave in U.S. history.

But the upsurge was short lived.

The wartime working partnership between the bosses and their government and the top union leaders had accomplished a more longterm objective. The union bureaucracies had been consolidated to a qualitatively new degree, acting to discipline and police the workers in the interests of capitalist profits, rather than represent and fight for the workers needs against the bosses.

The top union leaders of the AFL and CIO, with salaries and prerogatives of office that opened an unbridable gap between them and the ranks they supposedly represented, become "labor statesmen." They became "responsible leaders" with an outlook designed to assure the capitalists of organized labor's cooperation both within industry and at the governmental level. Thus, for example, the CIO and AFL leaders opposed workers who advocated forming an independent labor party rather than supporting Democrats or Republicans.

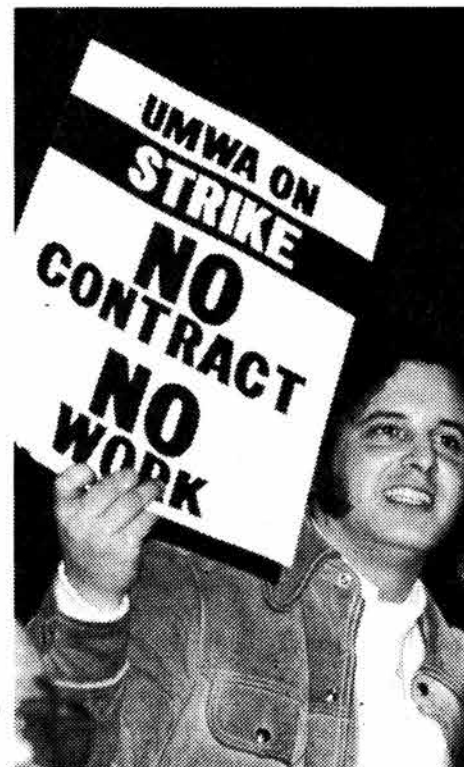
By 1947 the "cold war" against the Soviet Union was launched. In line with U.S. imperialism's increased world power, the government intensified its attack on labor at home.

The Taft-Hartley bill was passed in 1947. This law empowered the president to invoke injunctions against strikes. It prohibited strikes by federal government employees. It sought to dictate to the workers who they could elect as their leaders, requiring officers of local, national, and international unions to file an affidavit swearing they were not members of the Communist Party and did not support any organization advocating overthrow of the government by force or any "unconstitutional" means. (Later court rulings made this clause invalid.) It also included the infamous section 14 (b) that allows antiunion "right to work" laws to be enacted by state legislatures. (A more appropriate name would be "right to scab" law!)

Although the trade union officialdom opposed this law, the capitalists knew they wouldn't mobilize the rank-and-file to seriously fight it. Statesmen — labor or otherwise — don't do things like that!

"Within two years," writes Art Preis in *Labor's Giant Step*, "every international union but the United Mine Workers and the

Continued on Page 12



Militant Nancy Cole Coal miner in 1977-78 strike. Strength of miners stymied strikebreaking intervention by government.

How employers use laws, cops, courts

Continued from Page 11

International Typographical Union was to capitulate, take the Taft-Hartley 'yellow-dog' oath and submit to the NLRB."

Government interference into the unions then went full steam ahead.

In 1948 Truman pushed through the Selective Service Act that allowed the government to "seize and operate" struck industries. In 1949 he decreed that the government had the "inherent" power to invoke court injunctions to break any strike.

During the Korean War Truman made company executives army officers as a way to attack rail labor.

He also seized the steel mills to break a steelworkers strike.

In 1954 government intervention took a new twist with the passage of the Humphrey-Butler Act. This law, although anti-communist sections were later ruled unconstitutional by the Supreme Court, for the first time, in effect, outlawed the Communist Party. It also denied legal recognition to any union suspected of being "subversive."

Thus the government at that time took upon itself to decide who could be a member or leader of a working-class organization no matter what their members wanted!

The McClellan Committee

In 1957 Senator John McClellan's Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor and Management Field opened fire on so-called union corruption by attacking the Teamsters union. Robert Kennedy, then chief counsel for the committee, led the charge against Dave Beck, then president of the Teamsters, and James Hoffa, then a vicepresident. Because he took the Fifth Amendment to protect himself, Beck was removed by the Teamsters as president after the AFL-CIO Executive Council, at the urging of its president, George Meany, passed a rule that any union leader invoking the Fifth should lose his union post.

Later in 1957, Meany had the Teamsters, Bakery Workers, and Laundry Workers unions expelled from the federation for being undemocratic and corrupt. Instead of defending the unions, he joined the government campaign of attacks.

Hoffa became Teamster president and faced similar government harassment culminating in a 1964 frame-up and conviction for jury tampering. Hoffa went to jail in 1967.

By then government interference in the unions was so "normal" that when Hoffa left prison — under Nixon's commutation — in 1972 it was on agreement that he would stay out of the internal affairs of the Teamsters until March 6, 1980.

President Nixon also got Hoffa to back his wage-income policies. The Teamsters endorsed Nixon for re-election in 1972.

The bosses and their government knew well they were dealing blows at the entire labor movement. They took full advantage of the fact that the Teamsters bureaucracy was so corrupt and so far removed from the rank and file that it couldn't mobilize the union or allies of labor against the vicious antiunion violations of democratic rights being established as legitimate.

Kennedy-Landrum-Griffin Act

In 1959, to cap the sustained antilabor offensive, the Landrum-Griffin law was adopted. Its chief architect was Senator John Kennedy. This law provided for government supervision over the election of union officers, stewards, and other posts. Dissident members were encouraged to sue unions and their officers in the capitalist courts.

Furthermore, this "bill of rights" for workers, as it was presented by many, gave the government authority to investigate the internal affairs of unions. The secretary of labor, in fact, was empowered to send his agents into union premises and inspect membership lists, financial accounts, files, and other records. These agents were authorized by law to question whomever they choose. The law was designed to regulate union procedures, including strike authorization and contract ratification.

The law was nothing more than a deadly blow by the capitalists against the constitutional rights of workers to run their own unions, including the election of their own

officers free of government interference.

One may ask, "Why didn't the trade unions organize to fight this unconstitutional intrusion on their rights?"

They couldn't. Two decades of war and "cold war" reaction, the relative prosperity of the post-World War II years, the bureaucratization of the unions and demobilization of the ranks, had sapped the militancy of the '30s generation and left the younger ranks quiescent.

The class-collaborationist policies of the union bureaucracy — always attempting to reconcile the needs of the workers with the demands of the bosses — meant they had no reason to organize a fightback. Acting as if the government is essentially "neutral" in class conflicts — in fact, maybe even on the side of workers sometimes — the bureaucracy accepts government intervention into union affairs.

Bureaucratic rule within the unions thus aids the government attacks and subordinates labor's inherent power to alien class interests at great cost to the working class.

Working class fights back

While the ruling class from the 1930s on was making giant strides forward in building up its arsenal of antilabor laws, it was not a one-sided battle. There was resistance to these brutal assaults on labor's rights from sections of the labor movement and from labor's potentially most powerful ally, the oppressed Black nationality.

A look at this resistance and how it successfully landed some counter blows is instructive.

Two big events took place during World War II pushing back Roosevelt's antiunion, anti-Black drive.

In 1941 A. Phillip Randolph, president of the all-Black Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, initiated the March on Washington Movement. The chief aim of this movement, which won broad support in the Black community, was to fight against racist discrimination in employment and in the armed forces. Although the march was cancelled when Roosevelt formed the Fair Employment Practices Committee, the fact it was even called at all was in sharp contrast to the labor bureaucracy's general course of retreat and capitulation.

At the outbreak of the war, organized labor took a no-strike pledge to help the war effort. Organizations such as the Communist Party urged Blacks to give up their struggle for full equality until the war was over. The March on Washington Movement helped bust through that reactionary stand and open the door to significant social advances for Blacks during and after the war.

A second example, mentioned earlier, was the heroic strike of the United Mine Workers of America in 1943. That strike, which lasted from May through October, broke the employers' war-time wage freeze and the unions' no-strike pledge.

Those mass struggles by Blacks and unionists prepared the ground for the 1945-46 labor upsurge.

NAACP v. Alabama

The vanguard role of the Black struggle in leading the class struggle during the war continued afterwards as well. As the organized labor movement became more and more bureaucratized and its labor statesmen less and less willing to fight the combined government-boss attacks — for example, there was a lot of yelling and screaming about Taft-Hartley but not much action — the Black struggle continued to gain momentum. Mass pressure for the end of Jim Crow segregation in the South and for full equality grew.

Following the defeat of Radical Reconstruction in the 1870s, Blacks were stripped of their democratic rights by force and by law. Vigilante terror by White Citizen Leagues and the Ku Klux Klan was central to the rulers' violent repression of Black freedom fighters. That was American justice! As always, "legality" was defined by what the dominant classes needed to do and could get away with.

As part of the rulers' drive to dispossess Blacks, they adopted laws. Like antilabor laws, these anti-Black laws were selectively used, based on the level of the class struggle.

As the mass civil rights battles of the 1950s and '60s began to mount, it became

more difficult to enforce laws that were such gross violations of the democratic rights of Blacks.

But the rulers' through their various federal, state, and local government institutions kept testing and probing. In response to the rising Black rebellion and its growing support, the Jim Crow states of the South in particular sought to impose on civil rights organizations, like the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), tight legal restrictions — to supplement racist violence. As with similar restrictions on unions, the goal was to impede the ability of Blacks to fight for their rights and needs. It was not unusual for these states to take the NAACP to court for supporting or organizing boycotts or demonstrations. Often leaders were framed on criminal charges.

However, as the civil rights movement developed, won gains, and undermined racist segregation, beginning with the famous Montgomery bus boycott in 1955, many of the attempts to "legally" hog-tie and destroy Black organizations were beaten back.

In fact, an important legal victory for democratic rights was won in 1958. It was a result of the powerful impact of the civil rights struggle.

The state of Alabama had attempted to force the NAACP to disclose its membership lists as a way to harass, victimize, and frame-up its members and supporters. It was a way to give the green light to the KKK and other right-wing vigilante forces to terrorize Blacks and their supporters.

Alabama as a Jim Crow state meant Blacks had very few rights.

The NAACP refused to turn over their names on the grounds that such disclosures violated their First Amendment right of the freedom of privacy and association. The state of Alabama's action was a denial of that constitutional right, they said.

The NAACP argued that past disclosures had "exposed members to economic reprisal, loss of employment, threat of physical coercion, and other manifestations of public hostility."

The Supreme Court ruled in the NAACP's favor.

Just as the right of unions to bargain collectively was recognized in the 1935 Wagner Act after workers had already imposed it on the bosses, so too, by the time Congress passed the Voting Rights and Civil Rights Acts in 1964-65, Jim Crow was dead at the hands of one of the most impressive mass movements in history.

Miners strike in 1977-78

Another powerful example of the working-class fighting back, and effectively taking on the government's antilabor laws and courts, occurred in 1977-78 when the United Mine Workers of America struck the coal bosses.

The coal barons were demanding a take-back contract. The miners said no, and

struck for 110 days. Their militant action, with backing from the rest of the labor movement, forced the bosses and their government to retreat.

The strength of the miners and their allies, for example, was powerfully displayed in the middle of the strike when President Carter invoked the strike-breaking Taft-Hartley law to force the miners back to work. The capitalists and workers came head-to-head in this confrontation between 160,000 miners and the government acting for the coal industry.

What happened? On the first day of the strike-breaking order fewer than 100 miners went back to work. The government did nothing. Not one miner was jailed or fined and no coal was mined.

The very next day the bosses made a new contract offer.

That's how the workers' power decided the legality of the government edict!

Victories like that of the miners, of course, increase the confidence of the workers to fight for their rights, something the bosses and government seek to avoid, as does the union's bureaucracy.

The government — with a full arsenal of coercive weapons at its command — is not a neutral bystander in the class struggle. It defends the class interests of the bankers and industrialists. It does so with all means at its disposal, from its political police, such as the FBI and CIA, to its education loans and cultural grants.

The courts like all other government institutions are a tool in the employers' attacks on working people. The courtroom setting simply provides an amusement-park-like mirror distortion of the class struggle. The advances and retreats, victories and defeats, of forces outside the courtroom are registered in a twisted way.

Today, as the world capitalist crisis deepens, the rulers seek to place their crisis on the backs of workers and their allies here and abroad. The government is using its political police and other agencies to intimidate and counter growing opposition by working people to the reactionary bipartisan foreign and domestic policies of the two ruling class political parties which are an integral part of the capitalists' state apparatus.

Understanding this broad historical framework, and the role of the courts in capitalist repression, helps working people see why the case of the SWP versus the U.S. District Court in Los Angeles is part of the ongoing class struggle. It helps labor, Blacks, women, and farmers see that this fight is also their fight.

Furthermore, it helps make the important point that a victory for the SWP can begin to give working people encouragement and confidence to fight even harder to reverse government attempts to impose reactionary regulations on the trade unions and on organizations like the SWP, NAACP, and other political groups.

History of auto union officialdom

Continued from Page 7

bureaucracy had to change their tactics. Otherwise, he feared, there could be a rank-and-file explosion against them.

Reuther was also hoping, like many liberals, to refurbish the image of the Democratic Party.

So in 1968 Reuther split the UAW from the AFL-CIO and set up the Alliance for Labor Action (ALA), along with the Teamsters and a few smaller unions. The aim of the ALA was to give these officials a liberal image.

But the ALA never got off the ground because it didn't have a fundamentally different policy from the AFL-CIO. It was the same labor movement in new clothes. In 1981 the UAW rejoined the AFL-CIO.

Black caucuses

It should be noted that at the same time Reuther was splitting with Meany, Black workers in Detroit were beginning to organize caucuses in the auto plants. These caucuses were not just aimed at the racism of the bosses, but also at the racism in the UAW.

Caucuses such as the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement were a progressive force inside the UAW. Considering that

nearly 25 percent of the UAW is Black — and as high as 60 to 70 percent on many assembly lines — these formations, and the general weight of Blacks in the union, influenced the UAW's relationship to the Black community and Black workers over the years.

Reuther and the UAW leadership did give token support to the civil rights movement. However, until the late 1960s, few Blacks were able to get jobs in the skilled trades; and the UAW officials didn't put up much of a fight to change that. Black workers in the UAW called the skilled trades at that time the "Deep South of the UAW."

Nor did the UAW top leaders go out of their way to make room for Blacks on the International Executive Board of the union. It took a campaign by the few Blacks on the international staff and in secondary official positions to get the bureaucracy to create a new vice-presidency in 1962 and elect a Black to it. And it took the formation of Black caucuses to get a second Black elected.

In our next article, we'll look at the current policies of the UAW officialdom in the face of the employers' offensive today.

To be continued



Martha McClelland

An Phoblacht

Women and the Irish struggle

Interview with leader of Sinn Fein

BY WILL REISSNER

"We believe there can be no national liberation without women's liberation, and no women's liberation without national liberation," says Martha McClelland, a member of the National Executive Committee of Sinn Fein and head of its Women's Department.

Sinn Fein, the political organization in solidarity with the Irish Republican Army (IRA), established its Women's Department in 1979. This was done "to increase women's involvement in the freedom struggle and in political life in general,"

McClelland told the *Militant* in an interview in New York.

"We are the only political party in Ireland that has a Women's Department," the Derry, Northern Ireland, resident stated. "Our job is to keep hammering away, raising consciousness about the importance of women's participation in the movement."

One sign of the impact that this has already had, she notes, is the fact that Sinn Fein regularly organizes childcare at all major political events so that mothers can attend.

In addition, the Women's Department

helped establish a center for battered women in the Catholic Falls Road section of Belfast, and participates with other women in organizing family planning clinics.

"There is growing understanding in the republican movement," says McClelland, "that we cannot afford the luxury of sexism." In order to win the struggle for Ireland's independence and reunification, all elements of society must be involved. "Some of the best volunteers in the IRA are women," McClelland noted. She feels, however, that "there are still not enough women involved."

McClelland, 34, is convinced that the Irish freedom struggle will be won in the lifetime of the present generation. "In the past," she told the *Militant*, "there were many noble struggles that failed. The attitude was that if we don't win, our children's generation will continue the fight."

"Now, however, people want to go forward and finish the job. We know that if we don't end British rule, our children could end up dying on hunger strikes in ten year's time," McClelland explained.

During and after the 1981 hunger strike in Northern Ireland, the Sinn Fein leader stated, "many people looked at their children and made a commitment to insure that they would have a future that offers more than death by rubber bullet, or jail, or a life spent without a job."

She adds that "three years ago I would not have said we would necessarily win in my time. Of course I would still have worked for Ireland's freedom. But being a realist I knew our children might have to inherit our struggle."

"Now," she continued, "I definitely believe we will see victory because our people are being organized. This is the only guarantee of success."

"Sinn Fein or the IRA cannot free the people. The people must free themselves by getting organized and involved," McClelland stated.

During the hunger strike, the National H-Block/Armagh Committee was organized on a much broader basis than any previous organization. It was established to back the struggle of the male republican prisoners in the H-blocks of Long Kesh prison and the female political prisoners in Armagh jail.

Dioxin victims

Continued from back page

discussion of demands and strategy. Residents wanted a buyout of their homes and other possessions at replacement cost. They wanted Governor Bond to come to Times Beach and the other sites. They wanted to get the test results on the dioxin levels. They wanted an end to the landfilling of dioxin from around the state in Warren and Jefferson counties.

There was some discussion of a march with coffins to Jefferson City, the state capital.

Since the meeting in Eureka, there have been new, almost daily revelations about the extent of the dioxin danger. There are now 22 "confirmed" sites in Missouri and 7 in nearby areas in Illinois and nearly 100 more "suspected" sites. The government has done everything possible to belittle the danger, creating categories like "well-shielded sites," sites that "pose no immediate danger," and sites with lethal but "relatively low" concentrations.

Newark Forum on Irish Freedom Struggle

Speakers: George Harrison, recently acquitted in "Freedom Five" trial of IRA supporters; Mary Smith, Young Socialist Alliance; Maureen Meehan, New York H-Block/Armagh Committee. Translation to Spanish.

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FBI, courts try to silence Irish activists

BY WILL REISSNER

In an attempt to intimidate the growing ranks of supporters of Irish freedom, first the Carter then the Reagan administration stepped up prosecution of Irish and Irish-American activists. More than 20 now face trial in the United States.

This prosecution is being carried out by Washington in close collaboration with the British government, which continues to hold six counties of Ireland under colonial rule.

The Justice Department has also ordered Irish Northern Aid (Noraid) — which raises funds to support the families of political prisoners in Northern Ireland — to register as an "agent" of the Irish Republican Army. Noraid is fighting this registration order in court.

Queen Elizabeth received a red carpet welcome from President Reagan. But elected member of the British parliament Owen Carron faces criminal charges in Buffalo for trying to enter the United States. Washington did not want Carron — a supporter of Irish freedom — explaining the real causes of the struggle in Ireland to American audiences.

Currently on trial in Federal District Court in Brooklyn are Andrew Duggan, an Irish-American, and three Belfast natives — Gabriel Megahey, Colm Meehan, and Eamon Meehan. The trial began February 23. They were arrested after an FBI agent approached them with an offer to provide firearms for shipment to Northern Ireland.

In Northern Ireland the Meehan brothers had been interned without trial by British troops and tortured. Eamon Meehan had all 10 knuckles broken during "questioning."

The judge in the case, however, has refused to let the jury hear evidence of this torture.

The trial of Barney McKeon, charged with shipping guns to Ireland, ended in a hung jury on December 17. But federal prosecutors will bring him to trial a second time on the same charges on March 7.

McKeon, and his wife Olive McKeon, both spent time in jail in 1980 for refusing on principle to provide a grand jury with samples of their handwriting. They were imprisoned even though the government already had handwriting samples for both of them.

Although the FBI has been able to arrest Irish freedom supporters, Washington has had a harder time gaining convictions.

The first of the current series of trials of Irish-Americans accused of providing weapons to the IRA ended on Nov. 5, 1982. A Brooklyn jury found the "Freedom Five" — Michael Flannery, George Harrison, Daniel Gormley, Patrick Mullin, and Thomas Falvey — not guilty of the charges, even though some of the defendants began the trial by proudly acknowledging their involvement.

This year "Freedom Five" defendant Michael Flannery was elected grand marshal of New York's St. Patrick's Day parade. Michael O'Rourke, who has been held without bail for nearly three and a half years by the Immigration and Naturalization Service on charges of overstaying his visa (see accompanying article), was elected honorary grand marshal of the Philadelphia parade.

Michael O'Rourke still denied bail after 3½ years in N.Y. jail

Michael O'Rourke, a one-time member of the Irish Republican Army, has been imprisoned longer than any other person in the history of the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Arrested in October 1979 by the FBI for overstaying his visa, O'Rourke has been held over three years without bail in New York's Metropolitan Correctional Center.

O'Rourke, an Irish citizen, has committed no crime since he entered the United States in February 1978. He married an American citizen and put down roots in Philadelphia, where he has been elected honorary grand marshal of this year's St. Patrick's Day Parade.

O'Rourke is in jail, without bail, for his activities in Ireland against British colonial rule.

Dublin born, O'Rourke first visited the British-ruled north of Ireland in 1971 and was shocked by the conditions there. As a result, he became active in the struggle to end British rule and reunite his homeland.



"Freedom Five" outside New York courthouse: from left, Daniel Gormley, Patrick Mullin, Michael Flannery, Thomas Falvey, George Harrison.

A member of the IRA, O'Rourke was convicted in 1975 for possession of firearms and was sentenced to six years in prison. He escaped from jail in 1976 and lived underground for two years.

When he learned that the police were closing in on him, O'Rourke left Ireland for the United States.

Although O'Rourke's activities in Ireland were clearly political, he was turned down for political asylum in the United States. The INS wants to deport him to Ireland, where he would be returned to jail to finish his sentence.

Since his arrest, the U.S. government has continually tried to create the impression that O'Rourke is a dangerous criminal and terrorist. At one point the U.S. Attorney in Philadelphia claimed O'Rourke was a "prime suspect" in the murder of British Lord Louis Mountbatten in Ireland in August 1979, even though O'Rourke had been in Philadelphia more than a year before that.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service has also used intimidation of a judge to keep O'Rourke behind bars. In June 1981, a judge who seemed ready to grant O'Rourke bail suddenly withdrew from the case, saying he had been "unjustly harassed and intimidated." The judge had noticed his car was being followed and had received anonymous phone calls and mystery packages — all designed to make him feel he was threatened by the IRA. But it was discovered that these activities had been carried out by INS agents.

O'Rourke's imprisonment is part of a general U.S. government campaign to persecute active supporters of the cause of Irish unity. Working closely with British authorities, Washington now has charges pending against nearly two dozen Irish and Irish-American activists.

The Metropolitan Correctional Center was never designed for long-term prisoners. Therefore O'Rourke, convicted of no crime, has been doing more than three years of especially "hard time."

Letters of support can be sent to: Michael O'Rourke, Metropolitan Correctional Center, 9th floor, 150 Park Row, New York, N.Y. 10007.

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Why U.S. fears island of Grenada

Revolutionary gov't expands education, housing, jobs

BY SUE HAGEN

Grenada is an island in the Caribbean with a Black, English-speaking population of 110,000 and a land area of only 130 square miles.

Yet this tiny nation gives the Reagan administration a big headache. So much so that in 1981, the CIA developed a plot to overthrow the People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) in Grenada (see *Militant* March 11, 1983).

Ever since March 13, 1979, when its people rose up and overthrew the dictatorship of Eric Gairy, Grenada has been in the U.S. government's gun sights. Why?

Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, who heads the PRG, explains that Grenada is "determined to pursue an independent and nonaligned path and to build our own process in this part of the world . . . that U.S. administrations keep regarding as their own backyard, which we do not accept."

But that's not the only reason for the U.S. government's hostility. Washington is also afraid of the positive example that Grenada provides for working people in the United States.

While U.S. employers are throwing millions out of work, Grenada is creating thousands of new jobs.

While U.S. banks and credit outfits are pushing farmers off their land, Grenada is putting more land into production and finding new markets.

While Reagan and Congress are looting the public treasury to feed the Pentagon, Grenada is building roads, schools, and homes.

Nowhere was the contrast more clear than in the year-end messages delivered by Reagan and Bishop in January.

Reagan's "State of the Union" address and 1984 budget promised working people nothing but more sacrifices — cutbacks in Social Security, education, child nutrition, farm price supports, and health care. But when Bishop addressed the Grenadian people on January 3, he declared 1983 a "Year of Political and Academic Education."

"Our overall objective," Bishop declared, "is to make our country and revolution a big popular school. . . . Let us put into full practice that great principle of the revolution that education never stops — that it is the fundamental right of all of our people. . . ."

"Without education, no genuine people's democracy can be built, since real democracy always assumes the informed, conscious, and educated participation of the people. Without education, there can be no real worker participation, no substantial increase in production and productivity . . . no true dignity, no genuine independence."

Progress in 1982

Although the economies of the Caribbean region were plagued by lack of growth and soaring unemployment, Grenada scored solid gains. Bishop cited an August 1982 World Bank report showing 9 percent cumulative economic growth over the three years following the 1979 revolution. The report also showed a steep reduction in Grenada's unemployment rate — from 49 percent in 1979 to 14.2 percent.

In agriculture, the "motor of our economy," Bishop reported that the People's Revolutionary Government was spending 54 times more money for development than Gairy ever spent. Grenada continued to be plagued, however, by falling export revenues for nutmeg and cocoa.

To deal with the crisis, the government moved to put more land into production. With the aid of the Canadian government, it began a cocoa rehabilitation project that will bring 10,000 acres under cultivation over eight years.

Grenada also moved toward greater crop diversification and new techniques to raise productivity, Bishop reported. To provide more local markets for farmers' crops and greater foreign exchange, the government stepped up agro-processing operations. This sector of the economy grew by 166 percent in 1982.

Bishop also cited:

- Construction of 39 miles of new farm

roads and 7 miles of feeder roads on the small island.

- Introduction of 35 new tractors into production and the creation of a National Machinery Pool, to which all farmers will have access.

- The rebuilding of Mirabeau Farm School and the opening of four additional agricultural training schools, including one on the sister island of Carriacou.

Such measures, combined with greater cooperation among farmers, led to an increase in the production of food crops last year, Bishop announced. Sales by the Grenada Farms Corporation rose 58 percent.

As a result, Bishop reported, "we may soon become a nation that feeds itself." Food imports — which made up 40 percent of total imports in 1979 — are now down to 28 percent. Bishop called this "a remarkable advance in the right direction," but stressed the need to further reduce the \$3 million a month spent on food imports.

Bishop also reported on a number of projects under way to improve Grenada's physical infrastructure:

- 11,000 people are now receiving housing repair assistance to upgrade their homes. The new Sandino prefabricated housing plant, built with the aid of the Cuban government, will give Grenada the capacity to construct 500 houses a year.

- New reservoirs, replacement of the outmoded water system in the capital of St. George's, and other projects will increase pumping capacity to nearly 7 million gallons of water a day, up from 4 million in 1979.

Bishop also announced the allocation of \$400 million in the next three years for hotel construction and increased promotion for the tourist industry; and a \$7.1 million development program for the fishing industry.

Mass participation

The Grenadian people themselves played a major role in setting this course for the economy. Bishop underlined the point: "We stressed then and will continue to stress in 1983 that our working class and our working people must be more involved in the planning and decisions affecting their work, as well as the work itself."

In January 1982, delegates from the mass organizations began the process of formulating what Bishop called "a genuine people's budget." Zonal and workers parish councils in every corner of the island met to draw up proposals. The process culminated in a mass public meeting in March

that produced "a virtual treasure chest of valuable and creative ideas coming out of the concrete experiences . . . of our people," Bishop reported.

As it enters 1983, Grenada faces a new set of challenges as a result of its economic gains. Bishop projected that thousands of new jobs in agriculture and construction would open up in the next few years — enough to completely wipe out unemployment. The problem is a shortage of skilled workers.

"We have to recognize," Bishop stated, "that we cannot build a national economy; we cannot reclaim our economy from the grips of imperialism without a well-trained and highly skilled work force. This low training of our people is a major weakness and if we do not move fast to correct it, the progress of the Revolution will be held back. . . ."

"The educational system we inherited from colonialism and Gairyism was geared to exporting our people, not orientating them to tackle the social and economic developmental tasks facing the country."

Educating future leaders

Bishop emphasized that "our people must develop in the new year a mental grasp on the true nature of the international capitalist crisis, which is holding back the progress of our revolution and the development of all poor countries in the world. They must know the causes and origins of this crisis. They must see clearly the link between politics and economics, between imperialist exploitation and persistent poverty, between the mad buildup of arms by imperialism and the economic crisis."

"Political education will help to identify from the ranks of our working people the future leaders of the revolution and it will help to prepare the working class to assume its historic role of transforming Grenada from backwardness and dependency to genuine economic independence."

To accomplish these goals, Bishop proposed the following:

- Worker education in all workplaces and political discussion forums in factories, fields, and communities.

- Expansion of the adult education program organized by the Centre for Popular Education (CPE). Thousands more will have the opportunity to earn CPE certificates, qualifying them for jobs and promotions.

- Greater involvement by the trade unions and mass organizations in CPE and worker education.

Grenada airport construction moves ahead

The biggest boost to Grenada's economic development will be its new international airport, now under construction at Port Salines. The \$71 million project is scheduled for completion in March 1984 — the fifth anniversary of the Grenada revolution.

With the aid of more than 400 Cuban construction workers, the airport is rapidly taking shape. Two-thirds of the 9,000-foot runway has been paved and the terminal building structure is in place.

Although Cuba has made the largest contribution to the project, aid and cooperation have come from a host of other nations as well. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, the European Economic Community, Venezuela, Iraq, Algeria, Libya, and Syria have all given or promised aid. A British telecommunications firm holds the contract for air traffic control and navigational equipment and a Finnish firm has the lighting contract.

This is no small feat, considering that the United States has been opposed to the project from the start. Not only did the U.S. government refuse assistance, but it applied pressure on other potential donors as well.

The Reagan administration charges that the airport will be a base for Cuban military aircraft supplied by the Soviet Union. Prime Minister Maurice Bishop dismisses this charge as "ludicrous."

"I think the objection has to do with

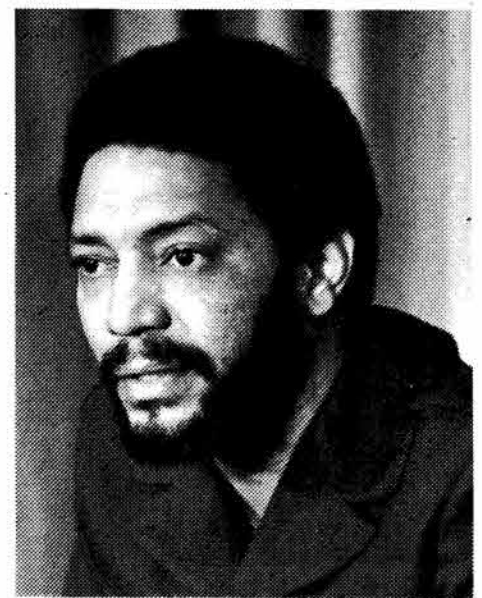
other factors," he told the *Miami Herald*, "including the fact that we have been able to build an international airport . . . and we will succeed — without any assistance from the United States."

Bishop went on to explain how vital the airport is to Grenada's economic development. "We see this airport in exactly the same way I think Americans would have seen the building of the railways in the 19th century. Without that, there was no way the United States would go forward. Without this international airport, there is no way that Grenada could go forward."

The tourist industry, which is Grenada's big hope for the future, will benefit the most. The new airport will replace a substandard facility that can accommodate neither wide-body jets nor night landings. As a result, commercial flights are now routed through Barbados or Trinidad, and travelers usually face overnight delays.

The new airport will remove these obstacles. Jane Belfon, director of tourism, projects a need for 2,000 additional hotel rooms within a decade. A big part of the tourism budget, she explained, will go for a campaign to attract visitors from Europe and North America.

Asked why the Cubans would contribute so much to a project that will not benefit them directly, Bishop told the *Miami Herald*: "It is primarily because they recognize the importance of giving assistance to other countries who are trying to develop



Militant/Ernest Harsch

Grenadian Prime Minister Bishop

- More work-study programs for students and technical training seminars for working people.

- Consolidation of the National In-Service Teacher Education program.

All of these measures, Bishop explained, lay the basis for the establishment of universal secondary education, a more long-term goal of the revolution.

Job skills for women will be a top priority for the year, Bishop declared. Due to their historic oppression, women make up 4,000 of the 5,600 unemployed in Grenada — 71 percent. The majority are without primary school certificates or special skills.

To remedy the situation, the government will offer training programs for 2,500 new jobs in agriculture, 2,000 in construction, and 500 in tourism.

In this way, the government will not only wipe out unemployment by creating productive work, but also reduce the inequality between women and men.

Solidarity with oppressed peoples

Bishop concluded his address by pledging Grenada's uncompromising struggle "for an end to all forms of oppression, exploitation, and military aggression against the peoples of the Caribbean, Latin America, and the entire world."

"Let us reaffirm our strongest solidarity," Bishop declared, "with the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, El Salvador, and Palestine, who are today struggling for their freedom, sovereignty, and human rights. Let us especially remember our brave sisters and brothers of Nicaragua, who are right now being subjected to such brutal, terrorist, and cowardly attacks by imperialism and their agents in Central America."

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Anne Chester: working-class fighter

BY MATILDE ZIMMERMANN

SAN FRANCISCO — Anne Chester, who spent nearly half a century building the revolutionary Marxist movement in the United States, died in San Francisco February 21, at the age of 77.

She was born Anne Fisher in Paterson, New Jersey, in 1905 — the year of a great uprising of workers and peasants in Russia. Anne's father was an anarchist refugee from Poland, a skilled weaver and a union man, and he took his young daughter to meetings and picket lines.

In conversations taped in the mid-1970s in which Chester recalled some of her experiences in the workers movement, she talked about meeting "Big Bill" Haywood and other revolutionary leaders when the Industrial Workers of the World (Wobblies) came to Paterson, New Jersey in 1913 to try to organize the silk mills.

"I remember I stood right at the foot of the platform when Elizabeth Gurley Flynn

was speaking. She couldn't have been more than 17. She had an Irish brogue. She was beautiful. I stood there — eight years old — I thought she was the most wonderful person I'd ever seen or heard in my life."

Chester was born into a family and community of silk weavers. "If you lived in Paterson," she explained, "you went to work in the mills. There was nothing else! My father taught me to weave. I was thirteen and a half when I first applied for work. But they wouldn't take me until I was 14 — state law. I ran a loom, then two looms, then later four looms. I wove silk cloth. It was hard work, up to 10 hours a day."

Chester worked in the silk mills until 1931 when she was black-listed as a militant trade unionist and strike organizer. At that point, with only six months of high school under her belt, she went to Commonwealth College in Mena, Arkansas, an

unaccredited school where young worker activists could learn about union organizing.

In 1932 Chester joined the Conference for Progressive Labor Action (CPLA), a network of trade union committees led by an ex-preacher and textile union leader named A.J. Muste. The following year, the CPLA established the American Workers Party (AWP), of which Chester was a founding member.

The AWP was a heterogeneous group that was rapidly moving to the left. The Communist League of America (CLA), publishers of the *Militant* newspaper at that time, proposed fusion of the two groups. The CLA and AWP began to carry out joint activity, leaders hammered out a common declaration of principles and a set of organizational proposals, and the unity effort was successful.

Chester was a delegate to the last convention of the AWP at the end of

November 1934 and to the founding convention of the Workers Party which opened immediately afterward.

The coming together of such organizations is one of the ways the revolutionary party grows, especially in times of ferment. Anne Chester was an example of the success of the AWP-CLA fusion — a militant, young trade unionist with experience in class battles, she came into the revolutionary party when her whole organization joined, and stayed for 50 years.

In 1940, after the founding of the Socialist Workers Party, Anne met a young SWP leader named Bob Chester. The two were married in 1943 and worked together in a number of different party branches until his death in 1975.

At a memorial meeting for Anne Chester in San Francisco, Asher Harer, a long-time friend and colleague, described the role Anne played when she and Bob moved to San Francisco at the end of World War II. Anne took on the assignment of stabilizing party finances, in a branch with a large number of merchant seamen. "It was a challenge," explained Harer. "Maritime comrades came into port after long voyages. They needed lodging in comrades' homes so they could be integrated into branch life and political activity. The Chester's apartment soon became a center of political and social life."

In the mid-1950s, after some years in Philadelphia, Anne and Bob Chester moved to New York City, and Anne took on the job of working full-time for the SWP publishing house, Pioneer Publishers. She spent several years editing and preparing for publication *Labor's Giant Step* by Art Preis, a history of the rise of the CIO.

The 1950s were not easy years for the communist movement. Pioneer was a one-woman operation: Chester did the editorial work, kept the records, answered the mail, and shipped out book orders. But by the end of her time at Pioneer, things were looking up. She was beginning to work on pamphlets of the newly formed Young Socialist Alliance and on some of the first pamphlets published in defense of the Cuban revolution. She was an active member of the New York branch of the SWP and participated in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

She welcomed the development of the women's liberation movement with great enthusiasm, and she in turn helped to inspire the new generation of women fighters who came forward in the last decades of her life.

From 1954 to 1977 Chester was a member of the control commission of the Socialist Workers Party, a body elected by the national convention that plays an important role in assuring party democracy.

Chester was a woman of strong opinions and she argued fiercely for her point of view. She was also an activist. In spite of failing health in recent years, she almost never missed a meeting of the San Francisco branch. She regularly staffed the Socialist Bookstore in San Francisco and took a lively interest in its progress. And when the SWP recently decided to organize itself so that all members sell the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at plant gates at least once a week, Chester volunteered to drive a team of sales people to the same factory site every week.

At the March 6 memorial meeting in San Francisco, 150 of Anne Chester's friends, comrades, and relatives, heard presentations by Asher Harer, Pearl Chertov, and Matilde Zimmermann.

A message from the Political Committee of the Socialist Workers Party that was read at the gathering noted: "Young workers today can easily identify with the Anne of 60 years ago. Born into a radical immigrant family, she went into the mills at 14 in a world shaken by revolution, participated in militant strikes by silk weavers in Paterson, New Jersey, and found her way into the revolutionary socialist movement."

"Anne Chester's experiences and contributions to the revolutionary movement set an example for today's young proletarian militants and for all those who will come forward as leaders of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance and of our class in the battles that lie ahead."



Militant/Asher Harer

At left, Anne and Bob Chester. Born into a family of silk weavers in Paterson, New Jersey, one of Anne's first experiences in workers movement was hearing Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and "Big Bill" Haywood, shown at right during textile strike there.

Blacks in Norfolk, Va., support busing

BY CRAIG McKISSIC

NORFOLK, Va. — Close to 500 people rallied here February 19 to protest the local school board's decision to end busing for desegregation. The rally was organized by the Coalition for Quality Education. Speakers at the action included Dr. King Davis, leader of the coalition, as well as representatives from the Norfolk and Virginia state NAACP and several Black ministers.

Last summer, parents, teachers, and concerned Norfolk residents attended a series of mass meetings to discuss the city's busing program. Upwards of 1,500 people confronted the school board and presented their ideas on how to maintain the busing program and the gains won by Black students through desegregation.

The board, headed by Thomas Johnson, spent \$60,000 to bring Dr. David Armor from California to study the busing program and present his conclusions to the board. The result was the highly disputed Armor study, which allegedly proved that busing for desegregation has not increased the academic achievement of Black students. But other studies — showing Black students' progress since busing began — contradict Armor.

The majority of those who spoke out at the summer meetings on the Armor plan opposed any reductions in busing. Even those parents who did not favor busing expressed their concern that the schools remain integrated, although some were confused on how to proceed.

The school board ignored these concerns and voted 5-2 on February 2 to end busing for the purpose of desegregation. In place of busing, the school board majority proposed a return to a "neighborhood school" plan. This is widely viewed as a code phrase for "separate but equal."

Opposition to school desegregation in Virginia has a long history. In 1954 Senator Harry Byrd claimed, "We face the gravest

crisis since the war between the states. The forces of integration are working on the theory that if Virginia can be brought to her knees, they can march through the rest of the South singing hallelujah."

In 1958 federal courts ordered 17 Black students admitted to the white secondary schools in Norfolk. In collaboration with Virginia Gov. James Lindsey Almond the Norfolk school board closed all the white secondary schools for a full year. Many white families left the area in order to find schools where they could enroll their children. Those children of families who couldn't afford to move or enroll them in private schools became known as the "lost class of 1959."

It was not until 11 years later, following costly legal battles initiated by the NAACP, that the school board finally complied with Federal Judge Walter Hoffman's order to begin crosstown busing to desegre-

gate the school system.

By its past actions the school board was directly responsible for "white flight." Today the board majority claims "white flight" is one of the reasons to end busing!

The school board majority has also claimed that the busing program was too expensive and put forward the neighborhood school plan as a cost-cutting move. However, board Chairman Johnson is prepared to spend upwards of \$500,000 to defend the board's program in the federal courts.

Coming out of the protest rally, the Coalition for Quality Education has discussed a number of other activities to continue the fight for school desegregation including a possible boycott of the Waterside, Norfolk's fancy new commercial development. One rally speaker told the crowd, "We know what time it is, it's time to get back out in the streets."

Seattle cops blasted on choke hold

BY LISA HICKLER

SEATTLE — On January 19, Riley Frost, a 34-year-old Black man awaiting trial in King County Jail, was choked to death by jailhouse guards. The King County medical examiner performed an autopsy on Frost's body that revealed his death was caused by "asphyxia by compression of the neck." Although Frost's death was labeled "homicide" by the medical examiner, no criminal charges have been filed against the guards at this time.

Jeffrey Lau, identified as the guard who applied the choke hold that killed Frost, has been routinely assigned to other duties in the jail pending the results of an investigation and inquest hearing.

Controversy over the use of the choke hold in King County jail is not new. In 1979 prisoner Don Bolds allegedly com-

mitted suicide in the jail after only six hours of imprisonment. Bolds' family is still seeking a full investigation into the death.

In 1980 Shelly Johnson was killed by guards using the choke hold to "subdue" him. Johnson died while lying on his bunk with six guards in his cell. The county investigation exonerated the guards and ruled that the use of the choke hold was acceptable in that case.

Following Riley Frost's death, community activists formed the Coalition to End Racial Violence. The coalition has held weekly pickets at the jail to demand banning the choke hold. The group has also called for a mass picket three days before the county inquest into Frost's death. The action will take place at noon on March 19 at 3rd and James streets in downtown Seattle.

Munch on this (I) — Arthur Hayes, head of the Food and Drug Administration, told the Washing-



Harry Ring

ton convention of the Potato Chip-Snack Food Association that they're doing so well in reducing the salt content of junk food that he sees no need to list salt content

on labels.

Munch on this (II) — Also according to Hayes, studies show that the only harmful effect of sugar is cavities, so the FDA is dropping the idea of requiring sugar content listings on labels.

Munch on this (III) — Hayes thinks mandatory labelling of fat and cholesterol content should apply only to low cholesterol products.

Munch on this (IV) — According to one news account, Hayes assured the junk dealers "they pro-

duce wholesome, nutritious, affordable food products in which the American people can have trust."

Just don't breathe as deep — Anne Gorsuch Burford plans to announce EPA relaxation of air pollution standards to allow 18 percent more dust and soot. Agency officials assured it would not mean more deaths from respiratory infections.

How about Vatican Inc.? — Protesters picketed the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, which is exhibiting a Vatican art

collection under the sponsorship of Philip Morris. An obviously skilled Vatican theologian responded, "The sponsorship is not Philip Morris as a cigarette company, but Philip Morris Inc."

George Orwell meets John Muir — When owners of \$1 million hideaway homes in Beaver Creek, Colorado, snuggle up by the fireplace, a computer will be watching. When the valley gets too choked up with smoke, a red light will flash in each home. Chimney sensors will signal which are ignoring the alert. A polite phone call will advise not to throw on another log. Then they take the

bearskin rug away?

Package deal — A British life insurance company recruits employees through religious magazines, seeking "active Christians" who want to combine Christian fellowship with business enterprise. Plus, they could offer policies that get you buried and to the hereafter.

Parchment printouts? — The Beverly Hills Computer store offers free door-to-door limo service, plus the computers are displayed on black velvet with diamonds strewn around them. No discounts.

CALENDAR

ARIZONA

Tucson

What's Happening With Copper Contract Negotiations? Speakers to be announced. Translation to Spanish. Thurs., March 31, 7:30 p.m. El Pueblo Neighborhood Center, 101 W Irvington Rd. Ausp: Socialist Workers Party. For more information call (602) 573-1545.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

El Salvador: Revolution or Death. A film showing with discussion to follow. Translation to Spanish. Sun., March 20, 7 p.m. 6404 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

NEBRASKA

Lincoln

War On Working People, Political Rights on Trial. A socialist election campaign rally. Speakers: Michael Carper, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Lincoln; Stuart Crome, national leader of the Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., March 19, 7:30 p.m. Malone Community Center, 2032 U St. Donation: \$2. For more information call (402) 475-8933 or 464-2565.

NEW YORK

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

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

Life in Cuba Today. Talk and slide show. Speaker: Bill Gaboury, professor of history at Southern Oregon State College, visited Cuba in 1979, '81, and '82. Sun., March 20, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

The Revolution Marches On: Nicaragua 1983 — An Eyewitness Report. Speaker: José Acevedo, member United Auto Workers Local 92 and Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 18, 7:30 p.m. 5811 N Broad. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

Working Class Solution to the Capitalist Crisis. Socialist Workers Campaign rally. Speakers: Bill Osteen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; Katy Karlin, Sam Farley, and Mike Finley, SWP candidates for city council. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 26, 7 p.m. 5811 N Broad. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP 1983 Campaign Committee. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

Los Angeles trial aimed at disrupting socialists

Continued from Page 4

anybody in the party?"

"Yes."

"Did you believe that you were acting in the interests of the SWP?"

"Yes," insisted Gelfand.

Epstein pointed out to Gelfand that in the court papers submitted with his brief he had quoted, as if it were true, an October 1940 letter from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to the agent-in-charge of the FBI office in New York. The letter referred to SWP leader Joe Hansen and George Mink, a man accused of being an agent for the Soviet secret police. As quoted by Gelfand, the letter said that, "Hansen and his associates liquidated George Mink six months ago."

Attached to the brief submitted by Gelfand was a copy of the Hoover letter. It claimed that the FBI had information that Hansen had done away with Mink "by tying Mink up and throwing him into a crater some 30 miles from Mexico City."

Epstein asked: "Did you receive this document from the Workers Revolutionary Party?"

"Yes."

"We know today that Mr. Hoover's information was false, don't we?"

"Yes."

"In fact, Mr. Mink was alive and well many months later?"

"Yes."

"Now, Mr. Gelfand, did you feel that submitting to the Second Circuit Court of Appeals a copy of a letter that stated that a member of the Socialist Workers Party had tied somebody up and thrown him to his death in a crater — did you feel that that was in the interests of your party?"

Continuing with the career of Alan Gelfand, Epstein asked him:

"When you were expelled you talked with Mr. North?"

"At a certain point," Gelfand answered.

"You discussed with him how to proceed?"

"I discussed with him about what my options were, about how I was going to proceed, not that he was going to tell me what to do."

"And when you talked to him at that time one of the options included the filing of this lawsuit?"

"Yes."

Not only did Gelfand work out his course of action around the lawsuit with the WRP-WL, his actions have also been financed by the same source — to the tune of hundreds of thousands of dollars. Epstein asked in this regard:

"You've spoken with certain persons in the Workers League about paying for this lawsuit?"

"Certain persons?"

"Yes."

"No — I spoke to one person."

"Who was that?"

"David North."

"You talked to him about raising funds for this lawsuit?"

"Yes."

According to Gelfand, North, "indicated to me that he would attempt to raise money by talking to certain people who would be supportive."

As a witness, Gelfand did not make a good impression, especially under cross examination. He was obviously nervous and blinking uncontrollably. It was not necessary to be an astute judge of character to know that he was lying when he responded "yes" to the question:

"Is it your position that this case has been brought by you out of your concern for the integrity of the SWP?"

But this operation against the SWP has never been based on the credibility of Gelfand or his charges. If that were so it would have been thrown out of court years ago.

It is not only the rights of the SWP that have been trampled under foot by this continuing travesty in Judge Pfaltz's court. The constitutional liberties of all are at stake.

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South Pacific island votes for nuclear ban

BY WILL REISSNER

Residents of Belau, a U.S.-controlled island group in the South Pacific, voted February 10 not to revise a section of their constitution banning all testing and storage of nuclear weapons on Belau's territory.

The vote was a blow to Washington, which plans to build a base to service Trident nuclear submarines and a storage site for nuclear and conventional weapons in Belau.

Since 1979, when the constitution was ratified by 92 percent of Belau's voters, the U.S. government has been campaigning to overturn the antinuclear provisions in the document. In July 1981, despite heavy U.S. pressure, the constitution was again approved by a 78 percent margin. This time, 51 percent of the voters accepted Washington's demand to overturn the antinuclear provision. But the measure needed 75 percent support to take effect.

Belau and other Micronesian island groups have been under U.S. control since they were captured from the Japanese in World War II.

After World War II, the Pentagon set up military bases throughout Micronesia and carried out more than 60 tests of nuclear weapons there. Residents of several islands in the Marshalls group were forcibly removed from their homes so nuclear tests could take place. Some islands were wiped off the face of the earth. Others were rendered uninhabitable by the tests.

Although the Pentagon stopped nuclear testing in the South Pacific in 1963, Kwajalein Atoll in the Marshall Islands has been used as the target area for test firings of the Minuteman III intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM). It is now being prepared to serve as the missile range for tests of the newest U.S. ICBM, the MX.

To prepare Kwajalein as the target for the missile tests, the Pentagon evicted residents from several of the islands in the Kwajalein Atoll. Eight thousand people were crowded onto 66 acres of the island of Ebeye, where they live in appalling conditions, totally dependent on U.S.-supplied food for survival.

For more than 13 years Washington has been negotiating with representatives of the four Micronesian island groups — the North Marianas, the Marshalls, Belau, and the Federated States of Micronesia — over a new political status for them.

In 1975, Washington rushed through an agreement with the North Mariana Islands, making them a U.S.-ruled commonwealth, similar to Puerto Rico. Under this agreement, the Pentagon got a 100-year lease on two-thirds of the island of Tinian, on which it maintains a naval and air base. The Pentagon pays the North Marianas about \$10 per acre per year to rent the base.

It was from Tinian that the atomic bombing of Hiroshima was carried out during World War II.

The U.S. government has proposed that the other three Micronesian island groups accept compacts of "free association," whereby the islands would achieve a degree of internal self-rule, while leaving the Pentagon in total control of all military affairs and guaranteeing the maintenance of U.S. military bases for 30 to 50 years.

On February 10, Belauans were the first Micronesians to vote on a Compact of Free Association. At the same time that they voted to maintain the nuclear ban in their constitution, Belau voters passed the Compact of Free Association by a 56 to 44 percent margin.

U.S. officials have stated, however, that they will not accept the compact as long as the ban on nuclear weapons remains in force.

In a related "straw vote" held the same day, Belauan voters were asked to choose a political status in the event that the Compact of Free Association does not go through. In that poll, 61 percent voted for complete independence, while 39 percent expressed a preference for closer ties with the United States.

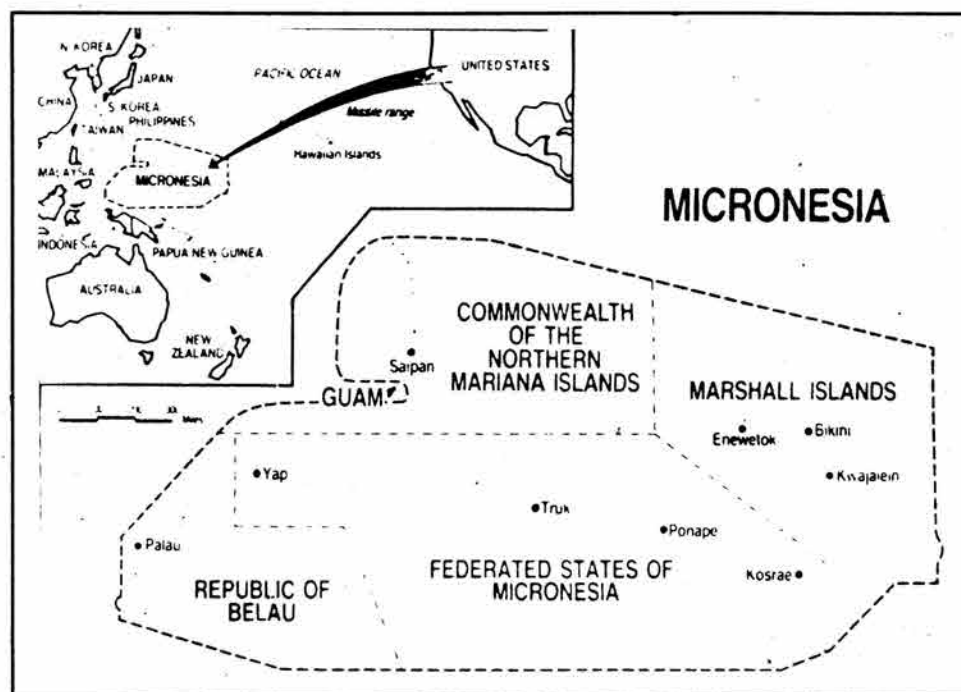
Under the terms of the Compact of Free Association, Belau would receive about \$20 million annually in economic aid from Washington for 50 years and would gain home rule. In return, the United States mil-

itary would take control of one-third of Belau's 190 square miles of land, and would have access to its major airfields and its main port.

The Pentagon hopes to make Belau, which lies 500 miles east of the Philippines, into a major military base and staging ground. Among the Pentagon's concrete plans are:

- Construction of a base for Trident nuclear submarines.
- Establishment of a 30,000-acre jungle warfare training base on the largest island, Babeldaob. This would comprise more than a quarter of the island's total area. The base, if constructed, is expected to be used to train troops from Southeast Asian countries, as well as U.S. forces, in counterinsurgency techniques.
- Use of an additional 2,000 acres of Babeldaob for storage of nuclear and conventional weapons.
- Expansion of two airfields for use by U.S. military planes.

From Intercontinental Press



Marcos cracks down on opposition

BY FRED MURPHY

A crackdown on the workers movement and the antidictatorial opposition in the Philippines has been under way since last August.

President Ferdinand Marcos's dictatorship has launched successive attacks on the trade unions, radical currents inside the Catholic church, and opposition news media, in an effort to halt a growing challenge to his rule.

Behind the repressive drive is first of all a worsening economic situation.

The Philippine foreign debt stands near \$16 billion at a time when income from major exports such as coconut products, copper, timber, and sugar has dropped dramatically. While prices of these goods have fallen on the world market, the cost of vital imports such as oil and raw materials for industry has risen sharply.

The austerity policies Marcos has imposed to deal with this crisis have brought further attacks on the living standards of Philippine working people. Under the martial-law regime of 1972-81, real wages had already been reduced by 40 percent. Workers now face massive layoffs and speedup as the employers try to maintain profit rates.

After Marcos lifted martial law in 1981 in hopes of polishing his image internationally, a big strike wave broke out. The high point of these struggles came last June, when 20,000 workers in the Bataan Export Processing Zone struck in solidarity with a fight against speedup at one of the 55 factories there.

Led by the May 1 Movement (KMU), a militant union federation with some 800,000 members, the strikers won a total victory. The speedup move was canceled. Fifty-four unionists jailed during the strike were released.

The economic plans Marcos has adopted at the behest of the World Bank were endangered by this upsurge. The regime aims to maintain and attract foreign investment in export-oriented final assembly plants located in free trade zones such as the one in Bataan Province.

So in August, Marcos cracked down on the KMU and other opposition union federations. He announced that a plot against his regime had been discovered, and ordered the arrest of dozens of labor leaders, including 79-year-old Felixberto Olalia, chairman of the KMU.

Police raids were carried out on the headquarters of the KMU, the National Federation of Labor Unions, the Philippine Alliance of Nationalist Labor Organizations, and the Association of Democratic Labor Organizations.

Priests and nuns arrested

In September and October the focus of the regime's attack shifted to the Catholic clergy. Priests were arrested in three provinces, and one, Rev. Zacarias Agatep, was killed by government troops.

The dictatorship accuses most of these clerics of belonging to or even being leaders of the Communist Party of the Philippines or the CPP-led New People's Army (NPA).

While it is true that some priests have joined this growing guerrilla movement, many others fall afoul of the regime simply by speaking out against repression or by joining their poor and working-class parishioners in demanding such necessities as potable water, paved streets, electric power, or sewage disposal.

In mid-January Marcos announced an 18 percent across-the-board cut in government spending. His 1983 budget, which also included a 3 percent tax on all imports, was aimed at meeting the demands of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) for reduced deficits and less foreign borrowing. But domestic credit remains tight, and many businesses are failing as a result. This means still higher unemployment and social discontent.

According to Rene Cruz, editor of the U.S. Filipino socialist monthly, *Ang Katipunan*, "The NPA grew three times faster in 1982 than it did in 1981. It is operating in 50 of the 72 provinces of the Philippines." While the NPA is based mainly among the peasants, Cruz says, "a lot of attention is being placed on the cities. The flow of people from the countryside requires refining one's strategy. That is why a lot of work is being done among labor, among the semiproletariat, among farm workers."

The NPA has close ties to the broad opposition bloc known as the National Democratic Front (NDF), which includes the KMU labor federation, peasant organizations in many parts of the countryside, and organizations of women, students, health workers, teachers, lawyers, and journalists. A group of radical clerics called

Christians for National Liberation is also part of the NDF.

"The NDF," Rene Cruz says, "calls for a national democratic coalition government and has a classic national liberation program: distribution of the land, nationalization of imperialist property, and toleration of native businesses, especially those not so tied to imperialism. But from the point of view of the CPP, this is merely a political stage since socialism is really on the agenda."

In December, Marcos's police swooped down on one of the main press organs of the opposition bourgeoisie, the thrice-weekly tabloid *We Forum*. The publisher, Jose Burgos, and nine members of his staff were taken to jail and the newspaper's printing plant was temporarily confiscated.

The *We Forum* staff, the regime claimed, was part of a broader plot to overthrow Marcos by force, involving a series of leading members of the capitalist opposition who live in exile in the United States.

Marcos's repressive moves have dealt some real blows to the movement against his dictatorship. On the other hand, as the *Wall Street Journal* reported December 28, "opponents and some foreign observers say the crackdown is an overreaction and could backfire, especially if it convinces moderate opponents that nonviolent opposition is futile."

Big stakes for U.S.

The United States is the Philippines' largest trading partner, with two-way trade valued at more than \$3.5 billion. About half the foreign investments in the Philippines are U.S.-owned, and U.S. banks hold a considerable portion of the country's \$16 billion foreign debt. Beyond these interests, Washington is especially concerned about maintaining its two huge military bases in the Philippines, Clark Air Base and Subic Naval Base. The latter is a key staging point for the Pentagon's projection of sea power to all of Southeast Asia, the Indian Ocean, and the Persian Gulf.

Washington has grown more concerned over the stability of the Marcos regime as the dictator's health has begun to deteriorate.

"There is an ongoing rivalry," Cruz says, "among Imelda Marcos, Defense Minister Juan Ponce Enrile, and security chief Gen. Fabian Ver over who is to succeed Marcos. Another contender is Prime Minister Cesar Virata, who is a good choice from the U.S. point of view because he is a technocrat who supposedly is not so tainted by the dictatorship. But he would have to share power with someone from the military."

However the internecine conflicts are resolved, Cruz says, Washington "is concerned that the succession not be messy. And the last thing it wants is unrest, especially in the cities, while the squabbling is going on."

Fear of such intervention by the oppressed and exploited is behind the regime's current crackdown.

From Intercontinental Press

An interview on Cuba's foreign policy

The February 28 issue of *Intercontinental Press* contains an interview with Cuban Vice-president Carlos Rafael Rodríguez on Cuba's foreign policy, reprinted from *Revolución*, a magazine published by the French Communist Party.

The interview takes up such questions as Cuba's view of its relationship with the United States, the Soviet Union, the Nonaligned Movement, Af-

rica, and Latin America.

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Administration boosts FBI

Continued from front page

full swing. The U.S. government was preparing for the second inter-imperialist slaughter, World War II. Roosevelt instructed then FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover to get the "subversives."

And a subversive was anyone who did not support the war aims of the U.S. rulers.

Following World War II victorious struggles of the workers and farmers succeeded in overturning capitalism in China and throughout Eastern Europe. The cold-war, anticommunist witch-hunt in the United States reached its height, and the FBI came into its own in a whole new way.

But the full scope of the political-police operations and their ugly character was exposed to the light of day only in the post-Vietnam War period as the Watergate and Cointelpro scandals broke.

And that is when the first guidelines appeared.

Prior to 1976 there was no pretense of any rules for FBI functioning. In that year, however, "reform" regulations were issued as a public-relations move designed to bolster the power of the FBI — in the guise of reining it in.

The exposure of Cointelpro began in 1971 when secret documents were removed from an FBI office in Media, Pennsylvania. They established that under the name of a "counterintelligence program" the FBI was conducting a secret program of illegal operations designed to disrupt and if possible destroy virtually every political group opposed, or potentially opposed, to government policies. Of special importance to the FBI was the Black movement. FBI agents were instructed to "prevent the coalition of militant black nationalist groups," and to "prevent the rise of a 'messiah' who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement."

The Watergate scandal began to unfold during the 1972 elections. Nixon, it was confirmed, was using the full arsenal of government agencies, as well as his own private operatives, to go after those on his "enemies" list. But Nixon's list included many who considered themselves respectable government and business figures and were outraged that such police-state methods should be used — against them.

The announcement of guidelines was part of the political price the rulers had to pay to cut their losses and restore their ability to use their political police. They were, however, always considered to be temporary, to be taken back as soon as the political climate permitted.

The guidelines figured prominently in the propaganda offensive to convince people that Cointelpro and Watergate were abnormalities.

This public-relations stance, however, bore no relationship to the truth.

A key role in exposing this was played by the political campaign of the Socialist Workers Party against secret police activity, including the party's landmark suit against the federal government.

During that suit, which came to trial in 1981, and is still awaiting a ruling by Judge Thomas Griesa, top government officials themselves explained that what Nixon and Hoover did was not abnormal. Burglary, electronic surveillance, poison-pen letters, attempts to destroy people's personal relations, and all the other illegal dirty tricks were standard FBI operating procedure.

It was also confirmed that such "counterintelligence" activity was not carried on behind the back of the highest government powers, but with their full knowledge and sanction.

One witness in the suit brought by the SWP against the FBI and other government police agencies was Herbert Brownell, who was attorney general under Eisenhower.

Brownell testified that the Cointelpro disruption program had been initially directed against the Communist Party.

Drawn up by Hoover, it was presented to, and approved by, Eisenhower and other ranking officials in 1956. As Hoover told the White House gathering, the goal was "to infiltrate, penetrate, disorganize, and disrupt the party."

"The methods," Brownell delicately noted, "were left to the discretion of the FBI."

He added, "these methods . . . had been used by the FBI . . . for at least back to the Franklin D. Roosevelt days," and no court has ever "prohibited such activities in the field of intelligence."

Brownell's testimony was added to by Raymond Wannall, a former ranking FBI official.

A key goal of counterintelligence work against any targeted "opposition," Wannall explained, is "to take measures necessary to assure they won't attain their objectives."

Who gives the FBI the right to prevent legally constituted political organizations from attaining their objectives?

The president of the United States, according to Robert Keuch, the third ranking official in the Justice Department.

Keuch testified at that trial that the president had an "inherent" constitutional power to order the disruption of groups "who potentially could be acting inimically to our form of government."

Inimical. Does that mean illegal?

No, Keuch testified. Inimical activities need not necessarily be "a violation of the law."

In short, the president has the "constitutional" right to authorize unconstitutional disruption of organizations engaged in perfectly legal activity. All in the name of upholding the Constitution!

The target is political parties like the Socialist Workers and Communist parties. It is the Puerto Rican independence movement, as the current round of vicious grand-jury harassment once more demonstrates. It is the Black movement, antiwar movement, women's rights movement and above all the labor movement.

In a recent damage suit settlement, the government in effect admitted its guilt in helping to perpetrate the 1969 Chicago police murder of Black Panther leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

In another recent suit, by pacifist James Peck, it was confirmed that FBI informer Gary Rowe had participated in a 1961 KKK assault on Freedom Riders trying to desegregate a Birmingham bus station.

The same FBI plant had been part of a KKK gang that in 1965 gunned down Viola Liuzzo, a civil rights worker.

In 1979, both a federal and a local police provocateur were involved in the leadership of the racist gang that murdered five people at an antiracist demonstration of the Communist Workers Party in Greensboro, North Carolina.

The new FBI guidelines are admittedly designed to justify and sanction such murderous operations in the name of combating "terrorism."

Just who are the "terrorists" the government has now set its sights on?

In testimony last June before the Senate Subcommittee on Security and Terrorism, FBI director William Webster discussed the planned rewrite of the FBI guidelines.

Perhaps to avoid unduly alarming those who believe the Bill of Rights should mean something, Webster testified somewhat carefully. But the chairman of the committee, Jeremiah Denton, a right-winger from Alabama, laid it out bluntly.

Denton specifically named the Socialist Workers Party and the National Lawyers Guild as among the organizations to be targeted because they allegedly "clearly oppose our democratic ideals."

That was just for openers. Denton said there were many organizations that are exploited by "terrorists" and are far more dangerous than the "terrorists" themselves.

Among those, he included groupings concerned with such issues as peace, nuclear power, prison reform, and racism.

The fact that the rulers feel compelled to expand the operations of the political police springs from the deepening social crisis that grips this country. The profit system is in trouble and the employers are determined to make the working people — employed and unemployed — foot the bill. Just as they are expanding their police operations here, they are systematically preparing to expand the use of their military power to try to stop the advances being made by working people in Central America and the Caribbean.

Washington and Wall Street know that their reactionary drive will inevitably spark massive working-class resistance. They intend the new guidelines to facilitate the use of the FBI as a weapon in their class war against U.S. working people.

But the growing assault on democratic rights will not go unchallenged. Such rights are vital to working people in resisting the attacks now coming down on us. The fight to expose the true face of America's political police will prove a key ingredient in the coming mass working-class battles whose ultimate objective is the elimination of all such instruments of class rule.



Herbert Brownell

Lenin on 1916 Easter uprising in Ireland

On April 24, 1916, several hundred men and women, led by the Irish Citizen Army, took over the General Post Office in Dublin and declared Ireland a republic. Two thousand republicans seized other parts of the city. To suppress this rebellion, the British imperialists sent 25,000 troops to Ireland. The uprising was drowned in blood, with Irish Marxist James Connolly and other leaders executed.

Karl Radek, a close collaborator of Rosa Luxemburg in the Polish Social Democratic Party, wrote an article about the uprising that attacked it as a

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"putsch." Radek claimed that the Irish nationalist movement had no roots among the peasantry and was in fact "a purely urban, petty-bourgeois movement, which, notwithstanding the sensation it caused, had not much social backing."

Russian Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin polemicized against this view in Section 10 of his 1916 article "The Discussion on Self-Determination Summed Up." Excerpts of this section are printed below.

The entire article is available in *Questions of National Policy and Proletarian Internationalism*. Copies can be ordered from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. The cost is \$1.45 plus \$.75 for postage and handling.

The term "putsch", in its scientific sense, may be employed only when the attempt at insurrection has revealed nothing but a circle of conspirators or stupid maniacs, and has aroused no sympathy among the masses. The centuries-old Irish national movement, having passed through various stages and combinations of class interest, manifested itself, in particular, in the mass Irish National Congress in America which called for Irish independence; it also manifested itself in street fighting conducted by a section of the urban petty bourgeoisie and a section of the workers after a long period of mass agitation, demonstrations, suppression of newspapers, etc. Whoever calls such a rebellion a "putsch" is either a hardened reactionary, or a doctrinaire hopelessly incapable of envisaging a social revolution as a living phenomenon.

To imagine that social revolution is conceivable without revolts by small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without revolutionary outbursts by a section of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices, without a movement of the politically non-conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression by the landowners, the church, and the monarchy, against national oppression, etc. — to imagine all this is to repudiate social revolution. So one army lines up in one place and says, "We are for socialism", and another, somewhere else says, "We are for imperialism", and that will be a social revolution! Only those who hold such a ridiculously pedantic view could vilify the Irish rebellion by calling it a "putsch".

The socialist revolution in Europe cannot be anything other than an outburst of mass struggle on the part of all and sundry oppressed and discontented elements. Inevitably, sections of the petty bourgeoisie and of the backward workers will participate in it — without such participation, mass struggle is impossible, without it no revolution is possible — and just as inevitably will they bring into the movement their prejudices, their reactionary fantasies, their weaknesses and errors. But objectively they will attack capital, and the class-conscious vanguard of the revolution, the advanced proletariat, expressing this objective truth of a variegated and discordant, motley and outwardly fragmented, mass struggle, will be able to unite and direct it, capture power, seize the banks, expropriate the trusts which all hate (though for different reasons!), and introduce other dictatorial measures which in their totality will amount to the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the victory of socialism, which, however, will by no means immediately "purge" itself of petty-bourgeois slag.

It is the misfortune of the Irish that they rose prematurely, before the European revolt of the proletariat had had time to mature. Capitalism is not so harmoniously built that the various sources of rebellion can immediately merge of their own accord, without reverses and defeats. On the other hand, the very fact that revolts do break out at different times, in different places, and are of different kinds, guarantees wide scope and depth to the general movement; but it is only in premature, individual, sporadic and therefore unsuccessful, revolutionary movements that the masses gain experience, acquire knowledge, gather strength, and get to know their real leaders, the socialist proletarians, and in this way prepare for the general onslaught, just as certain strikes, demonstrations, local and national, mutinies in the army, outbreaks among the peasantry, etc., prepared the way for the general onslaught in 1905 [in Russia].

'M*A*S*H' is gone, but Vietnam syndrome remains

BY LEE MARTINDALE
AND SANDI SHERMAN

On February 28 the largest TV audience ever for a single show tuned in to watch the concluding episode of "M*A*S*H," one of the most successful and longest-running TV series ever.

This is no surprise. For 11 years, this show about U.S. Army medical personnel during the Korean War (regardless of the intentions of the people who produced it) expressed for us that deep antiwar conviction called the Vietnam syndrome. Its popularity was based on our conviction that it told a big slice of the truth.

TELEVISION REVIEW

The Vietnam syndrome isn't just an idea — it's a deep-seated reaction against the U.S. government involving us in another long and dirty war, a war we have no interest in fighting, against an oppressed people somewhere else who are fighting for their lives and their future. It's also the certainty that the government will lie to us about it.

For the whole first part of the 11-year run of "M*A*S*H," one of the regular main characters was Frank Burns, who spewed out every week the official justifications about this being a "war for democracy," and the same racism toward the Korean people that the U.S. government and media displayed toward the Vietnamese. Burns was the voice of imperialist propaganda and the constant butt of the ridicule and practical jokes of the rest of the M*A*S*H crew.

Every time a high-ranking general or government official appeared on the show, they were portrayed as callous

bureaucrats, using the innocent GIs as pawns.

Whole episodes were devoted to showing reporters from the United States who came to M*A*S*H 4077 to construct for the folks back home the myth of the glorious war and the heroic U.S. Army.

Then there was Corporal Klinger, who relentlessly wore women's clothing everywhere in the unfulfilled hope the brass would discharge him and send him home.

A constant theme of the show was the suffering the war imposed on the South Korean population, and the Pentagon's total lack of concern about it.

The tension between humor and the horrors of the war was the central theme of "M*A*S*H."

Hawkeye Pierce, the pivotal figure of the series, personified this most. For the whole 11 years of this TV war, he hung onto his integrity and his certain knowledge that the war was *not* about democracy or freedom or any other sane human value. Through his cynical humor, his disrespect for the military brass and their war, and his fanatic personal struggle as a doctor against death, he survived as a conscientious objector in the middle of the war.

One of the main themes of the final episode is that Hawkeye cracks up. He's in a psychiatric ward, with the army psychiatrist trying to lead him back to conscious recollection of an experience he's blocked out and falsified to himself:

Returning from a trip to the beach, the M*A*S*H unit stops to pick up wounded civilians. One of the wounded warns that an enemy column is approaching on the road. They hide the bus and try to avoid being noticed. One of the women they have picked up has a baby which fusses, and Hawkeye demands she keep it quiet so they aren't discovered. Terrified, the woman kills the baby.

Hawkeye has made up a different memory of the event to shield his mind from the horror he feels. Slowly and painfully, the psychiatrist peels away the layers of illusion and forgetfulness and exposes the raw wound.

Will this man who's endured the whole war without kidding himself, without surrendering his human solidarity in the face of wholesale senseless destruction, give in just as this war comes to a close?

Hawkeye makes it. His integrity, his insistence on facing things the way they really are, is maintained.

As the armistice is announced, over Armed Forces Radio blaring into the operating room, the M*A*S*H crew is knee-deep in gore and surrounded by helpless POWs. The "end" of the war is one more lie exposed. The Korean War caused a million civilian casualties among the South Koreans alone and left 2.5 million South Koreans homeless. Many shared the situation of Corporal Klinger's South Korean bride, who in the final episode was preparing to search what remained of the country to try and find her parents, who had disappeared during the fighting.

Amid the M*A*S*H unit's ongoing battle against death and mutilation in the operating room, the radio cranks out the statistics measuring the destruction this war has caused. And then announces that the U.S. government is sending aid to forces fighting "communism" in Vietnam.

"Where's Vietnam?" someone asks.

But for us the show always was Vietnam, as well as Korea. And for all of us who'll eagerly watch the reruns for the next 20 years, one tribute to those fictional people of the M*A*S*H 4077 must be getting the United States out of El Salvador too.

Reagan lowers the boom on railroad retirement

BY JIM GOTESKY

NEW YORK — Railroad workers, hold onto your hats. The Reagan administration is about to lower the boom on railroad retirement and railroad unemployment insurance, which is administered by the government.

The February 23 issue of *Labor*, newspaper of the

UNION TALK

Railway Labor Executive Association (RLEA), which is composed of the leaders of the rail unions, spelled out the grisly facts.

Reagan's proposed budget includes:

- Railroad retirement funding will be cut from \$430,000 to \$350,000; retirees' cost-of-living increases will be delayed six months.

- Rail retirement board staff will be cut from 1,578 to 1,104 fulltime employees; more than \$860,000 is to be cut from money for the administration of the railroad unemployment insurance program. (Unlike most workers who collect state unemployment benefits, railworkers receive their benefits from the federal government at \$25 per day up to five days.)

The railroad retirement fund is mostly funded by employee contributions. Presently there are four retired rail workers to every employed worker.

Democratic Congressman James Florio of New Jersey says without new money pumped into the retirement fund, benefits will be cut by as much as 40 percent by October 1.

These cuts in the Reagan budget fit into the overall offensive by the government and employers to reduce wages, benefits, and to alter traditional work rules. The Reagan administration would like to eventually turn over the entire fund to the private sector.

The RLEA has proposed that both the rail carriers and rail workers equally share the increased costs of balancing the retirement fund budget. After a series of meetings with rail carriers, Ole Berge, RLEA retirement committee chairman, said, "It is obvious they intend to do absolutely nothing. They want give-backs and take-aways and are willing to give nothing in return."

Berge added, "If the National Railway Labor Conference thinks that President Reagan's idea to turn Tier II [the retirement fund] over to the private sector is a better idea, then they should realize that, if that happens, pensions become a matter for the bargaining table and are subject to strike action by workers. And our members are

sick of management's do-nothing attitude already."

To improve railroad unemployment benefits, the RLEA is backing several bills now in Congress to raise benefits.

What's been the response of rail workers to this new round of attacks?

The same issue of *Labor* has a letter from J.O. Barnett from Valliant, Oklahoma, in the "Editor's Mail Bag." Barnett proposes the following solution to the budget cuts:

"Let's try this: Cut Reagan's pay 50 percent. Cut all ex-presidents' pay 75 percent. Cut Nixon off completely. Cut congressmen's pay 50 percent and cut off all their fringe benefits. Cut the White House staff 50 percent. Cut foreign aid 50 percent. Tax the oil companies, utilities, insurance companies, doctors, and hospitals. Then we would have plenty of money to pay the old, sick, disabled, and retired people and to rebuild our roads and bridges and put things back together."

Barnett is on to something.

The RLEA should mobilize its members to fight these proposed cuts. Lobbying Congress won't cut it. Rail labor must use its power to demand its rights.

Jim Gotesky is a rail worker and member of International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 817.

LETTERS

Ginny Foat I

Your article concerning the arrest of Ginny Foat, California State NOW coordinator, on murder charges neglected to report Foat's role in the attempted expulsion of three socialists (two of them members of the SWP) from San Francisco NOW in 1982.

Despite all this, I feel that Ginny's right to a fair trial must be vigorously defended.

I also feel that the *Militant* should have presented a more balanced view of Foat.

*Susan Englander
San Francisco, California*

Ginny Foat II

I am one of three members of the San Francisco Chapter of NOW [National Organization for Women] — the other two being Socialist Workers Party members — who initiated the Caucus for Democracy in NOW to defeat Ginny Foat's year-long struggle to purge us as socialists from NOW and deliver the organization without dissent to the Democratic Party.

I was disappointed in your one-sided article (Jan. 28, '83) billing Foat as a leader of feminist, civil

rights, and union struggles. I am writing this letter to round out the picture so that your readers can better understand the struggles internal to the women's movement.

As president of California NOW for the two years that I have been a member, Foat seldom hesitated to suspend democratic proceedings, undermine the rights of the membership, or red-bait her opposition in order to consolidate the power of her faction.

It appeared to me that Foat viewed her post in NOW as an opportunity to advance through the ranks of the Democratic Party. Under the guise of political pragmatism she sought the freedom to trade off support for the various feminist demands of the organization without accountability to the membership.

Now Foat has been indicted for a robbery and murder committed in 1965. Innocent or guilty, she deserves a fair trial, something more than she herself was willing to give us as political opponents when we were brought up on charges of organizing a March For Women's Rights.

Ironically, Foat was identified to police by a rival "pragmatist" within NOW. Rather than being victim of a political frame-up as

the *Militant* alleged, Foat's capture was more likely a result of the unprincipled faction-fighting that she herself perpetrated.

Yes, Foat's case will be misrepresented in the media to discredit the women's movement. Now more than ever women must join together to create a democratic, independent movement to fight for the rights of all women and to repudiate false leaders who would discredit and betray the struggle.

*Kathy Setian
San Francisco, California*

[In reply — The *Militant* has had regular coverage of the fight for democracy in NOW — including the successful campaign to reverse the expulsion of the three feminists from the San Francisco chapter. Our differences with the national NOW leadership and California NOW leaders like Ginny Foat are well-known on this important question.

[These differences, however, are irrelevant to the serious political challenge posed by the Ginny Foat case. Contrary to Kathy Setian and Susan Englander, we don't think that Foat's undemocratic methods and pro-Democratic Party views are at issue. The ruling class and big-business media are

using this case to smear the entire struggle for women's rights as an "antifemale movement" led by murderers.

[The fact that Foat — the president of California state NOW — has been singled out for arrest on charges stemming from an incident that occurred almost 20 years ago; that she has been ordered extradited by California Gov. George Deukmejian to Louisiana to stand trial; and tried and found guilty in the press, is no accident.

[In the wake of the defeat of the Equal Rights Amendment, the attacks on abortion rights, and the general offensive against working people that hits women especially hard, the ruling class is utilizing its governmental power, including the courts and capitalist politicians, to try to isolate and demoralize women's rights fighters.

[An important aspect of the campaign against Foat is the attempt to divide the women's rights movement over her case, and to disrupt and sow divisions within NOW in particular. In the face of this attack, women's rights fighters must close ranks to answer the reactionary propaganda of the *Los Angeles Times* and other big-business mouthpieces.

[To take another example. Sup-

pose in the course of a strike a trade union official was charged with a murder committed 20 years ago. Suppose this official was known to be a vicious opponent of rank-and-file democracy. Would the correct response of the union ranks be to dissociate themselves from the official under attack by pointing to undemocratic practices in the union, or to expose the charges as an attempt to brand the whole union and its strike "criminal" and "violent?"

[To concentrate on "repudiating false leaders," as Setian proposes, when they are a direct target of government attack, gives foes of women's rights more of a handle to weaken and divide the movement, and makes it harder to build the "democratic independent movement to fight for the rights of all women" which Setian wants to see come about. — *Editors*]

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.

8,000 demonstrate in San Francisco as Reagan toasts Queen of England

BY ANÍBAL YÁÑEZ

SAN FRANCISCO — Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Philip brought to a close another leg of their grand tour of the West Coast here on March 5, carrying on with the show that supposedly mesmerized the American people with its dazzling display of wealth and royal elegance.

But a full-page ad in the daily papers here, paid for by Irish Republican groups

For more coverage of Irish struggle see page 13.

and the city's labor movement, expressed a widespread and different view: "Queen Elizabeth II, you're as welcome as George III," it read, referring to sentiments among people at the time of the first American revolution.

The ad denounced U.S. intervention in El Salvador and British rule in Ireland, and criticized the lavish spending of taxpayers' money in preparing the reception for the queen, contrasting this to President Reagan's anti-working-class economic policies.

On March 3, San Francisco Mayor Diane Feinstein threw an official city government reception for the royal couple, attended by some 2,500 guests.

The afternoon affair had what the papers called a "jarring note for the queen" when Seamus Gibney, West Coast organizer of Irish Northern Aid, got up and shouted in the middle of the program, "Stop the torture, stop the torture!" before being dragged out by security agents.

Outside 500 demonstrators demanded, "Brits out of Ireland," while riot police and secret service agents surrounded the hall and sharp shooters with rifles crouched on balconies.

President Reagan put on a dinner for the queen on the night of March 3. The guests, as the press reported, were "a rich mix of

Bay Area celebrities, business and political leaders, sports heroes, show business personalities, and socialites," who arrived in Rolls Royces and limousines.

About a mile away 8,000 demonstrators gathered in the rain to protest against the queen and Reagan. The spirited march and rally were organized by the March 3 Coalition, which brought together a broad spectrum of groups, including supporters of Irish and Salvadoran freedom struggles, women's rights groups, antinuclear groups, political organizations, and a few local unions. There was also a contingent of Argentines demanding that Britain get out of the Malvinas Islands.

Two slogans were heard more than any others the whole length of the demonstration: "No draft, no war, U.S. out of El Salvador!" and "IRA all the way!" Another joined the two, "We're fired up, won't take no more — from Ireland to El Salvador!"

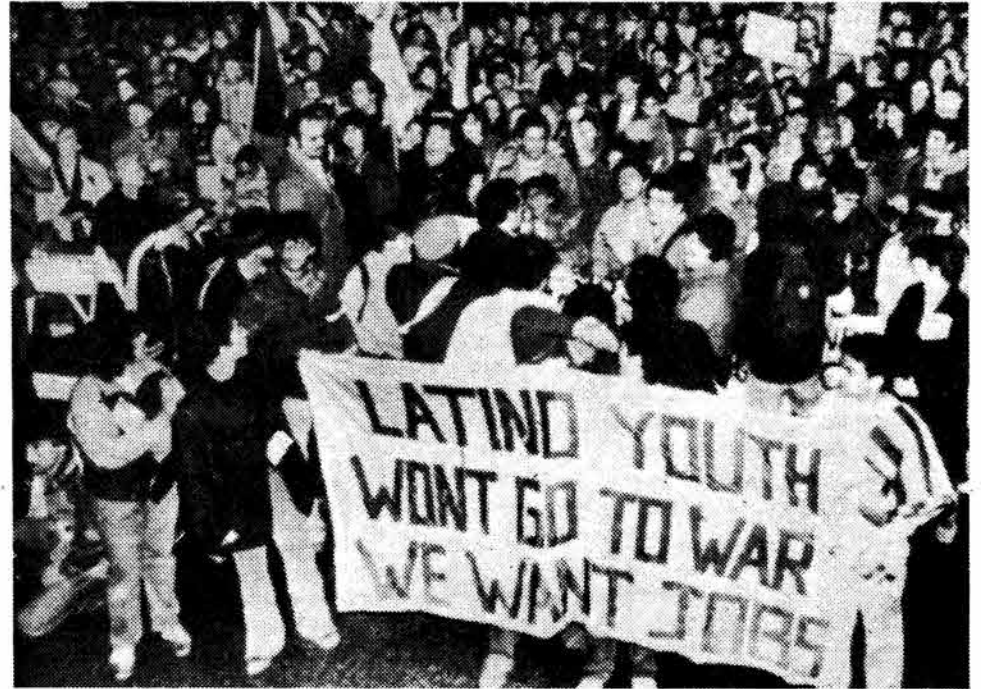
The main speakers at the protest rally were Arnaldo Ramos, representing the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front—Revolutionary Democratic Front (FMLN-FDR) of El Salvador, and Seamus Gibney, speaking for Irish Northern Aid.

The FMLN-FDR speaker began by declaring, "We are winning in El Salvador," and the crowd broke into cheers. "We are fighting for the right to food, for the right to education, for a better society. That is what people in the United States are fighting for," he said.

But, Ramos went on, "we cannot win without the aid of the U.S. people," for it is the American people who can deny Reagan "the right" to send marines to El Salvador.

Ramos also pointed to both Queen Elizabeth and Reagan as "symbols of the empire," indicating his solidarity with the Irish people's struggle against oppression.

Seamus Gibney opened his remarks by stating emphatically, "There should be no U.S. involvement in El Salvador!" When he asked the crowd to "raise your voices in support of freedom for Ireland," he got a



S.F. protesters demand U.S. out of El Salvador, and Britain out of Ireland.

rousing response as thousands chanted, "IRA, IRA, IRA!"

That same evening, another 3,000 protesters gathered at the Civic Center to hear a number of Bay Area labor leaders, among them state AFL-CIO official John Henning, hit Reagan's economic policies, U.S. involvement in El Salvador, and Britain's role in Ireland.

The next evening Reagan and the queen got together on the royal yacht, *Britannia*, for what was billed as a "gala night aboard

the floating palace." Besides a few British and American cabinet members, politicians, functionaries, and advisers, the select group on board included 12 private citizens, representing some of the real rulers of this country: the president of the Bank of America, the chairman of Levi Strauss, the president of Transamerica Corp., the chairman of the board of Standard Oil, chairman of Hewlett-Packard Co., and the chairman of the Crocker National Corp.

Missouri dioxin victims protest gov't inaction

BY JON TEITELBAUM

EUREKA, Mo. — "The Welfare of the People Shall Be the Supreme Law — this is the state motto of Missouri." So read the banner in front of a February 12 meeting here. The meeting of 150 residents of Jefferson and Warren counties was held to protest the lack of government action regarding dioxin sprayed on and buried in various Missouri communities.

Gail Hanks, from Imperial, Missouri, described the effects of the dioxin on local inhabitants: headaches; skin rashes; cramps; lowered resistance to disease; kidney, spleen, and liver problems; cancer; urinary infections; lung problems; lymph diseases; and birth defects — the same diseases found in Love Canal, New York.

Lynn Sproul, also from Imperial, pointed out that the state of Missouri and the federal government were aware of the danger in the Stout and Minker sites in Imperial as early as 1971. In 1975 the Center for Disease Control (CDC), the top federal health agency, recommended that the dioxin be removed from Imperial, but it remains there to this day.

Bill Davis, a dairy farmer from Verona, spoke of how 10 cows have died on his farm since last November 10 and the last 19 calves were born dead. Independent Petrochemical, a subsidiary of the multibillion dollar, multinational Charter Company, contracted to bury dioxin-contaminated waste produced by a hexachlorophene factory there.

Some of the waste was also contracted to Russell Bliss, a waste oil distributor based in St. Louis, who used some of the waste as a spray to keep down dust. Other dioxin remains buried in landfills.

Sharon Rogers from Wright City, Missouri, a leader of Missourians Against

Hazardous Waste, protested the state's refusal to destroy the dioxin. Dioxin was moved from Times Beach and other areas to "Bob's Home Service," a "certified hazardous waste landfill" in Wright City. Times Beach was hit by a devastating flood in December, during which 50-gallon drums and other debris contaminated by dioxin were spread throughout the town.

The main speaker at the Saturday meeting was Lois Gibbs, former president of Love Canal Homeowners Association. Gibbs explained the similarities between the politicians' reaction to Love Canal and their reaction to the situation in Missouri: "They must have been cloned." The politicians in both areas initially denied there was any problem. They asserted that the danger was exaggerated.

The only difference is the amount and concentration of dioxin found in Missouri — worse than in Love Canal or any known dioxin contamination in the world. There are estimates that up to 100 pounds of dioxin are spread in over 100 sites in Missouri and nearby areas of Illinois. The concentration levels have been from 1 part per billion to the 300 parts per billion at the Minker site — 3,000 times the concentration in Love Canal. Concentrations as low as 5 parts per trillion have been found to cause cancer in laboratory animals.

Gibbs urged the residents of the affected areas to form a strong, united organization and to use peaceful, direct "citizen action" to obtain redress. "Going with one or two people to the EPA to get your test results just doesn't cut it. Five hundred of us went to demand our test results and that is the only reason we got them."

After the formal presentations, Yolanda Bohrer, chairperson of the meeting, led a

Continued on Page 13

Times Beach residents see pitfalls in Washington's 'buyout' proposal

EUREKA, Mo. — On February 24, 300 residents of Times Beach and other dioxin-contaminated Missouri communities met here. Earlier that week the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) announced plans to use \$37 million dollars from the "superfund" to buy out the more than 2,000 homes and other property of Times Beach residents.

The Reagan administration had held forth the EPA's action as a quick and decisive response to resolve the situation. The residents of Times Beach looked at it a little differently. One concern was expressed in the banner, "We're happy — What about Jefferson County?" This referred to the dioxin-contaminated Stout and Minker sites in Imperial, not included in the buyout.

One of the major concerns of the residents is the buy-out proposal itself. Appraisers were to be sent in to establish "fair market value" for the homes and other property. Residents are demanding replacement value and, as one leader stated, "You can't trust the federal appraisers any farther than I can throw this table."

In addition there were fears that one condition of the buyout would be to release the federal and state governments of any responsibility for the medical problems caused by the dioxin. The residents will never accept that.

Another concern was for the needs of those homeowners who wished to stay. Al-

ready, even before buyout, there have been reductions and threats of reductions to services in the community. Trash collection has been halted. School bus drivers have indicated that after this week there will be no more bus transportation for Times Beach school children who have to travel seven miles to the high school and junior high school in Eureka. The future of water service is in doubt. The Eureka fire department, which services Times Beach, has announced it will not put out any fires in cordoned off areas or enter any building to put out a fire unless life is threatened.

Another aspect of the highly publicized buyout proposal is to ignore or write out of existence the other 29 "confirmed" and nearly 100 "suspected" sites in Missouri and nearby areas of Illinois.

The pressure for Times Beach residents to accept the federal government's offer and move out quickly is enormous. One source is the insurance companies, which have threatened to cut off medical and homeowner's insurance. One resident who works in the Chrysler plant in Fenton indicated a threat by the company to terminate health and life insurance for any Chrysler worker who remained in Times Beach.

One after another, residents spoke of phone calls they had received in support of their struggle from all over the world. One call was from Sicily, another from Sydney, Australia.