

## U.S. pushes Vietnam-type 'pacification' of Salvador



U.S. ambassador to El Salvador, Deane Hinton, in Berlin, El Salvador. Earlier this year government forces indiscriminately bombed Berlin after liberation fighters left city.

BY HARRY RING

President Reagan's decision to launch a Vietnam-style "rural pacification" program in El Salvador is an admission that the rebel forces there have the support of the people and cannot be defeated except by waging war against those people.

According to U.S. and Salvadoran officials, the plan is to "separate" the civilians from the guerrillas.

The plan, they said March 12, is to send heavy military forces into two provinces that are strongholds of the liberation forces, drive the guerrillas out, and then herd the remaining civilian population into police-controlled communities so the liberation fighters cannot return and reestablish their base among the people.

According to one news account from San Salvador, military officials there see this Vietnam rerun "as virtually a last-ditch effort to reverse rebel momentum."

One U.S. official there told reporters

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## Socialists win federal trial in L.A. after four-year disruption by courts

BY DAVID FRANKEL

LOS ANGELES — One week after it opened, the trial of the Socialist Workers Party in the U.S. District Court here ended with Judge Mariana Pfaelzer saying she would rule in favor of the party.

Pfaelzer's March 9 decision was a big victory. But it came after a four-year-long disruption operation that cost the SWP hundreds of thousands of dollars and an incalculable drain on the time and energies of the party's central leadership.

As David Epstein, attorney for the SWP, said in his closing argument, "The tragedy here is that no matter what the final decision, it does not alleviate for one moment the four years of harassment that my clients have been put through."

Epstein pointed to the table set aside for the SWP legal team. It was piled high with the transcripts of pretrial question-and-answer sessions that SWP leaders had been required by the court to sit through — some 350 hours in all.

The SWP was hauled into court by Alan Gelfand, a Los Angeles County attorney who has leveled the slanderous claim that the party is run by government agents. Gelfand, who was expelled from the SWP in 1979, asked that the capitalist court review the principles and practices of a revolutionary workers party and rule on whether these were in keeping with the genuine traditions of the socialist movement!

Not only did Gelfand ask the capitalist court to determine who represents the ideas of socialism, he also demanded that it reinstate him in the SWP and remove the elected party leadership from office.

No less outrageous than Gelfand's suit was the agreement of Pfaelzer to hear his case and rule on it. Gelfand's lying accusations against the SWP would have remained so much hot air had it not been for that. As it was, the power of the courts enabled the disruption operation to go forward.

Judge's role

In keeping alive Gelfand's suit, the judge repeatedly turned down motions by the SWP to throw the case out of court, although she herself admitted Gelfand had never presented a shred of evidence to back up his charges.

During the final arguments Pfaelzer declared, "All along the way I have defended Mr. Gelfand's right to continue. . . . We have gone along and reopened discovery . . . even though I did not believe there was anything to this case. . . ."

"And here we are now, after having spent all this time and money. I can only assume that the only motive was to paralyze the SWP. If I had been presented with one piece of evidence that these people are agents of the United States government I wouldn't be so disturbed."

At this point John Burton, Gelfand's chief lawyer, complained, "The court was never misled about what this case was about. You can look at each step — the interrogatories, the summary judgment brief, the trial brief — we told the court what kind of case we were going to present."

McCarthyite smears

It was Pfaelzer who gave the go-ahead for the endless inquisition of SWP leaders by Gelfand's lawyers. As she put it in court, "I know there has been an abuse of discovery. . . . Probably it is still going on, but I am not going to do anything about it. I am going to let it proceed."

Pfaelzer also allowed Gelfand to fill the court record with innuendo and slander. At one point Burton tried to introduce into evidence a section of the book *Men Without Faces*, by FBI informer and professional liar and perjurer Louis Budenz. Budenz was a major figure in helping to get the McCarthyite witch-hunt going. His frame-up accusations that leaders of the Communist Party were Soviet agents helped set

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## Grenada mobilizes against U.S. threat

BY STEVE CLARK

ST. GEORGE'S, Grenada — Plans for celebrating the fourth anniversary of the March 13, 1979, revolution on this small Caribbean island underwent an emergency change here this weekend.

Initial plans had projected no central, island-wide event, such as those that have taken place the previous three years. Instead, local rallies had been set for towns, villages, and workplaces throughout the country.

As Prime Minister Maurice Bishop explained at an evening rally here March 13, however, President Reagan took those plans out of the hands of the revolutionary Grenadian government by levelling a serious threat to Grenada in a speech just two days earlier to the National Association of Manufacturers.

In that speech, Reagan explained his intention to increase military assistance to the Salvadoran dictatorship and to consider expanding the number of U.S. military personnel aiding the counterrevolution in El Salvador's civil war.

"I know a good many people wonder why we should care about whether Communist governments come into power," Reagan said. "One columnist argued last week that we shouldn't care because their products are not that vital to our economy."

Continuing, Reagan said: "That's like the argument of another so-called expert that we shouldn't worry about Castroite control over the island of Grenada — their only important product is nutmeg."

"People who make these arguments haven't taken a good look at a map lately or followed the extraordinary build up of Soviet and Cuban military power in the region. . . ."

"It is not nutmeg that is at stake in the Caribbean and Central America. It is the United States national security," Reagan continued.

No idle threat

At a late afternoon rally outside St. George's March 12, leaders of the Grenadian government and governing New Jewel Movement explained the seriousness of Reagan's threat. The rally had initially been called as a ceremony officially opening the Sandino Housing Plant. The new factory, named for the Nicaraguan revolutionary hero Augusto César Sandino, will turn out 500 new homes each year to upgrade living standards for Grenadian workers and farmers.

José López Moreno, a member of the

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## New stage in rights fight

Federal Judge Marianna Pfaelzer's ruling in favor of the Socialist Workers Party in the suit brought by Alan Gelfand is a victory for democratic rights — given that Pfaelzer allowed the four-year disruption campaign to continue right up through a costly trial.

But the fight is not over. Building on the momentum of this initial victory, we can

carried out this operation, the democratic rights of all working people are in jeopardy. Gelfand's tactic of joining an organization, getting himself thrown out, and then disrupting the organization through such a suit can be used against the union movement, Black and Chicano rights organizations, women's rights groups, and any other progressive party or organization.

The federal government, through the court, allowed this disruption campaign to proceed. That Judge Pfaelzer carried the case as far as she did was a blow to the constitutional right of freedom of association. By presuming to rule on whether Gelfand should be reinstated in the SWP, the judge claimed the right to supervise the internal functioning of the party. Under examination at the trial, SWP leaders Larry Seigle and Jack Barnes had to defend the organizational rules and principles of the SWP, as well as the procedures followed by the party in expelling Gelfand, in front of a federal judge who claimed the right to rule on these things.

If unions, civil rights groups, working-

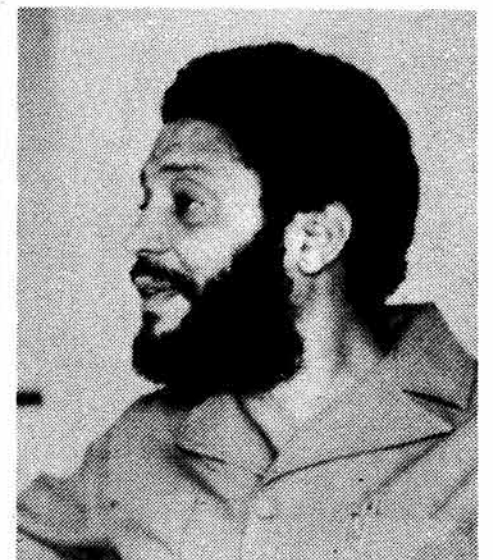
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## EDITORIAL

now go on the offensive to beat back the whole attack on democratic rights this case represents.

Judge Pfaelzer's finding that there was not "one shred of evidence" to back up Gelfand's suit helps clarify that the purpose of Gelfand and his backers in the U.S. Workers League and British Workers Revolutionary Party was solely to harass, disrupt, and bleed the SWP and to gather ammunition for their slander campaign against the party.

To the extent that Gelfand and his supporters are allowed to get away with having



Militant/Diane Wang

Grenada Prime Minister Bishop



BY MALIK MIAH

Branches of the Socialist Workers Party have begun to assess their progress in organizing plant-gate sales of our press. The goal is to involve each member of the party each week in a team that regularly sells at a specific industrial site.

John Gaige, the SWP organizer in Minneapolis-St. Paul reports that a discussion took place in their leadership and branch meetings on progress in selling the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* at plant gates. The purpose of the discussion, he said, was to collectively take responsibility for plant-gate sales and move towards establishing these sales as a norm of membership in the party.

He said their evaluation looked at participation; establishment of regular teams; plant locations to sell at; and regularizing weekly sales.

After eight weeks of plant-gate sales, Gaige said, 92 papers have been sold. This is an average of 11.5 papers sold per week. The most common experience, he said, is that one or two people buy regularly on each sale. "Some sales have higher results — for example, we sold 17 at a steel plant."

A little less than half the branch membership has sold regularly. A few members have not yet been out on a plant-gate sale.

## Increasing participation

One of the branch's main objectives, Gaige added, is to raise the percentage of branch members'

participation. Although it hasn't been what it should be, Gaige noted, progress is being made.

Furthermore, he added, "We thought it was important to start with an approach of selling at the plant gates from the point of view of getting out and doing it rather than figuring everything out beforehand."

Now that selling at plant gates is more established, the branch has concluded that it needs to politically prioritize its sales more. For example, Minneapolis is a big rail center and the branch plans to relaunch weekly rail yard sales.

Gaige also said they discussed getting out to plants where they have socialist unionists working and to plants they've never sold at before.

## Organization

Other steps they are taking to improve plant-gate sales include putting together a plant-gate information sheet with the size, shift change, union, and other important information on it. They also plan to centralize what they know and work more closely with the jobs committee, which is responsible to help members get industrial jobs, and to work more closely with the socialists already working in industry.

In San Francisco, Matilde Zimmermann says progress is being steadily made.

She reports that everyone in the branch is now assigned to a team. On average two thirds of the members actually sell at plant gates

each week. They usually sell zero to two papers per team. But this varies from plant to plant. Most industrial sites they sell at are quite small — no more than 50 workers.

For example, at a shipyard they sell 5-7 papers per sale. And at transit barns they sell 3-4 papers per sale.

Zimmermann added that the sales have made a big difference to the branch. They've gotten to whole new areas of the city. "It's been a big success for the branch."

Mary Zins of Salt Lake City informs us that getting 100 percent participation among SWP members has been easy, so far. She adds it's based on only four weeks' experience but that the success is boosting confidence for the future.

## Sales to miners

The evaluation of plant-gate sales by the Pittsburgh SWP noted the following: in selling the first six issues of the 1983 *Militant*, the branch sold roughly 300 papers; of those, 100 were sold to coal miners in the area.

Betsy Farley, sales coordinator, added, "We're ready to take the next step toward increasing the numbers sold," based on this success. Although the branch is currently petitioning to place socialist candidates on the ballot, Farley said, the regular plant-gate teams will be maintained.

In Denver, while members of the SWP branch are signed up on sales teams, and while they've had



Militant/Lou Howort

very successful sales to rail workers and at the picket lines of striking United Auto Workers members at Caterpillar, there have been problems getting the teams out every week.

Maureen McDougall, SWP organizer, reports that most members are excited about selling at plant gates, but that in the beginning the teams were left to go out whenever they arranged to. Without a regular, organized day or time, many teams fell through. Now the sales committee of the

branch is organizing to follow up on the sales.

These, and similar experiences, problems, and discussions are what we're finding as we organize to make weekly plant-gate sales a permanent part of our political life.

Overall, after only 6-8 weeks of plant-gate sales more and more SWP branches are moving forward toward our goal of establishing plant-gate sales as a norm of political activity.

# Miami cops kill Black, arrest Liberty City youth

MIAMI — Cops in Liberty City here went on another rampage two nights in a row in the Black community March 13 and 14. Thirty-one Black youths were arrested the first night, 50 the second.

Their crime? Attending weekend street discos at African Square Park on Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard.

Anger against cops runs high here. At least five Blacks have been murdered by cops in the last six months. On March 13 they also killed a Cuban in Little Havana.

A woman who lives near African Square Park told reporters after the cop rampage, "Things are so intense because of the shootings going on. It makes people on edge."

The latest Black victim, 22-year-old Donald Harp, was killed by a Dade County

cop March 4. The cop shot Harp in the chest.

Blacks in the Overtown area rebelled in December after a white cop killed 21-year-old Nevell Johnson at a video arcade. Under mass pressure, four cops have been indicted for manslaughter by the county grand jury, including those who killed Johnson and Harp.

White cops have met to organize defense for the two killers.

The Ku Klux Klan also held a demonstration in the downtown business district to support the killer cops. They have announced a pro-cop rally March 19 in Peacock Park, which is near a Black community.

Fearing that the Klan rally would trigger a militant protest by the Black community

and its allies, City Manager Howard Gary refused to grant the Klan a permit. Gary's decision is strongly supported in the Black community.

The city's two daily papers, however, are campaigning for Gary to allow the Klan a permit, claiming it's a "free-speech" issue. Joining them in this, unfortunately, is the American Civil Liberties Union.

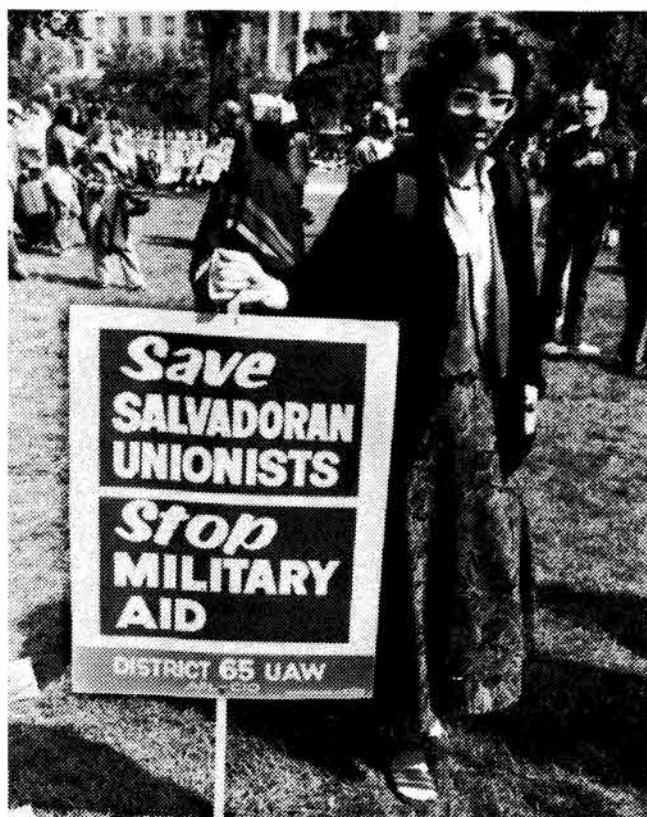
The only thing the city has actually prevented from happening is an anti-Klan meeting in the Black community.

The meeting, called by the Ad Hoc Committee Against the Klan, was scheduled for March 5. It was to include a film and discussion about the upcoming Klan action. But Gary denied use of a city facility and ringed it with cops March 5.



Miami cops during Overtown rebellion

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# Minn. unions hear Salvador labor leader

BY FRANK FORRESTAL  
AND JOHN GAIGE

ST. PAUL, Minn. — "In the six states I have toured, it is clear that our brother and sister workers in the United States are beginning to move and wake up." That was the conclusion that Alejandro Molina Lara, organizational secretary of FENASTRAS, the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers, has drawn during his tour of the United States.

The urgency of Molina Lara's call for working-class solidarity with the Salvadoran workers and peasants was underscored by the recent moves of the Reagan administration to send more GIs and millions more in military aid to El Salvador.

This major escalation and the pressing need to stay the hand of U.S. imperialism was the central theme of Molina Lara's tour here.

The ten-day state-wide Minnesota tour, organized by the Labor Task Force of the El Salvador Solidarity Committee, was jammed-tight with meetings.

The heart of the tour was a series of meetings with trade unionists which included local meetings of the United Auto Workers, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, United Steelworkers, Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, International Association of Machinists, United Transportation Union, Minnesota Federation of Teachers, Minnesota Education Association, American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, and the Coalition of Labor Union Women.

In addition, there were four public meetings sponsored by central labor councils in Minneapolis, Virginia, Duluth, and St. Cloud.

In Virginia, Molina Lara spoke to over 200 steelworkers at a meeting of Local 1938 of the United Steelworkers, the largest steelworkers local in the state.

On February 26, 215 people turned out for a labor-community rally at the Machinist Labor Temple in St. Paul. The rally was chaired by Bob Killeen, Sub-Region 10 director of the United Auto Workers (UAW). Earlier in the week Molina Lara spoke before the UAW Region 10 CAP Council where a resolution was unanimously adopted.

Drafted as a letter from Killeen to President Reagan, it said in part:

"Minnesota United Auto Workers join with Latin American and U.S. citizens, conscious of the situation that the labor leadership of National Union Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS), and the Union of the Hydroelectric Executive Commission of the Lempa River (STECCEL) are facing, and request you to press the Salvadoran Government for the release as soon as possible of the union leaders who have been jailed since August 22, 1980.

"The government of El Salvador is violating the fundamental rights of union members and their leadership, as stated by the INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF LABOR (IOL), therefore, we ask you to do your utmost, to have these union members released and returned to their families."

John Massetti, secretary-treasurer of Lodge 143 of the International Association of Machinists, was the first speaker at the Labor Temple meeting.

He began: "I am honored that Molina Lara has asked me to speak. I am horrified at the record of the U.S. government. I thought we had enough of this in Vietnam. Let our voice become many and demand no more military aid be sent to El Salvador."

Carl Hoogenraad, president of United

Electrical Workers Local 1139 spoke next. Alejandro Molina Lara was greeted by a standing ovation.

"It is important for the American working class to understand our roots," he said. "We have been fighting the dictatorship for 50 years. The problem is not Soviet or Cuban expansionism. That is propaganda from the mouth of Reagan."

"The real problem, the real threat," continued Molina Lara, "is the U.S. multinationals that pay an average union wage of \$2.50 a day, the 14 ruling families, and the 18 criminal military officers."

"It is a conflict between social classes. It has nothing to do with the so-called East-West conflict. The real struggle involves the five million workers and peasants against the U.S.-backed dictatorship."

Molina Lara then clarified why the Salvadoran workers and peasants have taken up arms against the government.

"We have tried peaceful means. We have tried elections. But each time the ruling oligarchy has stolen the victory through fraud."

"We would rather fight and die than perish from malnutrition and hunger," explained Molina Lara. "The oligarchy is fighting to maintain its privileges, its exploitation. . . . That is why our people support the revolutionary organizations. Power has to be taken from the oligarchy."

## U.S. women on fact-finding Nicaragua tour

JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — International Women's Day, March 8, was celebrated all over the country here.

In Managua, 31 U.S. women from different religious faiths and organizations were received as special guests by the Luisa Amanda Espinoza Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE).

The women planned to return after their nine-day tour of the country and "transmit the truth," as Majorie Tuite, the group's organizer, put it.

The efforts of the U.S. women will also be channeled into building the newly formed New York Women's Coalition Against U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean.

In Managua, the opening of a new legal office to defend women's rights was celebrated. There the *Militant* had the opportunity to speak with several members of the visiting U.S. delegation.

All had one thing first and foremost on their minds — anger with the pope, who visited here March 4.

"He had the power to heal and he wounded," said Sharon Andersen, from Church Women United's Grand Oak, North Dakota, chapter. "It's difficult to understand."

Andersen was referring to the pope's refusal to heed the pleas of the mothers of the 17 Sandinista Youth members killed by U.S.-trained counterrevolutionaries and buried only the day before the pope's visit. The mothers and hundreds of thousands of other participants at the pope's mass in Managua had urged him to speak out in favor of the struggle for peace.

Marjorie Tuite of Church Women United was appalled at the vast discrepancy between what her delegation had actually seen and the U.S. press coverage of Pope John Paul II's visit.

Several members of our group were right up there on the stage and saw the mothers plea for peace, Tuite said. "That was no filtered information. That was reality, and that's what we're going back with."

"It's really heart breaking because we are citizens of a country who would speak democratic values. And the whole thing here is that the people of Nicaragua simply want to determine their own life. Now what's so outrageous about that?" she asked.

The pope's behavior made a deep impression on Billie Jean Young of Jackson, Mississippi. "It reminded me of just how long it took Black ministers in the South to come forward and help out in our struggle. It makes you wonder about the role of religion. Here where religion is so intertwined in people's lives, which is how it has been traditionally in Black people's lives — it's been our only hope. And then to have

Real democracy will be won by the working class."

Molina Lara was confident that international solidarity can beat back the Reagan administration. "In the past three years we have taught U.S. imperialism and the oligarchy a big lesson. They cannot defeat us because we are fighting for democracy, freedom, and human rights."

Molina Lara was also confident that the Salvadoran workers will defeat Reagan's refusal to negotiate. "We [i.e. FENASTRAS] have accepted the proposal for negotiations by the FMLN-FDR [Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front]. Many governments around the world support this 'dialogue.' Only Reagan and the Salvadoran dictatorship are against it."

Molina Lara viewed the dialogue as part of the struggle for democracy. "We need democracy," said Molina Lara, "so we can fight harder for our rights and continue our struggle."

Molina Lara ended by observing that the United States working class "realizes that repression exists here too. Their crimes here are more sophisticated. Like their use of legal repression in dissolving PATCO [the air traffic controllers' union]."

"It's possible after El Salvador has been liberated that you, too, will free yourselves of the big corporations."

someone tell you to wait for heaven or something hereafter — not to struggle here — it's really an insult."

Young, who is the director of Southern Rural Women's Network, plans to write and speak about Nicaragua when she returns.

Charlene Muir, of Church Women United in Oak Park, Illinois, was particularly impressed by the meeting they had with Father Ernesto Cardenal, who headed up the mammoth 1980 Literacy Crusade.

The women met with former prostitutes who described what their lives were like before the revolution offered them a new perspective and productive work.

They met with prisoners, former Somozaist guardsmen, who under their own supervision and without guards work on a farm as an intermediary step before they are released.

They visited old-timers at a newly built



Militant/Linda Nordquist  
Alejandro Molina Lara spoke at 16 union meetings in Minnesota, including one attended by more than 200 members of Steelworkers Local 1938 in Virginia.

retirement home the revolution has constructed. The night before their visit, Sandinista television advertised that anyone who wanted to meet the women should come and have lunch there — on the house.

The women visited an AMNLAE sewing cooperative, a child-care center, and a tobacco factory.

They traveled to Nicaragua's northern border with Honduras and had an opportunity to hear first-hand from the local residents of the counterrevolutionaries' activities.

Tour participants felt they had their work cut out for them when they returned.

"I'm sure we'll be accused of having accepted a propaganda tour. But I'm human. I come out of struggle. I know what I'm looking at," said Billy Jean Young. "Our task is to take what we feel, with the facts, and spread the word."

## Boston campus meetings raise funds for University of El Salvador

BY LOUIS JOSEPHSON

BOSTON — "The University of El Salvador refuses to die" was the message brought by Felix Antonio Ulloa to hundreds during his week-long tour of Boston.

Ulloa was in the United States as part of a campaign by the University of El Salvador to appeal for support for the fight for academic freedom. As part of this campaign, the university has launched an international appeal for funds.

Ulloa, a representative of the university, spoke at five Boston-area colleges about the conditions under which the university functions today.

In 1980, the Salvadoran military took over the university, smashing classrooms, destroying books, and killing 50 members of the faculty and student body, including Felix Ulloa, who was the rector of the university and Felix Antonio Ulloa's father.

At Boston University, Ulloa spoke to an audience of over 150 at the invitation of the Boston University Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador. Also speaking was Martin Diskin, a professor of anthropology at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who had recently returned from a tour of El Salvador sponsored by the Faculty Committee on Human Rights.

At the University of Massachusetts in Boston, Ulloa's meeting was sponsored by the Latin American Studies Department.

The Harvard chapter of the National Lawyers Guild and the Harvard Committee on Central America sponsored a meeting at the Harvard Law School for Ulloa and Francisco Campbell from the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington.

Ulloa explained there the historic role that the University of El Salvador has played in his country.

Since its founding, the university has insisted on its autonomy. The deans are rectors of the school have always been elected by the faculty — never appointed by the government. The university's independent status allowed it to become one of the few places where ideas could be expressed freely. It was this independence that the dictatorship could not tolerate.

Ulloa described how the university has continued to function, even after the government takeover. "We have rented houses, taught in basements, and improvised as best we can in poor conditions."

The University still has 10,000 students enrolled, which is only a third of its former capacity. Despite all the problems, the university graduated 1,648 professionals in the last two years. This is especially significant in a country where illiteracy is about 40 percent and where there are only two doctors for every 5,000 people.

Ulloa concluded his talks with an appeal: "I urge you to support the people of El Salvador in their fight for a new and better society, and to support the university because it is part of the people."

His visit to Boston included meetings with prominent academics such as Harvey Cox from the Harvard Divinity School.

Over \$1,000 was raised in Boston for the university project.

Before leaving the United States, Ulloa also went to Philadelphia to win support from universities there.

### Protest U.S. aid to El Salvador

Hear: Maria Rivera, representative of the National Association of Salvadoran Educators (ANDES). Also speaking: Ed Shanklin, international representative, United Food and Commercial Workers; representatives of NAACP, Southern Christian Leadership Conference; others.

Thursday, March 24, 8 p.m., Laborers Local 689 Union Hall, 400 Soniat, New Orleans, La. For more information call (504) 523-5775.



# Socialists win federal trial in L.A. after four-year disruption by courts

Continued from front page

the stage for the Smith Act trials that sent many to prison in the 1950s.

Budenz also smeared others on the left. In *My Story*, one of his books not introduced as evidence by Gelfand, Budenz assures his readers that "Hitler used German Trotskyites as guards and encouraged them to persecute Catholics of the resistance movement. That is the Trotskyite style."

But Gelfand, who claims to represent the ideas of Trotskyism, had a particular use for another one of Budenz's slanders. Gelfand maintains that the agents who supposedly head the SWP today were helped into their places by Joseph Hansen, a leader of the party for 40 years. Hansen, according to Gelfand's noxious fantasy, was originally an agent of the Soviet secret police who was later recruited by the FBI.

Where the connection with Budenz comes in is that the witch-hunter had picked up and publicized an FBI smear against a former SWP activist, Sylvia Caldwell (also known as Franklin). Caldwell was one of many people accused by the FBI and its lapdogs of being a Soviet agent during the 1940s and '50s. She was hounded and threatened by the FBI and courts for years. Gelfand takes the FBI-Budenz smear for good coin and argues that "Soviet agent" Caldwell was helped into place by another "Soviet agent" — Hansen.

The Budenz book was offered as evidence for this mishmash of foul slanders.

## 'There's no limit'

"Your honor," attorney Epstein objected, "surely there has to be some limit."

"No," the judge shot back. "There's no limit. That's the way we're trying the case."

Epstein tried again, "Your honor, here we have an excerpt from a book about somebody named Helen who we're supposed to know is Franklin because of a letter written by the defendants. What's that supposed to prove?"

"I don't know what it's supposed to prove," the judge replied. "The record is already so overburdened, I see no reason why not to admit more."

Pfaelzer later admitted that "75 percent of the evidence I let in, in this trial, is irrelevant and immaterial in my opinion."

Using the pretext that she has hidden behind all along, the judge claimed, "My motivation here is to make sure that Mr. Gelfand had his day in court."

With Pfaelzer's help, Gelfand had four years in court.

## Cops say Gelfand was OK

During the trial itself, Pfaelzer let Gelfand's lawyers call whatever witnesses they wanted to, despite objections from Epstein that their testimony was irrelevant.

Two of Gelfand's witnesses were al-



Militant/Della Rossa

Attorney for SWP, David Epstein.

ready known to Pfaelzer. They were Vincent Parisi and Ricky Gibbey, Los Angeles cops who infiltrated the SWP and carried out a spying and disruption operation against it. At that time, Pfaelzer was serving as president of the Los Angeles Police Commission and approved the police operations against the SWP.

Parisi and Gibbey were offered, in effect, as character witnesses for Gelfand. "During the first year or two of Mr. Gelfand's membership," Burton asked Gibbey, "did he have a reputation as an outstanding member in the SWP?"

"Yes, he did," the cop hastened to reply.

"Through the entire time that you were in the SWP, did you ever see him try to disrupt the SWP?"

"No," Gibbey assured the court.

"Did you have the impression that Mr. Gelfand was trying to act in the best interests of the party?" Burton continued.

Pfaelzer, doubtless thinking of what the record would look like, broke in to say, "Now how is an agent supposed to answer a question like that?"

Turning to Gibbey, however, she said, "Go ahead. You may answer the question."

Gibbey replied, "Yes." Gelfand, as the cop saw it, was acting in the best interests of the SWP.

## 'Just like a TV camera'

In the weeks leading up to the trial, the SWP publicized Pfaelzer's previous responsibility for police spying and disruption against the party. During the trial itself the debate over such police operations was making front-page headlines in Los Angeles, fueled by new revelations about what the cops had been doing. Although Pfaelzer refused to step down from the case, as the SWP had demanded, the impact of the public campaign was felt inside the courtroom.

During Burton's final argument, he said: "You heard Mr. Gibbey say there was nothing wrong with Mr. Gelfand's procedure." The judge interrupted.

"Oh come now, Mr. Burton, Mr. Gibbey was a policeman. Rightly or wrongly he was in there as a policeman. What kind of weight do you want me to give to his testimony?"

Pfaelzer's "rightly or wrongly" speaks volumes. The former head of the police commission, who authorized Gibbey's activities, was conceding that there was a question after all about the propriety of such police spying and disruption.

Burton answered by offering the same lie that the cops themselves do in seeking to justify and defend their disruption programs against opponents of the government. Denying that the purpose of the cops is to disrupt the groups they target, Burton said of Gibbey: "He was an observer, he was like a television camera that recorded these events."

This defense of Gibbey's infiltration into the SWP was not an exception. Gelfand's entire case was based on government docu-

ments — mainly from the police and FBI, but also some from the State Department — documents that were filled with lies; on the testimony of cops like Parisi and Gibbey; and on the output of informers such as Budenz. It was a cop case from beginning to end.

Gelfand and his attorneys made no attempt to prove the truthfulness of these documents, offering them as evidence only of Gelfand's "state of mind." Moreover, none of the documents contained any shred of proof whatsoever that the leadership of the SWP or Joseph Hansen were government agents.

## The knowledgeable Mr. Budenz

The character of Gelfand's case came through with particular clarity around the frame-up of Sylvia Caldwell. The charge that Caldwell was an agent of the Soviet GPU (a forerunner of the KGB) first surfaced around 1947. SWP leader Larry Seigle explained on the witness stand, "The party treated it as it would any accusation from the FBI that someone was a Soviet agent. They were coming fast and furious at that time."

But Burton was not about to give up. "Isn't it a fact," he asked SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes, "that Mr. Budenz filed an affidavit before the House Un-American Activities Committee, stating that Sylvia Franklen [Caldwell] was a GPU agent?"

"I wouldn't believe anything that Louis Budenz said," Barnes pointed out.

Nevertheless, in his final argument Burton cited the authority of "Mr. Budenz, who everyone agreed had a great deal of knowledge about GPU actions in the United States."

Perhaps the thing that most impressed Gelfand's lawyer about the Sylvia Caldwell story was that, as he explained, "The U.S. government was convinced, at least enough to name her as unindicted coconspirator" in a 1958 spy trial.

Even in those days, however, the government was not willing to risk asking a jury to convict Caldwell. It makes one wonder what Burton thinks about the frame-up of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg. Not only did the government call them Soviet spies, in their case it even staged a trial and electrocuted the two martyrs.

But no doubts about official government documents have any place in the minds of Gelfand and his lawyers. "Today is a historic day," Burton declared as he introduced a last-minute government document he claimed was final proof that Sylvia Caldwell was a Soviet agent.

"It doesn't prove anything!" snapped the judge.

Especially suspicious, in Burton's view, was the fact that the SWP defended Sylvia Caldwell despite the fact that she left the party in the late 1940s. "Why are they defending her?" he asked in his final argument. "Nobody else wants to defend her. . . . The woman is obviously an agent."

According to Burton's logic, only agents would want to defend a woman who has been tagged as a Soviet agent by authorities such as the knowledgeable Louis Budenz.

## 'You have proved nothing'

By this time, the judge was interested in putting some distance between herself and Gelfand and company. She pointed out that an alternative explanation for the actions of the SWP leaders could be that "they're devoted to the party, they're loyal to Sylvia Caldwell, they're loyal to Mr. Hansen, and they assume that all these charges have been laid to rest in the past."

When Burton, in reply, referred to an earlier SWP motion to throw out the case without any trial, Pfaelzer snapped back: "That is exactly what should have been granted, the motion for summary judgment. . . . I have given you your day in court and have asked you repeatedly how you intend to prove that these people are agents of the government. You have not proved anything that you said you were going to prove — nothing."

Another point was repeatedly made by Pfaelzer. All the testimony about Caldwell and Hansen not only proved nothing about them, but it was also irrelevant.

"What you have to do is show that the people who expelled Mr. Gelfand from the party were agents of the FBI, or CIA, or of some government agency," she added.

The best that Gelfand could do in his attempt to come up with something to show that the leaders of the SWP are agents of the U.S. government was a letter written by Doug Jenness, a coeditor of the *Militant*, to the dean of students at Carleton College during the early 1960s. The letter, written in compliance with campus regulations, informed the school administration on behalf of the Student Peace Union (SPU), which Jenness was a member of at that time, that the SPU was organizing an off-campus antiwar demonstration.

"What does that do?" asked the judge, looking at the letter.

"It is an example of Doug Jenness acting as an informant," Burton replied.

## 'Not one shred of evidence'

It was on the basis of such "proof" that Gelfand's lawyer declared in his final argument that "every allegation in his complaint has been established here in trial."

"Mr. Gelfand was forced to resort to a circumstantial case of great complexity, but each and every fact has been proved here today."

When the judge told Burton, "You've been given countless thousands of hours to prove your case and you have not shown one shred of evidence," Gelfand's lawyer began to get upset.

His voice rising, pointing his finger at Pfaelzer, Burton cried out, "You may not believe it, your honor, but the evidence is there."

## Gelfand cites J. Edgar Hoover

A major issue in the case was Gelfand's expulsion from the SWP in January 1979. Gelfand maintained that this action had been taken by the "agents" in the SWP leadership to silence him and that his rights as a member had been violated. The court had agreed to rule on whether the party had violated its "contract" with Gelfand.

Gelfand's expulsion came about because of his intervention into the fight that the SWP was waging against the U.S. government and its secret police. In June 1978 Griffin Bell had become the first U.S. attorney general ever to be cited for contempt of court. Bell had defied a court order to turn over informer files to the SWP's lawyers in the famous SWP lawsuit against government spying and disruption.

Disclosure of the informer files, the government argued, would endanger national security because the SWP was supposedly in league with foreign powers. Furthermore, the government claimed, disclosure would endanger the lives of the informers because the SWP was a violent organization.

In December 1978, while appeals on this issue were still being heard, Gelfand jumped in with his own legal document in the case. He did this behind the back of the SWP. His argument dovetailed completely with those being raised by the government.

"How could it do that?" SWP attorney Epstein asked Larry Seigle.



Militant

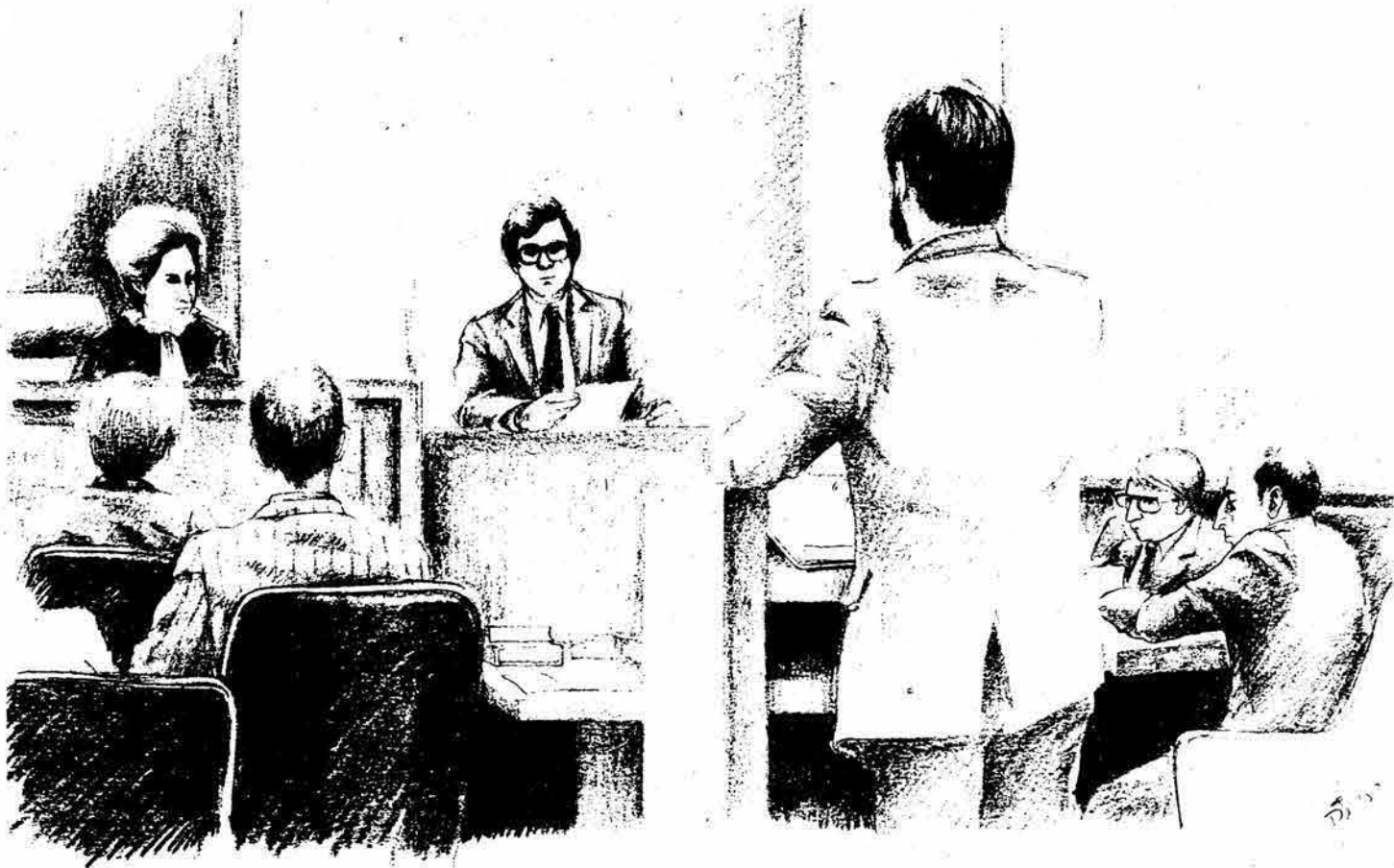
Red Squad agent Ricky Gibbey, star character witness for Gelfand.



Alan Gelfand

Militant





Gelfand's lawyer Burton questioning SWP leader Larry Seigle, whose testimony proved SWP was correct in expelling disrupter Gelfand, shown at far right.

"Well," Seigle replied, "first it accused Joe Hansen of being a Soviet agent. Joe Hansen was a plaintiff [in the SWP's suit against the government]."

"Second, it cited the letter by the liar J. Edgar Hoover that accused Joe Hansen of murdering George Mink. . . . It fed right into the government's arguments."

(One of the FBI documents that Gelfand thought was particularly useful for his case against Joe Hansen was a letter from J. Edgar Hoover citing a report that Hansen had tied up one George Mink and thrown him to his death in a volcano crater outside of Mexico City. Mink, however, turned up alive and well some months after Hoover's letter. Also to be noted is the fact that Mink was supposedly an agent of the GPU on his way to Mexico City to kill Leon Trotsky. But Gelfand's whole frame-up is based on the claim that Hansen was working for the GPU and was secretly conspiring to assassinate Trotsky. Apparently Gelfand's respect for J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI is far greater than his powers of logic.)

During the final arguments, the judge noted, "If there ever have been grounds in the history of the world for throwing a party member out, it was in the brief that Mr. Gelfand filed."

"I don't know what kind of political party they would be if they hadn't thrown him out. They let him vilify the party extensively before they threw him out."

"Come now, Mr. Burton, you read it. Do you think that brief was helpful to the party?"

"Certainly," replied the counsel for the plaintiff.

#### Behind Gelfand's suit

Gelfand's testimony had previously established that his suit against the SWP was conceived, organized, and financed in collaboration with the British Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP) and the WRP's subordinates in the U.S. Workers League (WL). These groups, which had previously been marked by ultrasectarian politics, have carried out an eight-year campaign accusing the SWP of being run by agents. Their campaign against the SWP has become the axis of their political activity. As the character of the Gelfand suit clearly showed, the evolution of this tendency has placed it outside of the working-class movement.

The whole purpose of Gelfand's suit was to try to get more ammunition for the WRP-WL slander campaign against the SWP.

"What is happening in this courtroom, your honor, is very simple," Epstein noted in his final argument. "With every click of that stenographic machine, these plaintiffs obtain more material to take out of context and to use in the same irresponsible way as they have up to now."

Gelfand's own testimony, and the inquisition of SWP leaders Jack Barnes and Larry Seigle, proved absolutely nothing about the lying claims of the WRP-WL.

Neither did the brief testimony of WL member Jean Brust.

Brust's husband is a professor at Carleton College in Minnesota. Part of the WRP-WL argument is that Carleton College was the staging ground for the infiltration of government agents into the SWP. The proof? Jack Barnes, Larry Seigle, Doug Jenness, and some other leaders of the SWP went to Carleton College.

"That is the most outrageous and ridiculous thing that has ever been argued in this courtroom, what you're arguing now," the judge told Burton when he began on the "Carleton connection."

The only other witnesses called by Gelfand's lawyer were the two cops, who gave Gelfand a clean bill of health, for what it was worth. Then Burton rested his case.

There was simply nothing for the SWP defendants to answer. The court had merely served as a sounding board for the same slanders that the WRP-WL have been issuing for years. "The defendant SWP will be presenting no defense," Epstein told the court.

#### Government 'defendants'

Aside from the SWP, Gelfand had also named the FBI, CIA, and Justice Department as defendants in the suit. But no depositions were taken from government officials. No real attempt was made to force the government to testify about the disruption programs it carries out. The suit was obviously aimed at the SWP, not at the U.S. government.

## Funds needed as urgently as ever

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — With the court declaration that the Gelfand harassment suit against the Socialist Workers Party is totally devoid of merit, the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) is pressing toward successful completion of the \$75,000 Emergency Defense Fund initiated on the eve of the trial. Response to the fund continues to be very impressive.

A wonderful example of this was the PRDF rally held here March 11, some 48 hours after the judge declared Gelfand had no case.

Participants in the rally contributed and pledged a grand total of \$15,800 to the fund.

Earlier, on the eve of the trial, nearly \$7,000 was raised at a Los Angeles rally.

And a mail appeal by PRDF has brought in more than \$9,000 so far.

The emergency fund, to be completed by May 1, was launched as the trial date approached, to partially defray the heavy costs involved in such proceedings.

"The \$75,000 really was a bottom-line figure," said PRDF national coordinator Holbrook Mahn. "The bills in this case run a good deal higher."

There are also continuing legal expenses in the Gelfand case, Mahn explained. An immediate one is the court move by PRDF attorneys seeking damages for malicious court action. This is an important step in discouraging further harassment suits of this type.

gument, "This case was a studied attempt by Alan Gelfand to act in the most disruptive and provocative way that he knew how, with the purpose of doing nothing but paralyzing the SWP."

Gelfand, Epstein declared, "had no shame in putting forth every bit of energy in disrupting this party, and he is doing it to this day."

#### Believes in everyone's rights?

For her part, Judge Pfaelzer had enabled Gelfand to carry out his disruption program against the SWP for four years without — as she herself repeatedly said — "one shred of evidence." Having taken the case as far as it could go, Pfaelzer turned around and tried to disassociate herself from Gelfand's malicious use of the court process.

"I do believe in the constitutional rights of all the people who come in here," Pfaelzer insisted.

When Epstein was outlining the way that Gelfand had used the courts to pursue the disruption campaign against the SWP, Pfaelzer broke in to say: "I agree with what you have just said. I think the lawsuit has been harassment. I think in large measure that it was brought for reasons other than getting Mr. Gelfand back into the party. I am more confident of that than ever before."

Whatever one cares to think about Pfaelzer's sincerity on the subject of constitutional rights, her stance has opened up an opportunity to pursue the counteroffensive against Gelfand and his collaborators. In response to Epstein's request, the judge set a hearing at which the SWP will be able to ask for lawyers' fees and the other costs of the case.

But the SWP is not just going to go after Gelfand in this process; it is also going to ask that the law firm that represented him be held liable. Gelfand's lawyers continued for years with a case they knew lacked any foundation in fact whatsoever.

Insofar as the SWP is successful in making Gelfand and company sorry that they ever went to court, it will make other rightists less eager to try out this tactic against unions, Black rights groups, or whatever progressive organization they would like to get. The SWP never wanted this fight in court, but now that it has been confronted with it, the party will carry it through to the end in the interests of the entire working-class movement.

Also, PRDF is involved in several other very important defense cases and was compelled to divert resources from them to the Gelfand suit.

One such case is that of Hamid Sodeifi, an Iranian student facing deportation for his socialist views.

Another important, expensive fight is the PRDF suit against Lockheed-Georgia on behalf of 14 workers fired by the giant corporation on the basis of association with the SWP.

And particularly urgent now is the fight to prevent deportation of Héctor Marroquín. PRDF is filing an appeal with the U.S. Supreme Court on behalf of Marro-

quín, who has been denied political asylum here. He left his native Mexico where he was targeted for political persecution.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service ordered Marroquín deported because of his declared Marxist views. The deportation order has been upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals.

The \$15,800 response at the rally here underlines the recognition of those attending that the battles being fought by PRDF are far from over and funds are still urgently needed.

You can register your agreement by clipping the coupon on this page and sending the committee your contribution.

## 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.



# Atlanta rally hits attacks on Blacks, unions, socialists

BY ANDY ROSE

ATLANTA — The call for a united defense of workers' democratic rights was strongly voiced by southern union organizers and Black rights fighters in a March 12 rally here.

The event — which drew some 150 people from Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky, Florida, and North Carolina — was sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees Local 1644.

It was especially impressive that such a broad array of speakers came together around several cases in which socialist workers were victims of employer and government attacks, including the Gelfand-Pfaelzer trial of the Socialist Workers Party. In the South as well as elsewhere, red-baiting is less and less effective in isolating militant workers from support in the labor and civil rights movements.

Bruce Raynor, an international vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU), said his union is "no stranger to violations of workers' rights." In ACTWU's 17-year campaign to organize the J.P. Stevens textile mills, he said, hundreds of workers were fired and blacklisted.

Raynor described the ineffectiveness of the courts and National Labor Relations Board in protecting workers from blatantly illegal company victimizations.

"The discharging of somebody at a un-

ionized plant for their political beliefs — if they're a socialist, if they're a communist, whatever their beliefs — is just as dangerous as firing a worker for trying to organize a union," Raynor emphasized.

"I hope the entire labor movement decides to take up these issues, not to be afraid of them, and sees them as part of the larger problem of the corporations versus the workers," the ACTWU leader concluded.

## Lockheed-Georgia case

One of the cases Raynor was referring to is the firing of 14 members of the International Association of Machinists by Lockheed-Georgia for their union activities and their socialist political beliefs. Garrett Brown, one of those fired, described the "Watergate-style spy operation" against the union that led to their victimization. He appealed for support to a \$3.4 million lawsuit filed against Lockheed by the 14 workers.

"What is at issue is the right of workers to freedom of association and freedom of speech, and the right of unions to organize free from government interference," Brown explained.

Crystal Lee Sutton is the North Carolina woman whose role in organizing J.P. Stevens was portrayed in the movie *Norma Rae*. In recounting her experiences to the rally, she especially noted how she had to fight against company attempts to pit white workers against Blacks.

"One of the most horrifying experiences of my life," she said, was in 1973 when she was unjustly fired and thrown in jail. She suddenly realized that the police operated not according to the law but according to the dictates of the mill bosses.

"It's time that working people take a stand," she said. "People have hurt enough. And when we've had enough, we're going to do something about it."

The most spirited contingent present was a group of some 20 Blacks who had driven nearly two hours from Sandersville, Georgia, to attend the rally. They have been involved, together with Blacks in nearby Wrightsville, in a long struggle against job discrimination and police violence.

## Fight for Black rights

Richard Turner, a Black farmer and executive board member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), spoke about their fight. He and others were brutally beaten in April 1980 for holding a demonstration to demand political rights and the hiring of Blacks in Wrightsville stores. The racist mob that attacked him was led by Sheriff Roland Attaway.

An all-white jury recently threw out a lawsuit filed against Attaway and other officials demanding their removal from office and financial compensation for their victims.

In a fiery speech, Turner expressed the determination of Wrightsville and Sandersville Blacks to continue their fight despite this legal setback. "I'd rather be beaten than see my brothers and sisters come up in slavery," he said. "We will never be the same."

Fred Taylor is director of chapters and affiliates for SCLC. He told the rally that SCLC is calling a national march in Wrightsville April 9, the third anniversary of the attack on Turner and others.

Taylor led the crowd in chanting, "Fired up!" "Ronald Reagan, he's no good, send him back to Hollywood," and "A people united will never be defeated," and in singing, "Ain't gonna let nobody turn me round."

"It is unfortunate but real," he explained, "that freedom is not free." Part of the ongoing struggle is "to be in court time and time again to protect our rights," and that costs a lot of money. Taylor's appeal for contributions to PRDF netted a collection and pledges of \$1,530.

General Vann from Tchula, Mississippi, spoke for the National Campaign to Free



Crystal Lee Sutton, whose role in organizing textile workers was portrayed in film *Norma Rae*, addresses Atlanta rally.

Mayor Eddie Carthan and the Tchula Seven. He described how Carthan, who was elected mayor of the small Delta town in 1977, was victimized by the banks, media, police, and courts because of his efforts to provide jobs and improve conditions for the impoverished Black population there.

Although an impressive national defense campaign blocked Carthan's conviction on a murder frame-up, he remains in prison on other trumped-up charges, and continued support is needed.

Vann's presentation was met with chants of "Free Eddie Carthan!" The rally also sent a telegram demanding his release from prison.

James Orange is an ACTWU international representative assigned to the organizing department of the AFL-CIO industrial union department. He spoke on the problems of unions organizing today, citing media lies, hostile courts, the corporate antilabor drive, and attempts to divide workers.

Orange said he believes that "workers have more fear today about losing their job [for joining a union] than people had in the early '60s about joining the civil rights movement."

Evelyn Newman, speaking for the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP), condemned court intervention into the Socialist Workers Party in the Gelfand-Pfaelzer case in Los Angeles. She pointed out how similar assaults on free-

dom of association could be leveled at NBIPP or anyone else who stands up for justice, equality, and peace.

Barry Sheppard, one of the national chairpersons of the SWP, reported on the just-concluded trial in the Gelfand-Pfaelzer case. He said the outcome of the trial so far is "a victory, but a victory that we view with anger and with continued protests."

There was never a shred of evidence behind Gelfand's suit, and Judge Pfaelzer knew this from the beginning, Sheppard said. "This was a vicious, malicious use of the courts to harm someone's rights. We want to stop this from ever happening again, and stop it from happening to any other organization."

After Sheppard spoke a resolution was read from Teamsters Local 391 in Greensboro, North Carolina — a large local that includes workers at many plants in that state (see below).

Also speaking were Laura Carnes, a New Orleans oil worker who told of her fight against a firing based on sex discrimination, and Al Horsley, a Louisville Black activist and socialist facing frame-up charges of kidnapping and robbing a white woman (see page 8).

"The only thing I'm guilty of is being a fighter," Horsley said, "a fighter for Black rights, for union rights, for housing rights, for human rights." He summed up the theme of the entire evening when he said, "The only way we will solve our problems is to join together."

## Teamsters local blasts courts

The following resolution was read at the Atlanta Political Rights Defense Fund rally. It was adopted at a membership meeting of Teamsters Local 391 in Greensboro, North Carolina, by a vote of 74-36.

Whereas the recent trial and conviction of International Brotherhood of Teamsters' President Roy Williams represents an attack against all Teamsters and the entire labor movement, and

Whereas the government assembled the so-called evidence against Williams by producing more than 2,500 reels of recorded conversations produced by 30 FBI agents who spent 14 months listening to more than 400,000 conversations, and

Whereas this was reported to be the most extensive government wiretapping in the history of electronic surveillance, and

Whereas the publicity given to the use of illegal spying in this trial is designed to further legitimize the government's right to spy on whomever it pleases, whenever it wants to, and

Whereas this attack fits in with a stepped up government effort to spy on, harass, weaken and smear the labor movement today, and

Whereas Senator Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) recently announced plans to launch a Senate investigation into the internal life of the Teamsters, Steelworkers and Mine Workers unions on the pretext of investigating "subversives" in these unions, and

Whereas another example of these attacks against the labor movement was the government's spying on, arresting and jailing of PATCO members and the eventual crushing of the air traffic controllers union, and

Whereas another example of this attack on democratic and political rights is taking place today in U.S. District Court in Los Angeles where at issue is the basic constitutional question: can a U.S. court dictate membership policies and interfere in the political activities of voluntary political organizations or trade unions, and

Whereas the trial is a violation of the First Amendment rights of the American people to band together in free political associations, trade unions or other organizations formed to advance the interests of working people without fear of government intrusion and interference.

Therefore, be it resolved that Local 391 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen and Helpers of America strongly opposes the grave violation of the First Amendment rights of all Americans reflected in the trial taking place today in Los Angeles and urges all supporters of the First Amendment to support the efforts of the Political Rights Defense Fund to defend the Bill of Rights from government and court attack; and furthermore, condemns the governmental attack against the International Brotherhood of Teamsters through the conviction and jailing of our President, Roy Williams.

## Political Rights Defense rallies

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).

MORGANTOWN — Saturday, March 19, 8 p.m. Potter's Cellar, 1481 University Ave.

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.

LOUISVILLE — Friday, March 25, 7 p.m. Manly Community Center, 7th and Kentucky.

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

MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL — Saturday, March 26; refreshments 6 p.m., dinner 7 p.m., rally 8 p.m. St. Paul Labor Center, 411 Main St., St. Paul.

CINCINNATI — Sunday, March 27, 4 p.m. Union Terminal Auditorium.



# N.Y. rally protests court disruption of SWP

BY STEVE WATTENMAKER

NEW YORK — A crowd of 300 people rallied here March 11 to protest the trial of the Socialist Workers Party in federal court in Los Angeles. The gathering quickly became a spirited celebration when SWP cochairperson Barry Sheppard brought the news that the party had just won a clear-cut victory in the case.

Thanks to protests that "people like you helped to organize," Sheppard told the cheering audience, "the judge said she would rule in favor of the Socialist Workers Party."

The rally was organized and sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund. Karen Newton, a Teamster at the Exxon refinery in Linden, New Jersey, chaired.

Sheppard was joined on the platform by an array of speakers reporting on their own continuing battles against government victimization. Among them were George Harrison, an Irish solidarity activist recently acquitted on charges of running guns to the Irish Republican Army, and David McLaurin, a defendant along with former Mayor Eddie Carthan in a frame-up of the Black leadership in Tchula, Mississippi.

Kitty Tucker, president of Supporters of Silkwood, told of progress in uncovering the truth behind the 1974 murder of union activist Karen Silkwood, who had tried to expose nuclear hazards on the job. Tucker revealed recent FBI attempts to smear Silkwood's union — the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers — with responsibility for her murder.

A leader of the National Black Independent Political Party, Muntu Matsimela, recounted the FBI's bloody history of attempts to behead the Black rights struggle — from raids on the Black Panther Party to the assassinations of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr.

A collection to help offset the enormous costs of the SWP trial raised an impressive \$15,800 in pledges. Harry Ring, veteran *Militant* staff writer, made the appeal for funds.

Sheppard, who gave an eyewitness account of the trial, cautioned in his remarks that "in celebration we must not lose sight that we have a lot to be angry about, and a lot to protest tonight, and a lot to continue to organize around this case."

Now that the SWP has successfully defended itself from a major disruption campaign orchestrated by the courts and the government, he said, the party is going on the offensive. Sheppard announced that the SWP would take court action against the instigators of the suit, Alan Gelfand and his lawyers, for their deliberate use of the court for the sole purpose of disrupting the SWP and draining it financially.

The action will be aimed in part at recovering some of the money spent on the case. But he was quick to add that the goal in continuing to "fight this case through" is "to do everything we can to punish those who do things like this to the workers movement."

"If we continue to fight, we may be able to put a crimp in other people's plans who want to do the same thing to us or to any other group," Sheppard explained.

## Cincinnati rally to hear AFL-CIO official

CINCINNATI — A number of prominent figures, including William P. Sheehan, secretary-treasurer of the Cincinnati AFL-CIO Labor Council, will speak at the Political Rights Defense Fund rally here.

The meeting, which will be held Sunday, March 27 at 4 p.m. in Union Terminal, will also hear Margie Robertson, executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union; Art Slater, executive director of the NAACP; Al Horsley, Louisville Black activist framed on a kidnapping charge; Rev. Dan Buford of the Black Campus Ministries; Charles Graves of the National Black Independent Political Party; and Ann Mitchell of Planned Parenthood.

Prof. Morris Starsky, who was a central figure in a 1970s academic freedom fight, will speak for the Political Rights Defense Fund.



At podium, Muntu Matsimela of National Black Independent Political Party. Seated: Kitty Tucker, Supporters of Silkwood; Harry Ring of the *Militant*; Irish freedom fighter George Harrison; David McLaurin, Tchula 7. At right, socialist Héctor Marroquín, who told meeting of U.S. move to deport him.

Héctor Marroquín, a Mexican-born socialist who is fighting for asylum in the United States, underscored the importance of continuing to fight against government persecution. Marroquín fled to the United States nine years ago after being framed-up and targeted for assassination by the Mexican police. His appeal for asylum was rejected recently by a federal appeals court.

"Throughout the years we've proved beyond a doubt that I was a victim of political frame-up," Marroquín told the rally.

"Not only did we prove the false and outrageous character of the charges, we were able to prove the involvement of the American FBI in Mexico in this victimization. In my FBI files, which we obtained through the Freedom of Information Act, the FBI singles me out as a 'procommunist' student way back in 1968 — when I was 15 years old!"

Marroquín's case, which is also spon-

sored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, is being appealed to the Supreme Court.

Growing labor support for the right of the SWP to function free of government harassment was evident in the number of solidarity messages sent to the rally from figures in the trade union movement (see below).

David McLaurin is a leader of the National Committee to Free Eddie Carthan and the Tchula 7. Greeted with a standing ovation, he described the election of Carthan as mayor of Tchula, a town that is 80 percent Black. It is the 10th poorest town in the United States.

Carthan and a majority-Black town board began making changes, trying to help people, he said. But the wealthy white merchants and plantation owners said no. Since 1977 Carthan and other Black leaders in Tchula have been framed-up on a



Militant/Lou Howort

series of charges ranging from simple assault to murder.

"They had it lined up for him," McLaurin said. "They said, 'if we don't get you on one count, we'll get you on another.'" Although Carthan was acquitted of the most serious charges, he is serving three years in Mississippi's maximum security prison for simple assault.

George Harrison told the crowd the goal of Reagan's escalating attacks on the Irish independence movement was to "intimidate, terrorize, and demoralize" all Irish freedom activists.

That, he said, "corresponds to the attacks on all supporters of all national liberation groups here in America and to all political parties who wish to achieve social change. That's how it appears to me, so the victory of the Socialist Workers Party is a very, very important victory, indeed."

## Messages from unionists, antiwar figures

The following are excerpts from messages sent to the March 11 Political Rights Defense Fund rally in New York City. Organizations are listed for identification purposes only.

### David Dyson

national staff representative, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union; secretary to National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador

As a trade unionist, I am concerned about the right of unions to function free of government influence. Without that right, unions cannot effectively promote the interests of their members.

As one of the growing number of critics of the policies of the Reagan administration in El Salvador, I want to be sure there will be no interference with our right to freely argue the issue.

For these reasons, I join with other unionists in protesting the attempt of a federal judge to intervene in determining the internal life and leadership of the Socialist Workers Party, a right that should be reserved for its members.

### Ernesto Jofre

chairman, Chilean Trade Unionists in Exile; representative Local 169 Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union

Under the guise of safeguarding "national security interests," the U.S. State Department recently denied a visa to Hortensia Bussi de Allende, widow of Chilean President Salvador Allende who was slain in the U.S.-engineered coup in 1973.

Like Judge Mariana Pfelzer's conduct in the case of *Gelfand v. Smith*, this is a fundamental challenge to the First Amendment rights of everyone in the United States.

On behalf of Chilean Trade Unionists in Exile, I strongly protest the U.S. courts' violation of the Socialist Workers Party's constitutional right to run their own organization without government interference.



Militant/Lou Howort

### Michael Harrington

national chairperson, Democratic Socialists of America

The right of voluntary organizations to conduct their affairs free of regulation or interference by the courts and other agencies of the government is basic to a democratic society.

We have stood up for that right for Solidarnosc and KOR in Poland, and we certainly can demand no less for the Socialist Workers Party in our own country.

To the extent that the judiciary in *Gelfand v. Smith* have invaded, or threaten to invade this right, I protest and oppose that invasion.

### Sullivan Family

John Sullivan, a U.S. journalist, was murdered shortly after he arrived in El Salvador in 1980.

The government of the United States is engaged in legal maneuvers that, if successful, could duplicate the invasion of privacy so prevalent in past decades. To again permit the law enforcement establishment to spy on citizens would be a true travesty of justice.

It does, however, point up a trend in the current administration that is both alarming and calculated. Not since Vietnam have we been on the brink of participatory hos-

tilities as we are now in El Salvador. We must never allow President Reagan to increase financial aid or military advisors.

### Mark Banks

American Indian Movement, brother of Dennis Banks

The American Indian Movement knows all too well the history of the FBI's harassment of Indian people. This harassment has been specifically directed toward the AIM leadership.

The case of Dennis Banks is a case in point. For over 10 years the FBI has attempted to have Banks jailed on numerous trumped-up charges. The truth is that Dennis Banks is a highly visible force in exposing government corruption and its misconduct in dealing with Indian people.

The pattern is clear — whenever an individual or group speaks out against a repressive government, the FBI deems it their responsibility to quash dissident voices in this so-called free society.

### New Alliance Party

The courts have no right to tell a working-class organization who to have as members or leadership.

We deplore the use of the court and the ruling-class system of justice against progressive organizations and fully support the dismissal of the lawsuit.

### Bill Henning, Jr.

second vice-president Local 1180, Communication Workers of America

I support the right of the Socialist Workers Party and all voluntary associations to have their own organizational integrity. As a trade unionist, I am particularly concerned over this interference by the government. I would liken it to management attempting to mediate an internal union dispute or claiming jurisdiction over who should be a shop steward.

If the First Amendment has any meaning, this travesty must be fought by all Americans who cherish democracy.



This week we are initiating a new column, "An injury to one is an injury to all," to enable the *Militant* to increase our coverage of important fights being waged for democratic rights. If there is a case of police frame-up, an attack on union rights, or other victimization of political activists in your area, drop us a short note.

## Nat'l protest over frame-up in Louisville

BY CHUCK PETRIN

LOUISVILLE — Messages protesting the victimization of Al Horsley have begun pouring into the state prosecutor's office here from around the country.

"The Baltimore branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) demands that the frame-up charges against Al Horsley be immediately dropped," writes Enolia McMillan, president of the organization.

"He is the victim of a racist, politically inspired frame-up. The police have been aware of and have harassed him for years because of his political, civil, and housing rights activities. By pinning bogus criminal charges on Horsley and demanding that he be put behind bars, the government aims to silence him and intimidate others."

Horsley, a long-time union and civil rights activist and a member of the Young Socialist Alliance, was arrested January 8 and charged with kidnapping and robbery. He faces up to 40 years in prison for crimes he did not commit.

Support for his case is being organized by the Al Horsley Defense



Al Horsley

Militant

Committee. Among the local endorsers of the committee are Anne Braden; Kentucky chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Kentucky Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression; Rev. William Hollis Bell; United Black Protective Parents; Maury Granger, president of the University of Louisville Black Student Union; Rev. James Elliott; Abdul Quahar, American Muslim Mission; Young Socialist Alliance; Socialist Workers Party; and Rev. Isaac Shoulders.

The Cincinnati chapter of the National Black Independent Political Party has branded the attack on Horsley as a clear-cut political frame-up. "History tells us we are in the year 1983," the chapter writes in a February 9 letter, "but actions of the criminal justice system have regressed back to the year 1903. . . . Our perspective is one of total injustice. A clear indication of silencing once again a Black leader, who is a threat to society. We have seen this happen over and over again, and we are aware why this is happening."

The defense committee reports

that copies of other protest messages have been received from Birmingham; Cleveland; Indianapolis; Phoenix; Newport News, Virginia; and other cities.

Earl Keihl, senior director of United Furniture Workers District 4, has also sent a protest message.

Horsley is currently free on a \$20,000 property bond raised by the defense committee. His trial has been scheduled for June 13.

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

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

## Grand jury harassment denounced

BY ARTEMIO CAMACHO

NEW YORK CITY — Chanting "Grand Jury, FBI; U.S. Justice is a lie," some 200 demonstrators rallied in front of the Metropolitan Correctional Center here February 26.

The action was called by the National Committee to Free the Puerto Rican Prisoners of War, which holds picket lines and candlelight vigils here the 26th of every month to protest the jailing of Puerto Rican independence fighters and other activists who refuse to testify before the grand jury.

Protected by more than 10 police cars and cops on foot, the demonstrators marched around the

jail with candles. Imprisoned there are Puerto Rican activists Ricarte Montes, Alberto de Jesus Berrios, and Raymond Soto, and Black activists Silvia Baraldini and Shelley Miller.

They have not been charged with any crime, but for refusing to testify before a grand jury, an institution that denies them the right to have a lawyer present and whose sole function in this case is to victimize political activists.

The government can jail someone for refusing to testify before a grand jury for up to 18 months, the legal duration of grand juries. But once this term is ended, the prosecutor can call a new jury and extend the sentence another 18 months.

Five Latinos — María Cueto, Steven Guerra, Ricardo Romero, Julio Rosado, and Andrés Rosado — were found guilty of criminal contempt by a jury in February. They face far longer sentences.

A demonstration has been called for the day of their sentencing, April 8, at the Federal Court in Brooklyn (Cadman Plaza) at 9 a.m.

The next vigil at the Metropolitan Correctional Center, which is at 150 Park Row in Manhattan, is March 26 from 6 p.m. to 8 p.m.

## Civil rights activists appeal Georgia verdict

Two civil rights activists who were framed up in Gainesville, Georgia, last March 26 are appealing the trial and verdict in Atlanta.

They are Charlene Mitchell and her husband, Michael Welch, who were fined \$305 each and given 11-month suspended sentences on trumped-up charges of "public

drunkenness" and "obstructing an officer."

Mitchell is executive secretary of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression (NAARPR).

Mitchell, who is Black, and Welch, who is white, were harassed by an attendant on an AM-TRAK train returning to New York from an NAARPR conference in New Orleans.

They were physically assaulted and dragged off the train by two white cops.

The prosecutor in the case made clear its political character. Mitchell and Welch "are used to civilian disobedience," he said.

Mitchell and Welch have also filed a suit against the National Railway Corporation and Southern Railway System, charging them with battery, false arrest and imprisonment, intentional infliction of emotional distress, breach of contract, and civil conspiracy.

They seek \$1 million in compensatory damages, \$1 million in punitive damages, plus costs.

Compiled by George Johnson



Militant/Diane Wang

Charlene Mitchell

# Racist gets off light in murder of transit worker

BY MARK FRIEDMAN

NEW YORK — "The verdict is outrageous. It is the lesser of all the charges submitted to the jury for consideration. The evidence sustained a murder charge, second degree."

"People have to take to the streets to get the district attorney to do anything. Only four of a possible 20 thugs were indicted . . . the judge was trying to provide for every possible out for Bova."

"It is a signal to the white community that they can get away with stomping Black people to death."

This is how National Council of Black Lawyers member Alton Maddox referred to the decision to acquit Gino Bova of second-degree murder charges in the brutal racist killing of Willie Turks.

Turks and two coworkers, Dennis Dixon and Donald Cooper, were attacked by a mob of white racists in Brooklyn last summer. All three belonged to the Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100.

Bova and the three other defendants are all being tried separately. Bova's trial was first.

The jury of eleven whites, one Latina, and zero Blacks brought in the verdict on March 8 after three days of testimony. Bova was convicted of second-degree manslaughter as well as first-degree assault, first-degree riot, and discrimination in violation of New York State's civil rights law. These convictions on the lesser charges mean Bova could be sentenced to as little as 18 months in jail.

The jury's verdict, however, was not totally unexpected considering how the jury was selected. Right off the bat, Blacks, transit workers (white or Black), anybody who knew a transit worker, and all Caribbeans, were excluded from the jury.

*Big Red*, a Black community newspaper, quoted Congressman Enoch Williams as saying, "I just wonder how they got a jury of eleven whites and one His-

panic when Brooklyn is 50 percent minority."

Throughout the course of the six-day trial, scores of transit workers, antiracist activists, and friends and family of Turks and Dixon, attended the trial. Organizations like the Black United Front, National Black Independent Political Party, and the Socialist Workers Party got their members and supporters to come to the courtroom. Officials of the Transport Workers Union also attended.

Bova was constantly surrounded by his family and heavy security. Occasionally a priest would join his entourage.

In his summary, prosecuting attorney Andrew Plump characterized the incident as a "race riot." Bova's lawyer, Paul Callan, argued that the whites were acting in self-defense, that they were attacked by the transit workers. Bova, he said, was merely "defending his family, girlfriend, and his community."

After the jury announced the verdict Bova's attorney told the press, "I am very happy with the decision." Willie Turks' mother, Ms. Lee, passed out and required emergency oxygen.

But the response from the Black community was swift, clear, and angry. "The verdict is a downright shame. . . . It is disgusting. . . . Had it been a white man killed it would have been different." This is how callers reacted during a special WLIR radio show that featured Dennis Dixon and Alton Maddox.

Dixon added: "I did not get fair treatment from the DA. I was not able to tell the story how it happened." Maddox pointed out that "the mob should have been charged as a whole and not individually. The reason it was brought to trial was because of pressure. It is necessary to take matters into the street to get justice."

Dixon explained the importance of the publicity in the case in getting out the truth and in protecting his own life. A transit

worker who called in recounted three decades of racist violence in the Gravesend area of Brooklyn where the murder took place.

The response to the decision by Dixon's coworkers, white, Black and Latino, was also angry.

"This is a whitewash. . . . It's what I expected," said one Latino. "I've never seen a white man convicted of murdering a Black with the exception of Martin Luther King. There is no justice in this country," said an older Black worker. A middle-aged white electrician in outrage said, "I could not believe that they allowed an all-white jury like that with no Blacks to hear this case. As for the outcome, second degree manslaughter is not right. If they didn't in-

tend to kill them with the pipes, bottle, and sticks they used, then I don't know what intentional is."

Dennis Dixon is helping to organize a pressure campaign on the district attorney to make sure Bova gets the longest possible sentence under the jury's conviction. He is planning more press interviews as preparations are under way for the trials of three of the other thugs. Support efforts are intensifying within the transit union, and among other labor unions and civil rights groups. (See accompanying article for more details.)

Mark Friedman is a member of Transport Workers Union Local 100 and is a co-worker of Dennis Dixon.

## N.Y. rally for justice set

BY ANDY TOWBIN

NEW YORK — Transit workers and Black rights activists met in Harlem March 19 to plan a rally for justice for Willie Turks to be held April 9.

The Committee for Justice for Willie Turks, headed by Rev. Ben Chavis of the United Church of Christ and the National Black Independent Political Party, called for the April 9 rally in Harlem to protest the racist murder of Turks and to demand full prosecution of the killers.

The Committee for Justice also announced plans for a demonstration outside the Brooklyn Supreme Court on March 31, the day Gino Bova — the first of four racist thugs to be tried — is to be sentenced.

Solidarity with the victims of racist assaults is especially strong among transit workers. "Justice was not done; they should have given Bova twenty-five to life," is how one older Irish mechanic put it.

Workers at the 239th Street transit barn heard a lunchtime report from a young me-

chanic who attended the first day of Bova's trial. A union delegate said, "This could happen to any one of us."

Six workers from the 239th Street barn, eight workers from other barns, and two Transport Workers Union officials went to the courthouse for the last day of the trial.

Dennis Dixon, who was also beaten in the racist attack, reported on the trial that evening to an open executive board meeting of TWU Local 100. Dixon asked the board to endorse the April 9 rally and send a representative to speak. "It's good," replied John Lawe, president of the local, "that so many union brothers and sisters went down to the trial." Lawe, however, did not commit the union to join in further protest activities.

The Committee for Justice for Willie Turks is redoubling its efforts to involve unionists, Black rights' activists, and others in its campaign to win justice. It urges broad participation in the March 31 and April 9 rallies.



## Centennial of Karl Marx's death

'Above all, he was a revolutionary'

BY MARGARET JAYKO

"A specter is haunting Central America and the Caribbean — the specter of Communism." This is how the opening sentence of *The Communist Manifesto*, written by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in 1848, might read if it were written today.

March 14 marks the 100th anniversary of Marx's death. The centrality of Marxism for our epoch is openly acknowledged today even by its fiercest opponents.

The "specter of Communism" is increasingly the central theme of every foreign policy speech by the Reagan administration.

Pope John Paul II's recent tour of Central America and the Caribbean was marked by his condemnations of class struggle, "collectivist systems," and, above all, by his open hostility to the Nicaraguan workers' and peasants' advance toward socialism.

Reagan's recent pronouncements on El Salvador have sounded the alarm about "falling dominoes." Without a drastic increase in U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, El Salvador will follow Nicaragua and the tiny Caribbean island of Grenada in taking the Cuban road of "Marxism-Leninism," says Reagan.

Liberal Democratic Party politicians are no less fearful of Marxism-Leninism. In debating increased U.S. military aid to El Salvador, Democratic Speaker of the House Thomas O'Neill summed up their position: "There's just a strong feeling around here that it's another Vietnam situation. At the same time, nobody wants to see that country go Marxist."

### 'Struggle against communism'

In two recent speeches, Reagan highlighted the centrality of the "struggle against communism" (in reality, the struggle to preserve capitalist exploitation of the laboring masses).

On March 10, he told the National Association of Manufacturers, "For the past three years, under two Presidents, the United States has been engaged in an effort to stop the advance of Communism in Central America by doing what we do best — by supporting democracy."

When he spoke to the National Association of Evangelicals, Reagan branded communism as "the focus of evil in the modern world."

Contradicting his own "falling dominoes" theory, Reagan asserted, "I believe that Communism is another sad, bizarre chapter in human history whose last pages even now are being written."

The reality of today's world, however, is not a declining influence of the ideas of Karl Marx, but the fact that the socialist revolution he predicted is rapidly being extended in the Western Hemisphere.

Millions of toilers in Latin America and the Caribbean, inspired by the example of 24 years of the Cuban revolution, and the accomplishments of the four-year-old workers and farmers governments in Nicaragua and Grenada, are reading, studying and applying Marxism in their struggles against imperialism and class exploitation.

It's this advance of the socialist revolution, led by the Marxist leaderships of the Cuban Communist Party, the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front, and the Grenadian New Jewel Movement, that is at the center of world politics today and that is provoking the increasing barrage of anticommunist propaganda — and military intervention — from Washington.

And it's this advance of the workers of the world toward socialism that more than anything else highlights the relevancy of Marxism 100 years after the death of Marx.

### Socialism's advance — tribute to Marx

The advance of the anticapitalist revolution is the most fitting tribute possible to Karl Marx, the founder of the communist movement. Marx was not only the founder of scientific socialism — he was also the foremost political leader of the proletarian movement as it began some 150 years ago. As Frederick Engels — Marx's closest collaborator and lifelong friend — said in his speech at Marx's funeral, "Marx was before all else, a revolutionist."

When Marx died on March 14, 1883, different social classes reacted differently to the news. Most of the big-business press around the world either kept silent or

wrote the same kind of vicious slanders on the occasion of his death that they had written while he was alive.

But the workers of the world sensed that they had suffered a great loss. In the United States, much of the labor press reported his death, hailed Marx's contributions, and pledged that the proletarian struggle would continue on to victory.

Engels captured this sentiment in a letter he sent to Friedrich Sorge, the foremost U.S. Marxist of the time, the day after Marx died. Engels explained that "mankind is shorter by a head, and the greatest head of our time at that. . . . The final victory is certain, but circuitous paths, temporary and local errors — things which even now are so unavoidable — will become more common than ever. Well, we must see it through. What else are we here for? And we are not near losing courage yet."

The biggest memorial meeting in the world was initiated by the Central Labor Union of Greater New York and Vicinity and was held at Cooper Union in downtown Manhattan. Thousands of U.S. workers — both foreign- and native-born — turned out.

Today, when the effects of the capitalist crisis on U.S. working people are becoming ever more severe, there's again a growing openness to the analyses and answers that Marxism provides.

### 'Marx will be mentor of U.S. workers'

Leon Trotsky, one of the central leaders of the Russian revolution, wrote in 1939, "The best theoreticians of Marxism will appear on American soil. Marx will become the mentor of the advanced American workers." (*Marxism in Our Time*)

To commemorate the centenary of Marx's death, and to advance the process of reconquering revolutionary Marxism by U.S. workers, the *International Socialist Review* has devoted a large part of this issue to excerpts from articles about Marx and Marxism.

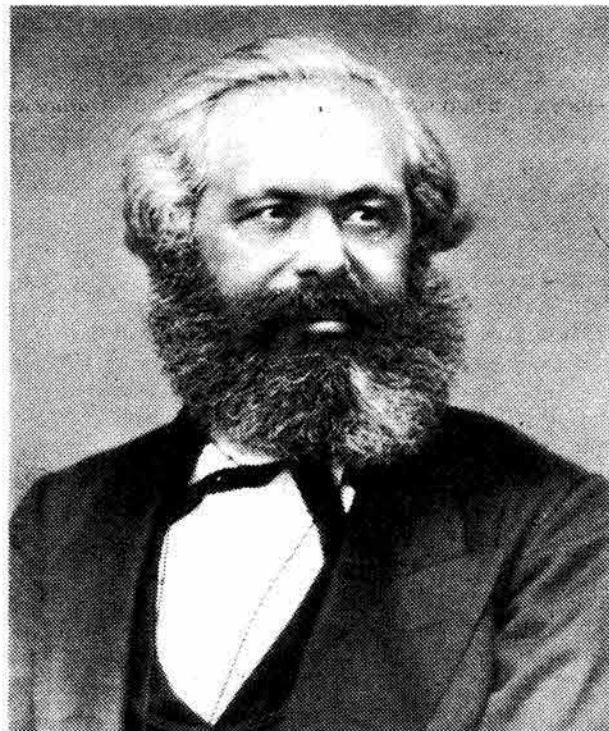
These are not intended to be a comprehensive exposition of the ideas of Marx, or a complete picture of Marx's life. They do give the reader a brief summary of some of the basic tenets of Marxism, which we hope will stimulate further reading and studying of Marxism.

Included in this selection are two sections of a brief biography of Marx, written by Vladimir Lenin, the central leader of the Russian Bolshevik party.

The second article is Engels' speech at Marx's funeral.

The last piece is an excerpt from an article written by Joseph Hansen, a longtime central leader of the Socialist Workers Party, who died in 1979.

In addition, we are reprinting a report from Nicaragua on the plans of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) for commemorating the centenary of Marx's death. □



Karl Marx (above). Demonstration in Managua, Nicaragua, May Day 1982. Banner with Marx, Lenin reads, "Cultural workers for construction of socialism."

Militant/Michael Baumann



## V.I. Lenin's biographical sketch of Marx

Printed below are excerpts from the first part of an article written by Lenin for the *Granat Encyclopaedic Dictionary* in 1914. The title of the article is "Karl Marx (A brief biographical sketch with an exposition of Marxism)." In this section, Lenin gives a brief account of Marx's life.

The entire article is available in *Lenin's Collected Works, Volume 21*. The collection of Lenin's writings *Karl Marx & His Teachings* contains the entire article minus Lenin's annotated bibliography of Marx's writings.

Marx, Karl, was born on May 5, 1818 in the city of Trier (Rhenish Prussia).<sup>1</sup> His father was a lawyer, a Jew, who in 1824 adopted Protestantism. The family was well-to-do, cultured, but not revolutionary. After graduating from a [school] in Trier, Marx entered the university, first at Bonn and later in Berlin, where he read law, majoring in history and philosophy. He concluded his university course in 1841. At the time Marx was a Hegelian idealist in his views.<sup>2</sup> In Berlin, he belonged to the circle of "Left Hegelians" (Bruno Bauer and others) who sought to draw atheistic and revolutionary conclusions from Hegel's philosophy.

After graduating, Marx moved to Bonn, hoping to become a professor. However, the reactionary policy of the government — which deprived Ludwig Feuerbach<sup>3</sup> of his chair in 1832, refused to allow him to return to the university in 1836, and in 1841 forbade young Professor Bruno Bauer to lecture at Bonn — made Marx abandon the idea of an academic career.

Left Hegelian views were making rapid headway in Germany at the time. Ludwig Feuerbach began to criticize theology, particularly after 1836, and turn to materialism, which in 1841 gained the ascendancy in his philosophy (*The Essence of Christianity*). The year 1843 saw the appearance of his *Principles of the Philosophy of the Future*. "One must oneself have experienced the liberating effect" of these books, Engels subsequently wrote of these works of Feuerbach. "We [i.e., the Left Hegelians, including Marx] all became at once Feuerbachians."<sup>4</sup>

At that time, some radical bourgeois in the Rhineland, who were in touch with the Left Hegelians, founded, in Cologne, an opposition paper called *Rheinische Zeitung* (the first issue appeared on January 1, 1842). Marx and Bruno Bauer were invited to be the chief contributors, and in October 1842 Marx became editor-in-chief and moved from Bonn to Cologne. The newspaper's revolutionary-democratic trend became more and more pronounced under Marx's editorship, and the government first imposed double and triple censorship on the paper, and then on January 1, 1843, decided to suppress it.

Marx had to resign the editorship before that date, but his resignation did not save the paper, which suspended publication in March 1843. Of the major articles Marx contributed to *Rheinische Zeitung*, Engels notes an article on the condition of peasant wine growers in the Moselle Valley.<sup>5</sup> Marx's journalistic activities convinced him that he was insufficiently acquainted with political economy, and he zealously set out to study it.

In 1843, Marx married, at Kreuznach, Jenny von Westphalen, a childhood friend he had become engaged to while still a student. His wife came of a reactionary family of the Prussian nobility, her elder brother being Prussia's minister of the interior during a most reactionary period — 1850–58.

In the autumn of 1843, Marx went to Paris in order to publish a radical journal abroad, together with Arnold Ruge [a] Left Hegelian. Only one issue of this journal, *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*, appeared; publication was discontinued owing to the difficulty of secretly distributing it in Germany, and to disagreement with Ruge. Marx's articles in this journal showed that he was already a revolutionary, who advocated "merciless criticism of everything existing," and in particular the "criticism by weapon,"<sup>6</sup> and appealed to the masses and to the proletariat.

In September 1844, Frederick Engels came to Paris for a few days, and from that time on became Marx's closest



Prussian Rhine Province and Westphalia after 1815. Rhineland, where Marx grew up, was most industrially developed part of what became unified state of Germany.

friend. They both took a most active part in the then seething life of the revolutionary groups in Paris, waging a vigorous struggle against the various doctrines of petty-bourgeois socialism, they worked out the theory and tactics of revolutionary proletarian socialism, or communism (Marxism).

At the insistent request of the Prussian government, Marx was banished from Paris in 1845, as a dangerous revolutionary. He went to Brussels.

In the spring of 1847 Marx and Engels joined a secret propaganda society called the Communist League; they took a prominent part in the League's second congress (London, November 1847), at whose request they drew up the celebrated *Communist Manifesto*, which appeared in February 1848. With the clarity and brilliance of genius, this work outlines a new world-conception, consistent materialism, which also embraces the realm of social life; dialectics, as the most comprehensive and profound doctrine of development; the theory of the class struggle and of the world-historic revolutionary role of the proletariat — the creator of a new, communist society.

On the outbreak of the revolution of February 1848,<sup>7</sup> Marx was banished from Belgium. He returned to Paris, whence, after the March revolution,<sup>8</sup> he went to Cologne, Germany, where *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was published from June 1, 1848, to May 19, 1849, with Marx as editor-in-chief. The new theory was splendidly confirmed by the course of the revolutionary events of 1848–49, just as it has been subsequently confirmed by all proletarian and democratic movements in all countries of the world.

The victorious counterrevolutionaries first instigated court proceedings against Marx (he was acquitted on February 9, 1849), and then banished him from Germany (May 16, 1849). First Marx went to Paris, was again banished after the demonstration of June 13, 1849,<sup>9</sup> and then

7. French bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848.

8. Bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany and Austria, which began in March 1848.

9. Peaceful demonstration by Paris proletariat on June 13,

went to London, where he lived till his death.

His life as a political exile was a very hard one. Poverty weighed heavily on Marx and his family: had it not been for Engels's constant and selfless financial aid, Marx would not only have been unable to complete *Capital*, but would have inevitably been crushed by want.

Moreover, the prevailing doctrines and trends of petty-bourgeois socialism, and of nonproletarian socialism in general, forced Marx to wage a continuous and merciless struggle and sometimes to repel the most savage and monstrous personal attacks (*Herr Vogt*). Marx, who stood aloof from circles of political exiles, developed his materialist theory in a number of historical works, devoting himself mainly to a study of political economy. Marx revolutionized this science in his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* (1859) and *Capital* (Vol. I, 1867).

The revival of the democratic movements in the late 1850s and in the 1860s recalled Marx to practical activity. In 1864 (September 28) the International Working Men's Association — the celebrated First International — was founded in London. Marx was the heart and soul of this organization, and author of its first Address<sup>10</sup> and of a host of resolutions, declarations, and manifestos.

In uniting the labor movement of various countries, striving to channel into joint activity the various forms of nonproletarian, pre-Marxist socialism (Mazzini, Proudhon, Bakunin, liberal trade-unionism in Britain, Lassalle's vacillations to the right in Germany, etc.), and in combating the theories of all these sects and schools, Marx hammered out a uniform tactic for the proletarian struggle of the working class in the various countries.

Following the downfall of the Paris Commune<sup>11</sup> (1871) — of which Marx gave such a profound, clear-cut, brilliant, effective, and revolutionary analysis (*The Civil War in France*, 1871) — and the Bakuninist-caused<sup>12</sup> cleavage in the International, the latter organization could no longer exist in Europe. After the Hague Congress of the International (1872), Marx had the General Council of the International transferred to New York. The First International had played its historical part, and now made way for a period of a far greater development of the labor movement in all countries in the world, a period in which the movement grew in scope, and mass socialist working-class parties in individual national states were formed.

Marx's health was undermined by his strenuous work in the International and his still more strenuous theoretical occupations. He continued work on the refashioning of political economy and on the completion of *Capital*, for which he collected a mass of new material and studied a number of languages (Russian, for instance). However, ill-health prevented him from completing *Capital*.

His wife died on December 2, 1881, and on March 14, 1883, Marx passed away peacefully in his armchair. He lies buried next to his wife at Highgate Cemetery in London. Of Marx's children some died in childhood in London, when the family was living in destitute circumstances. Three daughters married English and French socialists: Eleanor Aveling, Laura Lafargue and Jenny Longuet.

1849, protested the French government's sending of troops to Italy to crush the Roman Republic. The demonstration was dispersed by government troops and was followed by massive repression. This marked the beginning of the end of the revolutionary period of 1848–49.

10. Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association.

11. For the first time in history, workers took political power out of the hands of the bourgeois rulers and ran Paris themselves. The Commune lasted for 72 days, and was then drowned in blood by French troops.

12. Mikhail Alexandrovich Bakunin (1814–1876). Russian ideologist of anarchism. Avowed enemy of Marxism, Bakunin tried to split the First International.

## Frederick Engels' speech at Marx's funeral

Printed below is the speech given by Frederick Engels at Marx's graveside during his funeral. This article is available in the collection *Marx and Engels Through the Eyes of Their Contemporaries*, and in *Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Volume 3*.

On the 14th of March, at a quarter to three in the afternoon, the greatest living thinker ceased to think. He had been left alone for scarcely two minutes, and when we came back we found him in his armchair, peacefully gone to sleep — but forever.

An immeasurable loss has been sustained both by the militant proletariat of Europe and America, and by historical science, in the death of this man. The gap that has been left by the departure of this mighty spirit will soon enough make itself felt.

Just as Darwin discovered the law of development of organic nature, so Marx discovered the law of develop-

ment of human history: the simple fact, hitherto concealed by an overgrowth of ideology, that mankind must first of all eat, drink, have shelter and clothing, before it can pursue politics, science, art, religion, etc.; that therefore the production of the immediate material means of subsistence and consequently the degree of economic development attained by a given people or during a given epoch form the foundation upon which the state institutions, the legal conceptions, art, and even the ideas on religion, of the people concerned have been evolved, and in the light of which they must, therefore, be explained, instead of *vice versa*, as had hitherto been the case.

But that is not all. Marx also discovered the special law of motion governing the present-day capitalist mode of production and the bourgeois society that this mode of production has created. The discovery of surplus value suddenly threw light on the problem, in trying to solve which all previous investigations, of both bourgeois

1. At that time, Germany was not yet a unified nation. It consisted of dozens of independent states dominated by the Prussian monarchy. The Rhineland, in western Prussia, was the most industrially developed part of the territory.

2. Georg Hegel (1770–1831). A German professor who revolutionized philosophy by setting forth a system of logic known as dialectics.

3. Ludwig Feuerbach (1804–1872). Materialist German philosopher who repudiated Hegel's idealism.

4. *Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy*, written by Engels in 1886.

5. "Justification of the Correspondent from the Mosel."

6. *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law. Introduction*, written by Marx in 1843–1844.



economists and socialist critics, had been groping in the dark.

Two such discoveries would be enough for one lifetime. Happy the man to whom it is granted to make even one such discovery. But in every single field which Marx investigated — and he investigated very many fields, none of them superficially — in every field, even in that of mathematics, he made independent discoveries.

Such was the man of science. But this was not even half the man. Science was for Marx a historically dynamic, revolutionary force. However great the joy with which he welcomed a new discovery in some theoretical science whose practical application perhaps it was as yet quite impossible to envisage, he experienced quite another kind of joy when the discovery involved immediate revolutionary changes in industry, and in historical development in general. For example, he followed closely the development of the discoveries made in the field of electricity and recently those of Marcel Deprez.\*

For Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which he was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipations.

Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival. His work on the first *Rheinische Zeitung* (1842), the *Paris Vorwärts* (1844), the *Deutsche-Brüsseler-Zeitung*, (1847), the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* (1848–49), the *New York Tribune* (1852–61), and in addition to these a host of militant pamphlets, work in organizations in Paris, Brussels and London, and finally, crowning all, the formation of the great International Working Men's Association — this was indeed an achievement of which its founder might well have been proud even if he had done nothing else.

And, consequently, Marx was the best hated and most calumniated man of his time. Governments, both absolutist and republican, deported him from their ter-

\* Marcel Deprez (1843–1918). French physicist, conducted the first experiments on distant transmission of electricity.



Frederick Engels (1820–1895)

ritories. Bourgeois, whether conservative or ultra-democratic, vied with one another in heaping slanders upon him. All this he brushed aside as though it were cobweb, ignoring it, answering only when extreme necessity compelled him. And he died beloved, revered and mourned by millions of revolutionary fellow workers — from the mines of Siberia to California, in all parts of Europe and America — and I make bold to say that though he may have had many opponents he had hardly one personal enemy.

His name will endure through the ages, and so also will his work! □

## Lenin: Marx on history, class struggle, socialism

Printed below are further excerpts from Lenin's article titled "Karl Marx (A brief biographical sketch with an exposition of Marxism.)" In these excerpts, Lenin reviews Marx's ideas on the materialist conception of history, the class struggle, and socialism.

### The materialist conception of history

A realization of the inconsistency, incompleteness, and one-sidedness of the old materialism convinced Marx of the necessity of "bringing the science of society . . . into harmony with the materialist foundation, and of reconstructing it thereupon".<sup>1</sup> Since materialism in general explains consciousness as the outcome of being, and not conversely, then materialism as applied to the social life of mankind has to explain social consciousness as the outcome of social being.

"Technology," Marx writes (*Capital*, Vol. I), "discloses man's mode of dealing with nature, the immediate process of production by which he sustains his life, and thereby also lays bare the mode of formation of his social relations, and of the mental conceptions that flow from them." In the preface to his *Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx gives an integral formulation of the fundamental principles of materialism as applied to human society and its history, in the following words:

"In the social production of their life, men enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will, relations of production which correspond to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces.

"The sum total of these relations of production constitutes the economic structure of society, the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social consciousness. The mode of production of material life conditions the social, political, and intellectual life process in general. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being that determines their consciousness.

"At a certain stage of their development, the material productive forces of society come in conflict with the existing relations of production, or — what is but a legal expression for the same thing — with the property relations within which they have been at work hitherto. From forms of development of the productive forces these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less

rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations a distinction should always be made between the material transformation of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic, or philosophic — in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out.

"Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so we cannot judge of such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict between the social productive forces and the relations of production. . . . In broad outlines Asiatic, ancient, feudal, and modern bourgeois modes of production can be designated as progressive epochs in the economic formation of society."

The discovery of the materialist conception of history, or more correctly, the consistent continuation and extension of materialism into the domain of social phenomena, removed the two chief shortcomings in earlier historical theories. In the first place, the latter at best examined only the ideological motives in the historical activities of human beings, without investigating the origins of those motives, or ascertaining the objective laws governing the development of the system of social relations, or seeing the roots of these relations in the degree of development reached by material production; in the second place, the earlier theories did not embrace the activities of the masses of the population, whereas historical materialism made it possible for the first time to study with scientific accuracy the social conditions of the life of the masses, and the changes in these conditions.

At best, pre-Marxist "sociology" and historiography brought forth an accumulation of raw facts, collected at random, and a description of individual aspects of the historical process. By examining the totality of opposing tendencies, by reducing them to precisely definable conditions of life and production of the various classes of society, by discarding subjectivism and arbitrariness in the choice of a particular "dominant" idea or in its interpretation, and by revealing that, without exception, all ideas and all the various tendencies stem from the condition of the material forces of production, Marxism indicated the way to an all-embracing and comprehensive study of the process of the rise, development, and decline of socioeconomic systems.

People make their own history, but what determines the motives of people, of the mass of people, i.e., what gives rise to the clash of conflicting ideas and strivings? What is the sum total of all these clashes in the mass of

human societies? What are the objective conditions of production of material life that form the basis of all of man's historical activity? What is the law of development of these conditions? To all these Marx drew attention and indicated the way to a scientific study of history as a single process which, with all its immense variety and contradictoriness, is governed by definite laws.

### The class struggle

It is common knowledge that, in any given society, the strivings of some of its members conflict with the strivings of others, that social life is full of contradictions, and that history reveals a struggle between nations and societies, as well as within nations and societies, and, besides, an alternation of periods of revolution and reaction, peace and war, stagnation and rapid progress or decline.

Marxism has provided the guidance, i.e., the theory of the class struggle, for the discovery of the laws governing this seeming maze and chaos. It is only a study of the sum of the strivings of all the members of a given society or group of societies that can lead to a scientific definition of the result of those strivings. Now the conflicting strivings stem from the difference in the position and mode of life of the classes into which each society is divided.

"The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles," Marx wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* (with the exception of the history of the primitive community, Engels added subsequently). "Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes. . . .

"The modern bourgeois society that has sprouted from the ruins of feudal society has not done away with class antagonisms. It has but established new classes, new conditions of oppression, new forms of struggle in place of the old ones. Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinctive feature: it has simplified the class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: bourgeoisie and proletariat."

Ever since the Great French Revolution,<sup>2</sup> European history has, in a number of countries, tellingly revealed what actually lies at the bottom of events — the struggle of classes.

The modern period — that of the complete victory of the bourgeoisie, representative institutions, extensive (if not universal) suffrage, a cheap daily press, that is widely circulated among the masses, etc., a period of powerful and ever-expanding unions of workers and unions of employers, etc. — has shown even more strikingly (though sometimes in a very one-sided, "peaceful" and "constitutional" form) the class struggle as the mainspring of events.

The following passage from Marx's *Communist Manifesto* will show us what Marx demanded of social science as regards an objective analysis of the position of each class in modern society, with reference to an analysis of each class's conditions of development: "Of all the classes that stand face to face with the bourgeoisie today, the proletariat alone is a really revolutionary class. The other classes decay and finally disappear in the face of modern industry; the proletariat is its special and essential product. The lower middle class, the small manufacturer, the shopkeeper, the artisan, the peasant, all these fight against the bourgeoisie, to save from extinction their existence as fractions of the middle class. They are therefore not revolutionary, but conservative. Nay more, they are reactionary, for they try to roll back the wheel of history. If by chance they are revolutionary, they are so only in view of their impending transfer into the proletariat; they thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat."

In a number of historical works, Marx gave brilliant and profound examples of materialist historiography, of an analysis of the position of each individual class, and sometimes of various groups or strata within a class, showing plainly why and how "every class struggle is a political struggle."<sup>3</sup> The above-quoted passage is an illustration of what a complex network of social relations and transitional stages from one class to another, from the past to the future, was analysed by Marx so as to determine the resultant of historical development.

### Socialism

Marx deduces the inevitability of the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society wholly and exclusively from the economic law of the development of contemporary society. The socialization of labor, which is

Continued on next page

1. Ludwig Feuerbach and the End of Classical German Philosophy.

2. French bourgeois democratic revolution of 1789–93.

3. *The Communist Manifesto*.



## Continued from preceding page

advancing ever more rapidly in thousands of forms and has manifested itself very strikingly, during the half-century since the death of Marx, in the growth of large-scale production, capitalist cartels, syndicates and trusts, as well as in the gigantic increase in the dimensions and power of finance capital, provides the principal material foundation for the inevitable advent of socialism.

The intellectual and moral motive force and the physical executor of this transformation is the proletariat, which has been trained by capitalism itself. The proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie, which finds expression in a variety of forms ever richer in content, inevitably becomes a political struggle directed towards the conquest of political power by the proletariat ("the dictatorship of the proletariat"). The socialization of production cannot but lead to the means of production becoming the property of society, to the "expropriation of the expropriators." A tremendous rise in labor productivity, a shorter working day, and the replacement of the remnants, the ruins, of small-scale, primitive, and disunited production by collective and improved labor — such are the direct consequences of this transformation.

Capitalism breaks for all time the ties between agriculture and industry, but at the same time, through its highest development, it prepares new elements of those ties, a union between industry and agriculture based on the conscious application of science and the concentration of collective labor, and on a redistribution of the human population (thus putting an end to both rural backwardness, isolation, and barbarism, and to the unnatural concentration of vast masses of people in big cities).

A new form of family, new conditions in the status of women and in the upbringing of the younger generation are prepared by the highest forms of present-day capitalism: the labor of women and children and the break-up of the patriarchal family by capitalism and inevitably assume the most terrible, disastrous, and repulsive forms in modern society.

Nevertheless, "modern industry, by assigning as it does, an important part in the socially organized process of production, outside the domestic sphere, to women, to young persons, and to children of both sexes, creates a new economic foundation for a higher form of the family and of the relations between the sexes. It is, of course, just as absurd to hold the Teutonic-Christian form of the family to be absolute and final as it would be to apply that character to the ancient Roman, the ancient Greek, or the Eastern forms which, moreover, taken together form a series in historic development.

"Moreover, it is obvious that the fact of the collective working group being composed of individuals of both sexes and all ages, must necessarily, under suitable conditions, become a source of humane development; although in its spontaneously developed, brutal, capitalistic form, where the laborer exists for the process of production, and not the process of production for the laborer, that fact is a pestiferous source of corruption and slavery" (*Capital*, Vol. I, end of Chapter 13).

The factory system contains "the germ of the education of the future, an education that will, in the case of every child over a given age, combine productive labor with instruction and gymnastics, not only as one of the methods

of adding to the efficiency of social production, but as the only method of producing fully developed human beings" (*ibid.*).

Marx's socialism places the problems of nationality and of the state on the same historical footing, not only in the sense of explaining the past but also in the sense of a bold forecast of the future and of bold practical action for its achievement.

Nations are an inevitable product, an inevitable form, in the bourgeois epoch of social development. The working class could not grow strong, become mature, and take shape without "constituting itself within the nation," without being "national" ("though not in the bourgeois sense of the word"). The development of capitalism, however, breaks down national barriers more and more, does away with national seclusion, and substitutes class antagonisms for national antagonisms. It is, therefore, perfectly true of the developed capitalist countries that "the working men have no country" and that "united action" by the workers, of the civilized countries at least, "is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat" (*Communist Manifesto*).

The state, which is organized coercion, inevitably came into being at a definite stage in the development of society, when the latter had split into irreconcilable classes, and could not exist without an "authority" ostensibly standing above society, and to a certain degree separate from society.

Arising out of class contradictions, the state becomes "... the state of the most powerful, economically dominant class, which, through the medium of the state, becomes also the politically dominant class, and thus acquires new means of holding down and exploiting the oppressed class. Thus, the state of antiquity was above all the state of the slave-owners for the purpose of holding down the slaves, as the feudal state was the organ of the nobility for holding down the peasant serfs and bondsmen, and the modern representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage labor by capital" (Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, a work in which the writer expounds his own views and Marx's).

Even the democratic republic, the freest and most progressive form of the bourgeois state, does not eliminate this fact in any way, but merely modifies its form (the links between the government and the stock exchange, the corruption — direct and indirect — of officialdom and the press, etc.). By leading to the abolition of classes, socialism will thereby lead to the abolition of the state as well.

"The first act," Engels writes in *Anti-Dühring*, "by virtue of which the state really constitutes itself the representative of society as a whole — the taking possession of the means of production in the name of society — is, at the same time, its last independent act as a state. The state interference in social relations becomes superfluous in one sphere after another, and then ceases of itself. The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things and by the direction of the processes of production. The state is not 'abolished,' it withers away." "The society that will organize production on the basis of a free and equal association of the producers will put the whole machinery of state where it will then belong: into the museum of antiquities, by the side of the spinning wheel and the bronze axe" (Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*).

Finally, as regards the attitude of Marx's socialism towards the small peasantry, which will continue to exist in the period of the expropriation of the expropriators, we must refer to a declaration made by Engels, which expresses Marx's views: "... when we are in possession of state power we shall not even think of forcibly expropriating the small peasants (regardless of whether with or without compensation), as we shall have to do in the case of the big landowners. Our task relative to the small peasant consists, in the first place, in effecting a transition of his private enterprise and private possession to cooperative ones, not forcibly but by dint of example and the proffer of social assistance for this purpose. And then of course we shall have ample means of showing to the small peasant prospective advantages that must be obvious to him even today." (Engels, *The Peasant Question in France and Germany*.) □

## Joseph Hansen: is Marxism-Leninism obsolete?

Below are excerpts from an article written by Joseph Hansen titled "Is Marxism-Leninism Obsolete?" The article was written in 1968 for inclusion in a collection of articles marking the 50th anniversary of the triumph of the October 1917 Russian Revolution. The collection was published by Pathfinder Press under the title *50 Years of World Revolution: An International Symposium*.

Where does Marxism-Leninism stand a half century after the October Revolution?

This question is not academic. It has become an integral component of world politics since the end of World War II. The foreign policy of the greatest capitalist power has centered on "containing" and eventually rolling back "Communism." The biggest witch-hunt in American history — launched by Truman, carried to a frenetic pitch under the guidance of the late Senator [Joseph] McCarthy, and still virulent in many fields of American life — was directed against the "Communist threat."

Washington has repeatedly intervened in civil conflicts in other countries, toppling governments as in Iran and Guatemala, sending U.S. troops to Lebanon and the Dominican Republic, or financing and organizing mercenaries as in the Bay of Pigs invasion and in the Congo — all in the name of fighting "Communism." Intervention of this kind has twice been escalated into a war of such size as to risk a major conflagration that could end in a nuclear catastrophe: in Korea in 1950–52, in Vietnam today.

The principal source of this "Communist threat" has been the Soviet Union — at least up to the time of Mao and Fidel Castro. Behind the Soviet Union, the bourgeois ideologues and propagandists invariably trace the genesis of the threat to the theoretical system of Karl Marx and the political methods of V. I. Lenin.

### Soviet Union, Lenin, Marx

Thus the trinity of the Soviet Union, Lenin, and Marx has been a perennial target of attack. The propaganda, like most of the war propaganda turned out by these reactionary sources, is crude enough. Its principal objective is mere brainwashing.

Something more plausible is required, however, to have deep or lasting effect on serious people genuinely concerned about the truth. Thus the more sincere, or more skilled, bourgeois theoreticians make at least a pretense of examining Marxism-Leninism in an objective way. Their output is prodigious but singularly lacking in originality. The same theme is insistently repeated decade after decade: Marxism is not a science but only a dogma.

[Hansen then went on to describe three schools of political thought that proclaim opposition to capitalism, but reject basic Marxist ideas. Hansen singled out in this regard nineteenth-century German social-democratic revisionist Eduard Bernstein; Joseph Stalin; and "new leftists" of the 1960s.]

Before considering the arguments of these schools at closer range, it would provide a useful counterpoint to state briefly the central postulates of scientific socialism.

1) *It is humanist.* Economic activities involve human beings. Whatever the technological and sociological conditions may be, human beings in a given social formation work up the materials taken from nature into the means needed to sustain them as individuals, as groups, as a species. In the final analysis, all economic relations and their corresponding categories originate in this human labor activity — including the enigmatic category of "value" clarified by Marx.

If this point seems obvious enough, it is not so to many bourgeois ideologists and those influenced by them. They find the source of economic categories in objects — commodities, rare metals, money; or in vague abstractions like "wants and desires," "ability," "scarcity," "supply and demand," etc.

It was Marx's great merit, following the insights provided by Ludwig Feuerbach, to disclose the reification involved in the bourgeois outlook. Underlying such things as commodities and other concrete forms of capital are relations between exploiting and exploited classes and the various sectors of these classes.

With his proof that the bourgeois outlook is largely an unconscious projection, a secular version of the religious way of viewing the world, Marx at the same time established that his own approach was based on social reality.

Thus in the case of gold, Marx showed that the "precious" quality attached to its physical properties by the miser, banker, or bourgeois entrepreneur, or those who think like them, is illusory. Under Marx's procedure, the "precious" quality of gold is seen to derive from the immense human labor exerted in searching for it, mining and refining it. Its exchange value, in short, is derived from the real world of human activities. The bourgeois procedure, at best, puts things upside down, leads to endless confusion, and stands in the way of any genuine progress in understanding the economic system, its origin, development, and future evolution. This is the fundamental basis of Marx's claim to having founded a science of society.

2) *Scientific socialism is materialist.* Nature and labor are the twin bases of society. The evolution of human society hinges in the final analysis on the development of

## FSLN plans for Marx centenary

The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) of Nicaragua announced the formation of a committee to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx. The FSLN's daily newspaper, *Barricada*, published the resolution passed by the FSLN to set up the committee.

The resolution said, "WHEREAS

"1. Karl Marx, the great German thinker and historian, gave humanity extraordinary scientific contributions.

"2. His work, life, and thought has been a tool at the service of the oppressed of the earth.

"3. Our working people justly value his historic-scientific legacy.

"The FSLN has constituted the Organizing Committee for the Days of Commemoration of the centenary of the death of Karl Marx."

Commander of the Revolution Víctor Tirado López, a member of the National Directorate of the FSLN will head up the committee.

*Barricada* listed 17 members of the committee, including Lucío Jiménez, the general secretary of the Sandinista Workers Federation; Edgardo García, general secretary of the Rural Workers Association; Alejandro Solorzano, general secretary of the General Association of Workers (independent); Father Ernesto Cardenal, minister of culture; Commander Olga Avilés, president of the Nicaraguan Committee for Peace; and Guerrilla Commander Leticia Herrera, general secretary of the Sandinista Defense Committees.

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# Revolutionary farmer tells of 6 decades in struggle

BY DOUG JENNESS

John Enestvedt has been active in farm protest movements for nearly 60 years. For most of that time he has been a socialist.

John was born in 1906 on a farm near Sacred Heart in west central Minnesota. He has lived in that vicinity his entire life. It's the same area that his grandparents, immigrants from Norway, homesteaded in the late 1860s.

His long experience and continued commitment to the farmers' struggle and socialism embody lessons that are of interest to younger fighters coming forward today.

With this in mind, Jay Ressler, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in the Twin Cities, and I, drove out to Sacred Heart to interview John in mid-December. It's about two and one-half hours from the Twin Cities.

John and his wife Edythe live with their grandson in a house they built themselves. It rests on about 80 acres of land nearly adjacent to the Minnesota River. From a living room picture window we gazed out across the river valley. John gave us a short course on the geology of the area including the effects of the last glaciation.

Then after a good lunch, we sat down for many hours of discussion. John is a good conversationalist, full of stories and a ready laugh.

We asked him if he could remember his first protest action. "I sure can," he replied. "It was when I was in grade school, but it's still fresh in my mind."

"Most kids in this area couldn't read or speak English real well. We spoke Norwegian at home. Even all the school board members were Norwegian."

"Well, we got this teacher who said we couldn't speak Norwegian on the school grounds. We didn't like that so some of us decided to protest. We'd lay down in a circle with our heads together in the middle so we could speak Norwegian. This way we could also see in every direction whether the teacher was coming. We'd stop when she appeared. But we wouldn't speak English. She finally gave up and said, 'I don't care how how much you talk Norwegian, but speak to me once in awhile.'"

"It shows what you can do if you join together," John laughed, "and if you're right. I've never forgotten that."

## Non-Partisan League

John explained that when he was a youth the principal protest movement was the Non-Partisan League (NPL). The NPL was founded in North Dakota in 1915 by A.C. Townley, a flax farmer. It spread quickly to other states and by 1918 had 80,000 members in Minnesota, the largest number in any state.

"Both my uncle and dad were active in the NPL," John said. "For a period my uncle was the state chairman. He was a seed processor and I used to work for him."

"When he traveled to nearby towns selling seeds he carried out organizing for the NPL at the same time. In fact he probably spent more time on politics than selling seeds. I would help distribute literature and put stamps on mailings."

In North Dakota the NPL's election tactics were to run its own candidates in the Republican primary. With this approach the NPL succeeded in getting a lot of candidates elected to major state offices. The NPL became the dominant political force in North Dakota politics for several years.

John recalled working for a couple of farmers in North Dakota in the spring and summer of 1928. One of the farmers, an old Norwegian homesteader, talked a lot about the League and how it had organized its activities and protests.

"He explained to me," John said, "what a Goose Egg Township is. It was how they referred to townships in North Dakota where every single vote had been cast for the NPL ticket. And there were a lot of townships like that in the state."

In Minnesota, the tactic of running candidates in the Republican primary was tried at first, but not for long. In 1918 the NPL joined the AFL State Federation of Labor in running a Farmer-Labor ticket in the state elections.

A Working People's Non-Partisan League was set up that collaborated with the NPL in running Farmer-Labor tickets. In 1923 the two groups fused forming the Farmer-Labor Federation (soon renamed Farmer-Labor Association). It was a membership organization to which trade unions were accepted into affiliation as a body. It appeared in the electoral arena as the Farmer-Labor Party (FLP).

"My experience with the NPL taught me to be against both the major political parties," John said. "I learned at an early age that the two old parties were no good. This experience with the NPL was like going to school. And this was the main thing I learned."

In 1926 John's uncle died and his father became more



Militant/Jay Ressler  
John Enestvedt at his farm in Sacred Heart, Minnesota.



Farmers' Holiday Association marches in Montevideo, Minnesota, during Great Depression. Enestvedt organized and led militant actions in this area that prevented farm foreclosures and helped force state to declare farm-debt moratoriums.

active in politics, especially in the Farmer-Labor Party. "My father was very honest and forthright politically," he said. "And this he taught me. He was a very devout Lutheran, but politically devoted to the Non-Partisan League, was opposed to World War I, was for the Farmer-Labor Party, the Farmers Holiday movement, and for cooperatives."

The Farmer-Labor Party succeeded in electing Floyd B. Olsen governor in 1930. "My father got an appointment as a state weed inspector. I became active in the Junior Farmer-Labor group, a youth affiliate of the FLP."

We asked John how he became a socialist. "Many people in the NPL and the FLP considered themselves socialist," he explained. "Some of the old Scandinavians and Germans were confirmed socialists when they came to the United States. They weren't necessarily Marxists like we think of, but they were strongly against the Democrats and Republicans."

"I guess I considered myself a socialist ever since I was 20 or so. In the 1928 elections, which were the first that I was old enough to vote in, I voted for Norman Thomas,

the Socialist Party (SP) candidate for president. Sometime around that time I joined the SP local in Willmar."

John told us that he began farming with a brother in the spring of 1929. "But then the crash came in the fall. The bank that loaned us money to get started busted. Its accounts were transferred to another bank that liquidated our loan. We farmed for a few months and were wiped out!" he exclaimed.

"I then farmed a little in the next couple of years with machinery I borrowed from my dad and by renting a little land. I lived at home with my parents."

## Farmers take a holiday

Farmers all over were really hit hard by the depression, John explained. Prices, which had been dropping since 1920, went even lower. Many farmers couldn't make a living at all and tens of thousands of farms were foreclosed.

In 1931 farmers began organizing local actions to halt farm and chattel (livestock, machinery, and other movable property) mortgage sales. "I remember that we heard about one in Atwater just a little northeast of here," John said.

John Bosch, who was later to become head of the Minnesota Farmers' Holiday Association (FHA) and a national officer of the organization, helped organize that action. At the national convention of the National Farmers Union (NFU — a national farmers' organization established in 1901) later that year, Bosch proposed that it get involved in halting farm foreclosures. The convention refused to support this move.

"Then the next spring the Farmers' Holiday Association was set up in Iowa," John told us. "It spread like wildfire. In August it launched a strike. The idea was to force processors and distributors to give us a better price by collectively keeping our produce off the market. It meant putting up check points on the highways to keep scab produce from getting through."

"There were a lot of pitched battles," John continued, "as cops and national guardsmen tried to accompany scab trucks through farmers' lines. Here in Renville County we kept all milk and eggs from getting to market. We completely shut down the creameries."

John went on to explain that in many areas the strike closed things down. But with the exception of Sioux City, Iowa, no contracts were negotiated with the processors.

By the middle of October the strikes were for the most part over. The FHA then decided to launch a campaign to stop mortgage foreclosures. "We had a lot of them here in the Renville County area. I don't recall how many. Maybe as many as 35."

"There were quite a few penny sales. We'd go to a sale and all agree to bid no more than a few cents. A lot of pressure was exerted on anybody who didn't go along with this."

"We had quite a good communications network," John continued. "Once we heard about a sale we could get the word out for a demonstration on 24 hours' notice. I was part of a three-person committee in the state in charge of communications. The other two were women from other towns in the state."

John explained that after a sale was stopped a debt adjustment committee of farmers would help the farmer meet with creditors. They would try to negotiate a postponement or refinancing of the loan. "A cousin of mine served on one of these committees," he said.

John recalled one particularly memorable sale. "Over in Montevideo the mortgage holder and the sheriff decided to call in the U.S. marshal to conduct the sale. So this was seen as a big challenge. When it was a tough one like this and we needed people bad, they really came. It was a strong movement."

The turnout for the Montevideo action was about 8,000, he related. They came from South Dakota and Iowa as well as Minnesota. "It was quite a demonstration. We stopped the sale too," John said proudly.

"We had bought some quarter-inch rope and made hangman's nooses. When the marshal came through we spun them on our fingers," he chuckled. "That marshal was so damned scared he needed an escort to the courthouse."

In many areas the governing officials attempted to break up the foreclosure protests. They organized sheriffs' posses and called out the national guard. The governor of Iowa put several counties under martial law at one point in 1933. "The press continually accused us of fomenting violence," John said. "But the violence came from the cops."

"Of course the better organized we were and the more

Continued on next page



Continued from preceding page

people we drew to an action, the less chance there was it would be attacked, and the less violence there'd be."

John said that the pressure for halting foreclosures was so great that Governor Olson in February 1933 declared a moratorium until May 1. But this was too short. The FHA decided to mount even more pressure. A march on the State Capitol in St. Paul was held in March.

"People came from all over the state, at least 20,000," John recalled.

He said that this action forced the state legislature to enact a two-year moratorium. The following year Congress adopted a national moratorium and the Farm Relief Bill, which authorized refinancing of farm mortgages at lower interest rates.

We asked if adoption of these measures ended the foreclosure protests. "It slowed them down," he replied. "But you have to remember that the moratorium was limited to farms. It didn't include chattel. I remember being on actions to stop chattel sales through 1937."

"Did the FHA campaign around any other issues?" we asked.

John replied that one of its main slogans was "cost of production." The FHA favored legislation that would attempt to support prices so that farmers could meet their costs of production and have a living income.

They supported setting prices at a level where the farmers' buying power would be comparable to better years. It was in the 1930s that the government price support programs first used the relationship between prices and costs in 1910-1914 period as the index for setting prices. In theory, if all commodity prices were at full parity, farmers would have the equivalent purchasing power that they had during this period. This is the origin of the demand for 100 percent of parity that many farmers are raising today.

"While the Holiday favored such legislation," John said, "it wasn't much involved in lobbying for it or writing bills. We were primarily an action movement and that was how our influence was felt."

There were other issues, John observed. The big electric power companies refused to bring electricity to the countryside except in a few places at exorbitant cost. In the mid-1930s less than 10 percent of the country's farms and rural homes had electricity.

The FHA was among those organizations that tried to get the federal government to electrify the rural areas. Under this pressure President Roosevelt established the Rural Electrification Administration (REA) in 1935. At first it offered loans to power companies. But they still didn't believe electrifying the countryside was profitable enough for them. So the REA offered loans to cooperatives of farmers.

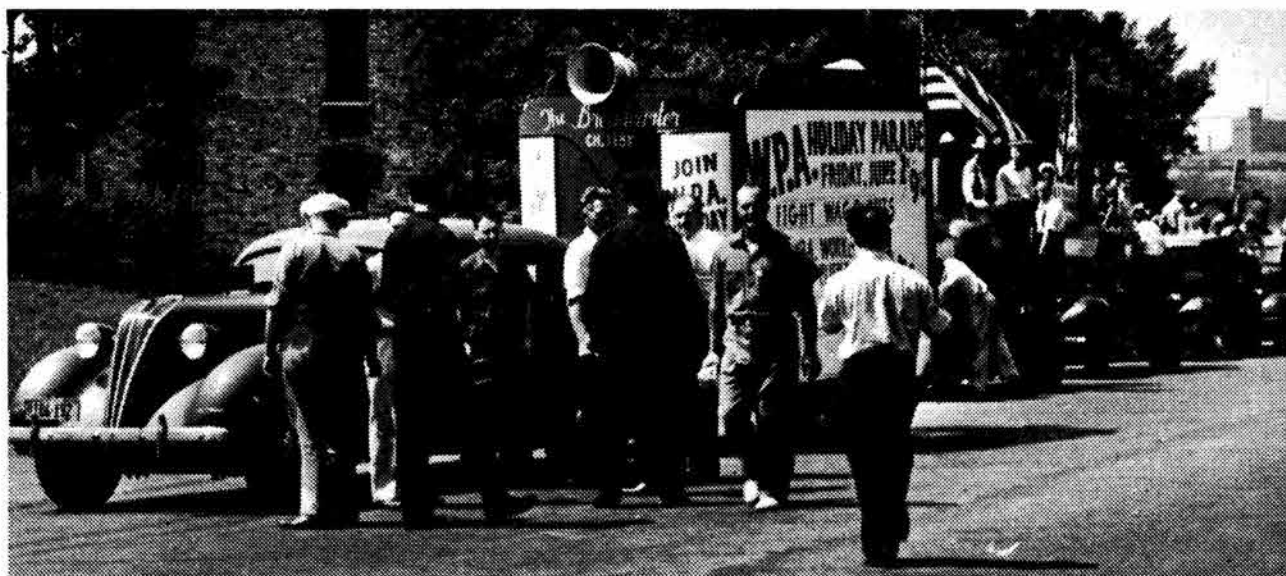
By this means hundreds of electric co-ops brought relatively inexpensive electricity to rural America. Today, nearly 99 percent of rural farms and homes have electricity. "We got electricity in 1950," John remarked.

He pointed out that today, "Many of the co-ops have become profit-making businesses and the consumer-members have little or no say and are ripped off."

"Several years ago, for example, there were giant demonstrations of farmers in this state against a couple of electric co-ops that were trying to put high tension wires through farmers' fields, rather than along highway right-of-ways. The farmers were angry because they had not been consulted and believed the high wires to be dangerous."

John also noted that another question in the 1930s was the particular conditions faced by tenant farmers. "In Minnesota," he said, "55 to 60 percent of the land in agricultural use was rented. Some of us in the Socialist Party around here thought that the FHA should initiate a tenant's association. So we pushed this at the Holiday area meeting over at Clarkfield. We argued that fighting for decent conditions for renters would help all farmers. The meeting adopted the proposal and I even wrote a model contract — like a union contract — that could be used as a basis for organizing tenants. But this was towards the end of the Holiday movement and nothing came of it," he said.

One of the events that made the deepest mark on John



Protest motorcade to State Capitol in St. Paul organized by Federal Workers Section (FWS) of Teamsters. Enestvedt came in contact with revolutionary leadership of Minneapolis Teamsters in 1934, later joined FWS and organized strikes against government. He and other revolutionary Teamster members participated in founding Socialist Workers Party in 1938.

was the 1934 Teamsters' strikes in Minneapolis.

He first met leaders of Teamsters Local 574 after the strikes were over. "As I remember it," he said, "I was on a picket line that was part of another farm strike called by the Holiday. It was in Shakopee, just outside of Minneapolis. There was a group of workers from Teamsters Local 574 there too. When the picketing was over they invited me and a couple of other farmers up to the Teamsters' strike kitchen in Minneapolis."

During both the May and July-August strikes the union organized a commissary capable of feeding 4,000 to 5,000 strikers daily. They often served meals there in the following weeks to help out other workers involved in strikes.

"That's the first time I ever met Skogie (Carl Skoglund)," John said. Skoglund was a central leader of the Teamsters' strikes and a leader of the Communist League of America (CLA). The CLA was formed by communists expelled from the Communist Party in 1928. They were expelled for defending the political perspectives and traditions of Marx and Lenin against their perversion by supporters of Joseph Stalin. The CLA was a predecessor of the Socialist Workers Party which was established in 1938.

"Skogie came over and talked to us," John recalled. "It inspired me that he would take a few minutes from the hectic pace of activity in the headquarters to talk to us farmers. And he seemed really interested in helping the farmer. Over the years we became very good friends."

John also noted that they spoke the same language. "He came from Sweden and his Swedish and my Norwegian sounded just about the same. Whenever I talked seriously about politics with my dad it was in Norwegian, and it was the same with Skogie."

"I was put up at the Dunne's place that night," John continued. "Vincent Dunne, and his brothers Miles and Grant were also union leaders and members of the CLA. I didn't really get to know them then because they were so busy. That came later."

During the course of the July-August strike the Teamsters welded a firm alliance with working farmers. An agreement was reached with the market gardeners in the Twin Cities area that permitted them to drive through the picket lines to sell their produce in the city. A new market was built with union help where the farmers could sell their fruits and vegetables in better conditions than before. In return the farmers volunteered to help provide food for the strike kitchen.

The Farm Bureau and the Holiday Association joined the Market Gardeners' Association in soliciting food. John said that he worked on this campaign. "I remember even going way out to Clinton on the South Dakota border to pick up a scrawny cow," he laughed. "There was a good relationship between workers and farmers then. Farmers were willing to give."

Farmers also joined unionists in a mass demonstration in Minneapolis supporting the strikers.

Led by class-struggle fighters, Teamsters Local 574 won the strikes and a contract. This laid the basis for a Teamster organizing drive throughout the Midwest.

## Organizing on the job

John became acquainted with members and leaders of the CLA following the strikes. (In December 1934 the CLA fused with the American Workers Party, headed by A.J. Muste, to establish the Workers Party.)

In 1935 John got a job as an adult education teacher as part of the Emergency Relief Administration (soon to be the Works Progress Administration — WPA). While participating in a training program at the University of Minnesota, he got to know Max Goldman, a member of the Workers Party in Minneapolis. Goldman was also head of the Federal Workers Section (FWS) of Local 574.

The FWS was set up by the union to organize unemployed workers. It included members of other unions and became the most influential unemployed organization in the state. It waged fights to protect unemployed workers against bureaucratic treatment by government relief administrators and to win more benefits.

Unemployed workers assigned to public works projects were called "federal workers" and needed an organization like a trade union to defend themselves. The FWS conducted an organizing drive among WPA workers and established a steward system and democratic structure much like that of Local 574.

John was elected a steward of the FWS in Renville County, which he said "was a very active unit. We conducted a strike in Sacred Heart. There were some who told me afterwards, 'John, you can't strike against the government!' I replied, 'But we did.'" He smiled, "We won too." John served as an organizer for the FWS until 1937.

John's first assignment as an adult education teacher was to give some classes in Rochester to a workers education program. "I gave five classes — all on Local 574," he said. "The woman in charge was very pleased. It was the first time anyone had come to talk to them about unionism."

"What I taught depended where I was at," he said. "In Sacred Heart, for example, classes were on politics. We stationed a couple of old socialists at the door and talked politics." He laughed. "We organized in other words."

He emphasized that "wages" for WPA workers in rural areas were considerably less than in the big cities. "When they were \$90.50 in Minneapolis," he said, "they were \$64 in Renville County for jobs in adult education projects."

His experience with the FWS impressed on him how influential Local 574 was in the region. "I remember once there was a conflict in Olivia with the WPA officials. Max Goldman came out and it was settled just like that. Just the fact that he came convinced them to grant our demands right away. I learned firsthand how honest unionism works," he said.

## Brookwood Labor College

John then recounted his experience at the Brookwood Labor College in Katonah, New York, just north of New York City. Brookwood was established in 1921 as a resident school for workers. Generally the students were union members financed by scholarships from their unions in the hope that they would return better equipped to work in the labor movement. Until 1933 A.J. Muste served as its educational director.

John attended the school for four months in the fall of 1936. He was one of three chosen by the FHA in Minnesota to receive scholarships to attend that session. There were also some farmer activists from other states.

## Teamsters union — lessons for today

In the 1930s Midwest Teamsters built a powerful and militant union movement based on the unity of all drivers and the solidarity of the farmers. Farrell Dobbs, one of the central leaders of the Teamsters' organizing drive and a longtime leader of the Socialist Workers Party, tells how they did it.

The first two volumes contain sections on the alliance between the striking Teamsters and the Farmers' Holiday Association, the

National Farm Bureau, and the Market Gardeners Association.

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

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

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

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

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



"It was a very useful experience for me," John told us. "It was my first opportunity to really get to know and work with young workers."

"What did you study?" we asked.

"Labor history, journalism, and Marxist works like *Wage-Labor and Capital*," John replied.

John also noted that he had an opportunity during this period to get into New York City where he met with leaders of the SP's left wing. (In mid-1936 the Workers Party had dissolved and joined the Socialist Party. Its members became part of the SP's left wing.)

In the latter half of 1937, the left wing branches were expelled from the party. They established the Socialist Workers Party at a New Year's convention in Chicago. John pointed out that in Minnesota the left wing dominated the party. When the expulsions came the Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Austin chapters had their charters lifted by the party's national leadership.

John, who had been a member of the SP since the late 1920s, was part of the left wing that was expelled. He attended the SWP founding convention as a delegate.

He noted that in 1937 before the left wing was expelled from the SP, he wrote a farm resolution that was adopted by the Minneapolis branch. It was submitted to the SP national convention but died in the resolutions committee, even though it had the backing of the Southern Tenant Farmers Union and socialist farmers in other states.

A farm resolution presented by reformist leader Harry Laidler from New York City was approved instead. "There were some who called Laidler the 'Fifth Avenue farmer from New York,'" John said.

#### Holiday movement derailed

We asked John what happened to the Holiday movement. He explained that at the end of 1937 it merged with the NFU. "I think this was a big mistake, and I opposed it at the time. Here, in Minnesota, the Holiday was much bigger than the Farmers Union. At the state amalgamation convention we had three times as many people as the Farmers Union. The NFU had always opposed militant action to stop foreclosures. A condition of the fusion was to limit direct action."

The Communist Party was very active in the NFU at the time, he said. This was a reversal of the CP's position in the farmers' movement in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Then it had an ultraleft, sectarian position. It attempted to establish its own farm organization and attacked the Holiday movement. The Farmer-Labor Party was labeled "social-fascist." The CP changed its position in 1935 in favor of trying to establish a broad "popular front" behind Roosevelt.

"The CP pushed for the merger of the NFU and the Holiday," John said. "It was part of their whole political perspective of eventually merging the FLP with the Democratic Party. They were becoming more and more influential in the FLP and supported its reformist program. The merger of the FLP and the Democrats finally occurred in 1944."

In 1939 or so, John explained, the situation began to get better for farmers and generally stayed that way for the next couple of decades. Farmer protests declined greatly.

John started to farm again. He was able to get a government loan and by the end of World War II had bought and paid for his farm.

John is also a skilled machinist and carpenter and during these years did a lot of off-the-farm work in construction. He is a craftsman who takes a great deal of pride in doing a job right. Two neighbors have spiral staircases in their homes that he built.

In 1971, when the Socialist Workers Party was establishing a new national headquarters in New York, John came in to build a magnificent spiral staircase between two floors in the building.

He insisted that Jay and I see his workshop where he has a wide assortment of power tools, many that he has rebuilt himself.

Like many farmers these days, he also has an apparatus for making fuel alcohol from corn.

#### Back on the picketline

In the 1960s farmer protests again burst onto the political scene. The National Farmers Organization launched "holding actions." Their aim was to try to get a better price at the marketplace.

"I jumped right into that," John said. "I was publicity director of the NFO for the Sixth Congressional District, or what was then the Sixth C.D. I was very active. Whenever there was a holding action in the area I would participate."

Farmers in Renville County weren't as solid behind the NFO as they were the Holiday movement, John observed. "But in the neighboring counties it was very strong."

In August and September 1964 a holding action was held that spread to 23 states from the Rocky Mountains to the East Coast. It focused on forcing meat-packing companies to sign contracts setting satisfactory minimum prices for livestock. Farmer pickets on the highways and



Gentle Rebels/Hershel Wilson  
**American Agriculture Movement (AAM) tractorcade in Washington, D.C., in 1979. Enestvedt jumped in to support new rise in farmer militancy when AAM was organized in 1977.**

in the stockyards attempted to stop trucks carrying livestock.

John explained that sometimes the scab trucks wouldn't be turned around simply by talk; they needed sterner means of persuasion.

"I remember over in Montevideo," he said, "we took a few pick-up trucks and welded a three-quarter inch piece of shafting into the back end of each one. And we put lights on them. Then we'd drive along at night. When we saw a scab truck we'd drive in front of it, line up the shafting with its front end, and brake a few times. They'd get the idea real quick and hightail it home. We stopped everything into Montevideo."

He went on to describe other creative methods that were used to convince scab truckers to keep off the road.

We asked if there was any support from the labor movement. "The Teamsters in Marshall solidarized with our picket lines," he said. "And rail workers on the Milwaukee Road in Montevideo stopped their trains. We put up a picket line right on the track there. Somebody said we couldn't stop a train. I said, 'The hell we can't!' We stood there with picket signs and a train got up to us, stopped, and the crew cut off the engine. We then gave them a ride back to the depot and they went home. The train sat there for two weeks."

Two farmer pickets were killed when a group of some 500 NFO members and supporters attempted to halt a truck at the Equity Livestock Yards in Bonduel, Wisconsin. They were crushed to death by the vehicle.

In spite of the farmers' militancy, the NFO holding action didn't lead to any contracts. "We did all the things that you should do to win," John observed. "But the national leadership didn't back us up. When state officials decided to escort trucks through the lines, it could have been stopped if the leadership said, 'No. We're not going to let the trucks go through.' Instead they called off the strike on October 1."

"When the Wisconsin farmers were killed," John said, "we urged the NFO respond by stopping milk too. But the officials wouldn't do it. They wouldn't even help the families of those who were killed. Here in the Sixth C.D. we adopted a resolution urging national support to those families."

Opposition to the national leadership's policies was particularly strong in Minnesota. An NFO Victory Committee was established that fought for a winning strategy. Its main proposals were the need for spreading the strike and making a bigger effort to seek the support of the organized labor movement. It fought for this perspective at the Minnesota state NFO convention that fall and won a lot of support. At the national convention in Minneapolis in December the Victory Committee waged a campaign for its proposals and unsuccessfully ran a candidate for president against incumbent Oren Lee Staley.

In addition to his NFO responsibilities, during the holding actions, John organized discussions between striking farmers and Everett Luoma, the SWP candidate for U.S. Senate in the 1964 elections. Support to the holding actions featured prominently in the SWP's election campaign in Minnesota that year.

"The NFO still exists," John said, "but it never regained its momentum and was unable to respond to the new situation at the end of the 1970s and in the 1980s. I dropped out some years ago."

#### American Agriculture Movement

John has been an active supporter of the American Agriculture Movement (AAM) since it was formed in 1977.

The AAM's first action was a national strike in December of that year. Inspired by this revival of the farm protest struggle and by the similarities of the new movement with the Holiday Association, John published a pamphlet in 1978. Its purpose was to relate some of the lessons of the Holiday movement to the American Agriculture Movement. The pamphlet, *John's Letter to Paul* took the form of a letter to AAM activist Paul Peterson in nearby Olivia.

John pointed out that farmers had set out on a new course of action that was to change their lives and that would lead to new political realignments.

He confidently predicted that farmers will not be alone. "Sure," he wrote, "on the surface our protests do seem contained, but there are few among us who do not feel the resentment against what we see amongst us — that resides just beneath the surface among the steelworkers, the miners, the teachers, among us farmers and the common people in general. . . ."

John praised the democratic functioning of the AAM and suggested the formation of organizing committees as a democratic form that could draw in the broadest range of forces behind the strike.

"We have to realize that this is the biggest single strike ever undertaken by farmers," John wrote. "It's on in all the 50 states. And to take on mobilizing about 2.8 million farmers is a gigantic undertaking."

He also pointed to the protest movement against the Vietnam War as an example of how taking to the streets becomes necessary when issues are of the greatest concern and how such action can be effective. "Thousands of farmers must have opposed the war effort," he noted.

He pointed to the number of farms threatened with mortgage foreclosure, foreseeing a target that in the past year has become central to the AAM and new local farm groups that are springing up. He recounted the experience of the Holiday movement in using debt adjustment committees.

John has continued to remain active. He has participated in protests against foreclosure sales in western Minnesota. "Just after the elections (November 1982)," he said, "some 75 of us surprised the Federal Land Bank office in Sauk Centre, regarding a foreclosure that was coming up because some farmer owed \$435 that was past due. We came up with a good settlement for now."

He maintains an active correspondence with other farmer activists and with local newspapers. He persistently tries to orient activists toward a course of independence from capitalist politics and of linking up with the labor movement. He attempts to win farmers to the perspective of an independent labor party. "I've learned a lot in my years in the farmers' movement," he said, "but these points are the most important."

In a letter to me since our interview, John reported that he had just taped a television interview on the farmers' movement that is to be shown in parts of Minnesota. He further indicated that he was helping to set up a meeting for El Salvador trade union leader Alejandro Molina Lara in Montevideo.

#### Internationalism

John is a true internationalist who believes that the accomplishments of working people in other countries is a source of inspiration for exploited producers in this country.

In a letter written last May, he praised the *Militant* for its international coverage. "I particularly like the reports on goings on in Cuba, Grenada, and Nicaragua. Farmers are being foreclosed on here, as are workers in the city, while land and farms are being turned over to workers and farmers in these socialist countries: a decided economic plus to these workers as against a decided minus for us here. Workers can see what a class-conscious program on behalf of working people has done for Cubans, Nicaraguans, and Grenadians. . . ."

"This is what the strong internationalism of Cuba, next door to the world's most powerful imperialist power adds up to. It is a true contest between what socialism really is offering its working people, as against imperialism's program of mass deprivation and world wars leading to a nuclear burnout of all life."

In a more recent letter, he confidently added that, "A real binding relationship between workers and farmers can be forged like there was in the October Revolution in Russia. The development has been slow, but it has been consistent: Cuba, Nicaragua, El Salvador, etc."

"Yes, there will be a workers and farmers government in the United States too. It is only a matter of time."

"The good things that have happened to workers and farmers have been the result of workers and farmers. But I have learned that until the workers move, the movement of farmers fizzles out. No one has aided, nor will they come to the aid of the farmer, except the workers. Without this unity, my experience tells me that there can be no victory for workers and farmers — and no further progress for mankind on planet earth. Through the united effort of workers and farmers everything is possible. Without it, nothing is possible."



## Joseph Hansen: is Marxism-Leninism obsolete?

Continued from ISR Page 4

technology and the possibilities this opens up for more productive organization of the labor process. This criterion of productive powers, of increased efficiency of labor, provides a solid objective basis for determining progress, whatever one's opinion may be of the dominant cultural values of a given time.

In our epoch of the production expert, the time-study man, and such an outpouring and development of labor-saving devices as to give rise to the term, "cybernetic revolution," the key role of technology and the organization of the labor process as the foundation for broadening mankind's access to culture, leisure time, and more bountiful well-being seems obvious to the point of banality. Not so with those who would debate with Marx. For them "free enterprise," "free competition," "the public interest," and similar spirits still rule man's economic enterprise.

3) *Scientific socialism recognizes the key role played by the class struggle.* While Marx and Engels were not the first to perceive the class struggle or its economic roots, they did establish a firm basis for exploring its material basis and its multiple ramifications, not only in politics, government, and the state, but in remoter fields such as art and literature.

It is not too difficult to determine the interests of the various classes in a completely objective way. What statesman in his real calculations proceeds today otherwise than on the basis of such calculation? If the tangle of class interests appears obscure at times, every sharp struggle generally brings clarification, often to very wide layers.

4) *Scientific socialism is historical.* Marx's procedure enabled him to establish that capitalism had its origin in qualitatively different preceding social systems. If this irritates certain bourgeois ideologists who refuse to acknowledge anything less than timelessness for the conditions of their system, the burden of proof is on them to show how such a common, ordinary phenomenon as an economic system — merely a way of organizing the collective labor process — can be immune to the universal law of change affecting everything else.

It is not sufficient to point to the invariants of "human nature." Anthropologists have provided abundant evidence on how variable human characteristics and capacities are. Marx's conclusions were derived from a most thorough study of the origin of capitalism as well as the inherent tendencies of this least stable and most disruptive of all economic systems.

Thus Marx was able to offer a rational explanation for the periodic appearance of revolutions — those great upsurges of collective energy that have at times taken humanity forward at great speed, toppling or engulfing every obstacle in their path.

The bourgeois view that capitalism is timeless, or everlasting, compels its theorists, if they are to be consistent, to view revolutions as irrational and unnecessary, even the revolutions in which their own system was born — not to speak of the revolutions bringing it to a close.

5) *Scientific socialism takes an overall view.* Marx approached his subject in its totality, as a development in time with a beginning and an end. With the establishment of its time limits, the capitalist system can thus be compared both with the systems that preceded it and the one succeeding it, insofar as the latter can be foreseen by extrapolating the development of technology, the organization of the labor process, and the modifications in the social structure that have occurred under capitalism (constant strengthening of the social weight of the proletariat at the expense of all other classes).

From the viewpoint of the survival, well-being, and advancement of the human species, a basis is thereby provided for judging how far mankind has come from its animal origins. If we utilize as our measure the gains made in modifying or controlling natural processes, then progress has certainly been made. Furthermore the nature of the progress can be stated in objective, verifiable terms (growth of productive power, population, knowledge, etc.). The laws governing the processes giving rise to this progress can be stated in a similar way.

Arguments to the contrary must, in the final analysis, advance norms of a subjective nature such as the "losses" entailed by the development of civilization.

### Dialectical

6) *Scientific socialism is dialectical.* Marx's procedure makes it possible in principle to study in a fruitful way reciprocal actions, modifying forces, countertendencies, and combinations of the most varied nature. It is a gross distortion or misunderstanding of Marx's scientific socialism to say, as Arthur P. Mendel does in the October 1966 *Foreign Affairs* ("The Rise and Fall of 'Scientific Socialism'"), that it "represents a transposition into sociological and historical terminology of classical mechanics, now radically undermined by the theories of relativity, quantum physics, probability and indeterminacy."

Marx was fully aware of the role of chance and probability not only in the determination of such economic categories as prices but in the outcome of specific events in the class struggle. It is not necessary to read very far in *Capital* to discover this. A good example in the first chapter is Section 3 on the development of money from its lowly origin in accidental acts of barter.

Mendel's analogy is defective even if we accept it at face value. Twentieth-century developments have restricted but not nullified the validity of the Newtonian mechanics. The laws of classical mechanics and quantum physics apply to different levels of phenomena. Is Mendel willing then to grant that Marx's scientific socialism holds up as well as does classical mechanics in the field in which classical mechanics applies? The erudite academician should think this over carefully.

### Not a set of dogmas

7) *Scientific socialism is not a set of dogmas.* The essence of scientific socialism is contained in Marx's dialectical materialist method, for this makes it possible to analyze new developments in objective reality. It is not surprising that some of today's developments were unforeseen by Marx or foreseen unclearly or one-sidedly; by following his procedures the necessary adjustments can be made and the body of Marxist theory enriched. Scientific socialism maintains its scientific character by hospitality to historical novelties and its capacity to recognize and incorporate them. (We leave aside the question of the quacks and cultists who profess to be "Marxists.")

Little is said about Marx's method — the heart of scientific socialism — by those who try to demolish his conclusions. Even the once-current fashion of assailing Marx for his "Hegelianism" is dying out. (It has been replaced by efforts to pit the young "humanist" Marx against the Marx of *Capital*.) His foes today generally rest their case either on the fact that some of the trends in capitalism observed by Marx have been checked in some countries by countertrends (the impoverishment of the masses) or trends which he did not anticipate (the rise of a new middle class). Their trump card is the point that, although Marx predicted that capitalism would be overturned by the working class, the goal still remains to be achieved almost a century and a quarter after the *Communist Manifesto*.

Where Marx has been fully confirmed with the passage of time, as in his conclusions on the accumulation and concentration of capital expressed in the dominance of big business and high finance, the extension of the factory system, the introduction of labor-saving machinery, the domination of the state by the capitalist class, the disruptive expansion of the capitalist system, its explosive contradictions, and so on, they remain silent.

They brush aside and devalue the material accumulated, sifted, analyzed, placed in logical order, and explained by Marx in his study of the processes of the capitalist system as valid for the capitalism of his day, but not for the capitalism of our time. They make out the descendants of the pirates, slave traders, and robber barons to be a placid and benevolent lot. Unlike their progenitors, [the modern capitalists] are concerned about social security from the cradle to the grave for those who dwell in the slums and ghettos of home, while their interest in other countries centers around the welfare and democratic rights of the teeming poor to be found there, particularly those inhabiting the colonial regions endowed with rich natural resources.

Is it more humane, or a mark of progress, to burn little children with napalm than to work them from dawn to dusk in the mills?

What Marx offered is not a mere exposé of the excesses committed by the capitalists of his day in carrying the logic of their system to extremes, but an analysis of the material basis of that logic; i.e., the processes governing the operation of this system. The significance of the exposures he and Engels made of the English factories in the past century is that the evils — whether in extreme or ameliorated form — were inherent in the working of the

system itself and thus served to verify the correctness of their findings concerning the main tendencies.

8) *Marx's forecasts concerning the future society are not of primary importance but are logical derivatives from his analysis of capitalist society.* They can only provide general indications about the nature of the future transitional society and its ultimate culmination in a communist classless society of such abundance as to definitively end the millennia of poverty, with all its attendant restrictions and evils. His forecasts do not have an idealistic, utopian, or dogmatic character. They do not depend upon preconceptions of human nature other than a judgment of its demonstrated capacity to adjust within certain limits to the economic systems in which people find themselves. Still less do Marx's extrapolations involve any "best" system under which to live.

Marx's vision of the future is drawn from logically extending the socialization of the labor process, the advance of science and technology, and the concomitant tendency to introduce planning on a massive scale. While capitalism has given enormous impetus to these trends, it has kept them within property forms based in principle on the individual ownership of the means of production. This bars science from being properly and thoroughly utilized in organizing the economy, maintains the economy on an anarchistic level, and preserves competitive forms that become more and more explosive and destructive, particularly on the international arena.

If these limitations, which are a heritage of the primitive stage of commodity production from which capitalism evolved, were to be removed, the socialized labor process, the principle of planning, the development of technology, and the application of science would enable society as a whole to surge forward at a truly revolutionary rate.

The beneficent ramifications in all fields can scarcely be calculated. It would be pointless to attempt to visualize them in detail in any case, since this will be the work of future generations. The paramount task of the present generation is to carry out the political and social revolution necessary to establish the basis for these developments. That was the way Marx viewed the connection of the present with the future.

9) *Scientific socialism is rational.* This striking characteristic has constituted its greatest appeal to those able to transcend the narrow outlook associated with capitalism and the moods of pessimism and irrationalism generated by its decay. Marxism offers a supremely rational insight into the entire rise and decline of the period of class struggles. This view in turn provides a realistic basis for ascertaining the most fruitful way to expend one's own efforts and make a positive contribution toward bringing this difficult and painful epoch to a close. In addition to its political effectiveness, the serious student of Marxism can receive incomparably rich and rewarding insights into the philosophical, cultural, artistic, and even psychological phenomena of our times.

### Fresh acquisitions

10) *Scientific socialism is not averse to innovations but welcomes fresh acquisitions.* Among the most noteworthy developments based on Marx's contributions are Lenin's analysis of the imperialist stage of capitalism, now shaping the major course of world politics, and Trotsky's theory of "permanent revolution" which offers an explanation of why capitalism, in the opening stages of the world socialist revolution, has tended to succumb at its fringes rather than in the major centers of industrial, financial and political power.

Lenin also contributed valuable teachings on the question of oppressed nationalities, the political alliance of the workers with the peasantry, and the building of a combat party to lead the masses to attainment of political power.

Trotsky's analyses of the nature of Stalinism and of fascism were further important additions.

Most important of all, Marxism-Leninism did not remain a mere theory, a set of formulas and studies confined to the shelves of libraries. It helped direct the October Revolution, actually establish a postcapitalist state, and successfully defend that revolution and workers' state against a sea of foes. This remains an imperishable example of the verification of theory by actual practice.

## For Further Reading

**Collected Works of Marx and Engels**, vols. 1-14, 16-18, 38.  
\$12.50 each.

**Selected Works of Marx and Engels**, 3-vol. set. \$15.00.

**Selected Correspondence of Marx and Engels**. \$4.45.

**Marx and Engels Through the Eyes of Their Contemporaries**. \$2.95.

**The Communist Manifesto**, with introduction by Leon Trotsky. \$.95.

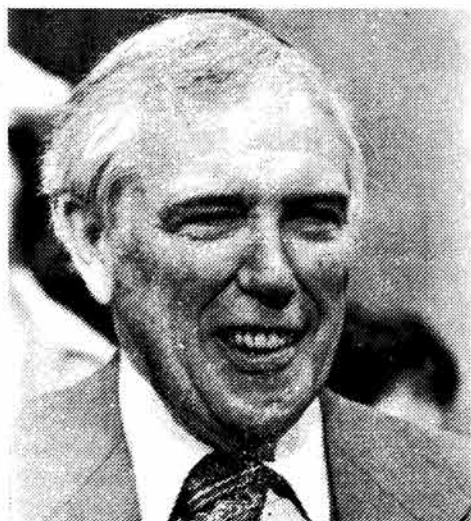
**Karl Marx and His Teachings**, by V. I. Lenin. \$.75.

**Marxism in Our Time**, by Leon Trotsky. \$1.25.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage.



# UAW chiefs' policies tie union's hands



Militant/Henry Snipper  
Douglas Fraser (left), president of UAW. At right, Owen Bieber, UAW president-designate. They seek cooperation with bosses, leaving auto workers defenseless against employers' attacks.

BY ELIZABETH ZIERS

Third in a series

Last week we traced the class collaborationist policies of the United Auto Workers (UAW) officialdom through the period of Walter Reuther's presidency of the union. That policy, based on cooperating with the employers at the expense of the workers, has continued since Reuther's death in 1970.

Today, UAW President Douglas Fraser, soon to be replaced by Owen Bieber, has introduced some innovations in the strategy of the union bureaucracy, but the end result is the same: company profits are boosted, workers' wages are reduced, and the union is weakened.

## 'Quality of Work Life'

This is what the Quality of Work Life (QWL) and Employee Involvement circles pushed by some union officials and the companies are all about. Supposedly the purpose is to increase communication between workers and the company. Many workers see them for what they are: a plan to weaken the unions just like the labor-management committees of the World War II era.

If we have to sit down and discuss quality and production problems with the foremen, that puts the blame on us. Solution: work harder to increase profits. The workers get to make suggestions, but only the foremen can give the orders.

QWL circles are one more step down the road of treating workers' grievances like so much paper work, and workers' representatives like attorneys. As one worker in my plant said at a union meeting discussion of Employee Involvement, "Why do you keep telling me to sit down and talk to the foremen like civilized people? The foreman is not civilized."

## Domestic Content law

For two years, the UAW officialdom has been trying to get a Local Domestic Content law passed by Congress. If such a law is adopted, they argue, it will require that for every 10,000 vehicles sold, one percent of the components of the vehicles must be made by or involve American workers. A company selling 100,001 vehicles would have to have 10 percent domestic content; and one selling 900,000 (the ceiling), 90 percent.

The UAW leadership claims a domestic content law would result in jobs created or preserved in the auto and related industries with the ripple effect in the economy bringing the total impact to more than one million jobs.

Fraser says it would help the American capitalists until they are on their feet again and can "compete fairly" with the Japanese.

Once again, Fraser is trying to convince us that if things go well for the capitalists, they'll go well for the workers.

The UAW's approach fails on two counts. First, the capitalists' main objective, always, is to reap profits by any means necessary, particularly at our expense. Their aim is not to save jobs or protect our living standard. Second, U.S. workers cannot get ahead at the expense of workers in Japan, Europe, or Latin America, who, just like ourselves, must sell their labor power for a living.

## 'Foreign' content

Some imported commodities are cheaper for us to buy, including car parts. Ford bought 25 percent of Toyo Kogyo (Mazda) partly because it could get cheaper parts from them. GM owns 34.2 percent of Isuzu and 5.3 percent of Suzuki in order to import cheap minicars. And, of course, GM's new deal with Toyota to produce subcompacts in Fremont, California, aims to use

Japanese engines as well as other imported parts. The same goes for Chrysler and Mitsubishi engines.

*Iron Age*, the steel bosses' magazine, also reports that "in 1981, 35 percent of GM's vehicle production and 25 percent of its sales were outside the U.S. Fifty-seven percent of Ford's and 22 percent of Chrysler's production were outside the U.S."

This is why the auto companies aren't pushing for a domestic content law. "We're not lobbying for and we're not lobbying against local content," said one GM spokesman. "We agree with the United Autoworkers that the Japanese should provide jobs and pay taxes in the country where they sell. But unlike the UAW, we don't want to see the thing made into an inflexible law."

What they prefer, of course, are the "voluntary" import restraints the Japanese automakers have reluctantly agreed to for the last two years.

The UAW leadership needs to answer this question: How logical is it for union leaders to sign concession contracts so the employers can increase their profits, and then say the employers shouldn't buy the cheapest parts possible to increase their profits?

It is futile for a union to try to create jobs by influencing the capitalists to invest here in auto and auto-related industries. Capitalists will put their investment money where they can make the most profit. Period.

## The fraud of voting Democratic

The UAW top leadership, and that of all unions in the United States, has always kept the union membership's program, votes, and CAP (Community Action Program) money tied to the Democratic Party. This goes back to the struggle over political perspectives at the second UAW convention in 1936.

From then on, the general policy of the top leaders, which was opposed by a militant minority at the 1936 convention, has always been to vote Democratic. Their explanation: "They're a lesser evil than the Republicans."

# Grenada mobilizes against threat

## Continued from front page

central committee of the Cuban Communist Party and exminister of construction, was an honored guest at the event, along with the Cuban workers and engineers who assisted Grenada in building the plant.

"It is one thing for Reagan to say that U.S. imperialism doesn't like our foreign policy," Grenada's Deputy Prime Minister Bernard Coard told the rally. "It is one thing for him to say that they don't like our economic path of development."

"But it is altogether another thing," Coard emphasized, "to say that another country is a threat to your national security." Such threats and provocations, he said, are "the closest thing to a declaration of war without declaring war."

Coard explained how Washington had lied in the middle 1960s about a North Vietnamese attack on a U.S. ship in the Gulf of Tonkin to justify an all-out war against the people of that country. He recalled false White House claims last year of Soviet bases and an alleged massive military build up in Nicaragua just before the major escalation of U.S.-backed counter-revolutionary activity along the Honduran border.

The surprise speaker at the end of the rally was Prime Minister Maurice Bishop, who within the hour had landed at the island's Pearl's Airport following his return flight from the Seventh Summit of the Nonaligned Movement in New Delhi.

Bishop told the crowd, "by these words, and by the unremitting attacks on our revolution since its victory, Ronald Reagan is clearly signalling that imperialism is getting ready for an all-out assault against our revolutionary process."

Calling attention to the examples of revolutions in El Salvador, Nicaragua, southern Africa, Palestine, and Indochina, Bishop continued:

"In every single case of a revolution around the world, imperialism has responded not only by counterrevolutionary propaganda and lies, not only by economic aggression, but also by armed invasion. That is the lesson we must draw from the experience of other revolutions."

"The imperialists have tried their propaganda in Grenada," Bishop stated. "They have tried their economic aggression. And in both cases they have been severely beaten by our people."

"So now they are forced to resort to armed aggression."

## U.S. military build up

Bishop and Coard pointed to a pattern of public attacks on Grenada by U.S. officials over the past several months. These include a speech by Vice-president George Bush in Miami in January and recent statements by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Deputy Assistant Defense Secretary Nestor Sanchez.

They also pointed out that new U.S. naval maneuvers involving 36 war ships and more than 300 planes began off the coast of Puerto Rico on March 11; in August 1981 the United States staged "Operation Amberines," which included a mock invasion of a small Caribbean island obviously meant to be Grenada.

In addition, in the vicinity of Grenada today there are five docked U.S. naval vessels — in Antigua, Trinidad, Dominica, and Barbados — as well as Britain's HMS *Invincible* used last year in its colonial reconquest of the Malvinas Islands from Argentina.

The New Jewel Movement leaders also called attention to the recent revelation in the *Washington Post* of CIA plots to overthrow the revolutionary government of Grenada. While U.S. officials claim that only propaganda and economic destabiliza-

tion were eventually authorized, Bishop recalled the June 1980 bomb that exploded beneath the speakers platform at a rally in this city's Queens Park.

That explosion did not kill its intended victims, the entire central New Jewel Movement leadership who were scheduled to be seated on the platform. It did, however, injure many in the crowd and killed three young girls.

Prime Minister Bishop explained that the deteriorating political and military situation for the U.S.-backed Salvadoran regime is a prime reason for Washington's stepped-up threats.

Washington is "afraid of the example of Grenada in the rest of the English-speaking Caribbean," Coard said. The Grenadian economy grew by 5.5 percent in 1982, while those of the governments "who have been acting as stooges for imperialism in the region are going from crisis to crisis."

This is the real reason that the U.S. government is so upset about Cuban aid to Grenada too. "What Reagan is really afraid of Cuba for is not primarily its military aid," Coard said. "It's the economic aid that drives him crazy. In health, in education, in housing, in building the new international airport to make our country independent, in scholarships to our youth to learn medicine, engineering, and other skills to develop our country."

The next day, March 13, opened with a military parade. Grenadian army troops, police, militia members, and cadets were reviewed by Prime Minister Bishop and other leaders of the revolutionary government.

The most immediate task, Bishop said, was that those who had signed up for the militia and later dropped away, feeling that the revolution was secure, now should rejoin. He urged all those able to learn the use of weapons to join the militia, be they young or old.

Fraser knows what the only rational alternative for our union is — to break with the parties of the companies and launch our own party, a labor party.

Like Reuther did, Fraser threatens (and we can expect the same from Bieber) to do just that sometimes. The last time was in 1978. Fraser said then that the companies were carrying out "one-sided class war" against the working class. He said Jimmy Carter and the Democrats were not doing anything to stop it. When auto workers asked him then if we should launch our own party, Fraser's reply was, "Now is not the time."

Of course, the time will never be right for Fraser and the other top officials who make up the union's bureaucracy — the social layer that identifies more with the boss than with the assembly line worker.

The bureaucracy's approach is to use the potential power of the union ranks, like a giant it keeps chained, to put pressure on the employers and the government. Then, perhaps, they will throw a few more crumbs to the union.

Now even the crumbs are getting fewer and farther between. We need jobs, millions of them. The only way we can "save" or "create" jobs is by forcing the employers' government to provide them.

The policy of class collaboration, however, makes it impossible for the UAW leadership to effectively defend our interests as the companies deal us blows. It is why they come up with "concession" contracts, like at Chrysler, and try to ram them down our throats.

It is why these misleaders of our union must be replaced by leaders committed to class-struggle policies.

What this fightback course should be and how to go about building an alternative leadership will be the focus of the next article.

To be continued

Elizabeth Ziers is a member of UAW Local 600 and laid off from Ford's Rouge plant outside Detroit.

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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.



## Churches offer aid to refugees

BY MICHAEL FRAYER

MILWAUKEE — Two Milwaukee churches are now offering sanctuary to refugees fleeing U.S.-backed terror in El Salvador and Guatemala.

In violation of its own guidelines the State Department refuses to grant Salvadorans and Guatemalans refugee status. More than 22,000 Salvadorans have applied for asylum over the past two years. Only 76 of these requests have been granted.

Churches in Los Angeles, Tucson, Seattle, and Chicago are also offering sanctuary in an attempt to help these refugees. In Milwaukee two more churches were scheduled to become sites of refuge in March. Those who participate in the program in any way face possible U.S. prosecution.

Antonio, a member of the executive board of his local of the Municipal Workers Union in El Salvador, is one of those currently being given sanctuary in Milwaukee.

At a recent meeting of Milwaukee labor officials, Antonio explained the conditions that force Salvadoran workers to flee their homeland. "We tried to get better conditions for the workers. And for that reason I was threatened by the army. My name was put on a death list. When you're a union



Government soldiers during 1980 siege of University of El Salvador.

official in El Salvador, you can expect repression.

"We were going to have a meeting at 10:00 a.m. with another union federation to discuss common problems. When I was two blocks away I saw two army vehicles. Then I heard guns go off. They had killed the union secretary and another member and took 11 others tied and blindfolded. Later they were found machine-gunned."

Antonio and other refugees who have been given sanctuary have spoken at several public meetings including a program commemorating the birthday of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.; a rally of 300 protesting cuts in unemployment benefits; and at activities protesting U.S. intervention in El

Salvador. Antonio has been invited to speak to several local union meetings in the coming months.

## Faculty group hits Salvadoran dictatorship

"We found the entire educational system devastated," begins the preliminary report issued by a delegation to El Salvador sponsored by the Faculty for Human Rights in El Salvador and Central America. The delegation included Paul Reinert, S.J., chancellor, University of St. Louis, and Chester Wickwire, chaplain, Johns Hopkins University.

The report singles out the attacks on the University of El Salvador, once responsible for almost all higher education in the country and a center of opposition to the dictatorship.

The military seized and ransacked the school on June 26, 1980. "The closure of the University campus was accompanied by a campaign of repression against academics and students," says the report. It notes the assassination of Rector Felix Ulloa in October 1980.

Today, the report explains, "The University . . . operates in small buildings throughout the capital, working only with those students enrolled in classes at the time of the campus seizure. . . . In February it will open its many rented doors to new students, as we were proudly informed by the rector, Dr. Manuel Angel Parada."

Attacks on the school are continuing, however. The university's budget was cut 50 percent last year and this year, "another cut is expected to take half of what is left," says the report.

The government's attacks on the secondary school system and the ferocious repression directed against ANDES, the teachers union, are also reported. ANDES has been driven underground and 277 of its members have been killed.

Copies of the report are available from FACHRES-CA, 613 Eshelman Hall, University of

California, Berkeley, Calif. 94704.

## Puerto Rican troops used in 'Big Pine'

Latinamerica Press reports that several groups have spoken out against the use of Puerto Rican National Guard units in the joint U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers on the Nicaraguan border. This operation, code-named *Ahuas Tara* or "Big Pine," was conducted in February and was aimed at intimidating the Nicaraguan revolution. It was a dangerous exercise in preparing a possible full-scale invasion of Nicaragua.

This recent use of the Puerto Rican National Guard is viewed as part of a growing tendency to use the guard to aid regular branches of the U.S. armed forces in military operations in Latin America.

Groups protesting included the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the Puerto Rican Committee in Solidarity with Nicaragua, the International Workers League, the National Ecumenical Movement, and the American Friends Service Committee.

Catholic Bishop Antulio Parrilla denounced the exercises and said that the U.S. is using Puerto Ricans as "cannon fodder" just as it did in Korea and Vietnam.

Compiled by Geoff Mirelowitz

# Central America a theme of Int'l Women's Day

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

A number of activities held around the country to celebrate International Women's Day (March 8) focused on the role of women in the revolutionary struggles in Central America and the Caribbean.

In Albuquerque more than 200 people, most of them women, attended a March 6 event sponsored by Las Compañeras, a women's Central America solidarity organization.

There were two slide shows, the first on women in Nicaragua, the gains they have made from the revolution there, and their contributions to it. The slides were narrated by Lisa Veneklasen, who recently returned from Estelí, Nicaragua, where she worked in the adult education program and was an organizer of a pilot agrarian reform project.

The highlight of the evening was the second slide show, *¡Basta Ya!* (Enough!).

This show pointed to the long hours of labor Central American women perform gathering wood, cooking, and cleaning, without modern facilities.

Nearly half of Central American women are also the sole financial supporters of their families, yet work is hard to find. Women are only a fifth of the permanent work force there.

Women factory workers earn only three-fourths of what men get for the same work.

One slide showed a Central American woman answering a question sometimes heard from North American women: are women in Central America too busy fighting for national liberation to fight *machismo*?

"But we are fighting machismo," the

woman responded. The next slide portrayed Ronald Reagan in full cowboy regalia lying on a hammock. The crowd broke into laughter and applause.

Revolutionary Nicaragua was singled out as the only Central American country where the government is committed to the fight for the liberation of women.

The last slides showed how bringing women into the fight for their rights and in defense of the revolution has brought Nicaraguan women forward. Women's liberation is not possible without social revolution, the show concluded.

In El Mirage, near Phoenix, Arizona, a program sponsored by Centro Adelante Campesino March 5 included discussions on the role of women in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Guatemala.

This was the fifth year that International Women's Day was celebrated by the Centro, which is a social center that works closely with the Arizona Farmworkers Union. The majority of the March 5 celebrants were farm workers, both men and women.

In addition to a slide show on Nicaragua, other programs were on the triple exploitation of Chicanas and on undocumented women workers.

The film *Salt of the Earth*, which was made in 1953 and portrays strikes by New Mexico miners, closed the program.

In Atlanta, a Militant Labor Forum featured two socialist activists who recently toured Nicaragua.

One of the socialists, Sonja Franeta, said that "to understand why women have played such a vital role in the transformation of Nicaragua, we must understand that it was social conditions that gave rise to their strength and activity."

Former Nicaraguan dictator Somoza, she said, "not only damaged the people's material life but their social relations as well. He killed people's mothers, fathers, husbands, children, and wives."

Franeta described women under the old regime and the gains they have made since the 1979 revolution. She noted that the Sandinista government firmly supports women's rights, having "initiated a national campaign of conscious-raising" about the status of women. Leading government officials, she noted, refer to this as a "revolution within the revolution."

A woman in the audience told how co-workers at the garment shop where she works couldn't believe her at first when she told them about a speech by Tomás Borge, a Sandinista leader, about women's liberation.

Once they had gotten over their surprise that a government committed to women's rights could exist, she said, they talked a lot about the possibilities of having a gov-

ernment firmly on their side here.

In Cranford, New Jersey, the National Organization for Women held a talk on Nicaragua by a representative of Casa Nicaragua March 6. The event was sponsored by NOW's Women Against Nuclear Power Task Force.

In New York several actions were held, including one sponsored by New York NOW, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and several trade unions. A number of women members of Local 23-25 of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, many of them Latinas, participated.

Also in New York was a meeting of several hundred at Medgar Evers College and another at City College of New York in Harlem. The latter event drew about 400 women, most of them Black or Latina, and received a message from AMES, the national Salvadoran women's association.

A number of Militant Labor forums, in addition to those reported above, were held around International Women's Day. They included Albuquerque; Cleveland; Indianapolis; Kansas City, Missouri; Milwaukee; Pittsburgh; and San Francisco.

This account is based on reports from Barbara Bowman, Susan Baus, Ellie Garcia, Laura Garza, Joannie Quinn, and Fred White.

# Grenadian gov't official blasts CIA plot

BY PETER SEIDMAN

MILWAUKEE — During a two-day tour here, Marilyn Hurley, press and information officer of the Grenada Mission to the Organization of American States, denounced recently-revealed CIA plans to overthrow the government of Grenada.

The *Washington Post* claims the CIA aborted its plans as a result of heavy opposition in the Senate Intelligence Committee. But, Hurley warned, "these plans could eventually materialize in reality."

Hurley also protested Washington's refusal to grant full diplomatic recognition to the new government that replaced U.S.-backed dictator Sir Eric Gairy in a March 1979 popular revolution. Reagan claims his stand is based on Grenada's alleged

lack of concern for human rights.

"In Grenada," Hurley explained, "we have elections every day." Policies are debated and discussed in grassroots parish councils. Within these councils, new constitutional forms are being discussed, she said. "But this will take some time. Meanwhile, we won't be rushed or bullied by any country."

Grenadians, Hurley said, had quite enough of the fake elections staged every five years under Gairy with Washington's blessings. "Politicians would hand out rum and cornbeef, make promises, and then you'd never see them again," she recalled.

Hurley appeared at a forum on the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee campus. Her talk was sponsored by the Black Student Union, Latin American Solidarity

Committee, Wisconsin Committee Against the Draft, and Young Socialist Alliance. It was also endorsed by the African Student Union, Black Achievement Organization, La Colectiva, and Native American Student Movement.

Akile Jibari, a participant in the June 1982 National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP) delegation to Grenada, also spoke. He urged people to travel to Grenada and see first-hand the progress being made there.

Hurley and Jibari presented a slide show at a reception the next night. Among those present were workers from El Salvador and Nicaragua, and members of NBIPP, All African Peoples Party, Socialist Workers Party, and YSA.

**Speech by Nicaraguan Commander Tomás Borge**  
**Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution**

30 pp., \$.75.  
Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., N.Y., N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.75 postage.



# U.S. pushes 'pacification' in El Salvador

**Continued from front page**  
that the administration is "going for broke" with the plan.

For this year alone, Reagan is demanding a total of \$136.3 million for military expenditures in El Salvador. Another \$227.1 million is demanded in "economic" aid.

The new plan will take more GIs, as well as more dollars.

U.S. army and "civilian" (read CIA) personnel will work with the Salvadoran government forces in carrying out the operation.

Lying like thieves, administration spokespeople present the pacification plan like a grand social program: "providing medical care," "rebuilding schools and bridges," "creating jobs."

A brass hat put it more truthfully:

"You have got to kill guerrillas."

And how would they handle the peasants they succeed in "separating" from the guerrillas?

One official explained it would be a case of "you are either with us or against us."

That's only part of the truth. He should have added: and if we suspect that you may be "against us," you're dead.

That was the way they did it in Vietnam.

"Rural pacification" was initiated in Vietnam in the late 50s under Eisenhower and pushed ahead by John F. Kennedy. It came to bear the high-sounding name Civilian Operations and Rural Development Support — "CORDS."

There the plan was based on establishing "strategic villages" — that is, rural concentration camps.

The initial stage, as now proposed for El Salvador, was massive army sweeps to root out the liberation forces. Remaining peasants were rounded up, their homes were destroyed, and they were encamped in hastily thrown up hovels surrounded by barbed wire.

To ensure that normal life could be restored outside the "strategic villages" chemical defoliants like Agent Orange were spread wholesale to destroy crops and woodlands. Americans, as well as Vietnamese, are still dying from that operation.

CORDS is recalled by Ralph McGehee in his recent book, *Deadly Deceits: My 25 Years in the CIA*.

He writes that Washington "developed a simple plan to win — force the peasants by the millions into the cities and towns, turn the entire country into a massive police compound, and you deny those millions to the communists."

Gen. William Westmoreland, McGehee said, declared that the peasants and guerrillas were so closely intertwined that the only way to establish control was to "remove the people."

Roger Hilsman, a Kennedy lieutenant who helped shape CORDS, said that "when one throws a barbed-wire fence around a village, when one sets up a curfew system and fires upon any moving object outside the fence at that hour, a degree of regimentation is implied."

Yes, "a degree."

A key feature of the CORDS program was "Operation Phoenix." This too was a CIA project.

Working with Vietnamese mercenaries, Operation Phoenix applied the principle enunciated by the official in El Salvador, "You are either with us or against us." They systematically exterminated suspected guerrillas and guerrilla sympathizers within the controlled areas.

William Colby, a CIA official in charge of CORDS, in 1971 congressional testimony, estimated that in the first two-and-a-half years of Phoenix, 20,587 "Viet-

cong" were killed. A South Vietnamese government estimate put the figure at closer to 50,000.

If Washington succeeds in carrying through its "rural pacification" program in El Salvador, will the results be any different?

Just consider the murders of civilians being committed by the Salvadoran army and death squads — murders Washington refuses to stop.

"Military sources here," one San Salvador dispatch advises, "anticipate problems with the paramilitary forces needed to supply security in the latter phases of the program. Such groups have been responsible for many of the atrocities in the countryside that give the government a notorious human rights record."

"Pacification" will surely mean more

suffering and bloodshed for the Salvadoran people and greater direct U.S. military involvement.

But it will not bring victory over the liberation forces.

In 1962, 39 percent of the Vietnamese population was being held in 4,000 strategic hamlets.

Yet the liberation forces continued to inflict blows and more and more GIs had to be poured in, reaching a peak, in 1969, of 535,000.

But they could not prevail. Four years later, Washington had to sign a peace accord, and by 1975 the last GI was gone, ending the bloodbath.

In El Salvador, the liberation forces have repeatedly offered to enter into a dialogue to resolve the conflict without continuing bloodshed. The offer to enter into discus-

sions without prior conditions has been clearly spelled out by the leadership of the liberation movement, the Revolutionary Democratic Front and the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front.

Washington and its puppet Salvadoran government have responded to this offer with the declared plan to escalate the Vietnamization of the war.

With this, the people of El Salvador will see even more clearly who wants peace and who wants war. They will press even more strongly for acceptance of the guerrillas' offer of dialogue.

And here in the United States, the announced "pacification" plan must be the signal for an escalation of the struggle to demand U.S. out of El Salvador — let the Salvadoran people determine their own destiny.



U.S. troops in El Salvador in front line, Salvadoran paratroop company trained by them in back.

## Activists in Puerto Rico threatened

Puerto Rican Socialist Party leader Juan Mari Brás has reported that his son has been the target of anonymous telephone calls, death threats, and persecution. His property was vandalized. These threats against Raúl Mari Pesquera are especially serious since another son, Santiago Mari Pesquera, was murdered March 24, 1976 in a political assassination that has never been solved.

The Puerto Rican independence leader noted that these threats come at a time when he and his son are working to organize a new Caribbean news agency.

Raúl Mari has travelled to various countries in the area, including Cuba, in connection with this new undertaking.

Juan Mari Brás is one of the best known independence leaders in Puerto Rico. For more than two decades he was general secretary of the Movement for Independence (MPI) and later the Puerto Rican Socialist Party. Both organizations have been the target of repeated terrorist attacks.

Right-wing Cuban exile terrorists operate with impunity in Puerto Rico. Among their best known crimes was the murder four years ago of Carlos Muñoz Varela, a young Cuban member of the national committee of the Antonio Maceo Brigade. That organization is made up of young people of Cuban origin who support the normalization of relations between the United States and Cuba.

Muñoz also ran a travel agency that arranged trips to Cuba for the Cuban community in Puerto Rico.

In another act of political intimidation, a member of the Internationalist Workers League (LIT), sympathizing organization of the Fourth International, was illegally arrested at gunpoint February 17 on the Río Piedras campus of the University of Puerto Rico.

The LIT member, Alberto Soto Dones, was grabbed by agents of the Criminal Investigations Commission and campus security guards. He was taken to the headquar-

ters of campus security, where he was threatened and falsely accused of firing at a police officer. After interrogation, Soto was released with a warning not to return to the university campus.

The following day, the LIT's central office and bookstore in Río Piedras was threatened by an anonymous phone caller who warned that a "bomb has been planted and will go off very soon."

— From *Perspectiva Mundial*

## New from Pathfinder Press

### Israel's War Against the Palestinian People

By David Frankel and Will Reissner. The articles in this pamphlet explain the nature of Israel as a colonial-settler state, the character and history of the Palestinian struggle for self-determination, and the Marxist attitude toward the Palestine Liberation Organization. 46 pages, \$1.25.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.



## Sam Pollock dies

Sam Pollock, a leading figure in the movement that led to the birth of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), died in Los Angeles March 4, at age 73.

Pollock was a lifelong unionist and socialist. An article in a coming issue will describe his contribution to the workers movement, including the central role he played in the historic Toledo Auto-Lite strike of 1934.



# —THE GREAT SOCIETY—

**Just get back in line** — Some surplus butter distributed in California's San Fernando Valley may have absorbed ammonia fumes and not be fit for human



**Harry Ring**

consumption. It was suggested that any butter with an unusual smell be returned to the distribu-

tion site. "They will be given credit for more butter," an official assured.

**See, things aren't so bad** — A luxury New York condo has apartments starting at \$575,000. The triplexes are higher, but they include seven baths, some of which are marble, with whirlpool baths and bidets. A French count reportedly bought the top floor as a present for his spouse. They already have a New York pad, but he wanted a nice place to sip drinks and watch the sunset.

**Semantics dep't** — The Israeli government ordered the state-subsidized TV and radio to stop referring to "personalities in the PLO." An official said the term was reserved for "respectable persons, not the leaders of international terrorism." Like, for instance, the personalities responsible for the carnage at the Beirut refugee camps?

**Touchy** — The State Department now calls the GIs in El Salvador "trainers." The old term "advisers" was scrapped as reminiscent of Vietnam.

**Bon appetit!** — The chance to have lunch with Watergate G. Gordon Liddy was auctioned off for the benefit of the National Symphony Orchestra. This has added appeal when you recall he was the fellow who overcame his fear of rats by parboiling and eating one.

**Social note** — CIA director William Casey enjoyed a round of Palm Beach golf accompanied by two security aides toting machine guns.

**Sheer grit** — *Money* magazine devoted an article to a young

executive couple who is successfully coping after having their combined income reduced from \$60,000 to \$54,000.

**Thought for the week** — "Everyone suffers financially who is unemployed, but the worst hurt of all may be that which is felt by the person who is toppled from a position of some prestige and power. . . . The fall could easily shatter his confidence and ability to renew the fight for success beyond the point of mere subsistence." — Cleveland *Plain Dealer*.

## —CALENDAR—

### ARIZONA

#### Tucson

**Copper Workers Under Attack: What's Happening With the Negotiations.** Speaker: Dan Fein, United Steelworkers of America Local 7508. Translation to Spanish. Thur., March 31, 7:30 p.m. El Pueblo Neighborhood Center, 101 W Irvington. Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (602) 622-3880.

### CALIFORNIA

#### Oakland

**Education is a Right.** Speakers: Miguel Zárate, Socialist Workers candidate for school district; Dr. Cecilia Arrington, chair, Ethnic Studies Department, Merit College; others. Sat., March 26, 7:30 p.m. 2864 Telegraph Ave. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 763-3792.

#### San Francisco

**What Difference Could a Revolution Make? Food and Farming in the New Nicaragua.** Speaker: Joseph Collins, coauthor of *What Difference Could a Revolution Make?* and *Now We Can Speak*. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 18, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

**Class Series: War in Central America: Why Are They Fighting?** Tues., March 22, 6 p.m. (class will be held in Spanish Sat., March 19, 4 p.m.) **What Is Socialism?** Tues., March 29, 6 p.m. (class will be held in Spanish Sat., March 26, 4 p.m.) 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Aup: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

**Is A Revolution Possible in the United States?** Speaker: Anibal Yáñez, former editor, *Perspectiva Mundial*. Forum will be held in Spanish with translation to English. Fri., March 25, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. (near Mission). Donation: \$2. Aup: Foro de Perspectiva Mundial and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

### INDIANA

#### Indianapolis

**No Sale! Farmers Fight Back.** Speakers: representative, Indiana Farmers Union; Larry Spaart, member COACT (Citizens Organization Acting Together); Dave Young, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., March 19, 7 p.m. 4850 N College Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

### MASSACHUSETTS

#### Boston

**The Freedom Struggle in Southern Africa.** Speakers: Masilo Mabeta, African National Congress, graduate student of political science at Harvard; Ernest Harsch, author, *South Africa: White Rule, Black Revolt* and staff writer for *Intercontinental Press*. Sun., March 27, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Fl.

### Marxism and the Working Farmer

An Education for Socialists bulletin. Includes "American Agriculture and the Working Farmer," by Doug Jenness; documents and speeches by Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, and Fidel Castro. 62 pp., \$2.50.

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

Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

### 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. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

### MISSOURI

#### Kansas City

**Revolution Marches On: Nicaragua in 1983.** Eyewitness report. Speaker: Marty Pettit, member, International Ladies Garment Workers Union Local 131, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Translation to Spanish. Sun., March 27, 8 p.m. 4715A Troost. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

#### St. Louis

**Emergency Picket Line to Protest Escalation of U.S. Intervention in El Salvador.** Sat., March 26, 12 noon. 815 Olive St. (near old Post Office). Aup: Latin America Solidarity Committee. For more information call (314) 726-2393.

**Socialist Workers Campaign Rally and Grand Opening.** Speakers: Helen Savio, SWP candidate for Board of Education; Bob Allen, SWP candidate for alderman, 28th Ward. Sat., March 26; slideshow on Grenada, Cuba, and Nicaragua, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 3109 S Grand, #22, 2nd fl. Donation: \$3. Aup: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (314) 772-4410.

### 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. Aup: Casa Nicaragua, Antonio Maceo Brigade. For more information call (212) 243-2678.

**Why Reagan Fears Grenada.** A Panel. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 25, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 925-1668.

### OHIO

#### Cleveland

**GM-Toyota Venture: What it Means for Auto Workers.** Speaker: Elizabeth Ziers, member, Socialist Workers Party, United Auto Workers Local 600. Sat., March 26, 7:30 p.m. 2230 Superior. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (216) 579-9369.

#### Toledo

**GM-Toyota Venture: What it Means for Auto Workers.** Speaker: Elizabeth Ziers, member, Socialist Workers Party, United Auto

Workers Local 600. Sun., Mar. 20, 7:30 p.m. 2120 Dorr. Donation: \$2. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (419) 536-0383.

**If You Love This Planet.** A showing of film recently labeled propaganda by U.S. State Department. Presentation to follow. Fri., March 25, 7:30 p.m. 2120 Dorr St. Donation: \$2. Aup: 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. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

**Revolutionary Nicaragua Today.** Talk and slide show by Paul Freeman, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from study tour of Nicaragua. Sun., March 27, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

### PENNSYLVANIA

#### Harrisburg

**Nicaragua 1983: an Eyewitness Report.** Speakers: Newton Brown and John Sislo, Socialist Workers Party members recently returned from Nicaragua. Translation to Spanish. Wed., March 23, 7 p.m. 803 N 2nd St. Donation: \$1.50. Aup: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (717) 234-5052.

#### Philadelphia

**The Revolution Marches On: Nicaragua 1983 — An Eyewitness Report.** Speaker: José Acevedo, member United Auto Workers Local

## Cops raid Black home in Ala.

### Continued from back page

young Christopher Taylor went outside to move a car that was blocking others from leaving.

Two white men in a car pulled up behind him. One pulled a gun and said, "Come here, nigger."

Christopher put up his hands and said, "Please don't shoot."

When one of the whites grabbed Christopher, he broke and ran for the house, panic-stricken.

The whites pursued him, shooting. A bullet struck Christopher in the hand.

He ran into the house, crying out that two white men were shooting at him. Someone tried to shut and lock the door.

The two men kicked in the door and went after Christopher with their guns drawn. They were in plain clothes. Their car was unmarked. At no time had they identified themselves as police.

The Taylor family members inside subdued and disarmed the two men. In the scuffle that took place the whites sustained some injuries.

The Taylors are charged with robbery, defense attorney Troy Massey told the rally, for taking away the guns of the men who broke into their home. They are charged with kidnapping, he said, "for holding those intruders on the couch while they [the Taylors!] called the police."

(Police now say they have no records of radio communications or phone calls to police headquarters for the night of February 27. The tape mechanism "malfunctioned

for an unknown reason," the cops say.)

When uniformed cops arrived moments later the real brutality began.

The entire family, from a grandmother to small children, was forced to lie face-down in the mud outside, according to Freddy Fox. At least one was kicked by a cop, who said, "Get your suit dirty, nigger."

The Taylors have been severely beaten in jail, according to those who have visited them. Massey said he is a Vietnam veteran and "what I saw at the jail reminded me of combat in Vietnam."

The Taylors were finally released from jail March 9 after supporters posted an exorbitant \$400,000 bond set by Judge Sally Greenshaw.

Sentiment at the defense rally was especially hot against Mayor Emory Folmar and Police Chief Swindall. Folmar is a virulent right-winger whose attitude encourages police "to brutalize and terrorize Black people," said Freddy Fox. Many speakers voiced outrage at Swindall's slandering the Taylors as "animals."

State Representative Alvin Holmes told the crowd he had sent a telegram to Reagan calling on the president to declare martial law in Montgomery, suspend all local police agencies, and send federal troops to maintain order "until local officials see fit to provide equal protection to all citizens."

Defense organizers announced that financial contributions made out to the Taylor Defense Fund can be sent directly to the Central Bank in Montgomery.



# New policies needed to fight steel bosses

Continued from back page

tion to local work rules, remain to be settled.

One of these is the future of the "list 3" units — those that do not produce steel or raw materials to make steel (such as steel supply warehouses) but have always been covered by the basic steel contract. The new agreement calls for "an early review of their special problems" before April 15. This double-talk means the employers want to impose an even worse contract on these workers.

The new contract maintains the "Labor Management Participation Teams

(LMPT). This "innovation" introduced in the last contract tries to further institutionalize the idea that workers and bosses have common interests and can work out on-the-job problems cooperatively. Under the new agreement the LMPTs will likely be used to try to further erode union power on the job.

An additional question that has received almost no mention the past few weeks is how the new contract will affect the Consent Decree. This is the agreement signed in 1974 that took some initial steps in overcoming the years of discrimination practiced by the steelmakers against Blacks,

Latinos, and women.

Layoffs have already severely weakened affirmative action in the mills. Mike Stout, grievance committee member of Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works, recently explained, "Anyone who was hired in the mill in the last 5 or 10 years is probably going to lose their job. That includes all the women, and the majority of the Blacks."

The new contract will deepen this.

The problem of unemployment and jobs for the over 100,000 workers in basic steel still laid off remains the number one challenge facing the union. No one has even tried to pretend that the new contract will help solve this. The loudly trumpeted "economic recovery" of the past few weeks has resulted in some mills recalling a relative handful of workers. But it will not get most people back to work anytime soon.

This challenge still requires an action campaign by the labor movement to demand a massive program of public works; a shorter work week with no cut in pay to spread the work around; and dual seniority lists as a way to defend affirmative action for Blacks, Latinos, and women, who are the last hired and first to be laid off.

## Rearm the union

This will take a fight just as it will take a fight to stop the employers from imposing more concessions. Waging this battle successfully requires a fundamental change in the perspective of the union.

That is what much of the discussion among steelworkers today is really about. Several questions are now posed more sharply.

One is the false idea that workers and employers have common interests. That

idea is what got us this new contract. Top union officials have argued that higher company profits will benefit workers. This new deal will improve profits. But that has nothing to do with improving the living standards of steelworkers.

A second point that has certainly become clearer is the need for union democracy. Steelworkers could defend our interests more effectively if the membership had the right to read, discuss and then vote on the contract like the coal miners do.

Finally, another objective of rank-and-file control should be a change in the union's political direction which currently flows from the top leadership's idea of cooperating with the bosses.

Every steelworker remembers President Lloyd McBride's appeals to vote for Democrats in last November's elections. But can any one of us remember a single Democrat or Republican who spoke out against this new contract that lowers our standard of living? The answer is no. The reason is simple. There were none.

There are no friends of labor in either capitalist party. Neither party speaks out against the bosses' war on workers because both support it. This latest example is just further proof of how much we need our own political party — a labor party based on the unions.

It is because a new direction for the union is needed so urgently that a discussion of perspectives is so important. This is true for steelworkers and the entire labor movement. Only a change in course can defeat the new attacks on workers' rights that are surely coming.

*Geoff Mirelowitz is a steelworker on lay-off from Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant and a member of USWA Local 2609.*

## Harrisburg Teamsters strike

BY KATHERINE SOJOURNER

HARRISBURG, Pa. — Teamsters Local 776 here has over 5,000 members and 90 different contracts. One of these contracts is with Central Storage and Transfer Co. On February 26, 131 Central Storage drivers, dock workers, and mechanics went out on strike.

The three central issues involved are a pay cut; the health, welfare, and pension fund; and overtime provisions. Last April the owner of Central Storage, Joe Garner, pulled his company out of the Master Freight Agreement, which is the contract negotiated by the Teamsters and the major trucking employers. He told workers at a breakfast meeting he would negotiate separately with them. "Since then," one member said, "he's made up rules on his whim. Everything has been done behind the back of the union."

In April 1982, Garner began to impose "his" contract. Workers picked up their checks one week and found their pay had been cut by 97 cents per hour. During the current negotiations, Garner offered a 60-cent increase and then withdrew that.

The wage cut was only the first of the company's new mandates. Central Storage pays the health and welfare benefits premium for each Teamster. Management announced that increases in the rates for the fund would have to be paid for by the individual workers.

Overtime provisions are the third major issue. The contract provisions have always said all work over 40 hours is overtime. Central Storage now says that since they are involved in interstate commerce, overtime pay is not mandatory, as a result of a federal law passed in 1981. Teamsters explained to me that a driver can work 66.4 hours per week, and not draw one dime for overtime.

The weekend of Thanksgiving, union members were supposed to have two paid holidays. The company declared a state of emergency, abolished bids, and paid those who worked straight time for the two days.

One striker emphasized, "Tell people

how we work. Our jobs are really not comparable to most others. Many of us report for work at 6 a.m. or earlier, and don't get home until 10 p.m. Three hundred to 400 miles per day driving with dozens of stops is not unusual."

All the Teamsters I talked to stressed that they bent over backwards to try to get along with Central Storage. "But," one told me, "we're not going to let them bust us. The company just pushed and pushed, until we had no choice but to strike."

On February 28, a picketer was hit from behind by a truck driven by John Vostock, vice-president and general manager of Central Storage. A man who witnessed this assault said, "Vostock saw Steve with his back to the truck. He grit his teeth. His eyes lit up. He accelerated and hit the man. There were city police patrol cars all over the place. They saw it. They didn't do a thing. They didn't arrest Vostock. The owner, Joe Garner, was watching the whole thing from behind that fence."

At about 8:30 a.m. the same morning, another picketer was hit by a Central Storage truck. Again, nothing was done by the police. Fortunately, neither man was seriously hurt.

Teamsters voiced their anger not only at the police, but at the role played by the courts in this strike. The company got an injunction limiting the number of pickets to three at each entrance.

The Teamsters are picketing 24 hours a day. Because of the court injunction limiting the number actually in the line, many others stand across the street to show their numbers. Several said they want the local issues resolved, and they want to go back to the Master Freight Agreement.

Like most people who work for a living, deciding to strike is a difficult decision because of the financial hardships it imposes. These union members took that step, because of Central Storage's insult to their dignity and because of the threat to their union. As one man said, "There comes a time when people have to stand up for what is right."

## Just off the press!

### Steelworkers Under Attack

How to fight back and defend jobs



Geoff Mirelowitz

### Steelworkers Under Attack: How to fight back and defend jobs

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

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

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

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**UTAH:** Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**VIRGINIA:** Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP, YSA, 4868 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

**WISCONSIN:** Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.



## New stage in rights fight

Continued from front page

class political parties, and other organizations are to be subjected to that kind of government interference, their First Amendment rights of freedom of association — the right to organize against the bosses and government policies — will be severely curtailed or eliminated.

These dangers have been pushed back by the trial decision. Supporters of democratic rights can now push them back still further.

The Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF), which has organized support for the SWP's fight in this case, is holding rallies around the country to protest this court disruption of the SWP. Building these rallies now will help reach out to broad forces in the workers movement to explain the issues involved. Experience has shown that these events can also be forums for publicizing and protesting other cases of attacks on democratic rights.

Mobilizing protest of the Gelfand case and continuing to gather statements of support for the SWP will help the political campaign to make it more difficult for future Gelfands and federal judges to use the courts in this manner against the SWP or other organizations.

These rallies are also important to raise funds needed to defray a portion of the expenses the SWP was forced to bear. PRDF is organizing this fund drive, which is earmarked for the legal costs incurred in this case. Raising the funds is not only an act of solidarity with the victim of this malicious court proceeding, but will help thwart one of the objectives of both Gelfand and the government — to harm the SWP by bleeding it financially. Solidarizing on this front is an important aspect of putting into practice the old slogan of the labor movement — "An injury to one is an injury to all."

Part of the political campaign against this assault on democratic rights is the next stage of the fight in the courtroom. Attorneys for the SWP will be asking the court to make Gelfand and his attorneys pay some of the costs they have inflicted upon the SWP. Such a legal move will help penalize Gelfand and his backers. To the extent this can be done, it will give second thoughts to anyone else contemplating similar action.

Those who would attack the democratic rights of working-class organizations should be put on notice that they will be resisted, exposed and politically isolated.

## Behind the Gelfand suit

Alan Gelfand's suit was financed by the U.S. Workers League and carried out in collaboration with this outfit and its parent group in Britain, the Workers Revolutionary Party of Gerry Healy.

Decades ago, the grouping led by Healy was a Marxist organization. How did it degenerate into its present state?

Key to understanding this process was the Healyite rejection of the Cuban revolution in the early 1960s. Healy and his grouping maintained that socialist revolutions were only possible if they were led by Trotskyist parties.

Since the Cuban revolutionary leadership was not Trotskyist, the Healyites concluded that no revolution had taken place. Cuba remained capitalist and Castro was another Batista or Chiang Kai-shek.

In other words, when the living class struggle turned out different from the Healyite schema — they solved the contradiction by denying reality.

The Socialist Workers Party, by contrast, saw the Cuban revolution as of historic importance. Not only had the first socialist revolution in the Americas occurred, but a new leadership, Marxist and proletarian, had been forged in the process. This augured well for overcoming the crisis of leadership of the working class on a world scale in face of the betrayal of Social Democracy and the Stalinist degeneration of the Communist International.

The sectarian stance of the Healyites toward Cuba soon led them to sectarian positions on the Algerian revolution and the colonial revolution in general, the Labor Party in Britain, the rise of revolutionary Black nationalism represented by Malcolm X in the United States, and on other questions.

Their rapid political degeneration proved that the Cuban question was indeed a touchstone. Coming down on the wrong side of the barricades during a proletarian revolution cannot but derail a party that claims to speak for the interests of the working class. By not correcting their sectarian position on the Cuban revolution and its leadership, but rather maintaining it over the years, the Healyites were led further and further from Marxism.

From the early 1960s on, the Healyites have covered up their break from Marxism with a vociferous campaign against the Socialist Workers Party. This campaign took a new twist in the mid-1970s, when they explained the

SWP's alleged degeneration by charging that the SWP leadership had been taken over by government agents.

They never had a shred of proof, but used the technique of the Big Lie, developed by Hitler and Stalin. By shouting their slanders loud and often enough, and by amassing "documents" that prove nothing, but all together make a large pile, they hope to convince people that there "must be something" to their slanders and lies.

The Gelfand suit was part of this slander campaign. Through it the Healyites have amassed more "documents" and "testimony." No matter that it all proves exactly nothing, it will make a thick, official-looking book, "Official Court Testimony."

\* \* \*

The question of the Cuban revolution and its leadership remains a touchstone today. The extension of the Cuban revolution to Nicaragua and Grenada, the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador and Central America in general, has produced fresh divisions. The confrontation between imperialism and the revolution is growing sharper day by day. The resulting pressure to get out of the line of fire bears down on the left in the United States and the world.

Groups like the one led by Nahuel Moreno in Argentina turned their backs on the Nicaraguan revolution. Others, like the Spartacist League in the United States and the group headed by Pierre Lambert in France, reconfirmed their earlier sectarian stance toward Cuba in the case of Nicaragua.

In the wake of the Nicaraguan revolution these groups have launched sharp attacks on the SWP for its support of the Nicaraguan and Grenadian revolutions and their leaderships. They charge that the SWP leadership has betrayed the ideals and program of the founders of the SWP.

As a consequence, the Healyites have tailored their case against the SWP to echo such charges coming from these quarters.

The Healyite campaign against the SWP has provided, in the Gelfand suit, an opening for government harassment of the SWP. Its roots lie in the Healyites' break from Marxism.

## Let Hortensia Allende speak

The U.S. government has denied a visa to enter this country to Hortensia Bussi de Allende, widow of the former president of Chile.

She had been invited to speak before church groups by the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of San Francisco, Stanford University, and the Northern California Ecumenical Council about the Chilean government's violations of human rights.

The State Department denied the visa through the U.S. embassy in Mexico City, where Allende lives. A government spokesman, citing the Immigration and Naturalization Act, said her "entry to make various public appearances and speeches has been determined to be prejudicial to U.S. interests."

The State Department spokesman said the visa was denied because the widow is a "highly placed and active member of the World Peace Council, which has a direct political affiliation with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

The government has been red-baiting the council for some months as part of Washington's efforts to divide and discredit opponents of U.S. military intervention.

Allende denied she was an official of the council, and said she belongs to no political party.

The real reasons for the ban on Allende lie elsewhere. For one thing, the U.S. government wants to reestablish arms sales to the murderous Chilean dictatorship. To do that requires certifying that there are improvements in the Chilean government's brutal human rights abuses. Allende's visit, with the truth she would tell, would not help convince U.S. working people that it is in their interests to send arms to Chile.

Hortensia Allende's husband, Salvador Allende, was murdered in the U.S.-sponsored right-wing coup in 1973, in which thousands of workers, peasants, students, and political activists were slain.

Having Allende tour this country would be a living reminder of what the U.S. government is willing to do in the name of freedom — and thus would indeed be "prejudicial" to the "interests" served by the U.S. government. That is why every working person and supporter of democratic rights should condemn the denial of our right to hear Hortensia Allende.

## Education a right in revolutionary Grenada

March 13 marked the fourth anniversary of the revolution in Grenada, a Black, English-speaking island in the Caribbean (see page one story). One of the major achievements since the workers and farmers overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship there has been big strides forward in literacy and education.

The following are excerpts from a speech by Prime Minister Maurice Bishop on July 2, 1979, explaining the new government's education campaign, tying it to the new society the Grenadian people are trying to build. The speech comes from *Forward Ever!*, available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. The cost is \$6.95. Please add 75 cents for postage and handling.

Perhaps the worst crime that colonialism left our country, has indeed left all former colonies, is the education system. This was so because the way in which that system developed, the way in which that system was used,

## OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

was to teach our people an attitude of self-hate, to get us to abandon our history, our culture, our values. To get us to accept the principles of white superiority, to destroy our confidence, to stifle our creativity, to perpetuate in our society class privilege and class difference.

The colonial masters recognised very early on that if you get a subject people to think like they do, to forget their own history and their own culture, to develop a system of education that is going to have relevance to our outward needs and be almost entirely irrelevant to our internal needs, then they have already won the job of keeping us in perpetual domination and exploitation. Our educational process, therefore, was used mainly as a tool of the ruling elite.

It helped to teach us most of the negative attitudes and values that today we still see in certain sectors of our society. Attitudes of racist beliefs, racism, priorities, and chauvinist attitudes that make many of the men in our society look at the woman as being not an equal partner but as being a tool for personal use and enjoyment; an attitude of narrow nationalism and of isolationism that has taught us to believe that each of us in each of the several Caribbean islands must always remain separate and apart.

\* \* \*

It is easy for any government, it certainly will be easy for the People's Revolutionary Government, to proclaim the principle of free education for all. And this we are of course happy to do. But it is one thing to say free education, it is another thing to say how we are going to pay for that free education. Where is the money going to come from? Where are the resources going to come from that we are certainly going to need to run schools, train teachers better, provide a more relevant form of education, and all free of cost?

What I think that points to, is that one of the very important lessons that we are going to have to draw — and one of the very important things that we are going to have to embark on as we try to open up the school system to the economically poor and underprivileged in our society — is that we are going to have to learn the lesson that we will have to take our schools to the people. We are going to depend to some extent on a system of volunteers who will be willing to go out into the countryside, where the most serious and endemic problems of illiteracy exist, and try to train our people.

\* \* \*

The whole question of the curriculum is going to be a key one. A curriculum that is geared to developing a new philosophy, that is going to stress the important question of self-reliance, the important question of genuine independence, that is going to look at us as we in fact are, as a small, poor, overexploited form of colonial Third World country and what that means in practice for our future, that is going to try to begin to raise national consciousness, that is going to stress the importance of national unity, that will stress the importance of developing an approach, an attitude that says on the one hand all of us must work harder, all of us must produce more, but says on the other hand when we work harder and when we produce more the benefits of that production and that sort of work must come back to all of us collectively.

That sort of thinking we are going to have to develop. A participatory democracy that seeks to involve all of our people: workers, farmers, fishermen, youths, students, women; all of them on a regular ongoing basis in making decisions and coming up with solutions for the problems that we have identified as being the real problems that are holding us back.



# St. Patrick's Day parade: a blow to British rule

BY WILL REISSNER

New York's St. Patrick's Day parade — the largest in the world — has been held every year since 1774, but never has so much controversy surrounded the event as this year.

Senator Daniel Moynihan, New York former governor Hugh Carey, and the Irish government have all stated they will have nothing to do with the parade this year.

The Pentagon has announced that no military bands will march. And the New York archdiocese has pulled parochial school marching bands out too.

Cardinal Cooke and Senator Edward Kennedy expressed their shock and dismay at how the parade is shaping up.

All the fuss is focused on the landslide election of Michael Flannery as grand marshal of this year's March

## AS I SEE IT

17 parade. Flannery, 81, is a leader of Irish Northern Aid, an organization that raises money for the families of political prisoners in British jails in Northern Ireland. He is also an avowed supporter of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) in which he served in the 1920s. He did time in a British prison, was tortured there, and went on a hunger strike.

Last November, Flannery and four other Irish-Americans were acquitted in federal court on charges of supplying weapons to the IRA.

The stir over Flannery's election has been front-page news in New York for weeks. But its impact has reached further.

The March 7 *Washington Post* featured an editorial calling on New Yorkers (few of whom have ever seen that paper in their lives) to rebuff Flannery. "If enough bystanders turn their backs on Mr. Flannery as he struts up Fifth Avenue," the *Washington Post* editors wrote, "perhaps he and his allies will begin to understand that terrorists have few friends here."

The *Wall Street Journal* carried an article from Dublin in which Ireland's prime minister bemoans Flannery's election.

Flannery's election was even big news on Australian television!

Senator Moynihan says he won't march this year because he opposes violence to achieve political ends.

This is the same Moynihan who does not bat an eyelash voting for a war budget of more than \$200 billion per year.

This is the same Moynihan who was a proud member of Richard Nixon's cabinet at the height of the U.S. war against Vietnam.

This is the same Moynihan who ardently cheered on the British fleet that reconquered the Malvinas Islands from Argentina.

In 1981 a hunger strike took the lives of Bobby Sands and nine other young freedom fighters in British prisons in Northern Ireland. Moynihan, Carey, Cardinal Cooke, Kennedy, and the Irish government never lifted a finger to help save the lives of the hunger strikers.



Michael Flannery, grand marshal of New York St. Patrick's Day parade and supporter of freedom fight of Irish Republican Army.

Moynihan and the others all claim they support the eventual goal of Irish freedom and reunification. "We support your goals but not your violent methods," they say.

But, who is responsible for the violence in Ireland?

In 1918, in the last election in Ireland before the British-engineered partition, 85 percent of the Irish people voted — peacefully and democratically — for the candidates of Sinn Fein, the party of Irish independence. All of Ireland was still a British colony at that time.

The Sinn Fein representatives refused to take their seats in the British parliament. They went instead to Dublin, where they formed an Irish parliament to negotiate their country's independence.

The British government responded to the election by sending a gunboat to shell Dublin and by arresting every member of that parliament they could get their hands on.

The war for independence began only after the British government showed it would not honor the results of the election and grant Ireland its freedom.

The current phase of the struggle in the British-ruled north of Ireland began in 1968, inspired by the civil rights protests of Black people in the United States.

Catholics in the north staged peaceful, nonviolent marches and rallies calling for an end to discrimination in housing, education, employment, and voting.

In response, pro-British Loyalist mobs — led by the uniformed forces of "law and order" — attacked these peaceful demonstrations and even burned down whole Catholic neighborhoods in Belfast.

On Bloody Sunday — January 30, 1972 — British paratroopers opened fire on a peaceful civil rights march in Derry, killing 13 demonstrators.

In response to all these attacks, a few people with a few weapons began protecting the nationalist communities. That was how the present phase of armed resistance began.

The government of the south of Ireland, whose main job is to promote the vast interests of British capitalists there, and Democratic Party politicians like Moynihan, Carey, and Kennedy, have never done anything concrete to further Irish freedom and unification.

But as the freedom struggle in Northern Ireland intensifies, it becomes harder and harder for them to cover up their real positions behind platitudes about support for eventual independence.

When the chips were down, in the hunger strike and in the parade, they all came down on the side of the British colonial rulers.

Michael Flannery and the St. Patrick's Day marchers, on the other hand, stand proudly with the oppressed and embattled nationalist population of Northern Ireland.

The refusal by Moynihan and his ilk to march in this year's parade is the best service they have ever rendered the Irish freedom struggle. It's high time they showed their true colors and got out of the way.

As John Tracey, a leader of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, put it in a letter in the March 15 *New York Times*, "this year and in the future you are going to see a parade that, while perhaps shorter, is more ethnic, more political and less under the control of the Catholic Church, Irish and American political hacks and those Irish who think they have it made and don't want to rock the boat."

Kevin Cassidy, a Belfast native who owns a Bronx tavern, put it another way: "If Moynihan came in here, I wouldn't serve him."

## LETTERS

### Pol Pot's crimes

The March 11 *Militant* contained two letters questioning its coverage of the murderous crimes of the Pol Pot regime in Kampuchea. Both cited Noam Chomsky and Edward Herman's joint studies to argue that the toll of killings under Pol Pot has been greatly exaggerated by the mainstream media, as well as by the governments of Vietnam and Kampuchea. That same issue of the *Militant* quoted Noam Chomsky's present view that, "Pol Pot was one of the most murderous characters in world history."

*Militant* readers may be interested in a statement by Edward Herman that appeared in the March 9 *Guardian*. Herman told the *Guardian*: "I — and I stress I am speaking only for myself and not necessarily for Noam Chomsky — think the Vietnamese behavior now appears to be much more reasonable than we thought when we were writing in 1979. I would also like to say that we probably underestimated the violence of Pol Pot. . . . I would still say that there was a lot of cynical manipulation of the Western media."

G.K. Newey  
Hoboken, New Jersey

### The Lord giveth . . .

"We intend to be good stewards with God's money," so claimed Jim Bakker, president of the PTL Club, a Christian ministry. Bakker is one of those television evangelists with waxed hair and the pastel double-knit suits. Bakker and his wife, Tammy, preach the Lord's word on their talk-show format program shown daily in most of the 200 major U.S. markets.

During all this preaching however, 100 employees of PTL were laid off by what the ministry called an "efficiency" move.

Nevertheless, before the pink slips were handed out, PTL had paid out \$440,000 since October 1982. This was based on documents and sources obtained by the *Charlotte Observer* in North Carolina.

On Oct. 29, 1982, a \$375,000 ocean front condominium was purchased for use by PTL President Bakker, his wife, and two children. The condo on Florida's Gold Coast features floor to ceiling mirrors in the hallways, living and bedrooms. A.T. Lawing, a member of the board of directors, explained the board approved the purchase last year so the Bakkers could "have a place in Florida where they can go and rest for a while. They go down there to

get away from the hustle and bustle."

Just ten weeks before the purchase of the condo, Bakker took more than five minutes of air time to read a list of PTL's overdue accounts. That day he closed the printing division and laid off 12 people. Two days later another 87 full-time employees were laid off, the results of "cost efficiency studies."

Indeed, the Lord does give and the Lord taketh away.

Craig McKissic  
Newport News, Virginia

### Michael Manley

A standing-room-only audience heard Harry Belafonte and Michael Manley talk about Manley's new book, *Jamaica: Struggle in the Periphery*.

Belafonte said the book should not only be read by those at the meeting, but should be passed on because the facts of what happened in Jamaica can't be found in the U.S. press.

He went on to speak about the liberation struggles going on in Central America and the Caribbean and how the U.S. government is pumping millions of dollars into the right-wing government of El Salvador. He explained that once



again the press couldn't be relied upon to tell the truth.

Michael Manley opposed U.S. war policy in Central America and the Caribbean. He said Nicaragua was putting up a gallant fight against U.S.-backed forces in Honduras and that they will continue to fight to defend the revolution.

Manley closed by telling the audience: "History repeats itself. Are you going to be part of a struggle or are you going to throw up your

hands in disgust? We must continue to struggle until you here and we there can find an answer."

Wells Todd  
New York, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.



## Storm-trooper cops raid Black home; Alabama mass rally demands justice

BY ANDY ROSE

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — Chants of "Fired up!" rocked Lilly Baptist Church here March 7 as more than 1,000 angry Blacks rallied in defense of the Taylor family and against police brutality.

Hundreds of people who couldn't jam into the church filled the vestibule and stood outside at the doors to hear.

The Montgomery Black community "is tired of being abused, harassed, and accused of wrongdoings we didn't commit," said Theresa James, president of the Alabama Improvement Association. "We are tired, and we are here to fight."

Noted civil rights attorney J. L. Chesnutt declared that "Montgomery has come full circle and returned to the shameful days

when Black women and children could be beaten by racist storm troopers."

He brought the crowd to its feet, cheering, when he said that "there are things that Black people in 1983 will never take again!"

The mass meeting was organized by a broad array of civil rights groups that have formed the Committee for the Taylor Family Defense.

Freddy Fox, president of Operation M-PACT (Movement for Positive Action in the Community), is chairman of the Committee for the Taylor Family Defense. He told the *Militant* the police attack on the Taylors was the "final straw" of brutality and cop terror heaped on Montgomery Blacks.

Eleven members of the Taylor family — including several who are members of the United Auto Workers union — are charged with kidnapping, robbery, and attempted murder of two police officers. Lurid newspaper headlines claim that the family "tortured" the officers on the night of February 27.

Police Chief Charles Swindall has called the Taylors "wild animals that had their prey on the ground."

Montgomery Blacks "see the police version as lies," said Fox. According to attorneys and the defense committee for the family, this is what happened:

Members of the Taylor family from Warren, Ohio, and Pontiac, Michigan, had come to Montgomery for the funeral of

Annie Bell Taylor, mother or grandmother of most of those charged. Most of the men are auto workers or former auto workers. Nearly all are active church people.

After the funeral, the mourners gathered at a home in a rural Black area.

Shortly before midnight that evening,

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### UAW members protest frame-up in Alabama

BY LIZ ZIERS

DETROIT — Four of the Blacks facing a vicious frame-up in Alabama (see above story) work in the General Motors truck and coach plant in Pontiac, Michigan. They are members of United Auto Workers Local 594.

When news reached Pontiac of the arrest of John Kennedy, Willie Taylor, and two of Taylor's sons, their coworkers were shocked. The frame-up has been a big discussion in the GM plant, among both Black and white workers.

On March 13 a rally of 1,000 people took place in Pontiac in defense of the Taylor family.

A fund-raising disco is slated for March 25 at the Main Event Restaurant, Pontiac Silver Dome, at 9 p.m. Money raised will be used to aid the defense effort.



March 7 rally at Lilly Baptist Church in Montgomery demands freedom for Taylor family — framed up after police attacked them. Militant/Keena Bradford

## New policies needed to fight steel bosses

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

A lot of steelworkers are angry about the March 1 concession contract imposed on them by the Big Seven steel companies. The 41-month deal cut wages immediately by \$1.25 an hour and includes many other takeaways.

At local meetings of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) and on the job a big discussion is going on. Many workers are beginning to think about what it will take to rearm the union with a perspective and strategy that can defend steelworkers' interests.

Adrienne Kaplan, a member of USWA Local 1010 in East Chicago, Indiana, reports that workers at Inland Steel are furious about the loss of one vacation week this year. Despite layoffs, many workers at Inland have been forced to work overtime. The week's vacation will be sorely missed.

Joey Rothenberg told the *Militant* that many workers at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point mill outside Baltimore are angry that the contract was reopened before August, when it was due to expire. "All of a sudden," she said, "you find out from the newspaper that you're making \$50 or \$60 less a week."

Media hype about "high wages" angers many steelworkers. At U.S. Steel's Duquesne mill David Suber told a reporter, "They're saying steelworkers are overpaid. Well don't think for one minute that it's not hell over there," he said pointing to the mill.

Steelworkers are also more acutely aware of the need for union democracy posed by the fact that we don't have the right to vote on our contract.

Dave Salner from Local 6860 at Eveleth Taconite on Minnesota's Iron Range reports this has become a bigger topic of discussion. A few days after the deal was

signed, two Local 6860 meetings drew 350 workers. Virtually everyone signed a petition at the door calling for the membership's right to ratify the contract. Over the years this has been an important issue in the USWA. Local President Stan Daniels urged a renewed fight to win this right.

### Companies want more

But steelworkers aren't the only ones dissatisfied with the new contract. The steel companies and their mouthpieces aren't satisfied either. Why? Because they say workers didn't give up enough!

In an editorial titled, "A Modest Deal in Steel" the March 4 *New York Times* complained, "the most notable aspect of the new contract is how little the unions conceded."

The March 14 *Business Week* reports that "critics say the company negotiators compromised too much on their previous position. One steel analyst describes the cost savings as 'anemic.'"

Steelworkers may find this hard to believe. After all, many workers have spent the past few weeks trying to figure out how to make ends meet with about \$4,000 a year less.

But hard to believe or not, these views are not to be laughed at. They signal one sure thing: the employers are deadly serious about going after even more concessions.

*Business Week* spells it out in their article, "Steel's big labor savings are still ahead." While crying about the size of the wage giveback, they write that the contract "also enables the companies to continue negotiating staffing levels in the plants and — with the approval of USW leaders — to win greater cost savings by combining and eliminating jobs."

These local negotiations could lead to "fundamental reforms in how work is organized." The article says the union agreed, for the first time, to negotiate the combination of craft jobs. In exchange the companies pledged "good faith" in giving new in-plant construction to USWA craft workers rather than "contracting out" to outside contractors who pay their employees less than USWA members.

Explaining this provision in the contract, union staffman Sam Camens said, "We want to stop this wild onslaught on reducing jobs . . . in an organized, directed way."

But that won't be the result.

Job combinations will increase because the companies will be emboldened to try to do so in the crafts and elsewhere.

Job elimination will increase as the employers introduce new steelmaking technology.

Contracting out will continue. Relying on company "good faith" to stop this is like hiring a fox to guard the chicken coop.

Furthermore, all of this is bound to lead to new attacks on job safety.

### Fight not over

It's clear that the steelmakers are not finished in their effort to take advantage of the antilabor climate that the employers and the government have tried to create. The auto and railroad bosses imposed big changes in work rules and the steel companies want them too. Whether they get them depends a great deal on steelworkers.

Twice last year, in August and November, rank-and-file pressure led the local union presidents who make up the Basic Steel Industry Conference (BSIC) to reject takeback contracts.

Even this time around, despite pressure

from General Motors as well as the steel corporations, 63 USWA presidents — more than 25 percent — voted against the contract. This included most presidents from the iron ore locals and a number of those from very big locals such as 2609 and 2610 at Sparrows Point.

What might have happened if the union leaders had hung tough a little longer? Could a better contract have been won? Would the companies have forced a strike? No one knows the answers of course. But a story from the Inland mill makes an interesting point.

Steelworker Jesse Smith reports that the night the agreement was signed a few workers on his electrical crew calculated that they would have to go on strike for three months to lose as much money as it is estimated the new contract will cost them.

These workers did not look forward to a strike in August. But they also recognize the price they paid for the union officialdom giving in without a fight.

They may have also been thinking about the Canadian Chrysler strike last fall — the one the media said the workers couldn't win because the company would go bankrupt first. That scare tactic didn't stop the strike and the result was a wage increase and a better contract for all Chrysler workers. (And the company still showed a profit for 1982.)

### What next?

However, the new steel contract is now a reality, as slashed paychecks and cancelled vacations confirm. This is a serious setback to steelworkers fighting to defend our standard of living, but it doesn't end the fight. Many important issues, in addition

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