

## U.S. ships and troops readied for war in Central America



U.S. troops in training for combat in Central America

### New stage reached in Washington's escalation

BY DAVID FRANKEL

A qualitative shift has taken place in Washington's drive toward a full-scale war in Central America. The speed of the U.S. escalation, the size and scope of the military moves being undertaken, and the character of the statements coming from the White House and the Pentagon, all add up to a gigantic step toward the military confrontation that has been building up since 1979.

With the aircraft carriers *Coral Sea* and *Ranger* and the battleship *New Jersey* already steaming toward Central America, top U.S. officials confirmed July 22 that President Reagan has approved a plan for what the *New York Times* called "preparations for a possible limited military blockade of Nicaragua."

Such a "limited military blockade," or  
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### Nicaraguan militia vows to defend homeland

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — "They are talking about invading us, about putting a quarantine around our revolution with their ships and planes. We say to the imperialists that our revolutionary people are prepared to resist however long it may be necessary. We will not surrender!"

Thousands of members of Nicaragua's new Territorial Militia cheered these words by Humberto Ortega, commander-in-chief of the Sandinista armed forces.

A crowd of about 20,000, many of them workmates and relatives of armed and uniformed militia members, came to the Plaza of the Revolution here July 26 to greet the first three battalions of the Territorial Militia. More than 500 members of the new battalions are women.

"We are not alarmists," Ortega said. "But the forces that are threatening to invade and attack us are now practically already off our coast and at our borders. We must strengthen military defense of the revolution."

Reorganization of the militias on a territorial basis is part of the immediate response. Militia units are now being prepared to defend their own cities and towns against what Ortega termed "the real possibility of intervention by the hated U.S. Marines."

Units in Managua, for example, are quickly being familiarized with the terrain surrounding such strategic areas of the city as the refinery, power plant, and strip of factories on the eastern edge of town.

"We don't have aircraft carriers to resist the North Americans at sea," Ortega said. "But we are certain that if they try to land, they are going to confront an armed, organized people ready to defend their homeland, their revolution."

"We are not alone," Ortega said. "We have the support of the people of other countries," among which he made a special point of including the people of the United States itself.

## General Motors and Toyota press attack on UAW at Fremont plant

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

An ominous report in the July 21 *Wall Street Journal* states that General Motors (GM) and Toyota have stepped up their drive to open the Fremont, California, assembly plant with a significantly weaker union and a poorer contract. According to the *Journal*, the United Auto Workers (UAW) international leadership "has indicated it won't strongly resist demands for concessions . . . in wages and benefits, seniority and work rules."

UAW Local 1364 has represented workers at the Fremont GM assembly plant, which was shut down in 1982. The plant is to reopen to produce small Toyota-designed cars next year under joint GM-Toyota ownership. GM-Toyota has refused to accept Local 1364's major demand, that its members be called back on the basis of seniority under the UAW's GM contract when the plant reopens.

GM and Toyota's position is that the joint venture is a new company and isn't bound by the union contract. The UAW international leadership evidently accepts this.

The UAW international leadership headed by President Owen Bieber has never endorsed Local 1364's demand. But it is now clearer that top officials have no intention of pressing for recall by seniority. UAW officials at Solidarity House, the international headquarters in Detroit, have refused to deny the *Journal* report.

But the concessions offered by the UAW leadership aren't enough to satisfy GM-Toyota, according to participants in a July 26 meeting. The meeting took place at Fremont among officials from Local 1364 and UAW Region 6 to discuss the status of negotiations between GM-Toyota and Solidarity House.

A Local 1364 official told the *Militant* the companies "don't want any union at all, or at most one with no teeth."

The companies are not only refusing to consider recall by seniority, they are also opposed to the use of seniority in determining layoffs or job assignments once the plant opens. They want to base these on "merit" — determined by the company, of course.

The Local 1364 official also said that while Toyota has been pictured as more hard-nosed than GM, that isn't true: "GM's just letting Toyota do its dirty work."

A number of UAW locals have discussed the Fremont situation in union meetings. The sentiment at those meetings was expressed by a GM worker in Kansas City: "If they can do this to Fremont, they'll try it everywhere."

A resolution submitted to the May UAW convention by Local 1364 for callback by seniority and immediate recognition of the

local by GM and Toyota did not make it to the floor for a vote, even though it had been adopted by UAW Region 6 and by a conference of locals from GM's Assembly Division plants.

There was strong support for 1364, shown in a spontaneous demonstration at the convention and in numerous statements of solidarity from other UAW locals throughout the country.

Local 1364 officials told the *Militant* that GM and Toyota have threatened not to open the plant unless they get the concessions.

Local 1364's position has not changed, these officials said, on recognition of the union and recall by seniority.

The *Journal* acknowledges that concessions at Fremont by the UAW tops are  
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## Steel unionists host rally against U.S. war

BY BILL KALMAN

PITTSBURGH — "The reason we called this meeting is we don't want another war like Vietnam, we want jobs." This was how Ron Weisen opened a July 22 "Labor/Community Speak-out: Jobs Not War! No U.S. Intervention in Central America!"

The close to 200 people who packed the meeting greeted his statement with sustained applause. Weisen, president of United Steelworkers (USWA) Local 1397 at U.S. Steel's Homestead Works, chaired the important labor meeting, which attracted steelworkers, coal miners, and electrical workers, as well as officials of some local unions like the postal workers and shipbuilders.

The speak-out was cosponsored by USWA Local 1397, Thomas Merton Center, and Central America Mobilization

Coalition (CAMC), and took place at the 1397 union hall in Homestead.

After opening the rally, Weisen helped set the tone by blasting the bipartisan nature of the government attacks on working people. He noted, "Ronald Reagan just put before the Democratic politicians a 300,000 jobs program. That won't even make a dent in the unemployment. Instead our Democratic Party embraced this wholeheartedly. We need a scorecard to tell the difference between a Democratic and a Republican politician today."

The featured speaker at the event was David Dyson, national secretary of the National Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador, who had just returned from that country. He visited El Salvador as part of a delegation from the U.S. labor movement that in-

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Militant/Lou Howort

Unionist David Dyson addressed rally and called for ending U.S. aid to El Salvador.



# —SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY MALIK MIAH

Last December the Socialist Workers Party decided to organize all our members to sell the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* in regular teams at plant gates each week. We began this column in the *Militant* to report weekly on our experiences, problems, and progress in carrying out this perspective.

Based on reports from 30 of the 49 SWP branches we now have a picture of how the party and its supporters have done in taking the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* to plant gates.

The results are quite impressive. Over the last six months, total sales by 30 branches at plant gates are 6,055. This includes 5,232 *Militants*, 662 *Perspectiva Mundials*, and 161 *Young Socialists*, the bimonthly newspaper distributed by the Young Socialist Alliance. The total sales by all 49 branches clearly would raise these figures significantly.

Average participation per week by branch members is 53 percent. When sickness, rain, overtime, and vacations are taken into account, roughly three-quarters of the SWP membership is involved in regular weekly sales at plant gates.

Most importantly, 10 branches show a rise in participation over the six-month period; 17 show participation staying the same; and 3 show a decline.

## Steel, auto, garment

Where we sold is also instructive. Three industries with some of the most successful sales are steel, auto, and garment. We sold 1,026 *Militants* and 30 *PMs* to steelworkers; 905 *Militants* and 27 *PMs* to auto workers; and 520 *Militants* and 307 *PMs* to garment and textile workers.

The breakdown for other indus-

trial work sites is: 239 *Militants* and 102 *PMs* to electrical workers; 312 *Militants* and 16 *PMs* to machinists and aerospace workers; 368 *Militants* and 13 *PMs* to oil workers; 267 *Militants* and 8 *PMs* to rail workers; and 368 *Militants* to mine workers. To other unionists we sold 1,148 *Militants* and 145 *PMs* and an additional 79 *Militants* and 14 *PMs* to nonunion industrial workers.

The sales to steel and auto workers are quite noteworthy for a number of reasons. First, few SWP members still work in those plants and mills due to the large-scale layoffs over the last three years. Only recently, with the upturn in the business cycle, have some of these workers been called back to work.

Second, the success of the sales reflects the fact that over a long period of time, socialists have worked in steel and auto and been active in the unions there.

Third, the high sales are in part due to the decision of a number of branches to take our press to auto plants and steel mills where we had never sold before as a way to reach this important layer of industrial workers.

We had very positive results in Detroit, Toledo, Indianapolis, Cleveland, Chicago, Dallas, and a number of other cities with large concentrations of auto workers or workers organized by the United Auto Workers union.

Socialists in the big steel centers — Chicago, Gary, Pittsburgh, Baltimore, and the Iron Range in northern Minnesota — also maintained a regular presence at the large basic steel mills and taconite mines.

## Participating in discussion

These efforts helped us use the *Militant* and *PM* in discussing the problems facing these workers and



Militant/Craig Landberg  
Chicago Socialist Workers mayoral candidate Ed Warren selling *Militants* at U.S. Steel's South Works. Over 1,000 papers were sold to steelworkers across country at plant-gate sales.

their unions; in keeping our political tendency in contact with the workers in the plants; in making some new friends; and in some cases in getting workers we met at plant gates to join us in other political activities.

The sales at garment shops and textile plants are also very impressive. Considering that socialist workers have only recently begun regular sales to these workers, the number of papers sold shows the potential to build a regular and large *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* readership among them.

## Cross section of class

Through the garment and textile sales we learned a number of things too: how the garment and textile work force represents a real cross-section of the U.S. working class — Latinos, Asians, Blacks,

and white workers; and their general receptivity to socialist ideas.

These sales and the fact that a number of socialists work in these shops helped to spur us to learn to speak and read Spanish. The *PM* sales show that knowing the Spanish language can facilitate talking to and winning these workers to Marxist ideas.

Having a workers' paper in Spanish is essential to building a revolutionary party in a country with millions of workers whose first language is Spanish. At the same time, our sales experiences prove that even socialist workers who know little or no Spanish can sell *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Sales to other industrial workers were similar to the experiences in the steel, auto, and garment industries. From all indications and reports we've received, the plant-gate sales enabled us to regularly

communicate with tens of thousands of industrial workers.

One final point. The six-month figures show that the national average number of papers sold per member of the SWP and YSA per sale is 1.19. Although this is modest, it reflects an important fact: on each sale the average team was able to sell a few papers.

In eight cities the average per-person sale went up during the six-month period; in 14 cities it was maintained; and in 8 others there was a slight decline.

Our overall progress places us in a good position for the rest of the summer and fall to reach our main objective: having every member of the socialist movement sell at a plant gate on a regular team at least once a week. To have as a norm 100 percent participation is clearly a realistic and an achievable perspective.

# General Motors, Toyota press attack on UAW

Continued from front page

"likely to upset the rank and file." The paper quotes George Nano, Local 1364's shop chairman, saying if the leadership's proposal "isn't any good, we won't buy it." The *Journal*, citing a "union source," writes that top UAW officials, "anticipating criticism from the membership, will have to sell any agreement as 'the best we can get and still have a joint venture, so take it or leave it.'"

GM and Toyota are seeking the same concessions at Fremont that the auto corporations have all been trying to get:

- Fewer, if any, local work rules and more job combination (GM-Toyota wants

to go from 25 job classifications at Fremont to 3).

- Harsher absenteeism penalties, with determination of what absences are "excused" left unilaterally to the companies.

- Ending seniority as the basis for job assignments, to gain "flexibility."

In addition, what is sought at Fremont is either no union at all, or one too weak to protect its members. And they want a work force that will never file a grievance or call on the union for help against the company.

George Johnson is one of more than 6,000 laid-off members of Local 1364 at Fremont.



Militant/Liz Ziers  
Demonstration in support of Fremont UAW Local 1364 at May UAW national convention.

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## The Militant

Closing news date: July 27, 1983

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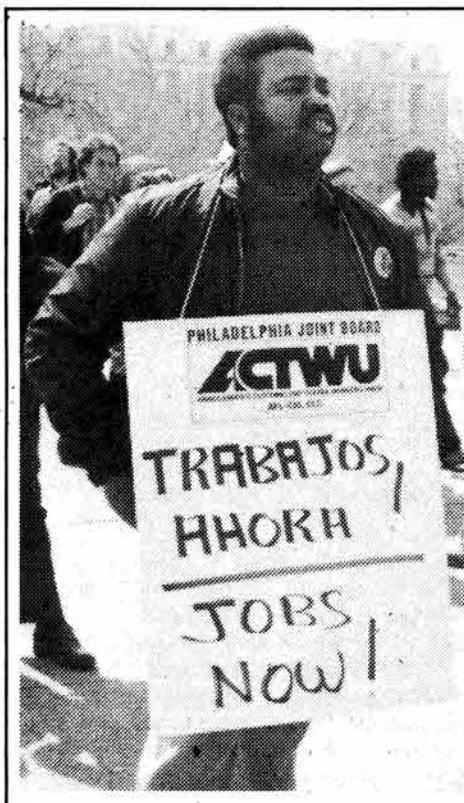
Editorial Staff: Connie Allen, Nelson González, William Gottlieb, Arthur Hughes, Margaret Jayko, George Johnson, Frank Lovell, Malik Miah, Geoff Mirelowitz, Harry Ring, Larry Seigle, Mary-Alice Waters.

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

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

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

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# Workers demand Chrysler restore pay cuts



Canadian Chrysler workers struck in 1982, forcing wage gains from company. Chrysler workers are still paid \$2 less than GM and Ford workers.

BY ELIZABTH ZIERS

DETROIT — United Auto Workers Union (UAW) officials opened negotiations with Chrysler Corp. on July 25 by asking for an immediate \$1 per hour pay increase and eventual parity with union members at Ford and General Motors. Chrysler workers are currently earning \$2 per hour less than their counterparts at the other two major auto companies.

UAW president Owen Bieber reported to the press that the company has given no specific response to the union's opening proposals.

Chrysler's new financial picture has encouraged workers to demand that some wage improvements be made now, before the contract's scheduled expiration in January.

With smiles and fanfare, Chrysler Chairman Lee Iacocca had announced July 13 that the company would pay back \$800 million to the Loan Guarantee Board. The payment is the last of \$1.2 billion in loans guaranteed by the government and is seven years ahead of its due date in 1990.

"We are about to re-establish Chrysler as a successful private corporation that pays its own way," Iacocca told the National Press Club in Washington, D.C.

One week after the Washington speech, Chrysler announced quarterly profits of \$275 million, their biggest profits ever,

largest even than in Chrysler's pre-1979-crisis days.

Iacocca and his friends at the National Press Club were radiant. Writers for the major business newspapers fawned over his leadership and Chrysler's "miraculous" recovery.

There is nothing "miraculous" about Chrysler's recovery and nothing remarkable about Lee Iacocca's business capabilities. Chrysler's recovery was sucked out of UAW members' sweat and blood.

A woman who is an assembler at the Warren Truck Plant near Detroit said, "Every time you pick up a newspaper you see Lee Iacocca's face. Iacocca, the showman. I think his next thing will be politics. What about us? We want our \$2, and we're tired of being shoved around."

Chrysler workers aren't expecting Chrysler to pay them back as promptly as it paid the government.

"All they gave us for our concessions was a handshake, 'Trust me,' and 'I care about you.' No guarantees," said Richard Hosey, a press operator at the Warren Stamping Plant.

"Chrysler might try any gimmick to keep us from getting our \$2," said Josh, a press operator with 19 years at the Warren Stamping Plant. "We might have to strike."

"Making profits or not, Chrysler's not going to give up what we have coming. That's just how the system works, isn't it?" said a woman on the afternoon shift at the stamping plant.

"Canadians are the ones that got the raise for us last time," said Joe Rone, referring to the 1982 strike by Chrysler workers in Canada. "I don't think a strike would work for us because everybody in there is broke. They give you just enough money to let you keep working. But, then, Chrysler can't just shut the doors and take a strike, because they would lose everything."

At the General Dynamics (GD) tank plant in Warren (formerly owned by Chrysler), workers have followed closely Chrysler's improved financial picture. They voted overwhelmingly to reject concessions all three times while the plant belonged to Chrysler because the plant was always a money-maker for Chrysler.

Although it now belongs to General Dynamics, workers there feel they should share in Chrysler's new-found wealth.

"We've been working in the plant making the best profits, and yet we've had to make concessions," one young GD worker said. "I hope Chrysler workers get a raise, and we should get a slice of the pie, too."

## Copper workers rally to back strike

BY ROB ROPER  
AND MARYANN BEERLING

CLIFTON, Ariz. — "They want to break the union, but we're not going to let them do it," said Alex Lopez, chairman of the Phelps Dodge union negotiating committee. Lopez was speaking to an evening rally of 600 strikers and their families here July 20.

The rally followed the daily mass picket in Morenci, where Phelps Dodge's largest open-pit mine, smelter, and mill are located. In a display of solidarity, union members from other copper towns in Arizona came for the day. Workers from Douglas, Ajo, San Manuel, Hayden, and Miami were there. Hayden workers donated \$1,000 to the strikers. Frank McKee, United Steelworkers of America (USWA) international treasurer and chair of the Non-ferrous Bargaining Council, also spoke at the rally. McKee and Robert Petris, USWA District 38 director, also spoke at similar rallies in Ajo and Douglas on the two previous days.

"You have the complete support of every AFL-CIO union," McKee said. "Soon the union strike fund will be put into practice. Bob Petris has sent a letter to every union asking for support. On Saturday there is a meeting here to organize a program of fundraising. And tomorrow I'm flying to Washington, D.C., to talk to the international unions about the Phelps Dodge strike."

McKee said of the letters sent out by Phelps Dodge to selected workers suspending or firing them for "strike-related conduct": "These are just letters of intimidation, and we have filed charges of unfair labor practices with the NLRB [National Labor Relations Board]."

Workers applauded when McKee ended, saying, "You have to tell the company you are not going to work as second-class citizens, and you're not going to let them turn the clock back 30 years."

Strikers in Morenci have counted 156

scabs — hourly employees who have crossed the picket line. Phelps Dodge claims several hundred have crossed the line.

The unions have made an offer of full amnesty to any scab who joins the strike. There were at least 400 people on the picket line.

Phelps Dodge workers are quick to point out that they are not asking for more than the last contract. "We just want to keep what we have," said Emilio (El Gato) Rojas. The company is demanding that the unions give up their cost-of-living clause, "and that's just for starters," said Darwin King.

A Morenci Women's Auxiliary has been started. It consists of 60 women who meet once a week. Their basic goal is to raise funds and food for the strikers. So far they have raised \$600 and brought in supplies, such as canned goods from local merchants. At one meeting they raised enough money to pay a striker's electricity bill.

Alberto Alvarado explained to the *Mili-*

*tant* that people throughout the country should "be exposed to the fact that we have long suffered and gone through a lot of strikes. I've been working for P-D for 28 years, and this is my eighth strike. I don't feel I can give up all I have gone through eight strikes for. I'm not going in without a contract."

Alvarado pointed out that in Douglas, 90 percent of the workers are Chicanos. Before it was organized, Mexicans got \$2.40 a day. They, in turn, had to train Anglos to do their jobs, who got \$3.30 a day. "When I first started working here in 1955," Alvarado said, "they had separate restrooms for the Chicanos and Anglos. We're not going back to those days. We're not second-class people!"

In Tucson more than 100 union officials, including Darwin Aycock, president of the state AFL-CIO, met to discuss support for the Phelps Dodge strikers. Unions pledged or contributed \$32,875 to a strike relief fund and an additional \$20,000 monthly for the duration of the strike.

## N.Y. unions build Aug. 27 march on D.C.

BY STEPHEN BRIDE

NEW YORK — Organizers here for the August 27 march for jobs, peace, and freedom say some 350 buses have so far been booked for the trip south to Washington, D.C., with more on the way.

An initial list put out by march coordinators shows District 65 of the United Auto Workers leading the field among area unions, with about 100 buses rented. District 65 headquarters in Manhattan is serving as coordinating center for the action and was scheduled to host a citywide planning meeting on July 26.

Other New York unions that have reserved buses include the Metro Area Postal Union (25 buses), District 1199 National

Hospital Union in New York (20-30), and Local 420 of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (20-30).

In the garment industry, Local 99 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union has rented five buses, and ILGWU Local 23-25 has two, according to march coordinators.

In all, at least 25 union locals have committed themselves to getting their members to Washington. This number is expected to grow after the July 21 vote by the city's Central Labor Council to back the August 27 march.

Indicative of the support among workers for a demonstration of this sort has been the response of transit workers. Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 has assigned two staffers to fill the seven buses the union plans to reserve, and posters for the action are to be found on union bulletin boards at several transit barns. At the 207th Street barn, 50 or so workers are currently sporting August 27 buttons.

Particularly active in this effort have been TWU members who have campaigned to win justice for William Turks, a Black transit worker who was slain last year by a mob of whites in Brooklyn, and a group that opposes investment of TWU funds in corporations that do business in South Africa.

Discussions among garment workers on August 27 have been fueled by the recently announced war commission on Central

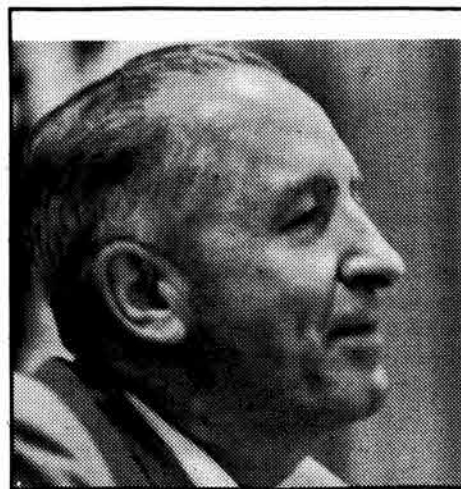
America, headed by Henry Kissinger. Many are angered by the presence of AFL-CIO President Lane Kirkland on a body whose clear intent is to help drive forward the U.S. war. One worker in a New Jersey belt shop said, "This guy's supposed to be a union man. What's he doing on a commission with a guy [Kissinger] who organized a coup in Chile? We don't want a war."

Besides Central America, the issue of apartheid is expected to be represented at the Washington march. This will be done by supporters of the African National Congress (ANC), South Africa's predominant liberation group, and the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), which is battling to wrest control of the territory of Namibia from the apartheid regime.

According to a spokesman for ANC supporters in the United States, "August 27 will be a day when ANC and SWAPO will be expressing solidarity with the struggles of the peoples of North America against all forms of oppression and racial discrimination. We will be mobilizing toward that end, putting together a SWAPO-ANC bus and contingent, including a political and cultural presentation in consultation with demonstration organizers."

The march in Washington is being preceded here by a number of rallies and other activities. The largest of these has been a June 30 meeting of 300 in Brooklyn. Or-

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### Revolutionary Continuity

*Birth of the Communist Movement, 1918-1922*

By Farrell Dobbs. The second volume of this series will go on sale at the August conference in Ohio for the special price of \$5. *Militant* readers who won't be able to attend the conference can take advantage of this special offer by ordering prior to July 31. Shipment will be made in mid-August.

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



# Massive U.S. military buildup in Honduras

BY HARRY RING

With the exception of the long-established base in Panama, the U.S. military concentration in Honduras is now the biggest in Central America.

The headquarters of the Honduran military operation is the U.S. Embassy in the capital city of Tegucigalpa.

Housed in two heavily fortified buildings, the embassy staff includes nearly 300 military advisers, engineers, and technicians. That's by Washington's count.

While the U.S. military presence in Honduras has escalated sharply in the past several months, the operation has been under way for a good while.

It began under the Carter administration and was decided shortly after the Nicaraguan people toppled the murderous U.S.-installed Somoza dictatorship in 1979.

Of the U.S. military personnel now publicly acknowledged to be in Honduras, there are 120 Green Berets training some 2,000 Salvadoran government troops.

Along with Hondurans and troops from other Central American countries, the Salvadorans are being trained at a newly created base in Puerto Castilla in Honduras. The scope of the operation is suggested by the fact that one wealthy rancher in Honduras tried to sue the U.S. government for arbitrarily taking over 7,000 acres of his prime grazing land for the training camp.

Among other moves, 80 army engineers are supervising the expansion of a military airport in Comayagua, northwest of Tegucigalpa. The \$130 million bill for this is being picked up by the Pentagon in exchange for U.S. landing rights there.

And 60 members of the U.S. Air Force are working on a radar installation 12 miles southeast of the capital.

According to one media account, the radar equipment "will perhaps spot small airplanes allegedly shuttling weapons from Nicaragua to El Salvador."

The actual purpose of the installation is to guide U.S. warplanes through the area.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon is readying plans for the construction of six new airfields in various parts of Honduras. These will be able to accommodate C-130 troop-transport planes. Washington is planning to provide its Honduran satellite forces with more of these troop-transport planes. The landing sites will be constructed by U.S. Army Engineer battalions, further augmenting the U.S. forces in the country.

The 16,000-member Honduran army now has a reported 62 U.S. "advisers." Unlike El Salvador where there is, theoretically, a limit of 55 "advisers," there is no limit on the number in Honduras.

The Nicaraguan government has charged an ominous flow of U.S. arms into Honduras for the purpose of waging war against Nicaragua.

In early July, Sandinista leader Tomás Borge told reporters a U.S. arms shipment was en route to Honduras including 12 jet fighters, four bombers, 20 M-79 tanks, 60 armored tanks and 10 155-millimeter cannons.

The Nicaraguans also charged that Reagan had ordered the dispatching of two detachments of U.S. soldiers of Latino origin to assimilate into the Honduran armed forces to participate in plans to assassinate Nicaraguan revolutionary leaders.



Joint U.S.-Honduras maneuvers last February. New maneuvers are scheduled to last six months.

## Israel joins Washington in Central America war

BY FRED FELDMAN

The Israeli regime is stepping up intervention on the side of Washington in Central America.

"At the request of the United States," the July 21 *New York Times* reported, Israel "has agreed to send weapons captured from the Palestine Liberation Organization to Honduras for eventual use by Nicaraguan rebels, according to senior Reagan Administration officials."

There is nothing new about the Israeli regime's opposition to the struggles of the workers and farmers in Central America.

Israeli arms were shipped to Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza, who used them to slaughter Nicaraguans in an effort to defeat the Sandinista-led insurrection in 1979.

Israel now supplies arms to the dictatorships in Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador.

In contrast to the Israeli regime, the Palestine Liberation Organization politically supports the struggle of the Salvadoran and Nicaraguan peoples against U.S. attempts to crush their revolution.

Washington views the Israeli arms shipments as another means of speeding up the arming of Nicaraguan rightists and the Honduran army, in preparation for invasion and blockade of Nicaragua.

In an attempt to drum up public support for U.S. and Israeli intervention, Washington claims that the workers and farmers government in Nicaragua is anti-Semitic.

On July 20, Reagan met with Rabbi Morton Rosenthal, director of Latin American Affairs for the Anti-Defamation League (ADL) of B'nai B'rith, and two Nicaraguan businessmen, "both Jews, who left in 1979 after the Sandinista takeover," according to the July 21 *Times*.

The Nicaraguans, Isaac Stavitsky and Isaac Gorn, claimed that the revolutionary government had confiscated the property of Jews, seized the synagogue in Managua, and forced Nicaraguan Jews into exile.

The ADL official claimed that there are only 50 Jews in Nicaragua and they are subjected to intense persecution.

According to Rosenthal, Reagan enthusiastically endorsed the ADL charges.

There was no explanation of why these claims surfaced only in mid-1983, as Washington prepares for war with Nicaragua, despite the businessmen's claim to having been forced to leave in 1979.

These charges were answered last May by Pastor Valle-Garay, the Nicaraguan consul-general in Toronto, Canada. A story about the Anti-Defamation League charges in the Toronto *Sun* was used as a pretext for an attack on Valle-Garay's house by the ultrarightist Jewish Defense League.

"The facts of the story are all wrong," he told the Canadian newspaper *Socialist Voice*. "There are not 50 but hundreds of Nicaraguans of Jewish descent. Some are ministers in our government. For example, the minister of tourism."

The businessmen's claims of suffering persecution for their religion are fraudulent. Stavitsky, for instance, has never returned to Nicaragua since the revolution took power. He acted as an agent for dictator Somoza in arms purchases. "Stavitsky is wanted for prosecution as a Nicaraguan, not persecution for being Jewish," Valle-Garay declared.

"The policy of the Nicaraguan government is to fight any type of racism or anti-religious feeling," he said.

Why is the Anti-Defamation League spreading these lies? The ADL is widely, but falsely, portrayed as a civil rights organization devoted to exposing anti-Semitism.

In fact, one of its specialties is opposition to the civil rights struggles of Blacks — particularly demands for affirmative action.

On international issues, the ADL is a strong supporter of Washington's war drive — whether directed against the Palestinians, Vietnam, or Central America. It seeks to advance Washington's policies by smearing opponents of them as anti-Semites.

The current ADL attack on Nicaragua is cut from this cloth.

## N.Y. unions plan for August 27

Continued from Page 3

organized by, among others, Congressman Major Owens and state Assemblyman Roger Green, much of the meeting was given over to various electoral and legislative strategies to "make concrete the national platform of jobs, peace, and freedom." In a workshop and plenary session on August 27, however, discussion went well beyond this.

At one point, for example, Owens rose to defend Israel's role in the Middle East. A lively debate ensued, during which it was pointed out that the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and Israeli collaboration with the South African government haven't much in common with a march for peace.

Other planned activities include an August 10 teach-in for women and youth. District 1199 leaders have initiated and thrown

open the union's offices to a youth committee, which leafleted and sold buttons at a recent Diana Ross concert in Central Park.

A Women's Mobilization Committee has also been started up, with some 40 women's groups represented. Coordinating this effort, which aims at fielding a women's contingent for August 27, is Women USA, an organization headed by Bella Abzug. The committee has issued its own leaflet — including demands for equal pay, affirmative action, passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, and legalized abortion — and intends to produce its own August 27 button.

The National Organization for Women also has an August 27 committee, and NOW members are staffing tables to build participation in the march.

## Pittsburgh rally against war

Continued from front page

cluded two national officers of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, two from the National Education Association, two from the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, and a national officer of the United Auto Workers Union.

Dyson described the delegation's visit. Several Salvadoran military officers the union officials met with made it clear that U.S. aid was essential to defeat "the communist threat." But the delegation's visit to the infamous Mariona Prison showed the results of that aid — imprisoned trade union leaders, victims of government torture, and women whose children had been killed in front of them.

Dyson reported, "Secretary of State Shultz came up before us last Wednesday and announced that President Reagan in his wisdom had certified human rights progress in El Salvador. The message to the Salvadoran colonels is clear: you can do whatever the hell you want. You can kill American nuns because you are still going to get the money. You can kill AFL-CIO representatives, don't worry, we'll get you the aid. If we don't get it through Congress, we'll get it to you illegally."

"And least of all, don't worry about the 40,000 Salvadorans dead. That is the price we must pay for democracy and freedom."

To much applause, Dyson said, "President Reagan says we are fighting for freedom. We found the only freedom we are fighting for down there is the freedom for the oligarchy and the U.S. multinationals to exploit the hell out of the Salvadoran people."

Dyson linked the repression directed against the Salvadoran workers and farmers with Reagan administration attacks on labor in this country. He noted the American companies that attack the unions in this country are the same outfits setting up plants in El Salvador's free enterprise zones, where unions and strikes are illegal and workers are often paid only \$2.50 per day.

Dyson stated, "20 million people are unemployed in this country and we are sending counterinsurgency jets to El Salvador. We've got no money for school lunches, but we get millions for helicopter gunships in El Salvador. We have no money for

OSHA [Occupational Safety and Health Administration] enforcement, but we have money to train murder battalions to go into hills to kill *campesinos* in El Salvador. When we need to kill, we find the money. When we need to build, we are flat broke."

Dyson finished by stressing the importance of labor taking up the question of war: "This is the second time in one generation that the American people are going to be called upon to stop a war. There is only one way to say no. Don't create a highfalutin commission and then continue to send military aid down there. Don't say, 'let's have an election, but only one side will have the guns.'"

"There is only one way to say no, and that is to say it with your voice, say it with your pen, say it with your body: 'No more aid to El Salvador!'" Dyson received a standing ovation.

The theme that labor has different interests than big business and the U.S. government was taken up again by Ginny Hildebrand, a laid-off coal miner from United Mine Workers (UMWA) Local 3506 who was representing the CAMC. "None of us in this room are partners in U.S. Steel, Gulf, or Nabisco, so why should we be partners in their foreign policy?" Hildebrand said.

Another theme that many speakers addressed was the importance of a big labor turnout for the August 27 march on Washington, D.C. Harvey Adams, president of the Pittsburgh NAACP and cochair of the local August 27 coalition, noted the importance of the Black, antiwar, and labor movements working together. As of now there are some 16 buses leaving from the Pittsburgh area for the August 27 march, including buses chartered by the Letter Carriers union, the Service Employees International Union, the Postal Workers, and United Mine Workers District 5.

Other speakers at the rally included Mike Bonn, president of USWA Local 2227 at U.S. Steel's Irvin Works; Molly Rush, from the Thomas Merton Center; Monsignor Charles Owen Rice; Rick Flanigan of Save Our Neighborhood Action Coalition; Charles McCallister of the Tristate Conference On the Impact of Steel; Timmy Sessions representing the Mon Valley Unemployed Committee; and the Rev. Bernard Servill, active in defense of Salvadoran refugees.



# Int'l artists conference held in Managua

BY FRED HALSTEAD  
AND MARY-ALICE WATERS

MANAGUA — A decision to form a new organization in the United States to facilitate cultural exchange between Nicaragua and the United States, and help spread the truth about the Nicaraguan revolution, was adopted by the U.S. delegation at a Conference on Central America held here July 13-18.

A nationwide conference in the United States of American Friends of Nicaraguan Culture was also projected for the second week of November. The Sandinista Cultural Workers Association (ASTC), sponsor of the Managua conference, indicated it is prepared to send a delegation of prestigious artists and intellectuals to participate in the gathering.

Similar conferences are planned for Canada and Mexico during the first and third weeks of November, respectively.

The Managua gathering was attended by some 300 writers, artists, poets, clergy, film makers, social scientists, and solidarity activists from Canada, the United States, and Latin American countries. It was addressed by an impressive spectrum of leaders of the Sandinista government, who also made themselves available for questions and discussion.

The largest delegation was from the United States, numbering some 150, including American poet Adrienne Rich. Another 40 delegates were Québécois and English Canadian.

Among the well-known Latin American writers participating were Argentinian authors Julio Cortázar and Gregorio Selser, Cuban author Roberto Fernández Retamar, and Guatemalan author José Luis Balcárcel.

## 'Tell the truth'

The theme of the conference was set in the opening session by Nicaraguan minister of culture and internationally acclaimed poet, Fr. Ernesto Cardenal. "The poet works with words in order to tell the truth,"

he told the gathering. "The writer works with words in order to tell the truth. The vocation of all artists and intellectuals is to tell the truth to the world and to the people of North America, especially because we are threatened by the lies of the greatest power on earth."

To help accomplish this, Rosario Murillo, general secretary of the ASTC, and herself a poet, said her organization is prepared to send to tour the United States as many sculptures, paintings, and other artistic exhibits; musical and performing groups; poets, lecturers, and so on, as the U.S. group can arrange for. The ASTC is also prepared to receive in Nicaragua as many as three groups per month of visiting delegations of artists and intellectuals from North America and elsewhere.

"We are very proud of our artistic work," Murillo told the U.S. delegation. "We know that our culture can communicate the truth about this revolution — and the essence of our revolutionary activity, which is itself an art."

"Reagan raises the phantasm of a communist threat to the U.S. here in Nicaragua. But we are not fantasizing the thousands of Somozaist ex-National Guardsmen attacking our northern border. We are not fantasizing the economic blockade that has been imposed upon us. We are not fantasizing when we say the Reagan administration has every intention of destroying this revolution."

"We will fight our own battles, but the least we ask of our North American cultural and intellectual colleagues is that they fight with ideas, fight to assure that the number of Americans who oppose the Reagan policy in Central America rises, that pressure is brought in every form possible."

## International Tribunal

Another projected activity discussed in the workshops of the conference was the idea of an international tribunal to judge the war crimes of U.S. imperialism in Cen-



Nuevo Diario

July 13-18 Conference on Central America. Sandinista Cultural Workers Association is ready to organize delegations to United States.

tral America, and hopefully, therefore, to contribute to preventing their escalation.

A temporary coordinating committee was chosen by the U.S. delegation to begin the process of forming the new organization and to make initial plans for activity. It includes Theresa Bonpane, president of the Board of Directors of the Office Of the Americas (OOA); Prof. Blase Bonpane, member of the Board of Directors of OOA; Marc Cooper, reporter for Pacifica radio station KPFK; Drew Katzman, film producer; and Kimiko Hahn, poet.

Among the prominent Nicaraguan leaders addressing the conference in Managua and discussing with the delegates were: Commander Carlos Núñez, member of the National Leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN); Carlos Fernando Chamorro, editor of the official FSLN newspaper *Barricada*; Sergio Ramírez, member of the Junta of the Government of National Reconstruction; Commander Omar Cabezas, head of the politi-

cal section of the Ministry of the Interior; Commander Julio Ramos, army chief of intelligence; Fr. Miguel D'Escoto, foreign minister; Commander Lenin Cerna, director of State Security; Commander William Ramírez, minister of the Atlantic Coast; and Lea Guido, minister of health.

In addition, the conference included discussion sessions with leaders of the National Union of Farmers and Ranchers (UNAG); the Rural Workers Association (ATC); the Sandinista Workers Federation (CST); the Sandinista Youth (JS-19); and the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS).

There was also a meeting with members of the Council of State to discuss the law on political parties that is currently being drafted in preparation for national elections in 1985.

This exhaustive schedule was augmented by visits to a Christian revival meeting in the city of León, held to celebrate the fourth anniversary of the overthrow of Somoza, a cultural fiesta in downtown Managua on the eve of July 19, and other activities. In addition, many delegates spent time walking through the streets and barrios, talking to people.

It was this, as well as participation in the July 19 anniversary rally and the trip to the

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## Kansas City Blacks greet Nicaraguan official

BY JOHN STAGGS

KANSAS CITY — "It is important and meaningful for a representative of the government of Nicaragua to see people here listening to our version of what is happening in Central America. It is important because, if something is not done in this country quickly, Central America will be involved in a catastrophe."

"We understand the pain of the American people during the Vietnam era and we do not want to experience it, and we do not want you to experience it again. We think it is very important to sit down and talk to the American people so they will increase their efforts to stop this dangerous policy [of the Reagan administration]."

This was the message Francisco Campbell, first secretary to the Nicaraguan Embassy in Washington, brought to the people of Kansas City on a tour here in July. Campbell, who is Black, is former director of agrarian reform on Nicaragua's Atlantic Coast.

The first stop on his trip was the Liberty Memorial, where over 30 people are fasting to protest surplus food being kept from the needy. At the protest Campbell met Darrel Ringer, state spokesman of the Kansas American Agriculture Movement, and Alan Wheat, congressman from Kansas City and member of the Congressional Black Caucus.

From there Campbell went to a well-attended press conference at the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 96 hall. Appearing with Campbell before the press were Rev. "Fuzzy" Thompson and Rev. Sam Mann, both of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); legislators Fred Sánchez and Rev. James Tindall; and Phillip Curls, state legislator and president of Freedom Inc., Kansas City's Black Democratic party organization. In the audience were other labor, religious, and community activists.

A special luncheon for Campbell hosted by Black community leaders was held at the offices of Ollie Gates, a prominent local Black businessman.

At an afternoon meeting with area minis-



Francisco Campbell (center) with county legislator Rev. James Tindall (left), SCLC leader Rev. "Fuzzy" Thompson.

ters, the discussion centered on bringing world issues such as the crisis in Central America into the Black churches.

The day culminated with a meeting of over 200 to protest U.S. involvement in Central America. Blacks, whites, and Latinos filled the chapel of Zion Grove Baptist Church to hear Campbell speak on "Nicaragua, the Real Story." Local jazz musicians provided entertainment.

The spirited crowd rose to its feet when Mike Fisher, assistant to the mayor, presented Campbell with the key to the city.

Fisher said, "I am representing myself and my own beliefs and values, and one of my convictions happens to be that all peoples in the world have the right to self-determination. We in the United States have the responsibility to either support those struggles or leave those people alone."

Artie Criswell, from the county legislature minority caucus, presented Campbell with a proclamation of merit from the county. Criswell said, "Most of us can identify with your struggle because most of

us have struggled all our lives as well."

In his speech, which was repeatedly interrupted by applause and standing ovations, Campbell explained why Nicaragua refuses to back down on its solidarity with peoples struggling for their freedom. "We do not deny and have never denied that we morally support the people of El Salvador. We are a people who know what repression is. We are a people who know what death squads are. And because we are a people who know what freedom is we support the people of El Salvador."

"Because we are a people who know what repression is we support the people of Namibia; we support the people of South Africa. This is a matter of principle for us."

Campbell's visit to Kansas City was sponsored by an ad hoc coalition chaired by Thompson. Participants included: SCLC; Operation PUSH; SEIU Local 96; Lillian McKittrick, of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union; *Dos Mundos*; Black United Front; National Black Independent Political Party; Freedom Inc; ACLU; and others.

## 5,000 march against U.S. war in Salvador

BY MIGUEL ZÁRATE

CONCORD, Calif. — More than 5,000 spirited demonstrators converged on the Port Chicago naval weapons station here on July 24 to protest U.S. intervention in El Salvador. The base is a major arms shipment center.

The action was called by the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador (CISPES). The 2nd Border Conference in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, which took place in Tijuana, Mexico, over the July 4 weekend, endorsed the demonstration as did a host of solidarity committees and peace groups.

Speaking on behalf of the Revolutionary Democratic Front-Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FDR-FMLN) of El Salvador, Ramón Cardona told the crowd that U.S. military intervention is escalating and appealed for a redoubling of protest activity in response.

Among the other speakers were Lorenza Carlyle, a representative of the International Association of Machinists; Gus Newport, mayor of Berkeley; and Father Hagen of San Francisco's Most Holy Redeemer Catholic Church.

The demonstrators were predominantly young and included many Latinos. Especially noticeable was the large number of Salvadoran refugees. A scattering of marchers sported trade-union jackets.

The following day a civil disobedience action attempted to blockade the main entrance to the Port Chicago base. Some 150 people were arrested.

Prior to these two demonstrations a number of Bay Area activities took place to mark important anniversaries of the Cuban and Nicaraguan revolutions. Over 800 people attended a Cuban concert on July 23.



# U.S. ships, troops readied for war

Continued from front page

"quarantine" in the State Department's terminology, was what led to the Cuban missile crisis in 1962.

The plan approved by Reagan also includes "preparations so that American forces can be swiftly called into action if necessary," *Times* correspondent Philip Taubman reported.

Among the preparations being made are installation of new radar and electronic surveillance stations in Central America, positioning of large stocks of military equipment in Honduras, and construction of a \$150 million air and naval base on the Atlantic coast of Honduras.

Meanwhile, thousands of U.S. and Honduran troops will be carrying out "maneuvers" along Nicaragua's northern border. Scheduled to begin in August, these "are to last a minimum of six months," according to Taubman. The maneuvers, Rep. Michael Barnes (D-Md.) pointed out July 24, "are not an exercise, they are a deployment." Only a suitable pretext for all-out U.S. military intervention is lacking.

As the editors of the *New York Times* admitted July 24, "people in Washington now expect — intend? — that provocations will permit the Honduran Army, supported by American forces, to crush the leftists in both" Nicaragua and El Salvador.

Behind Washington's determination to "crush the leftists" in Central America is a single, overriding fact: the socialist revolution is being extended in the Western Hemisphere.

The workers and peasants took political power in the Caribbean island of Grenada in March 1979, and in Nicaragua in July 1979. In both of those countries the toilers are extending their control over the economy and proceeding toward the construction of a new society.

The social gains that have been made in Nicaragua and Grenada have spurred the revolutionary struggle in El Salvador and have inspired the workers and peasants elsewhere in the region. Just as was the case with the Vietnamese revolution in the 1960s, the imperialists are being forced to go to war to defend their system of world domination.

## A nationwide war

There should be no doubt about the scope of the war that is being planned in Washington. El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua are already deeply involved. Counterrevolutionary forces have also opened an active front against Nicaragua from Costa Rica, which is receiving increasing amounts of U.S. and Israeli aid.

But even this is just the opening wedge. The Pentagon, for instance, announced July 22 that its aircraft carriers would conduct operations near Grenada and Suriname.

A war of this scope would also involve the U.S.-backed dictatorship in Guatemala, which is already trying to beat back opposition by the use of savage repression.

Panama, with its massive U.S. air and naval bases, as well as its facilities for ground troops, is also playing a major role in U.S. military planning. The Panamanian rulers have protested the expansion of the war, fearing that its escalation will touch off an anti-imperialist upsurge in their own country.

What is really being prepared is a war that will engulf all of Central America and spread into the Caribbean as well.

Cuban Vice-minister of Foreign Affairs Ricardo Alarcón was quoted in the July 24 issue of the Sandinista daily *Barricada* as saying that the imperialists "may be looking for another Beirut, but they're going to find another Hanoi."

In a further statement on July 26, Alarcón told reporters that Cuba would regard a blockade of Nicaragua as an "act of war" against the Sandinista government.

Both the Cubans and Nicaraguans have been warning about what Washington has in store for Central America for several years. Cuba has organized half a million men and women into its new Territorial Troop Militia, and imported the weapons necessary to arm them. Nicaragua has also

begun organizing a territorial militia that will make it easier to mass larger numbers of fighters than a militia based solely on places of work. And on July 19, Commander Daniel Ortega announced that the Sandinista government would institute military conscription.

In his speech on the fourth anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution, Ortega noted that "The U.S. administration is bent on a military solution and has given no sign of alleged readiness to negotiate."

Cutting through the pretexts and excuses used by Washington to stall peace talks, Ortega presented a six-point proposal for negotiations.

Washington's response has been to continue its escalation of the war.

Asked on July 21 whether "a satisfactory settlement" could be reached if the Sandinista government remained in power in Nicaragua, Reagan replied, "I think it'd be extremely difficult."

Reagan supporter William Safire put it even more bluntly in the July 24 *New York Times*. "A nationwide war is going on, and that undeniable fact forces us to choose up sides."

Safire declared that "the source of Communist war supplies must be cut off totally, with no hope of being restored."

## Hand-wringing by 'doves'

Despite extensive hand-wringing among ruling-class critics of Reagan's war moves, Congress continues to vote for the hundreds of millions in U.S. military aid that is being poured into Central America. The congressional "doves" have walked a careful line of criticizing and warning against Reagan's policies in hopes of avoiding responsibility for what is coming, while doing nothing that would seriously hamper the prosecution and escalation of the actual war that is being carried out. By playing this role, they are in reality aiding the drive toward all-out war, because they foster the illusion that Congress can be counted on to stop things if Reagan goes too far.

An example of how this works in practice is the ongoing debate in the House of Representatives over whether Washington should provide "covert" or "overt" aid to counterrevolutionary forces in Central America. Public debate on this topic opened in the House on July 26.

But on July 24, administration officials announced an expanded program of CIA paramilitary action in Central America that, the *New York Times* reported, will be "the most extensive covert operations mounted by the United States since the Vietnam War."

Specific acts of war, such as "a campaign of sabotage directed against Cuban installations in Nicaragua" and a substantial expansion of the CIA-organized counterrevolutionary army based in Honduras were cited. The scope of the plans are such that "the C.I.A.'s need for air transport to carry ammunition, weapons and other military equipment to Central America is likely to require the diversion of Air Force cargo planes from other high-priority missions," the *Times* reported.

And on July 23, the Pentagon announced that it would seek to increase the number of U.S. "advisers" in El Salvador from 55 to 125. The Pentagon also wants formal permission for U.S. military personnel to accompany Salvadoran forces into the field.

The message could not be clearer. Congress will debate, the "doves" will fuss and fume and warn Reagan that he is making — in Rep. Barnes' words — "a tragic mistake." But the war will go on.

## War at center of world politics

The war itself, along with its implications for the class struggle in Latin America, in the United States, and throughout the world, are the center of world politics. No country will remain untouched by the struggle that is shaping up in Central America.

Ever since the Russian revolution of October 1917, world politics has revolved around the crisis of a dying capitalism and the rise of a working-class alternative to it. The Russian revolution made such a deep

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Demonstration in Colombia protesting latest U.S. war moves in Central America

## Latin American governments balk at U.S. intervention

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — With Washington preparing to blockade Nicaragua, governments throughout Latin America are being forced to take a stand for or against U.S. military intervention in Central America. Not too long ago, their support for Washington's war moves would have been almost automatic.

In 1962, when Cuba was expelled from the Organization of American States (OAS), a move demanded by Washington, Cuba was alone in voting against the U.S. motion.

And in 1965, after U.S. troops invaded the Dominican Republic to put down a popular uprising against the military regime there, the OAS voted to lend its name to the imperialist invasion and to send troops from Latin American countries to join in occupying Santo Domingo.

But things are different today. The Cuban revolution has stood up against U.S. aggression for 24 years. New victories have been won in Nicaragua and Grenada, and the effects of the world economic crisis of capitalism have heightened anti-imperialist sentiment throughout Latin America.

As a result, Latin American governments, with only a handful of exceptions, have refused to back Washington's latest moves against Nicaragua.

Cuba's defense of Nicaragua's right to self-determination has been the strongest. Following the announcement that U.S. warships were heading for Central America, Cuban Vice-minister of Foreign Affairs Ricardo Alarcón spelled out Havana's views.

According to the July 24 issue of the Sandinista daily *Barricada* published here, when "asked about Cuba's reaction to the possibility of a military blockade of Nicaragua by the United States, Alarcón said: This is not a problem limited to Nicaragua, nor to the response by Cuba. All governments of Latin America and Western Europe have to respond to what would be an inconceivable act of piracy at this point in the 20th century."

"It is a problem of worldwide scope, he explained. For our part, 'we will be with Nicaragua.' The nature of our response will depend on how the situation develops concretely."

"In response to a question as to whether the imperialists intended to carry out an attack against Central America similar to the

U.S.-Israeli aggression against Beirut last year," *Barricada* continued, "the Cuban vice-minister said that if they were toying with the idea, expecting to attain military successes similar to those in Lebanon, they would fail."

"They may be looking for another Beirut, but they are going to find another Hanoi. They will end up fleeing in terror like they did from Saigon."

Costa Rica's President Luís Monge, whose regime has turned a blind eye on activities by Nicaraguan counter-revolutionaries based in Costa Rica, has expressed opposition to the U.S. escalation. Sending in the U.S. fleet, Monge said July 21, "in no way contributes to creating the atmosphere of dialogue necessary to resolve the conflicts that affect the Central America region."

In Panama there is long-standing opposition to the dozen U.S. military bases there. These would be crucial to the Pentagon in conducting a Central American war. Panama's President Ricardo de la Espriella said July 21: "I believe this action by the United States is unnecessary at this time. I don't think it will help. . . . I think we should be reducing tensions, not increasing them."

Even Guatemala's President of the Council of State, Jorge Serrano Elías, denounced the sending of U.S. ships as a dangerous "internationalization of the armed conflict in Central America."

In addition to Panama, the other three member governments of the Contadora group have also opposed the sending of U.S. warships.

In Mexico City, President Miguel de la Madrid warned that a generalized war in Central America "will bring victory to no one."

In Venezuela, Foreign Minister Alberto Zambrano opposed the sending of U.S. warships, stating July 21, it "will not contribute toward ending tensions in the area." Venezuelan President Luís Herrera Campins warned July 24 of the danger of setting all Central America afire, "in which case there is little likelihood of a miracle in which adjacent regions will escape the flames."

In Colombia, Foreign Minister Rodrigo Lloreda Cicedo expressed concern over the joint U.S.-Honduran military maneuvers, warning "they may result in a generalized conflict." Nobel Prize winner Gabriel García Márquez denounced them as a "provocation."

Bolivian President Hernán Siles Zuazo stated July 24 that his government was "categorical in expressing our solidarity with Nicaragua in face of any foreign aggression." Bolivia supports the Contadora group's efforts to secure dialogue, he said, but stressed: "Mediation must be based on the right to self-determination of the Nicaraguan people."

Ecuador's President Luís Valencia said July 24 that his government views the sending of U.S. warships to Nicaragua as "adding to the conflict . . . and making its resolution more difficult."

## 'We must prepare to fight and win'

Read the complete text of Sandinista Commander Daniel Ortega's speech on the 4th anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution. Available only in *Intercontinental Press*.

For the August 8 issue of *IP*, with the full text of Ortega's speech, send \$1.25 to Intercontinental Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014.



# Grenadian tours Calif., answers U.S. lies

BY RAÚL GONZÁLEZ  
AND SAM MANUEL

In response to U.S. slanders and threats against the Grenadian revolution, Joseph Burke toured California in mid-July. Burke is consul general to the United States for Grenada, an island in the Caribbean with a Black, English-speaking population.

In March of 1979 the Grenadian workers and farmers overthrew the U.S.-supported dictator Eric Gairy. Over the last four years, the revolution has brought substantial social gains to the people.

This was Burke's third tour of California. It was apparent that because of Reagan's campaign against Grenada many more people, especially in the Black community, are now aware of the Grenadian revolution than ever before.

Grenada has established close ties with Cuba. Along with Canada, France, Iraq, Venezuela, and other countries, Cuba is helping Grenada build a new international airport. The airport will boost Grenada's vital tourist industry by making possible direct flights to the island.

The Reagan administration has charged that the international airport, which is comparable to many airports in the region, is a threat to U.S. "national security."

In radio, TV, and newspaper interviews and to audiences throughout California, Burke explained how ludicrous this charge is.

"Reagan on national TV in America released what he called classified photographs of our airport," Burke explained. "Ask anyone who has been to Grenada. The international airport is one of our tourist attractions. When you land in Grenada you can ask any taxi to take you to the airport site. And with your little Cannon A-E1 or whatever camera, you could supply Reagan with any number of photographs he needs."

He continued, "The international airport is not an idea thought up by the revolutionary government. For over 35 years, succeeding governments in Grenada have talked of building an airport."

## No more 'feasibility' studies

"Every time we approached our friends in the West, all they would do is a feasibility study. But when we approached our Cuban comrades, they said we will begin laying the runway within six months."

Responding to U.S. charges that Grenada is undemocratic because it hasn't held elections, Burke said, "For us, elections alone do not equal democracy and freedom. We had elections under British colonial rule. It was elections that gave us Eric Gairy."

He continued, "If the U.S. is so concerned about elections, why don't they talk about South Africa?"

While in the North Bay area, Burke was featured by the major Black radio stations and newspapers. The example of a revolu-

tionary Black government standing up to Reagan was inspiring to many radio listeners. During a call-in show on jazz station KRE, many people called to express their support and several offered to move to Grenada to offer their services to the revolution.

On July 10, nearly 200 people, the majority of them Black, attended a rally at the Sailboat House on Oakland's Lake Merritt. Several leading local politicians were part of the audience, including John George from the Alameda County Board of Supervisors and Mervyn Dymally, former lieutenant governor of California.

Burke also spoke at Laney College.

## Socialist city councilman targeted

For weeks before Burke's arrival in the city of Seaside, right-wing groups such as the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars publicly opposed his visit. Several of the tour organizers received threatening phone calls.

Socialist city councilman Mel Mason, who had visited Grenada in 1981, became a special target of this campaign. Mason received several death threats by phone and mail.

A columnist for the *Monterey Bay Tribune*, a local right-wing sheet, wrote in its June 23 issue, "[B]eing a trained Green Beret, as many of us are in this area, we know from where Mel Mason speaks and we have a solution for this!!!"

Organizers of the tour responded to these threats by stepping up their campaign to win broader support for the right of Consul General Burke to visit Seaside.

Activists in the tour committee went house to house talking to people about the gains of the Grenadian revolution. Leaflets were distributed throughout the city and to workers in the large hotel industry in the area.

At a well-attended news conference organizers of the tour demanded that the city administration, which is majority Black, take every step to ensure the safety of Consul Burke and those who wished to hear him. Mason also demanded that the city fully investigate the threats against him.

The Seaside public meeting for Burke on July 12 was attended by 75 people. Among those present were Seaside Mayor Lance McClair, former Mayor Stephen Ross, Chamber of Commerce President Dennis Ellis, City Clerk Dee Latimore, and Tom Nash, editor of the *Seaside Post*, one of a chain of Black newspapers in the Northern California area.

To a standing ovation, Burke opened his speech saying, "Despite all the slanders, intimidation, and threats, I am here with you. And whenever the Black and working people of Seaside request our presence, no amount of threats will keep us away."

In Los Angeles, Burke spoke to a largely Black audience of 200.

The meeting was sponsored by the Los



Militant/Larry Lukehart

Seaside meeting. "No amount of threats will keep us away," Joseph Burke, Grenada's consul general, told audience.

Angeles U.S.-Grenada Friendship Society and supported by a broad coalition of opponents of U.S. intervention in Central America and the Caribbean as well as Black, Latino, and civil rights organizations.

Joining Burke on the platform were Pablo Majia of Casa Nicaragua; Mark Ridley Thomas, executive director, Los Angeles Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC); Vusi Shangase of the African National Congress; Tim Ngubeni of the Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa; Gustavo Acosta of Casa El Salvador; Hugh Brynes of Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador; and Los Angeles City Councilman Robert Farrell.

Councilman Farrell presented Burke with a proclamation welcoming him to Los Angeles.

Mark Ridley Thomas from the SCLC had participated in an international confer-

ence on the church's role in the struggle for liberation in the Caribbean, held in Grenada in November 1983.

"When I returned from Grenada, people were asking, 'What did you see?' I saw people trying to seriously deal with the problem of housing. People trying to build a fishing industry."

"I saw interesting slogans. Not what you see in the U.S. on billboards about wine, cigarettes, and other stuff. They said, 'Women: the protection and defense of the revolution,' 'Cultivate the land: Build the revolution.' These were things that inspired people to positive ends."

Organizers of the tour report that they have received several calls requesting information on how one can travel to Grenada. Discussions have begun on organizing a delegation from California to fly into the new international airport when it opens on March 13, 1984, the 5th anniversary of the Grenadian revolution.

## Burke gets out truth in Boston

BY JOHN COTMAN

BOSTON — Thousands heard the truth about the Grenadian revolution as Joseph Burke, Grenada's consul general to the United States, made a whirlwind tour of this city June 24-26.

In a series of speeches and radio interviews, Burke reviewed the gains of the revolution, responded to false Reagan administration charges that Grenada's new international airport project threatens U.S. "national security," and invited Bostonians to attend the airport's grand opening in March 1984. His tour was organized by the Grenada Solidarity Committee.

In an interview on WBUR, Boston's National Public Radio affiliate, Burke was asked why the Reagan administration makes threats against Grenada. "Grenada is being used in an effort to create fear and anxiety among the American population," Burke answered, to help Reagan win backing for his military maneuvers in the region.

And secondly, Burke went on, Grenada's was the first revolution in an English-speaking Caribbean country, and that means that in Grenada there is "a situation that will enable people in these United States to learn, to have hope, to see that building and struggling does or could have a meaningful end." That is what concerns Reagan, he said.

Following an interview on WILD, Boston's Black radio station, Burke gave greetings to a rally of 200 at the annual Unity Day festival. This year's event was organized as part of Operation Big Vote, part of the nationwide Black voter registration drive.

One highlight of the tour was Sunday's event, "An Afternoon in Solidarity with the People of Grenada," attended by 75 people. Arnaldo Ramos of the Salvadoran FMLN-FDR (Farabundo Martí National

Liberation Front-Revolutionary Democratic Front) brought greetings, as did Sister Jeanne Gallo from the Order of Notre Dame. Gallo had just returned hours earlier from Nicaragua's northern border and she recounted the horrors of the U.S.-backed counterrevolutionary war raging there.

Other speakers included Ricardo Millett, president of the Black Political Task Force and director of the Martin Luther King Center at Boston University, and Peggy Lynch from Mobilization for Survival.

In his speech, Consul Burke explained the evolution of real participatory democracy as illustrated by the impact of Grenada's mass organizations of workers, farmers, women, and youth on the 1982 national budget.

On the question of relations with Cuba, Burke said that Grenada has had "tremendous assistance from our Cuban friends with regard to technicians and with regard to equipment. Regardless of who is pleased or who is displeased, we make absolutely no apology for having our Cuban comrades working with us."

On July 25, Burke attended an educational conference on El Salvador sponsored by the Central American Solidarity Association. Other sponsors included: District 65 of the United Auto Workers; locals 509, 925, and 285 of Service Employees International Union; locals 470, 1489, and 402 of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Oxfam; Antonio Maceo Brigade; National Lawyers Guild; Grenada Solidarity Committee; United Steelworkers Local 8751 Executive Board; Hotel and Restaurant Employees Local 26; and Boston Alliance Against Registration and the Draft.

Burke was the featured speaker on a panel on Central America and the Caribbean attended by more than 100.

## Int'l artists meeting in Managua

Continued from Page 5

northern border war zone, which was also part of the conference schedule — that brought all the educational material into focus and gave it urgent reality. There was no doubt in the minds of delegates that Nicaragua is undergoing a profound and powerful social revolution, which is defended by an armed people who are literally in love with their revolution.

This was captured by the popular poster commemorating the fourth anniversary — a cartoon drawing of a little girl, Chavalita, who is a symbol of the country's reconstruction since the FSLN took power July 19, 1979. The slogan on the poster says, "I love a little four-year-old girl."

Conference participants were bused to the town of Jalapa, near the Honduran border, a town which had been occupied by the U.S. Marines in the 1920s, in the area of the Nueva Segovia mountains. It was here that Augusto César Sandino held the marines at bay, and it is now the scene of almost daily battles against the U.S.-backed *contras* (counterrevolutionaries) operating from protected sanctuaries inside the Honduran border.

Here it became clear that the Sandinista soldiers are well-trained, experienced, tough, well-armed and one with the com-

mon people.

We were not the only delegation visiting at the time. Indeed, it is clear that the government is doing everything it reasonably can to bring as many foreign visitors to the war zone as possible to get the truth out. We asked a group of small farmers in town what they thought of all these strangers coming here.

"Well," one of them replied, "this is a little place, but it seems to be a center of world attention. If the world sees what is really happening, perhaps they will arrange to leave us in peace. But if not, we will fight to the last person."

Commander Omar Cabezas expressed a similar theme, which ran through the entire conference, with these words: "We want peace. We want peace, and that we be left in peace. We want to go on building roads, parks for the children, more houses for the elderly. We want to be left to prove that it is possible to construct the reign of God on earth."

"You brothers and sisters of North America, we want to ask you in the name of our dead and tortured, in the name of the widows and the maimed, in the name of those who live, of those who love life, help us to tie the hands of those gentlemen, the imperialists of Washington."



## Salvadoran labor leader visits Detroit and Toledo

BY SUSAN APSTEIN

DETROIT — While in Detroit to speak at a demonstration of 500 people June 18 protesting the U.S. war in Central America, Alejandro Molina Lara, organization secretary of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers' Unions (FENASTRAS), also spoke at several important meetings.

On June 20, Molina Lara addressed a meeting at the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Chicago and Central States Joint Board hall in Detroit. He was introduced to the meeting by Bernard Firestone, secretary-treasurer of the joint board, who began by reporting that ACTWU's international secretary-treasurer, Jack Sheinkman, had just returned from a week-long fact finding tour to El Salvador.

Firestone said that Sheinkman had told him that "if anyone thinks the U.S. government will be able

to uphold the kind of repressive government that exists there [in El Salvador], they haven't talked with the workers and peasants there."

In introducing Molina Lara, Firestone said, "More than 20 years ago, if we had spoken out at the right time, we could have had a greater chance to influence the course of events in Southeast Asia. Now we have a chance to influence the course of events in terms of what happens in Central America."

"We are proud to present Alejandro Molina Lara. We're hoping through his talk and our response we can build solidarity here to prevent another Vietnam."

ACTWU international representative Martha Wilson presented Molina Lara with a union cap and T-shirt as a token of the union's solidarity with Salvadoran workers.

The previous night, in Toledo, Molina Lara spoke at a meeting hosted by Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 7-912 at the local's union hall. Forty people, including rank and file members and officials of OCAW and other local unions, participated in a lively discussion.

## 'Black Scholar' on Nicaragua

The influential journal, *The Black Scholar*, devoted its entire March/April issue to articles on the Nicaraguan revolution.

"The Nicaraguan revolution is the most significant political movement in Latin America since the Cuban revolution," writes editor and publisher, Robert Chrisman.

"These articles," writes Chrisman of the contents of the magazine, "are the result of a trip I made to Nicaragua in December 1982 as a member of the ongoing hemispheric conference, The Dialogue of the Americas."

"As members of the black community and ourselves victims for many centuries of racism and imperialism," Chrisman concludes, "we must demand an immediate halt to any and all overt and covert action against Nicaragua. . . . We must further demand the immediate termination of all military and economic aid of any kind to El Salvador. And we must demand an end to aggression against Grenada and Cuba."

Those interested in a copy of this most interesting issue of the

magazine may send \$3 to The Black Scholar, P.O. Box 7106, San Francisco, Calif. 94120.

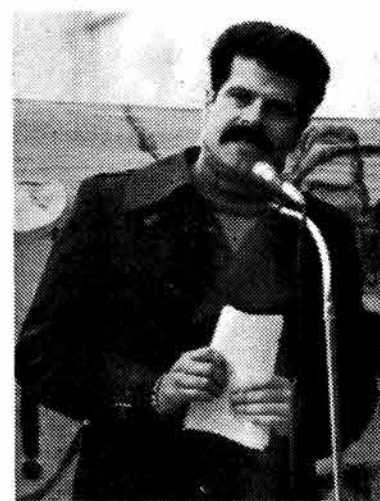
## Representative of FDR speaks

BY DOUG COOPER

HARRISBURG, Pa. — Arnaldo Ramos, a representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) of El Salvador spent July 6-8 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania as a guest of the local Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador.

On the first day of his visit 30 people attended a reception for Ramos at the home of City Councilwoman Jane Perkins.

The reception was hosted by a committee that included Everett Miller, president, Chocolate Workers Local 464, AFL-CIO; Andrew Stern, president, Pennsylvania Social Services Union Local 668; Nathaniel Gadsden, president, central Pennsylvania chapter, Black Social Workers; Kathy Fox, chairperson, Harrisburg Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; Pastor Gregory Harbaugh, Lakeside Lutheran Church; Rev. Paul Gehris, Pennsylvania Council of



Militant/Lou Howort

Arnaldo Ramos

Churches; and Kathy McCaughin, director of Pennsylvania Campaign for a Nuclear Weapons Freeze.

While in Harrisburg Ramos also participated in a press conference and spoke at a public meeting at the Lakeside Lutheran Church. Throughout his visit he described the important advances being made by the revolutionary forces in El Salvador's civil war. He also pointed to the increasing Americanization of the war and the growing danger of direct intervention by U.S. combat troops.

# White House hails 'reform' of S. Africa apartheid

BY ERNEST HARSCH

The Reagan administration, long an avid supporter of the racist white minority regime in Pretoria, is now trying to lay an anti-apartheid veneer over its policy toward South Africa.

In a major speech outlining the White House stance toward southern Africa — given June 23 before the National Conference of Editorial Writers in San Francisco — Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Lawrence Eagleburger repeatedly claimed that Washington favors "constructive change" in South Africa.

"We are committed to strengthening the capacity of black South Africans to participate in their country's society as equals — economically, culturally and politically," Eagleburger said.

In contrast to the administration's previous reluctance to make even the mildest criticisms of the apartheid regime, Eagleburger declared, "The political system in South Africa is morally wrong. We stand against injustice, and therefore we must reject the legal and political premises and consequences of apartheid."

Eagleburger's speech was the most detailed exposition of the White House's southern Africa policy since August 1981, when Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker first spelled out Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement" with the apartheid regime.

The speech comes at a time of sharpening political conflict in South Africa, as the racist authorities seek to hold back the Black liberation struggle with the most brutal methods. Just two weeks earlier, three young Black activists were hanged in Pretoria for their participation in the armed struggle led by the African National Congress (ANC), the main liberation organization.

Despite such repression, the apartheid regime today is facing increasing mass resistance. Black workers are building strong and militant trade unions and carrying out widespread strike actions. The ANC's activity and influence has grown considerably in recent years.

It is this struggle that worries Washington. The U.S. imperialists now have \$2.6 billion in direct investments in South Africa, and they view the apartheid regime as their strongest ally on the African continent. They do not want to see it overthrown and replaced by a government that represents the country's Black workers and farmers.

### Against a 'revolutionary upheaval'

Eagleburger's speech reflected this concern. He denounced "power taken by

force, or a revolutionary upheaval," and instead stressed over and over again that the only kind of change Washington backed in South Africa was "peaceful change." This amounted to an implicit condemnation of the ANC, which has chosen to fight back against the regime's violent methods of rule.

Speaking in New York a day after Eagleburger's speech, ANC representative David Ndaba explained that his organization had "held peaceful, mass demonstrations and boycotts" for five decades. "These were met with bullets," he said, prompting the ANC's shift toward armed struggle.

"If they [the U.S. rulers] truly wish to condemn those who use violence," Ndaba said, "let them condemn the apartheid regime."

Instead, Eagleburger made it clear that those the White House considers advocates of "peaceful change" include members of the South African government itself. He specifically mentioned Prime Minister Pieter Botha. He also praised South Africa's "independent judiciary" — the same judiciary that ordered the three ANC members hanged.

Just as the Reagan administration tries to portray the U.S.-backed butchers of El Salvador as "reformers," it is presenting the changes in the apartheid system being introduced by Botha as steps away from racist rule. But in actuality they are designed to entrench white supremacy, to make the apartheid system more responsive to changing conditions. In particular, Botha's proposals to create separate, largely powerless "parliaments" for the Indian and Coloured sectors of the Black population are aimed at splitting those communities away from the African majority.

On the basis of this myth that the Botha regime is carrying out "peaceful change away from apartheid," Eagleburger explicitly argued against demands for ending all U.S. support to the South African regime. He especially defended the involvement of U.S. companies in South Africa, which help prop up the apartheid system and make enormous profits from the superexploitation of Black workers. "Disinvestment by U.S. firms would undo an avenue of positive effort," Eagleburger maintained.

### Cash, computers, and electric clubs

Behind the Reagan administration's public declarations on South Africa lies a consistent pattern of increased backing for the racist regime. Since Reagan came into office, this has included:

- Greater military ties. South African



Washington's Eagleburger: Worried about mass resistance in South Africa, he denounced "power taken by force or revolutionary upheaval."

military and intelligence officials are now frequently allowed to come to the United States, and the U.S. Coast Guard has begun training South African naval officers.

- The U.S. Army Armament Research and Development Command is conducting joint research with its South African counterpart on ways to increase gun barrel efficiency.

- Formal restrictions on sales of U.S. products to the South African police and military have been eased even further. This has included the sale of sophisticated computers by the Motorola Corp. to the South African police. As part of this relaxation, 2,500 electric shock batons — capable of delivering 3,500-volt jolts — were sold to South Africa in late 1982.

- In October 1982, Washington was instrumental in arranging a \$1.1 billion loan to Pretoria from the International Monetary Fund.

- It was reported in early March that the Reagan administration had blocked moves to oust South Africa from the International Atomic Energy Agency. Washington has long provided Pretoria with nuclear assistance, and is continuing to sell fuel and equipment to the South African nuclear industry.

- In the United Nations, the U.S. representative has consistently vetoed efforts to impose mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa. During the massive South African invasion of Angola in August 1981, the Reagan administration blocked adoption of a UN Security Council resolution that would have condemned the

attack. In April 1983 it was revealed that Washington had advance knowledge of the invasion plans.

- As a cover for Pretoria's continued occupation of Namibia, the White House has insisted that Cuban troops must be withdrawn from Angola before Namibia can gain its independence. Eagleburger reaffirmed this demand in his speech.

### Opposition in U.S.

Such U.S. aid to the apartheid regime has been widely condemned in the United States. There has been an increase in anti-apartheid activity on university campuses, focusing on the demand for divestment from South Africa. On April 21, more than 20 organizations, including the United Auto Workers union, the Congressional Black Caucus, and the National Bar Association, signed a statement condemning Reagan's policy of "constructive engagement."

Despite the repression in South Africa, many Black political figures there have also denounced Washington's support for Pretoria.

In an interview in the Nov. 29, 1982, issue of the U.S. weekly *Africa News*, Winnie Mandela, the wife of imprisoned ANC leader Nelson Mandela, declared, "The West and those countries that have trade links with South Africa are those who are protracting our struggle. They are prolonging our suffering. Although they know that they are doing so, they also know that we will take over this country. . . ."

From Intercontinental Press



# Why Chicago Black community and labor should unite to defend city workers

BY ED WARREN

CHICAGO — The July 7 issue of the *Chicago Daily Defender* quotes both Charles Hayes and James Wright in statements that back Democratic Mayor Harold Washington in a wage dispute with city building-trades workers.

Hayes is an international vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers and a Democratic candidate in the special election for the 1st Congressional District here, and Wright, his campaign manager, is director of United Auto Workers

Ed Warren, a laid-off garment worker, is the Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in Chicago's 1st District. Warren's campaign offices are at 1815 E. 71 St. Telephone (312) 559-9046.



Region 4. Thus their stance is of grave concern to the entire union movement.

On July 6, Mayor Washington announced opposition to the "prevailing wage" policy for city building-trades workers. Prevailing wage is a defensive provision for many public workers that requires the government to pay the same scale as private employers pay their workers for equivalent work.

Seems fair? Not so, says Mayor Washington. He holds that it's not "fair" to pay city workers the same as workers in the private sector because city workers don't face seasonal layoffs. Washington also says that building trades workers who worked for the city in 1982 will not get the \$7.5 million they are owed in back pay.

He threatens to institute seasonal layoffs if city workers insist on equal pay with their counterparts in private industry.

All building-trades workers have been facing rough times in the Chicago area. The city trades accepted a wage freeze in 1982 in exchange for an agreement with City Hall that it would curb layoffs and pay them their back wages based on the prevailing wage established in 1983.

## Who's responsible?

Charles Hayes, Washington's choice to succeed him in Congress, says the mayor "is not responsible for the problems with prevailing wages and retroactive pay. These policies were created before his administration took office. The person [to] complain to is [former Mayor Jane] Byrne."

James Wright adds, "You just can't pay what you don't have," referring to the huge budget deficit that Chicago faces. Wright was quoted in the *Daily Defender* story as saying he also thought it would be unfair to blame the situation on the mayor.

*Sun-Times* columnist Mike Royko — widely viewed as prolabor — has also jumped into the fray. In his July 7 column he takes Washington to task for being "inconsistent." If he attacks the city building-trades workers, Royko asks, why did he block a bill in the state legislature to reorganize the transit system, including probable attacks on Chicago transit workers?

"[I]t isn't unreasonable to ask these unions to accept slightly smaller raises in the future," he writes.

Then he gets to his main point: "The unions that Washington is being tough on are primarily white unions. . . . On the other hand, the majority of the members of the transit unions are black. Their leadership is black."

Once again, the issue in Chicago is falsely posed as Black versus white; not workers versus boss.

The attack on the building trades is an attack on all Chicago workers. Moreover, it can set a precedent for the next round of negotiations with the city by teachers, firefighters, and sanitation workers that are due to begin in the fall.

## Labor's stake

What is the stake of the labor movement and the Black community in this situation? What should the position of a prolabor and pro-Black candidate be?

Wright is partially correct when he says that the situation cannot be blamed on Washington. That's true. The crisis that Chicago city government faces is the crisis of the capitalist system itself. But Mayor Washington, as a representative of that system and an elected official of one of the parties that defends the system, is put into a position where his responsibility is to shift the burdens of the crisis onto the backs of working people — white, Latino, and Black.

This situation is the clearest example so far of why I have maintained in my campaign for Congress that a real alliance uniting labor and Blacks cannot be built in the bosses' parties — Democratic or Republican.

The fact is that labor and Black interests cannot be won or even defended through a policy of collaboration with the bosses' parties, the bosses' government, or management.

The Chicago building-trades workers are completely right to try to defend prevailing



Harold Washington during campaign for mayor. His opposition to "prevailing wage" for city building trades is defended by union official Charles Hayes, candidate in Democratic primary for U.S. Congress.

wage. A campaign to unite the whole labor movement is what is needed. Building-trades workers and transit workers should join together to defend their gains and those of all working people.

The city workers unions can win the support of workers in all sectors and, most importantly, win the backing of the Black community. Chicago's Blacks have shown they are the most combative and prolabor section of the working class. Labor needs an alliance with these forces to win.

An important step in forging that alliance would be for the building-trades

unions to shed the image of being "white unions." Affirmative-action programs with quotas for Blacks, Latinos, and women should be fought for by the construction unions. Such an approach would help win the support of the Black and Latino communities and deal a blow to the racist divide-and-conquer tactics of the pro-boss news media.

## One united front

All public workers — transit and building-trades workers in particular — should show one united front and reach out to the auto, steel, rail, and other industrial workers in Chicago for support. Support for the beleaguered teachers union should be garnered.

Working people should demand that the \$200-billion-plus war budget be eliminated and massive public works programs be set up. This country could rebuild cities like Chicago, put everybody back to work at union scale, provide decent desegregated education, and restore necessary social programs if the trade unions and Blacks formed an independent political alliance against the bosses and their government, and moved toward achieving real political power.

I am running in this campaign of the Socialist Workers Party for the 1st Congressional District seat to win support for this perspective. As long as we remain in the parties of the bosses we remain trapped by the bosses' framework.

They try to convince us, like they've convinced James Wright, that there isn't enough money to go around so we're going to have to sacrifice. As long as they spend millions on the war against workers and farmers in Central America, as long as they spend billions on nuclear weapons, as long as the wealth that we produce is controlled by the bosses for their own benefit then there will never be enough.

But if we in the trade unions break away and form our own independent political party based on the millions of dues-paying members, if Blacks break away and form a mass independent Black political party, then we can begin to forge a new historical alliance.

And we will not only defeat the bosses and their government, we will actually move toward forming our own government and begin running society for human needs, not corporate profits.

# Utahans back political asylum fight

BY MARY ZINS

SALT LAKE CITY, Utah — Héctor Marroquín brought his fight for political asylum to three Utah cities July 20-22.

In Provo — known as the home of Brigham Young University — he spoke to 25 people on July 20. The majority were Salvadorans from the recently formed Comité de Solidaridad con el Pueblo Centroamericano.

The discussion centered around the relationship of Marroquín's case to the fight against U.S. intervention in Central America. Marroquín fled government repression in Mexico nine years ago. In the United States, Marroquín joined the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance and has been an outspoken supporter of the revolutionary struggles in Central America and the Caribbean. Because of this, the U.S. government has ordered him deported. His appeal of the deportation order against him is before the U.S. Supreme Court.

In Provo, Marroquín was also interviewed on KBYU, the TV station of Brigham Young University.

The next night, he spoke to 40 people at the Pastoral Center in Salt Lake City. Speakers included Armando Ponce de Leon Diaz, director of the Utah Immigration Project; Arlinda Parr, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom; E.K. Hunt, chairman of the Economics Department at the University of Utah and the head of Salt Lake Democratic Socialists of America; Arturo Lowrie, Centro Cívico

Mexicano; and Gordon Ottley, president of Local 1004 of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

"Labor was founded on the principle of an injury to one is an injury to all, and this is why I'm glad to add my name to the list of labor supporters for Héctor's right to political asylum," Ottley told the meeting.

Marroquín was interviewed on several radio stations and an article on his case appeared in the Sunday edition of the *Salt Lake Tribune*.

During his interview on KRCL's show "Overdrive," listened to by people on their way home from work, someone called in to complain about Marroquín being on. The interviewer then asked listeners for their opinions and reported at the end of the program that it was running 8-to-1 in favor of Marroquín.

At breaktime, Marroquín spoke to city mechanics in their lunchroom. The workers are organized by AFSCME Local 1004. He also talked with workers at the plant gate of Payne and Keller, a part of Phillips Oil Refinery.

On July 22, Marroquín spoke at a reception in Price. He was also interviewed there by radio station KOAL-KARB and by the *Sun Advocate*.

Protest messages demanding the deportation order against Marroquín be dropped should be sent to Alan Nelson, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536.



Héctor Marroquín

Militant/Lou Howort

The Political Rights Defense Fund PRDF is organizing Marroquín's fight. Copies of messages, requests for more information, and tax-deductible contributions should be sent to PRDF, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Forging a Black-Latino-Labor Alliance

## A Socialist View of the Chicago Election

A Socialist view of the Chicago Election. By Jon Hillson, Malik Miah, and Mac Warren; 75 cents. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include 75 cents for postage and handling.



# Socialists continue battle against disruption lawsuit in federal court

## Gov't uses suit to press spying on workers organizations

BY LARRY SEIGLE

The battle for the right of the Socialist Workers Party and other workers' organizations to function free from government interference and control is continuing in federal court in Los Angeles.

A hearing has been scheduled for September 26 by U.S. District Judge Mariana Pfaelzer, who has been presiding over the four-year disruption lawsuit brought against the SWP by Alan Gelfand.

Gelfand is an attorney who is employed by Los Angeles County. He was expelled from the SWP in 1979 after he filed court papers accusing the SWP of being a front for the FBI and the CIA. In collaboration with a London-based outfit known as the Workers Revolutionary Party, and its U.S. affiliate, which operates under the name Workers League, Gelfand then sued the SWP.

He asked the federal court to order him reinstated into membership, and to remove the elected party leadership.

Bankrolled with unlimited funds by the Workers League/Workers Revolutionary Party (WL/WRP), Gelfand and his lawyers used the suit not only to smear and vilify the party, but also to drain it of resources.

### 'Day in court'

Despite the fact that Gelfand and his lawyers were never able to produce a single piece of evidence to back up their slanderous accusation, Judge Pfaelzer repeatedly refused SWP efforts to have the case thrown out of court. Although she admitted that Gelfand had no facts to substantiate his charges, Pfaelzer said everyone is entitled to a "day in court."

With this excuse — Gelfand's "day" has lasted four years! — Pfaelzer sought to establish the power of the federal courts to supervise and investigate the internal activities and decisions of the SWP, and by extension, other voluntary associations. She brushed aside the SWP's arguments that this interference violated the party's rights under the First Amendment.

After many delays, the case went to trial last March. At the conclusion of the taking of testimony, Pfaelzer announced her intention to rule against Gelfand.

Pfaelzer told the lawyers for Gelfand, "You have not proved anything that you said you were going to prove. Nothing."

### Ominous government move

However, the legal and political battle is far from over. It is proceeding on two fronts in preparation for the September court date.

First, in an ominous move, the Justice Department has formally asked Pfaelzer to include, in the opinion she is going to write, a ruling that the FBI has the right to send informers and provocateurs into the SWP and other political organizations.

The Justice Department wants Pfaelzer to declare that the use of informers "within political parties for investigative and data gathering purposes does not constitute a violation of individual rights."

It also wants her to rule that federal courts cannot issue injunctions against such secret police activity. Finally, the Justice Department insists that Pfaelzer hold, as a matter of law, that "the identities of informants who have conducted activities within the Socialist Workers Party are protected from disclosure by the informant privilege."

These government proposals are contained in the proposed "Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law" submitted to Pfaelzer by the Justice Department.

Exactly these legal issues are at the heart of the case the SWP has brought against the FBI, CIA, and Immigration and Naturalization Service. That case, known as *SWP v. Attorney General*, has now been pending for a decade.

The trial in that suit was held before Judge Thomas Griesa in New York more than two years ago. Griesa has not yet issued his ruling, and will not say when he plans to do so.

While Griesa stalls, the government is seeking to use the Gelfand suit to get a court ruling in its favor on these issues. Such a ruling would be a major blow to the First Amendment.

The SWP is vigorously opposing this latest government move. The SWP's proposed "Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law" (see accompanying excerpts) urges the court to uphold the First Amendment. It asks for an unambiguous ruling that, "The SWP is a bona fide political party and is entitled to the full protection of the First Amendment. Any attempt by any Government agency, including the FBI and CIA, to manipulate, control, or secretly influence the private or public activities or decisions of the SWP would be unlawful."

Gelfand and his lawyers, who earlier claimed to be opponents of FBI infiltration and disruption of workers organizations, have not yet said a word about this latest government offensive.

### Battle over legal fees

The second front in the battle now under way revolves around the campaign being waged to force Pfaelzer to hold both Gelfand and his lawyers responsible for paying the costs and legal fees incurred by the SWP.

Without the active collusion of Gelfand's lawyers (a high-priced Los Angeles firm known as Fisher & Moest) the harassment and disruption lawsuit could not have been carried out.

Holding Fisher & Moest liable for the fees is critically important for two reasons. First, it will serve to deter other shysters from using similar tactics against working-class organizations, whether out of unalloyed greed for fat fees provided by clients like the WL/WRP, or out of reactionary political motives.

Second, it will greatly increase the chances that the SWP will actually be able to recover some or all of the money it is entitled to. As Pfaelzer herself has recognized, Gelfand has made sure he has no financial assets in his own name, to make himself "judgment-proof."

Fisher & Moest, however, cannot engage in the same kind of maneuvering. Nor can they simply skip town, or skip the country, as can Gelfand.

### High political stakes

The political stakes — and the financial ones — are considerable. The SWP is asking for a minimum of \$357,256 in legal fees. This is the figure calculated from the hours actually logged by SWP attorneys and those working with them on the case over the four years it has dragged on.



Judge Mariana Pfaelzer, who presides in disruption suit aimed at rights of Socialist Workers Party.

The SWP, however, citing numerous precedents, is asking that this amount be multiplied because of the "undesirability of the litigation" and "the burden placed upon defendant SWP and counsel throughout this abusive and bad faith litigation." Such "multipliers" can double or triple the amount awarded.

In the meantime, Gelfand and Fisher & Moest are feeling the pressure.

Citing a "conflict of interest," Fisher & Moest informed Pfaelzer that they cannot represent Gelfand in the matter of the fees. Fisher & Moest have had to hire lawyers to defend them. This was evidently not so simple. The first firm to appear on their behalf has withdrawn and been replaced by yet another one.

Gelfand, in the meantime, is now being represented by Donald Norris, who used to work for the County of Los Angeles with Gelfand, and is believed to be a member of the WL/WRP.

## 'Proposed Findings of Fact' submitted in Gelfand suit

The following is excerpted from the "Proposed Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law" submitted by the Socialist Workers Party to Judge Mariana Pfaelzer of the United States District Court in Los Angeles.

The purpose of the document is to present to the judge what the SWP proposes be included in her written decision in the lawsuit filed by Alan Gelfand against the party. Bracketed material has been inserted by the Militant.

### I. INTRODUCTION

This case was tried before the Court over a period of five trial days commencing March 2, 1983, and concluding March 9, 1983. It proceeded to trial on two claims presented by plaintiff. First, plaintiff alleged that each of the individually named defendants (hereafter SWP defendants) were agents of the United States government and that they acted as agents within the Socialist Workers Party (hereafter SWP), in the expulsion of plaintiff.

Plaintiff claimed that the SWP defendants expelled him in order to silence his purported attempts to expose them and others whom he claimed to be agents. For convenience, this first claim is referred to hereafter as the Constitutional claim.

Second, plaintiff alleged, under the Court's pendant jurisdiction, that his expulsion was carried out in violation of the SWP's Constitution, Organizational Principles, and traditions. For convenience, this second claim is referred to hereafter as the pendant claim.

At the conclusion of plaintiff's case defendant SWP moved for dismissal. The Court reserved ruling on this motion until

The pressure campaign that has been organized by the Political Rights Defense Fund has been having a positive effect in Pfaelzer's courtroom, as it did during the trial itself.

At a hearing on July 16, Pfaelzer announced her intention to hold Fisher & Moest, along with Gelfand, liable for attorneys fees. However, she has not determined the amount of the fees to be awarded, or whether Fisher & Moest should be held responsible for the whole amount if Gelfand is unable or unwilling to pay.

Those questions, she said, will be resolved at the September 26 hearing.

The Political Rights Defense Fund is continuing its public campaign to ensure that Pfaelzer enforces the law against Gelfand and against Fisher & Moest. It is a campaign that should have the enthusiastic support of everyone who believes in the First Amendment.

the conclusion of all evidence. Defendant SWP then rested. The Court announced its intention to find in favor of defendants and to award defendant SWP attorney fees.

Pursuant to defendants' announced intention to move for an award of attorney fees and costs, the Court and parties then agreed upon a briefing and hearing schedule for defendant SWP's motion for costs and attorney fees.

### II. FINDINGS OF FACT

The following consists of the Court's findings concerning those issues of fact material to this case:

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 1:

None of the individual SWP defendants is or has been an agent of the FBI, CIA, or any other police agency of the United States Government.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 2:

The SWP is a bona fide political party and is not controlled by the FBI, CIA, or any other agency of the United States Government.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 3:

The expulsion of Alan Gelfand from the SWP was not the result of any activity by any SWP defendant acting as an agent of the United States Government.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 4:

In December of 1978, plaintiff submitted [an] Amicus Brief to the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit. This was in the case of Socialist Workers Party v. At-

PR  
DF

Defend  
political  
rights

Fighting the disruption lawsuit against the Socialist Workers Party has entailed big expenses, and the battle is not over yet.

Send your tax-deductible contribution to the Political Rights Defense Fund at P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Checks should be made payable to PRDF, Inc.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_

State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_



torney General. The Amicus Brief was submitted without advice to or consent by the SWP. Plaintiff knew that had he requested consent from the SWP it would have been refused. Plaintiff knew that the contents of the Amicus Brief, if accepted as credible, would compromise the position of the SWP in that litigation and would otherwise injure the reputation of the SWP. The Amicus Brief was not filed by plaintiff in good faith.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 5:

On January 5, 1979, Jack Barnes formally charged plaintiff with disloyal behavior in violation of the organizational principles of the SWP for his filing of the Amicus Brief.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 6:

By letter of January 5, 1979, plaintiff was advised of the charges against him and that they would be considered and acted on by the Political Committee on January 11, 1979.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 7:

On January 8, 1979, plaintiff telephoned the National Office and was advised by Mary Roche that, if he came to the National Office at the time of the scheduled meeting, the Political Committee would consider a request by him to appear and be heard. Ms. Roche also advised plaintiff that he could submit any written statement to the Political Committee which would be considered. Plaintiff did not appear at the National Office at the time of the meeting and did not submit any statement or other written material.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 8:

On January 11, 1979, plaintiff was expelled from the SWP by unanimous vote of the Political Committee which was acting as a duly elected body of the SWP. Neither the Political Committee nor any of its members were acting under the control or influence of any agency of the United States Government.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 9:

On January 29, 1979, plaintiff wrote a letter to the Political Committee concerning his expulsion. This letter was treated by the SWP as an appeal by plaintiff of his expulsion. Plaintiff's expulsion was thereafter confirmed and his appeal denied by the National Committee and by the National Convention of the SWP.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 10:

The Constitution, Organizational Principles, and traditions of the SWP contain no provision for any hearing or other procedural right beyond those provided to plaintiff under the circumstances of his expulsion.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 11:

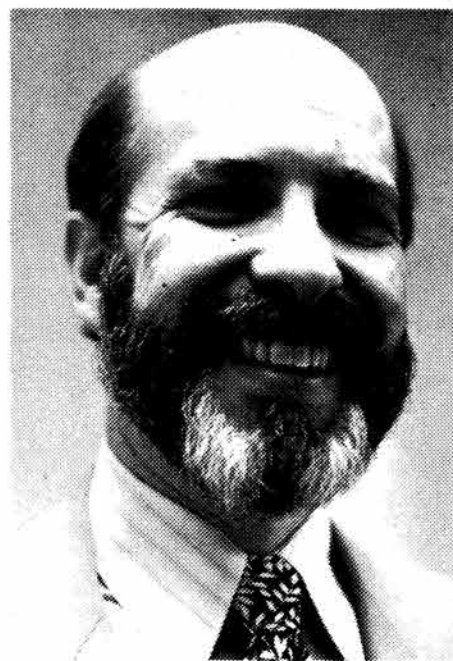
Plaintiff's constitutional and pendant claims have no substantial basis in fact.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 12:

Plaintiff did not initiate this litigation in good faith. In August 1977, plaintiff commenced to present purported questions to SWP members derived from allegations appearing in publications of the Workers League and the Workers Revolutionary Party to the effect that certain past and present party members and leaders were Government agents.

Plaintiff was advised by the SWP leadership that the allegations had been resolved within the SWP, that the allegations were false, and that the charges were answered in the document, "Healy's Big Lie." [A book analyzing the Workers League/Workers Revolutionary Party slander campaign, published by the SWP.]

Thereafter, at the Los Angeles local membership meeting of September 12, 1977, plaintiff delivered a speech concerning those charges. On January 23, 1978, he attempted to deliver another speech on the



Militant/Della Rossa  
Attorney for SWP David Epstein

subject but was ruled out of order, which ruling was sustained by a vote of the membership present.

Mr. Gelfand was then warned in two separate conferences that his attempts to repeat the allegations contained in his September 12, 1977, speech at successive meetings was disruptive of the organizational functioning of the SWP. This warning was later repeated in a letter of April 7, 1978, from Larry Seigle on behalf on the Political Committee.

Plaintiff did not heed the warnings concerning his disruptive conduct. He repeated the allegations and, in addition, accused the elected leadership of the SWP of "covering up" with respect to those allegations. The series of correspondence from Mr. Gelfand in evidence in this case, written under the guise of his right to raise questions, are repetitions of the same charges that Mr. Gelfand derived from the Workers League and Workers Revolutionary Party publications. Plaintiff's letters were not intended to present good faith inquiry. Their purpose was to vilify, disrupt, and provoke the party.

Following the correspondence and the warning to Mr. Gelfand in the Political Committee letter of April 7, 1978, he travelled to England where he met with Mr. Alex Mitchell, a key leader in the Workers Revolutionary Party, which is associated with the Workers League. Mr. Mitchell put Mr. Gelfand in touch with David North, National Secretary of the Workers League organization in the United States.

Following his return from England, Mr. Gelfand then prepared and filed in December 1978 the Amicus Brief in which he placed before the Second Circuit Court of Appeals many of the same allegations, and others, which he had made within the organization of the SWP. The allegations were derived from the Workers League and Workers Revolutionary Party publications.

The Amicus Brief was filed in [a lawsuit by the SWP against the FBI and CIA] seeking, *inter alia*, a court injunction against FBI and CIA use of informers against the SWP. In pre-trial discovery, the District Court had ordered certain files on FBI informers produced and had held the Attorney General in contempt for failure to comply.

The Attorney General sought review of that contempt writ before the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit asserting, *inter alia*, that disclosure would jeopardize the physical safety of informers. In this procedural setting, plaintiff filed his Amicus Brief repeating many of the same allegations he had made within the SWP and also appending a 1940 letter from J. Edgar Hoover containing an erroneous report that SWP leader Joseph Hansen had killed a man named George Mink by tying him up and throwing him into a crater.

Plaintiff's contention and testimony that he believed the act of filing this Amicus Brief was in the interest of the SWP is untrue. When the SWP leadership discovered that plaintiff had filed the Amicus Brief, Jack Barnes, the National Secretary, filed formal charges of disloyalty.

In July of 1979, Mr. Gelfand filed this lawsuit ostensibly seeking reinstatement within the SWP on the basis of his allegations that the elected SWP leadership contained Government agents who had expelled him to silence him. He also claimed

that he had been expelled in violation of the party's procedures.

Mr. Gelfand did not then have, nor has he since presented, any credible evidence or any substantial basis in fact for any of his allegations. Plaintiff had been a practicing attorney for several years and appreciated the nature and meaning of a legal proceeding brought in good faith. Mr. Gelfand's initiation of this litigation was not in good faith. His desire for reinstatement was for the purpose of continuing his harassment and disruption of the SWP.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 13:

The discovery in this case was not conducted in good faith. The pre-trial discovery conducted in this case by plaintiff and his counsel, consisting of 43 days of depositions and over 6,000 pages of transcript, was abusive, harassing and directed to matters having no possible probative value in this litigation. Examples of these are set forth in the Memorandum of Points and Authorities in Support of Motion for Attorneys Fees and Costs filed by defendant SWP (hereinafter Fees and Cost Memorandum). [This document was reprinted in the May 13, 1983 issue of the *Militant*.]

This memorandum includes excerpts taken from six depositions as illustrative of the abusive interrogation carried out by plaintiff's counsel. Witnesses were interrogated on their religious beliefs, their views on homosexuality, and their understanding of Marxist philosophy. One witness was even asked to relate the laws of dialectics to a glass of water.

This pattern persisted despite repeated warnings and observations by the Court that the discovery process was being abused and that plaintiff would be held to account to the extent that abuse was established. The depositions continued thereafter in the same abusive manner. The time spent in depositions exceeds 350 hours.

The discovery conducted by plaintiff and his counsel was abusive, harassing, and carried out vexatiously and in bad faith. It was not conducted for the purpose of discovering evidence in support of plaintiff's claims; it was carried out to generate material for political attacks on the SWP by the Workers League and the Workers Revolutionary Party and to otherwise harass and disrupt the SWP.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 14:

The trial was not conducted in good faith. Plaintiff's counsel assured the Court that plaintiff would present evidence, in addition to that which had been disclosed during the pre-trial hearings on motions for summary judgment and for dismissal, which would constitute "circumstantial evidence of the most persuasive kind."

Plaintiff's counsel never proffered evidence beyond that which had already been disclosed during the pre-trial proceedings and which they knew could not have sustained a finding in plaintiff's favor. Despite this, plaintiff's counsel attempted to inundate the record with purported evidence which they knew to be incompetent, irrelevant, and utterly without probative value in this litigation.

A typical example of such abuse is the alleged "Carleton connection" which was plaintiff's claim that the attendance by three of the SWP defendants at the same college (at different times) was evidence of a common background connected to their alleged infiltration into the SWP on behalf of some unspecified police agency of the United States Government.

The Court's record is burdened with more than 1600 pages of marked exhibits. Of these, approximately 800 pages consist entirely of political publications having no evidentiary value and no conceivable relevance to any aspect of this litigation. These documents were submitted under Local Rules 9.9 and 8.11 concerning exhibits "then intended to be offered." Counsel knew that these documents could not possibly have constituted admissible evidence. The submission of them was not in good faith.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 15:

This lawsuit was an attempt by plaintiff and his counsel to use the judicial process to harass and disrupt the SWP.

Throughout this litigation, the fees of plaintiff's counsel were paid in large part by funds raised by the Workers League. Plaintiff and his counsel worked in conjunction with a team of investigators and consultants provided by the Workers League.

Those investigators included David North, the National Secretary of the Workers League, and two unnamed individuals whom plaintiff identified only as "X" and "Y". North, "X," and "Y" were designated "investigators" and "consultants" so that they would be shielded from discovery by defendants under the attorney-client privilege. Counsel provided the discovery to David North for the purpose of channeling the information obtained to the Workers League and Workers Revolutionary Party for publication in their newspapers.

Plaintiff and his counsel thereby carried out a discovery program designed to generate grist for the mill of the Workers League and Workers Revolutionary Party publications. One such pamphlet published by the Workers League dated March 6, 1983, was subscribed by plaintiff's counsel and directed the reader to counsel's law firm for further information.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 16:

Plaintiff and his counsel carried out this litigation in bad faith, vexatiously, and for the purpose of harassing defendant SWP. This conduct has resulted in the unnecessary, vexatious, and unreasonable multiplication of this litigation and the imposition of great financial burden upon the defendant SWP.

It has forced the SWP to divert its time and energies from its political activities to the defense of this utterly groundless lawsuit. From the first deposition taken, to closing argument at trial, plaintiff and his counsel carried out an abuse of the judicial process for ulterior political motives. Their conduct throughout the entire action has been in bad faith.

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 17

The Court finds that up to the submission of the Fees and Cost Memorandum, defendant SWP's expended costs and hours worked by attorneys and chargeable investigative and clerical personnel are as follows:

[Total costs, not counting attorneys fees, expended by SWP: \$34,362.54. Total attorney hours reported: 2,811. Total investigator/consultant and clerical hours reported: 813. A reasonable base hourly rate for the attorneys ranges from \$85 per hour to \$150 per hour. A reasonable base hourly rate for investigator/consultant and clerical work ranges from \$10 per hour to \$35 per hour.]

#### FINDING OF FACT NO. 18:

Based upon the preceding findings, the Court finds the base or "lodestar" fee amount for this case to be \$357,256.25 plus \$ \_\_\_\_\_ incurred since the submission.

Continued on Page 20



Alan Gelfand



# U.S. rulers' offensive against democratic rights

## How a proletarian party fights back

The following is the concluding portion of a report by Jack Barnes adopted by the National Committee of the Socialist Workers Party the first week in May. The first portion, run in last week's *Militant*, dealt with the fight for independent working-class and Black political action.

BY JACK BARNES

One aspect of the rulers' offensive that we should take a particularly close look at is the attack on democratic rights itself. Because of what we went through in federal court in Los Angeles since the last meeting of our National Committee, we have been forced to think this through a little more thoroughly.

You cannot have the kind of broad offensive that the employers are undertaking on the economic and social fronts without simultaneous moves toward cutting back on democratic rights. Every one of their cutbacks and takebacks involves a struggle; they are not gifts handed to the ruling class. The rulers know they have to fight for them, and they want the workers to be forced to fight under the worst conditions they can impose.

We have seen the acceleration of the attacks on democratic rights in many interrelated forms. Crackdowns on the rights guaranteed by the First Amendment. Crackdowns on the right, guaranteed by the Fourth Amendment, to be protected against illegal searches and seizures by the cops. Many of these read like obscure and unimportant technicalities of criminal law. But the result is to strengthen the power of the cops to search without a warrant your home, your car, your luggage, your person. And, on top of that, even when the cops act illegally by their own standards, they are increasingly able to use evidence against you anyway.

We have seen the continuation of frame-ups such as those against Eddie Carthan and the Tchula 7, and against Al Horsley in Louisville. These are calculated moves aimed at activists, at fighters. Their purpose is to demoralize those who are inclined to fight for their rights, to convince them that they can't win, and that they will wind up paying too high a price if they continue to struggle uncompromisingly.

We have seen the beefing up of the FBI with the scrapping of big sections of the guidelines that were supposed to put limits on political disruption, spying, and the use of informers and provocateurs. We've seen the moves toward strengthening the role of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) as part of the political police apparatus, including greater use of the thought-control provisions of the immigration laws to exclude from this country Marxists and socialists that they don't like. Last week they openly invoked one of these provisions to keep Hortensia Allende from coming into the country — a deliberate and intentional use of a provision that many people mistakenly believe no longer is in effect.

We will see more of that, too. They use the sedition statute to indict Puerto Rican independence fighters whom the cops accuse of belonging to the FALN. They don't just get them on weapons charges, or accuse them of plotting a particular "terrorist" act. They indict them for sedition — that is, planning an insurrectionary overthrow of the government. In the government's view, advocating action in support of independence for Puerto Rico is advocating the overthrow of the legitimate governing authority there: U.S. imperialism. And that's a crime, they say.

A lot of people naively think all those "old" statutes such as the Voorhis Act and the Smith Act are no longer in effect. They think you can forget those laws, they're dead. But as we found out in our trial against the FBI, they are far from dead.

Farrell Dobbs, in *Teamster Bureaucracy*, describes the twists and turns of the Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the Smith Act. As Farrell explains, with the change in the political climate in the second half of the 1950s, the Supreme Court reinterpreted the Smith Act, abandoning the rulings that had earlier sent members of the Communist Party and of the SWP to jail. "The primary object," he stressed, "was to forestall a massive campaign for outright revocation of the vicious thought-control measure, and steps were taken accordingly to soften it by means of a rewriting through judicial interpretation."

"This thought-control device has thereby been kept alive. So it continues to present a statutory medium through which people can be prosecuted, in violation of the Bill of Rights, on charges of 'advocacy' aimed at 'eventual' overthrow of the government by force and violence; and to serve that purpose the law can be given all the necessary teeth by judicial fiat, whenever the capitalist overlords so desire."

This, of course, is part of the broader question we dis-

cussed earlier in connection with the class polarization.

The thrusts, on one side, in the direction of independent working-class political action are mirrored in counterthrusts on the other side, on the right. There can be no big moves toward bursting through and advancing a wing of the working class along labor's strategic line of march without simultaneous big shifts on the right. American politics in the coming period is going to have a real rightist component, and we can already see the beginnings of this.

It would be a grave error to reduce to a single formula our strategic approach to the fight against fascism. It is not enough simply to state the fact that if the workers fail to take power when the opportunity arises then the fascists will get their chance.

The fact is that the fight against rightism, and ultraright groups, is a constant and essential part of the process of constructing a revolutionary party under capitalism, as real class forces evolve and as the class struggle deepens. How these struggles are fought now, not off in the abstract future, will partly determine the strength, the steel-hardness, and the clarity of the vanguard of the workers movement.

### Gelfand-Pfaelzer-Fisher & Moest case

The evolution of the *Militant's* term for the disruption lawsuit against us tells us a great deal about the education we went through with this case. For four years we called this the "Gelfand case."

It was important. The forces behind it were serious. Operating under the guise of a group that claimed to be part of the workers movement, the Workers League-Workers Revolutionary Party (WL-WRP), they were carrying out a provocation. This suit was draining us of resources, harming us, establishing a precedent that other enemies of the workers movement could use. And it was being used quite consciously as a means of disrupting the movement.

But in the months leading up to the trial, as we were forced to face up to what more was involved, we began referring to it as the Gelfand-Pfaelzer case. This reflected the importance we ascribed to the deep-going nature of the attack on democratic rights represented by Judge Pfaelzer's use of the Gelfand suit to try to strengthen the rights of the federal courts to pry into and regulate the internal functioning of the SWP and other voluntary associations that are adversaries of the government — of the executive branch, of the Congress, and of the courts. The direct intervention of the court into the party, taking advantage of this disruption suit filed by Gelfand and bankrolled by the WL-WRP, posed a fundamental challenge to the legal rights of the SWP to function.

Then we added Fisher & Moest, the high-priced mouthpieces for the WL-WRP and Gelfand, and it became the Gelfand-Pfaelzer-Fisher & Moest case. Fisher & Moest, playing the role of "officers of the court," participated in and helped organize the harassment and disruption campaign against us. Without them such an operation would be impossible. Whether the lawyers did it simply out of greed for a fat fee or out of belief in the disruption cause or some combination of the two is irrelevant.



Cops tear gas strikers at Brown and Sharpe machine rights, government is stepping up offensive against 4 years in jail for criminal contempt.

ant. The important thing was we got rid of the false idea that somehow the case would go away if we waited long enough and simply fought it out in the courtroom. We had to simultaneously get rid of the idea that the case would be too complicated or obscure or just too embarrassing to explain to fellow workers. And we began a real political fight.

We were late in doing this. If there was ever a time when the Political Committee was behind the party, it was on this. The measure of this is that when we finally decided to go out and explain this case and mobilize the party and our supporters in order to mobilize broader forces we got a wonderful response.

As we figured out how to explain this to coworkers, to activists in the labor movement, to fighters for Black rights, we ourselves understood much better the politics of what was involved in this attack on fundamental First Amendment rights.

### Response to Political Rights Defense Fund appeal

There are two aspects to the response the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) got when it began publicizing and raising funds to cover the expenses of this case. First, supporters of PRDF were divided. Most, of course who have supported cases of PRDF in the past rallied to this one too. They saw its connection to other cases involving democratic principles and the rights of communists to receive equal protection under the law. They understood and supported the continuity of this fight.

But there was also a layer who had supported PRDF cases in the past who broke on this one. This included some liberals who disagree with our view that the courts have no business probing into, supervising, and regulating the internal functioning of the SWP. They believe that the courts really are neutral arbiters whose function is to decide and resolve conflicts in civil society. Of course the federal courts have the right to intervene into the SWP to protect the rights of individual members who have a grievance, they believe. How else would such conflicts be resolved?

This was a very important dividing line. It broke off a small but significant layer of long-time PRDF supporters. For instance, Jane Fonda wrote a letter to PRDF asking that her name, after nearly a decade, be taken off the sponsors list. But, what was more important, the defections were significantly outnumbered by new sponsors and supporters of PRDF, from a different class. These came primarily from the labor movement, and from



Courtroom scene from federal disruption trial of Socialist Workers Party in Los Angeles. Court took advantage of Alan Gelfand's suit to intervene directly into SWP, posing a challenge to party's legal right to function.





Militant/Mark Schneider

p in Rhode Island. In preparation for increasing labor resistance to attacks on workers' living standards and unionocratic rights. At right, five supporters of Puerto Rican independence who were sentenced in New York to three

Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican organizations.

Once we started explaining this case, and taking it to those who are themselves involved in battles for their rights, we found ourselves, not with a bizarre case, but with one that was right in the middle of the fight to prevent the government from using the courts to disrupt and harass the workers movement.

It turned out not to be difficult to explain that the enemies of our movement, of the workers movement, of every movement fighting for social progress, use the courts to attack us. They use the lawyers and lawsuits to tie us up, drain us of resources, and to disrupt our organizations.

There is something else that should be said as well to all of the supporters of PRDF who rallied to the defense in this case. This campaign had a big effect on what happened in that courtroom in Los Angeles during the trial. You could feel the national campaign in the courtroom as the trial unfolded. You could feel its impact. This effect was magnified because it coincided with the exposure of the activities of the Los Angeles "red squad," which Pfaelzer was involved in up to her neck.

As Gelfand, Pfaelzer, and Fisher & Moest had to finally back off, and not pursue all the way to the end their operation, it was plain for all to see that the campaign we had been involved in was having an effect on the outcome of the trial.

This now poses a number of new questions for us. First, we have to take what we and others have accomplished and continue to advance this fight. We are pursuing our fight to force Pfaelzer to order Gelfand and Fisher & Moest to pay our costs and attorney's fees, to not allow what has been done to us to be done with impunity by the lawyers who profited from it.

If we are going to succeed in this we need to continue the political campaign we have been involved in with so much success. And we can use the momentum and support that has been built up to go back to those forces who have so far held back an endorsement of this fight, for example, the American Civil Liberties Union of Southern California and the Los Angeles chapter of the National Lawyers Guild. We will go back to these organizations, among others, and ask again for support for the motion we have filed for recovery of our costs and fees from the Fisher & Moest firm.

We will explain that lawyers have to answer for their actions, too. They have to answer to the great majority of humanity and the laws of the class struggle. Lawyers are responsible to the workers movement, to movements for social progress. They don't have some kind of immunity because they have a piece of paper on the wall and charge \$200 an hour. This will not be unpopular with working people as we explain this.

The use of the courts for this kind of harassment and disruption operation is growing. This case is not unique. For example, one of the cities on Long Island has a police review board where you are supposed to be able to go if some cop jumps you or beats you up. You have the right to complain about what the cops have done. You can go before the board and they hear your complaint. But then, if you're complaint is found invalid — and 95 percent are — you are immediately threatened with a suit for libel by a law firm retained by the Police Benevolent Association for just this purpose. Every time a complaint is rejected the person making the complaint is vulnerable to getting tied up in a long lawsuit. It's not surprising that complaints have slowed down.

#### 'Snitch jacket' operation

Another thing that happened at the trial needs to be emphasized. And that is what the government and the WL-WRP did concerning our comrade Sylvia Caldwell, whom they accuse of having been an agent of the Soviet secret police during the years when she was a member of our party, from the mid-1930s to the late 1940s. As we know, Sylvia was vilified by the FBI disrupter and stool-pigeon, Louis Budenz. She was hounded by the FBI throughout the years of the witch-hunt. She was hauled before federal grand juries investigating Soviet "espion-

age" during the 1950s, like the one that indicted the Rosenbergs. And she has now had the WL-WRP continuing the effort as a means of furthering their disruption operation against our movement, here and internationally.

As the *Militant* reported, the day the trial ended Judge Pfaelzer ordered the public release of what the FBI claims is a transcript of her testimony before a grand jury in 1958. There is a long history to this so-called transcript. First the FBI lawyers claimed they had searched the files where the grand jury minutes are kept and no such transcript could be found. Then, shortly before the trial, the FBI "discovered" it in Washington and turned it over to the judge.

Unlike the transcript of Sylvia's earlier appearance before a grand jury, in 1954, this second "transcript" has her testifying that she had been asked by the Communist Party to infiltrate the SWP.

This is supposed to be the perfect frame — an official transcript, in which the woman under oath herself says that she did the things she was accused of doing. (I leave aside the fact that nowhere in the transcript is there any mention of the Soviet secret police, or any activity by Sylvia on their behalf. All it quotes her as saying is that she was gathering information for the Communist Party [CP]. It is revealing that, for the WL-WRP as for the FBI, being a member of the CP and being a Soviet espionage agent are the same thing.)

There will always be some people, even some who consider themselves revolutionaries, who will be inclined to accept as genuine something the government or the FBI produces as an "authentic" document, or an "authentic" tape recording — especially if it has red sealing wax and a blue ribbon. But no one with experience in fighting government frame-ups has that reaction.

A few years ago the *Militant* published an article, based on FBI Cointelpro files that had been forced to light, about what the FBI calls putting on a "snitch-jacket," that is, framing up someone as a stool-pigeon. One FBI document on disruption of the Black Panther Party outlined a proposal for a "disruptive-disinformation operation" against the national office of the Black Panther Party. It said, "Xerox copies of true documents, documents subtly incorporating false information, and entirely fabricated documents would be periodically anonymously mailed to the residence of a key Panther leader."

A wide variety of alleged authentic police or FBI material could be carefully selected or prepared for furnishing to the Panthers.

In one famous "snitch jacket" operation, the FBI in 1964 succeeded in getting the Communist Party to expel William Albertson, a longtime member of the CP National Committee. They did it by faking a letter, ostensibly in Albertson's own handwriting, and planting it in a car in which he had recently ridden. The letter was made to look like an informer report.

The CP leadership simply accepted the document as genuine. Albertson protested his innocence, but he was expelled and publicly denounced as an informer. Later his wife and mother, who were also CP members, were expelled. The true story came out many years later, in an FBI document that was released along with many other Cointelpro files.

We should understand that many people around the world are weak on this. As the WL-WRP slander campaign was building up, some were quick to say, the accusations against Joe Hansen and George Novack were odious slanders, but who knows about this rank-and-file woman?

During the pretrial period, Gelfand and Fisher & Moest took depositions from all the old Shachtmanites and ex-Shachtmanites they could find — people like Felix Morrow and Albert Glotzer. They were quick to say under oath that they had always had their suspicions about Sylvia Caldwell. She wasn't very political, they recalled. They never bothered to discuss politics with her, they said. They couldn't figure out why Jim Cannon hired her as his secretary. They just didn't think much of her. She didn't seem to appreciate their sparkling brilliance and wisdom.

All of these kinds of renegades are willing, as soon as the FBI comes up with some "evidence" — especially if it is a tape recording, or something that looks like someone's handwriting, or something someone supposedly said under oath — to accept it as true. How could it not be true? Who would doctor such a thing? Who would go to all the trouble to put words in your mouth?

If you are a cop inside, a provocateur, you grab "evidence" like this and run with it. If you are a dead-end factionalist, you run with it real fast. If you are a good provocateur you run with it one step behind the factionalists — let them take the lead. You get behind and keep pushing.

#### Loyalty to the party membership

In his closing argument at the trial, John Burton, one of the lawyers for Gelfand, asserted that there is only one possible explanation for the behavior of the SWP defendants. They must be agents of the FBI or CIA themselves because they covered up for this woman.

One of the best things that Pfaelzer said during the whole trial — a reflection of the pressure of the campaign that had been building up — was her response to this. She said, no, there is an alternative explanation: the leadership of this party is loyal to its members, and it does not accept the unsubstantiated accusations of anyone against any of its members.

It is important for us to explain this and to draw out the lesson. An effective working-class political organization cannot be built unless the leadership is fiercely loyal to the entire membership from this point of view. This makes the organization impervious to snitch-jacket jobs, by refusing ever to lower the organization to that level. Every single member has got to know that they have the unconditional loyalty of the entire elected leadership, and of the organization as a whole. There is no other way to function.

When we get the time to write the story of Sylvia Caldwell, we will tell about the "hearing" of the control commission that Jim Cannon wrote about. This was not a control commission inquiry into Sylvia Caldwell. There were no witnesses or accusers called to testify. Louis Budenz — her chief accuser — wasn't asked to come into the room and repeat his charges. The FBI agents who passed the story to the Shachtmanites — who then started spreading it all over — weren't called in.

That wasn't the purpose at all. The Control Commission hearing was held as part of an effort to slow down the Shachtmanites, who were going around the radical movement spreading this slander and disruption story. That is all.

The Shachtmanites had reported to the SWP that they had heard from the FBI that Sylvia Caldwell was an agent. Why would we hold an investigation on the basis of what the FBI said? The Shachtmanites said they had found the FBI sources to be "reliable." Great! The trouble is the Shachtmanites weren't so reliable from a revolutionary proletarian point of view.

This lesson of the snitch jackets is one of the most important that comes out of the whole Gelfand-Pfaelzer-Fisher & Moest case.

#### Turning outward to mobilize support

The campaign in which we participated around this case was one of the most successful mobilizations around a defense case in a long time. One aspect, in particular, deserves emphasis here. This was the conquest we made in reaching out beyond ourselves for lawyers to help defend our rights and be part of the broader fight for them.

We succeeded in getting a well-known and well-respected firm in Los Angeles, headed by Ben Margolis and John McTernan, longtime fighters against witch-hunts and government frame-ups, to take responsibility for our legal defense against Gelfand. David Epstein, a partner in the firm, argued our case in court.

The Political Rights Defense Fund has also recently made a big step forward when Leonard Boudin agreed to step in and become lead counsel in Héctor Marroquín's fight for asylum before the Supreme Court.

These two steps are in the direction we want to go. It was possible to draw all kinds of wrong conclusions from the fact that when we came down to the trial in 1981 in our case against the FBI here in New York, we had to rely for our legal moves primarily on members and supporters of the party who were lawyers. They were working as lawyers, not because that was what they wanted to do, but because the party asked them to. Their role was essential and their contribution irreplaceable. But we would have preferred to be in a position to get that help from attorneys outside our movement. It was a sign of

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weakness, not of strength, that we weren't able to do so then.

We have to remember that we are not in a position to run a law firm. To the degree that we have members with special skills we use them as we need. But it is better to be able to rely on people who are professionals with experience over many years.

This is a political question. We tended to slip into making a virtue out of necessity, in relying on ourselves. There was a side to this that was turning inward, when the key thing to do when you are under attack is the opposite: to turn outward, to mobilize support, to ask for help from everyone.

And a key part of this when a defense case is involved is getting support from lawyers who are not necessarily associated with us politically. Doing this is part of the process of reaching out to the labor movement, to the Black movement, to the entire left. This is another gain that we have been making. The work we have done in Louisville, along with other activists in the Al Horsley Defense Committee there, is a real model in this respect.

#### Limits on legal rights of SWP

Finally, I want to turn to the question of the limits on the legal rights of the SWP.

One of the great conquests of the founders of modern communism was to get rid of the idea that you had to organize as a secret revolutionary society of a certain kind. In the first half of the 19th century, revolutionary workers parties were not only often forced to work underground, they were secret parties in another sense.

They were secret in the sense that their program was known in its entirety only to the initiated. They told the workers only bits and pieces of it. The real program was known only to a few. They were like secret fraternal orders.

Some of these were real revolutionary outfits. They were made up of workers who gave all their energy, and their lives, to making the revolution. There were some very admirable people involved, people you would trust with your lives in tough situations. But they had the idea that major parts of the revolutionary program were for members only.

The specter really began haunting Europe when Marx and Engels established the idea that the revolutionary program cannot be a secret, but is to be presented and explained to the working class. This included communism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, the heart and soul of the revolutionary workers party. For the first time there were not two classes of program: the real one for the initiated members and a partial one for the workers.

In that sense, since 1848 we have not been a *secret* organization. But the fight to have the full rights of a *legal* organization is a different thing. This is a continual fight, always. And it is a fight that is never won under capitalism — at best you win partial and temporary victories.

In an imperialist democracy like the United States today, it is an illusion to think that a revolutionary workers party has complete rights to function legally. We don't. For example, the SWP had to decide in a special convention on the eve of World War II that the Voorhis Act meant we could not be affiliated to the Fourth International; we had to function in a different way.

If you think you are going to have full legal rights for the revolutionary party you have illusions in democracy. Even today we don't have that latitude, and in the future the battles over how much latitude we will have are going to intensify.

This is connected to the probe by the government and the court involved in the Gelfand-Pfaelzer-Fisher & Moest case. It was intended to drive us a few steps in the direction of illegality, of not having the legal right to function.

The SWP is a legal party. It is an open party that fights for what it says and organizes to bring about political change within the Bill of Rights of the Constitution of the United States. I stress this because, as we meet and work with revolutionaries from other countries, we find that this is not always understood. In particular, the nature of imperialist democracy is not well understood by those



At left, United Auto Workers headquarters' parking lot; right, cops frisk immigrant workers. Support to employers' anti-imports, anti-immigrant campaign by unions means collaboration with boss against workers of other countries.

who haven't had direct experience as proletarian revolutionaries within it.

The SWP does not do anything against the laws of this country. The party does not say one thing and do another. The party doesn't have the luxury of doing that.

There is nothing tongue-in-cheek about our complying with the Voorhis Act. People who aren't deadly serious sometimes think this is something we just say. This misunderstanding has cost us politically. It has been an obstacle at times. And it has been misused by people who wanted to be factional about it. That has happened a couple of times. But that is the price we pay for living in the real world.

This is important to stress because there are many people who have romantic illusions about how a revolutionary party functions. We need once again to reaffirm what we have said in the past, and say it to the whole world: the Socialist Workers Party functions as a legal party under the restrictions imposed by the laws of the United States. It can not and will not do otherwise.

#### Protectionism and class collaborationism

Finally, we should take a look at the growing debate around protectionism and all of its implications for the labor movement. Protectionism comes under many guises: "domestic content" legislation, tariffs, nontariff barriers, import quotas, and so on. They all have to do with the same thing.

From the standpoint of the working class, support to any such measures is simply a form of class collaboration. But it is class collaboration with a special twist, a more reactionary logic. Because what is involved is not simply collaborating with your own bourgeoisie, but support to your own bourgeoisie *against* other countries and other workers.

Achieving clarity on this is one of the great challenges of combining the fight for immediate demands and involvement in day-to-day struggles, whatever their limitations, with the constant effort to present our broader program and explain patiently the socialist perspective, to explain what it means to fight not only for democracy and independence of the labor movement, but for solidarity. And this means solidarity with working people on a world scale. To give even an inch on this is fatal to a revolutionary perspective.

The degeneration of much of the left and the so-called progressives in the labor movement on this question is worth noting. In demonstrations that people like Jim Balanoff, Joe Samargia, and Ron Weisen of the Steelworkers union have been taking part in, the "Buy America" theme has been even more dominant than before. This is a retreat from the line followed by the Fight Back forces during the Sadlowski campaign in the Steelworkers union.

Sadlowski, when he was asked and when there was

some pressure, did explain why workers must be opposed to any protectionist demands. And he explained it accurately. But under the pressures of the capitalist offensive, these forces are in retreat, and nowhere is it clearer than on this question.

This is taken to its logical conclusion by the Communist Party. The February 24, 1983, *Daily World*, published a statement put out by Jarvis Tyner, chairman of the New York District of the Communist Party, USA. They published this under the headline: "CP leader: intensify jobs fight." The heart of the statement is a demand on Democratic Governor Mario Cuomo, that he "introduce legislation requiring that public institutions use steel made in New York." I wouldn't believe it if it weren't in print. But this is the official statement of the Communist Party.

That is the only way you can go once you accept this logic. This is where you wind up if you accept the capitalist framework, if you accept the idea that the way forward for the workers is dependent on the profits of the bosses. This is where you wind up if you distance yourself from the idea that what is needed is a qualitative change in the nature of the government.

It leads you more and more to reduce your perspective to what you can do — in "your" city, in "your" state, with, yes, "your" own employer — to maximize the profits of the bosses who exploit you. Internationally, the logic leads toward dividing the workers of one country from the workers in all other countries. And it leads toward supporting your own capitalist government in trade wars, and trade wars that lead to shooting wars.

#### Class demands and social demands

Our framework is exactly the opposite.

We raise and fight for a whole series of demands for immediate relief for working people, because the capitalist crisis is no fault of the workers. These immediate demands include such things as jobs programs, public works, and unemployment insurance extended to all. These are demands that involve the day-to-day defense of the standard of living of the working people. And we present them in a way that merges into transitional demands, which point the way to the need for the workers and farmers to establish their own government.

But these demands only lead in this direction if they are seen as social and class demands, not as local demands, or strictly union demands, or demands revolving solely around one factory where we are working.

Take, for example, the demand for a shorter workweek, for 30 hours work for 40 hours pay. The more the workweek is extended, the more the pressure builds up, the more there will be all kinds of struggles, some of a sporadic and confused character. And we will join in and participate in these struggles, as we do with anyone fighting against the bosses on whatever front the battle is taking place.

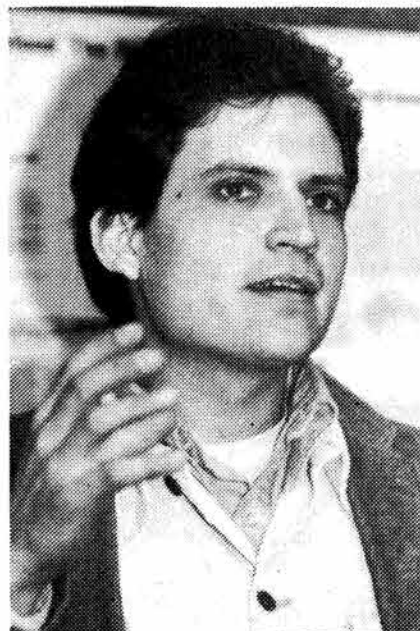
But this does not alter the importance of the fight for a 30 hour week, "30 for 40," as a nationwide, social, class-wide demand. We have already seen workers in some places say in frustration, "We've got to fight to get the 45-hour week back again." Sometimes it can appear, in a plant where there is a lot of forced overtime, that it is not a good time to pass around statements by SWP candidates demanding "30 for 40." But think it through. What better time to pound away on the transitional demand of a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay than when there is tremendous overtime in one industry, and yet tremendous unemployment in the class as a whole?

But this can only make sense if it is raised by the labor movement as a social and class demand, as part of a program around which to fight by mobilizing the working class and its allies. These are demands that have to be raised by the union movement, but they can never be won in any meaningful way as "union demands" in the narrow sense.

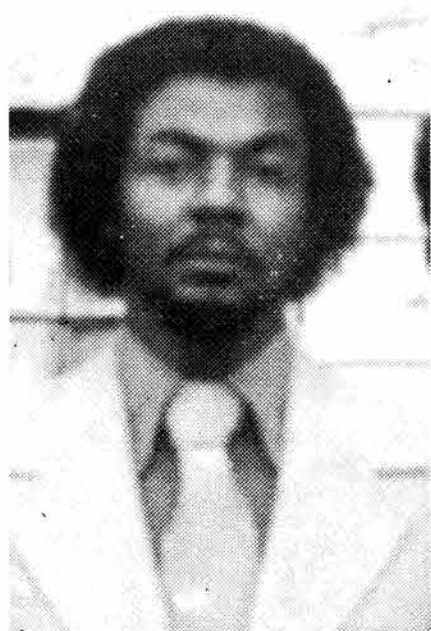
They are demands that are aimed at the government and at the employing class as a whole. When raised in this way, they are linked to the whole sequence of immediate, democratic, and transitional demands outlined by Trotsky in the "Transitional Program."

There is no way to oversimplify this. There is no way

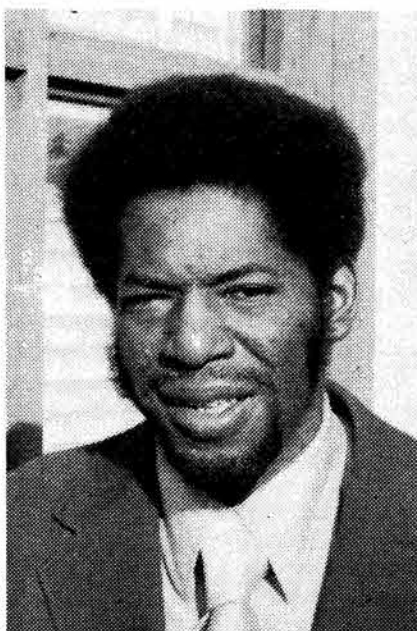
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Militant/Lou Howort



Southern Advocate/Ted Quant



Militant

Left to right: Héctor Marroquín, Mayor Eddie Carthan, Al Horsley. All three are victims of government's drive against democratic rights of working people.



# New attempt to decertify Steelworkers Local 8888 as contract discussions near

BY CHARLES BARNETT

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — In a new attack on steelworkers at the Newport News Shipbuilding and Drydock Co. here, the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association (PSA) filed petitions for a new union representation election. The PSA is the old, discredited company union ousted in the 1970s in the course of a successful battle to win recognition of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) at the yard.

The PSA's latest move came only weeks before negotiations between the company and the USWA, which represents the 18,000 production and maintenance workers in the yard, are slated to get under way. The contract itself expires in October.

Jack Hower, USWA sub-district director, explained that the National Labor Relations Board "will have to go through an investigation first. Once that has been concluded, it will notify all parties involved."

PSA attorney Meryl Moore said that the petition would require the NLRB to mandate a new election.

The PSA tried this gambit unsuccessfully several months ago. It withdrew similar petitions submitted in January and admitted that it had not submitted the required signatures of 30 percent of the union-eligible work force.

At the time that the PSA began its first petition campaign, activists in USWA Local 8888, which organizes the yard, responded with a campaign to heighten union presence in the yard. Within weeks, USWA hats, buttons, and other material were all over the yard. Efforts to sign up new members were also stepped up. (Because Virginia is a "right-to-work" state membership in the union is not automatic with employment.)

Four years ago Local 8888 won a historic battle for union recognition in the "right-to-work" South. This required a militant 12-week strike in early 1979 that was an inspiring example of courage and determination for working people across the country.

Tenneco, the 16th largest corporation in the United States and the owner of the shipyard, had vowed it would never recognize the USWA. With the collusion of the PSA, the shipyard stood as a fortress of the open-shop South. Working conditions were unsafe. Benefits were meager. Wages were low. Racist discrimination was rampant. In 1966 the PSA tried to block a civil rights lawsuit aimed at opening job opportunities for Black workers.

In 1976 four Black workers, all former leaders of the PSA, took the lead in breaking with the company union and formed a USWA organizing committee. This eventually grew to number some 700 workers and sought to unite Black and white workers as well as men and women.

The organizing efforts resulted in a USWA victory in a 1978 union representation election. When the company refused to accept the steelworkers' victory, the newly formed union had no choice but to go out on strike.

The strike was a key development for the entire labor movement. For weeks it dominated the political life of the area. The strikers received much needed solidarity from unionists across the country. A March 1979 demonstration and rally drew thousands of members of the USWA from across the country.

The strikers faced a calculated campaign of harassment and intimidation from the cops and the courts. This culminated in a police riot on April 16, "Bloody Monday," when the cops brutally clubbed strikers and attempted to invade the union's strike headquarters. The strikers response was to regroup and march right back into the streets shouting the chant that became the theme of the struggle "Eighty-eight, close the gate!"

Although the strike itself ended short of union recognition, within a few months Tenneco did recognize the USWA and a contract was negotiated the following March.

This is the contract that will expire this October. Winning a new and better contract is very much on the minds of workers in the yard today. Many see the PSA's latest move as an effort to help the company impose a bad contract. With the possibility of a new union representation election hanging in the air, the company will be more inclined to stall the negotiations, in the hopes that the USWA will be ousted. As Hower explained, the PSA "is fooling with the workers' money in this upcoming contract."

Steelworker Eli Green, a second shift worker at the yard, told the *Militant* that several workers he has talked with believe that the company is directly behind the PSA's move. He reports that most of his coworkers were taken somewhat by surprise when the PSA filed the petitions, in view of the fact that it had pulled back just



Militant/Jon Hillson

Despite police attacks on their strike, shipyard workers forced Tenneco to recognize union. Tenneco is now trying to impose old company union on workers.

a couple of months earlier.

However, most are confident that the PSA's challenge can be turned back. They are thinking out how to win a better contract.

The shipyard has hired hundreds upon hundreds of new employees over the spring. "This place has become more like a naval yard than a shipyard," said Green, commenting on the large number of government contracts Tenneco has been awarded.

Clearly the company is making big money. The sentiment in the yard is to try and force the company to part with some of that money in this round of contract negotiations. In addition, many workers are concerned about strengthening other contract provisions, particularly those concerning

health and safety.

For its part, the company is also getting ready for the negotiations, beyond whatever deals it may have hatched in private with the PSA. Green reports an increase in "production surveys" which are a company tool for speedup and harassment of workers.

In addition Tenneco says it now has a hiring freeze on and is attempting to give the impression that they may have hired "too many" workers and that some will have to be laid off. All of this is aimed at intimidating the work force as the contract negotiations near.

Whatever the outcome of the PSA's new challenge, Newport News shipyard workers face some important battles in the months ahead.

## Electrical workers discuss automation

BY RUSSELL DAVIS

LYNN, Mass. — As part of the employers' drive to increase profits, companies are introducing new automated technology. The employers' goal is to use the improved technology to boost profits by increasing production while at the same time reducing the work force.

As a result of the growing impact of automated technology on employment, many unions are beginning to discuss the issue.

This includes the unions at the huge General Electric (GE) plants around the country.

For example, the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) Local 201, which represents the 8,500 workers at Boston-area GE plants, recently sponsored a "Conference on New Technology."

The June conference was attended by 250 union members and 50 guests from other unions.

The keynote address was given by Joe Egan, chairman of the IUE's GE Conference Board, which represents all IUE locals at GE around the country. Egan called for "reindustrializing" America, passing local domestic content legislation, lowering interest rates to stimulate consumer spending, and tougher restrictions on imports to insure "fair trade."

Egan got his best response when he said the time had come for a shorter workweek. He also called for stronger contract language on job security and "more time off with pay."

The next speaker was John Hsia, a spokesman for GE, who presented the company's automation plans. Hsia presented a stark picture of automation, speedup, and the elimination of such things as "inflexible work rules." He projected a 30 percent increase in production, based on future sales, with the current level of employment.

Hsia was followed by Jeff Crosby, chairperson of Local 201's Committee on New Technology. Crosby disagreed with Hsia. He said the company's plans could mean the elimination of a whole generation of young workers from the plant. Crosby called on the company to bargain on new technology and for the retraining of workers.

Following the speakers there was a panel discussion that included Paul Withereau from United Electrical Workers Local 506

in Erie, Pennsylvania; Nick DiMarco from the International Federation of Professional and Technical Engineers (IFPTE) Local 142; and Mike Sidell, president of IFPTE Local 149.

Other speakers were Phillip Asquith, a trade unionist from England; Chuck Kimbele, IUE Research Director; and Frank Emspak, an executive board member of Local 201.

A set of afternoon workshops provided those attending an opportunity to discuss the ideas presented by the speakers. Many workers expressed sentiment that the time to act to save jobs was now. While many agreed that the shorter workweek was necessary, most remained unclear on how workers could realistically win it.

No one raised questions about the use of automation. The main concern was over how the new technology would affect jobs and whether the unions would be capable of forcing the employers to retrain displaced workers.

Several workers in the discussion pointed out the need for unions to build their own party. A labor party could put forward a plan for automation, one worker said, that would be in the interest of workers.

Not all agreed. Peter DiCicco, president of IUE District 2, stated in the conference's closing remarks that "now is not the time for an American labor party." Instead he urged workers to vote out Reagan and elect "pro-labor Democrats."

Overall the conference was a step forward for the local. It helped an important layer of union members see that we are in for a serious fight to retain jobs. The attendance by many workers not normally seen at union meetings was an indication of the interest in this issue.

Russell Davis is a member of IUE Local 201.

## Atlanta textile workers join Aug. 27

BY DAVE PAPARELLO

ATLANTA — At its July 9 meeting, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union (ACTWU) Local 365 voted to publicize the August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom among its membership. The local also decided to add its name as an endorser and to finance a bus to send union members to the march.

Local 365 organizes the warehouse and manufacturing workers of Arrow Co. in Atlanta. The meeting established an August 27 Volunteer Committee with representatives from four Arrow facilities. The committee is charged with organizing publicity for the march and signing up members for the union bus.

Business Agent Frankie Young reported that ACTWU nationally has endorsed August 27. In addition, ACTWU President Murray Finley sent a communication to all locals urging their participation in the march.

Young is currently assigned by ACTWU to the Atlanta August 27 Coalition.

On the first workday following the union meeting, several workers at Arrow's Austell Distribution Center met during break time to plan out how to inform coworkers about the march. This informal committee has begun circulating August 27 leaflets

and asking those who wish to attend to sign up on a bus list. Nearly 10 workers decided immediately that they wanted to attend. One Black worker explained that he attended the historic 1963 march for jobs and freedom as a child and was sure that "this one will be even bigger. A lot more people have gotten angry since 1963."

Two others explained that they felt they had to be there "just to be able to tell my children I was part of this." Everyone signing up for the bus has offered a contribution of \$5 to \$20 to help pay for others to attend the march.

At least one August 27 volunteer stressed that the march on Washington is an important way to show opposition to the U.S. war drive in Central America. While virtually everyone approached is strongly opposed to sending U.S. troops to Central America, many workers are also interested in discussing and finding out what is actually happening in El Salvador, Nicaragua, Grenada, and Cuba. Few workers have been convinced by government propaganda about the situation in Central America.

Dave Paparello is a member of ACTWU Local 365.



# An upturn without workers?

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

President Reagan recently boasted to reporters that the U.S. economy is "beginning to sparkle." And indeed, things are beginning to sparkle for the employing class that Reagan represents. According to an estimate in *U.S. News and World Report*, corporate profits will increase 29 percent over the next year, reaching a cool \$160 billion after taxes.

But while the chiefs of big business are exulting in their profits, they are threatening workers with continued unemployment. The May 16 *New York Times* reported that "leaders of major corporations who met here this weekend said they would rehire few of the workers they laid off during the recession, no matter how strongly the economy recovers." The assembled business magnates claimed that mechanization, automation, and roboticization will enable them to meet any rise in demand through increased use of machinery rather than by expanding the workforce.

Is an upturn in the capitalist business cycle really under way? Won't this mean there will be a rise in employment?

The answer to the first question is yes, an upturn in the capitalist economic cycle is under way and has been for some time now. Recent figures indicate it's gaining momentum. According to the Federal Reserve Board, industrial production increased at an annual rate of over 14 percent during May and June.

Factory orders in May rose 1.9 percent from April, indicating that the rise in industrial production will continue. Housing starts reached a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 1.791 million in May — an increase of 19 percent from the previous months.

Merchants report that retail trade is increasing. Spring sales have been "very healthy and business since the first quarter ended in April has been increasingly strong" according to Marvin Traub, head of the giant Bloomingdale's department store chain.

Auto sales have also been showing strong gains in recent weeks. June 11-20 sales were 73 percent greater than during the same period a year earlier when the auto industry was at the very bottom of its prolonged slump.

But what about the answer to the second question? Will the corporations rehire the millions of workers they have laid off? The corporations certainly have a class interest in creating the impression that they will rehire very few people. This lowers the expectations of individual workers and demoralizes the ranks of the unions.

Speedup, low wages, terrible working conditions, no union rights or union rights that have been greatly weakened — well, it's still better than being unemployed, isn't it? By accepting givebacks, union officials are at least saving a few jobs, aren't they?

This is the kind of thinking that the bosses are trying to spread among the workers and their unions. But is it true?

During economic upswings it is true that the bosses attempt to put off hiring new workers for as long as possible. Instead they rely on increased speedup, longer working hours, and increased mechanization. But their ability to increase production without recalling laid-off workers and



Increase in car sales was displayed at Detroit auto show in January. At right, Midland steel mill in Pennsylvania reopened in April after company severely weakened union work rules.



hiring new workers is limited both by available technology and the economic laws of the capitalist economy.

## Steady rise in employment

If in this business cycle the bosses were not rehiring workers, it would indicate a major transformation in the essential nature of capitalism. If such a transformation were indeed occurring, there would be little or no change in the number of those employed. But government statistics show that the number of those employed has been steadily rising since the beginning of the year.

Janet Norwood, commissioner of labor statistics, reported that the data on employment released by the government July 8 "shows strong employment growth in both the goods-producing and service-producing sectors."

Since the low point of the business cycle in December, the corporations have added 365,000 workers to the manufacturing work force. Overall, the government reports that the December to June rise in employment was the highest for any business cycle upswing period since 1958.

The rise in production and employment means that some plants that were shut down by the corporations during the slump are being reopened while other plants are expanding their payrolls. General Motors, for example, reopened its plant in Framingham, Massachusetts, last March after a five-month shutdown. The giant automaker has also been calling back workers at its plants in Linden, New Jersey, and Leeds, Kansas.

This does not mean that plant shutdowns have ceased. International Harvester Co.'s truck-building plant in Fort Wayne, Indiana, was closed July 15, leaving 2,200 workers jobless. Plant shutdowns and layoffs become less frequent as the business cycle turns upward, but they by no means stop. Even during the most powerful upswings in the business cycle, workers are frequently laid off because business is slow for the particular shop or factory they happen to be working in.

Nor does the current rise in employment

mean that massive unemployment is going away. The government admits that 10 percent of the civilian labor force was still unemployed in June. Counting so-called discouraged workers, the number of jobless in the U.S. totaled some 12.8 million last month according to official government figures.

Rex Hardesty of the AFL-CIO pointed out that less than half the nearly 13 million unemployed receive any unemployment benefits and that 25 percent of those without jobs have been jobless for more than six months. The number of unemployed is declining slowly, but millions will still be out of work when a new downturn in the business cycle sends the total number of unemployed soaring once again.

Among Blacks the business cycle upswing has so far not even put a dent into the number of those unemployed. In June 20.6 percent of all Black workers were officially unemployed, more than twice the percentage of unemployment among white workers. This represents a decline of only 0.2 percent since the bottom of the recession in December. Among Black teenage workers, 50.6 percent, more than half, were officially unemployed in June. This is up from an already disastrous 48.2 percent in May.

## Typical pattern

The changes in the employment situation in the current business cycle, far from representing some unique pattern, are actually following the path typical of the capitalist economy. As business turns up after a cyclical downturn, the number of employed workers begins to grow. But the growth of employment lags behind the recovery of production due to speedup and mechanization.

In addition, the working-class population keeps growing with young people continually entering the labor market, so the number of unemployed declines only gradually. The bosses pit employed against the unemployed and machine against worker in order to hold wages down, enforce speedup, weaken unions, and worsen working conditions. This is the normal functioning of the capitalist economy.

The pitting of machine against worker began about 200 years ago in England and Scotland with the introduction of steam-powered mechanization. It gradually spread to other emerging capitalist countries, including the United States.

In his speech on the question of free trade delivered in Brussels on Jan. 9, 1848, Karl Marx gave the following example of the impact of mechanization in England during the first part of the 19th century:

"In 1829 there were, in Manchester, 1,088 cotton spinners employed in 36 factories. In 1841 there were but 448, and they tended 53,353 more spindles than 1,088 spinners did in 1829. If manual labor had increased in the same proportion as productive force, the number of spinners ought to have risen to 1,848; improved machinery had, therefore, deprived 1,400 workers of employment."

This was "automation" with a vengeance.

Despite the bosses' propaganda offensive, there are signs that the current cycli-

cal upswing is strengthening working-class resistance to the employers. The June 27 *New York Times* quotes Joe Zappa, president of United Auto Workers Local 212, as saying that Chrysler President "Lee Iacocca could have taken \$100 million of that money they repaid [to the banks] and given our members a dollar an hour. . . . He could have taken \$200 million and given us two dollars. Instead he's a multimillionaire and my members are still making less than they were getting two years ago."

## Is recovery going too fast?

The bosses and their government would like only a very slow recovery. This way employment would increase at a very slow rate and the next crisis of overproduction would be staved off as long as possible. But the anarchic capitalist economy cannot be fine-tuned. Despite all the attempts of the government and Federal Reserve Board to intervene, the capitalist economy goes from bust to boom and from boom to bust.

Most recently, the bosses and the government have been concerned that the upswing may be proceeding too quickly. "The economy is showing a much stronger recovery than was either expected or desired by the Fed," says David Jones, economist for Aubrey G. Lanston & Co., in the July 11 *Newsweek*.

Capitalist experts fear that as business continues to pick up, inflation and interest rates will rise too rapidly, leading to a new downturn sooner than they would like. Recent statistics released by the government indicate these fears are not unwarranted. Producer prices, which fell earlier this year, have begun to rise once again. In June the producer price index rose .5 percent from the May level. This was the biggest increase in seven months.

Interest rates have also begun to rise. So far the rate of inflation and the level of interest remain far below the levels that prevailed during most of the 1979-82 recession.

This indicates that a new downturn in the business cycle is unlikely in the immediate future. But the new rise in inflation and interest rates does mean that higher prices and interest payments are putting more pressure on the standard of living of working people. This trend will intensify as the upturn continues.

In the meantime rising employment, the reopening of old factories, and the construction of new ones gives the working class and its unions a chance to fight back against the bosses' offensive under more favorable conditions.

Many workers are returning to work after the bitter experience of prolonged unemployment. The upturn is also allowing younger workers, women workers, and a certain number of workers who belong to oppressed nationalities to return to the plants. All this makes for a more militant work force.

At the same time the sharp rise in profits sharpens class antagonisms. Bloated profits indicate the ability of the bosses to pay higher wages. Inflation makes higher wages necessary to defend and increase the workers' standard of living.

The upturn thus creates the conditions for a fightback against the bosses' attacks.

## U.S. ships, troops readied for war

Continued from Page 6

impact not only because of the event itself, but also because of the advance it signified in the construction of a new international working-class leadership that could move the struggle for socialism forward. Such a leadership has also emerged in Central America.

New revolutionary Marxist leaderships have been consolidated in Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada, and these are carrying forward the process of building new societies in struggle against U.S. imperialism. This process of new revolutionary leadership rising out of the class struggle is also taking place in El Salvador and elsewhere in Central America.

It is a matter of life and death for U.S. imperialism to crush these revolutions. The alternative, as the U.S. rulers well know, is the extension of the socialist revolution

throughout Central America — and beyond.

The stakes are just as great for the international working class as for imperialism. Within the imperialist countries and in Latin America, the fight against the U.S. war and the collaboration of Washington's partners in carrying it out will be central to the development of a class-struggle leadership within the working class.

As they proved in Vietnam, the U.S. rulers have the power to cause enormous economic damage, millions of casualties, and untold human suffering. But they do not have the power to turn back the tide of history.

Humanity has steadily advanced since the great victory of the Russian revolution. A new stage in that fight for human progress is now opening up in Central America.

From Intercontinental Press



# Milwaukee beer strike fights union-busting

BY KATHY OWEN

MILWAUKEE — Spirited picket lines of up to 50 workers are stationed outside the Miller Brewing Co. here in response to moves to break their union. Fourteen hundred workers, members of Brewery Workers Local 9, went on strike June 13 after rejecting the company's contract offer by an 83 percent margin. Local 9 is directly affiliated to the AFL-CIO.

Miller is owned by the Phillip Morris Corp., which also owns 7-Up and Marlboro. Phillip Morris certainly cannot claim poverty in carrying out this attack. Last year it boasted profits up 67 percent from the previous year.

The Miller strike is especially important because similar battles are shaping up in two other big Milwaukee plants. On August 1, the contract expires at Briggs and Stratton, a major manufacturer of small engines. Briggs is demanding unlimited use of outside contractors, in addition to severe cutbacks in wages and benefits. Sentiment for a strike is growing among the 8,000 workers there, who are organized by Allied Industrial Workers Local 232.

The contract at A.O. Smith Corp., a manufacturer of car frames, expires the same day. A.O. Smith is also demanding big takebacks, and the union, Smith Steelworkers, has distributed 2,000 buttons that workers wear on the job saying, "No Concessions!"

The most dangerous of the provisions in the contract proposed by Miller reserves the company's right to contract or subcontract out work now being done by workers covered by the union contract. The company has refused to specify the number of jobs that would be eliminated in the bargaining unit, although it has admitted plans to make all outside jobs, such as drivers, nonunion.

The contract would also give Miller the right to use nonunion temporary help, as well as to use supervisors in production work.

Miller attempted to divide the union by offering workers 55 and older incentives of up to \$54,000 to retire early. This would have opened up nearly 300 jobs, which the company reportedly wants to make nonunion. But the tactic failed. As one striker explained, "The older workers knew that everything they'd fought for could have been destroyed. We'd have gone back to zero."

Other aspects of the company's offer included a "management rights clause," which would give the company the unconditional right to eliminate and combine jobs. Miller also demanded the right to hold a union steward liable for "misconduct" of workers in his or her area, the right to fire workers after two years on disability, and a change in the contract negotiat-

ing date from June to October, the slowest season of the year.

AFL-CIO representative Charles Hughes, who is now in Milwaukee working with Local 9, charged that the company's proposals "would appear to negate the entire contract. It wipes out the union's ability to represent its members."

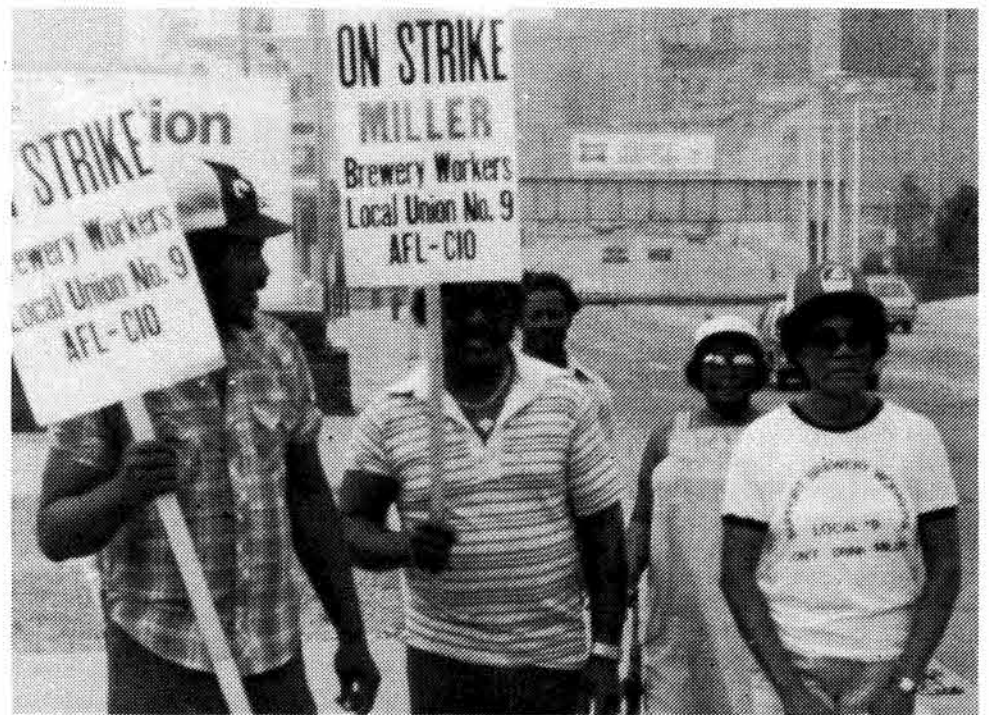
As one striker summed it up, "It's not enough for them to control our bodies. They want to control our souls too."

Workers at Miller make around \$13 an hour and were offered a wage increase of \$1.10 an hour. The big-business news media has tried to undermine support for the strike by playing up the fact that Miller workers are relatively well paid. They have succeeded in confusing the real issues behind the strike for some of the city's lower-paid workers.

Miller strikers explain that what is at stake is the existence of their union. As a Local 9 flyer points out, "The Miller Brewing Co. tried to sell these changes to our members for wage and benefit increases. Our members rejected this attempt, putting dignity before dollars."

Workers are also concerned about job security. As one Black worker on the picket line put it, "Money is not the issue. I want to be working five years from now."

In spite of the fact that the strike has been entirely peaceful, there are up to 30 cops a day stationed at gates where trucks enter the plant. One striker pointed out the



Militant

resentment they feel about their tax money being used to pay these cops to intervene on the side of the company.

Milwaukee's Democratic mayor, Henry Maier, demonstratively showed what side he's on early in the strike when he rode the Miller float in a parade opening the city's Summerfest. Striking Miller workers marched alongside the float, protesting its

appearance.

As a result of the combined company-government attack on the union, a discussion has begun around strategies for defending the union movement. Well aware of the situations facing Briggs and A.O. Smith workers, Miller strikers are talking about the importance of uniting with other unions to take on this antilabor assault.

## Bill Morrow: Wisc. socialist activist

BY NANCY COLE

RACINE, Wisc. — Bill Morrow, an activist in social movements for nearly 40 years, died of a heart attack here on June 28.

Bill had been an active supporter of the Socialist Workers Party for several years and had just joined the party two weeks before his death. A professor at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside, Bill had told friends and family how happy he was to have finally taken that step. He said he wished he had met the party in his youth so that he could have devoted his life to the SWP.

For years, Bill was a leader and prime mover of activity in defense of civil liberties and in solidarity with Central America in the Racine/Kenosha area.

More than 100 friends, relatives, and colleagues paid respect to his life at a memorial service on June 30. The next night, a smaller group of his coworkers in the Central America solidarity movement and the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance

met to share appreciations of his political contributions.

Bill was a conscientious objector during World War II, having concluded that the United States was pursuing its imperialist interests rather than seriously fighting fascism. In the late 1940s, he was involved in protests against the Cold War. It was around this time that he met his first wife Anne.

From the late 1940s to the late 1950s, Bill was a member of the Communist Party. During the witch-hunt of that period, he was twice forced out of teaching jobs because of his political views and activity.

In the mid 1950s, he initiated and led a fight for fair housing legislation in Portland, Oregon. In Fulton, Missouri, he was active in civil rights battles. From 1965 on — beginning in Columbia, Missouri — he played an active role in the anti-Vietnam War movement.

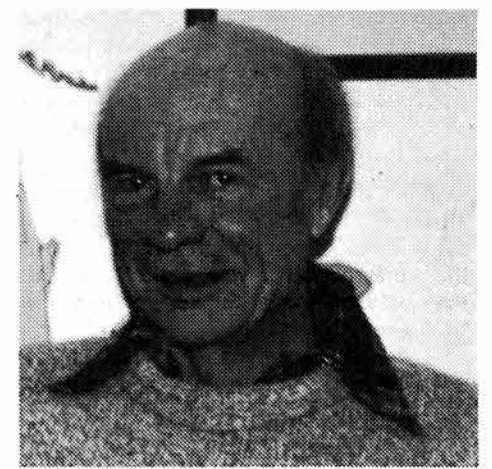
During the 1968 presidential election, Bill was an organizer for the Eugene McCarthy campaign in the Democratic Party. This experience began to undermine his support for the big-business Democratic Party — a process that was furthered in heated discussions with two of his children, Dave and Sally, who joined the SWP in the early 1970s. He listened seriously to them and eventually became convinced of the critical importance of independent political action for the working class. As a result of these family discussions, his other daughter, Judy, joined the YSA for a brief period and remains a supporter of the SWP.

Bill moved to Racine in 1970 to teach at the University of Wisconsin-Parkside. There he and Mary Lou France were married, and he became involved in, and more often than not initiated, just about every progressive struggle that came along. In the mid-1970s he began collaborating with the SWP.

Until recently he was head of the local American Civil Liberties Union. He could always be counted on to organize a meeting or fundraiser for speakers from the Political Rights Defense Fund. The most recent event was a meeting in defense of Héctor Marroquín's right to political asylum.

Everytime the SWP or YSA called on Bill, he was there to initiate a meeting, whether it was for a speaker from Kampuchea, Grenada, or on some other issue. Bill was a serious organizer, and he frequently became impatient with the insufficient advance time given him. But he always came through.

The biggest part of his energy during the last couple of years went into solidarity



Bill Morrow

with the revolutions of Central America and the Caribbean. He was genuinely inspired by the revolutionary advances of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Grenada. He was outraged by U.S. imperialism's campaign to halt them. He became more and more convinced of the importance of winning people to a socialist perspective. This led to his decision to move from being an active supporter of the SWP to becoming a member.

He was excited about the results of the SWP's decision to have the majority of its members working in industry and keenly interested in political discussions SWP members had on the job. Upon hearing of our success at selling copies of the *Militant* at the American Motors Corp. (AMC) plant in nearby Kenosha, he would impatiently ask, "But did you get any names?" The week he died he was to have gone on his first plant-gate sale at AMC.

Bill took time in deciding to join the SWP, giving careful attention to how he could juggle his many political responsibilities in Racine to take on the new responsibilities of SWP membership in the Milwaukee branch.

The respect he had earned as a political leader in the area was born out at the July 1 memorial meeting by several people who had worked closely with him. Elaine Kinch had been a student of Bill's and he had recruited her to the local Central America solidarity group. Now one of its coordinators, Elaine told the meeting of Bill's energies and commitment and how he would be missed. She then urged everyone to become a part of the coalition organizing a local August 20 rally to build for the August 27 March on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom. This rally had been Bill's idea, she said, and the best way to commemorate his life was to build the action.

## Calif. jury decides against cops

BY RAÚL GONZÁLEZ

RICHMOND, Calif. — City officials here have taken legal action to thwart a jury decision awarding \$3 million to the families of two Black men slain by Richmond cops.

The lengthy trial from which the awards came was held in federal court in nearby San Francisco. The decision was a sweeping indictment of the racist city government here.

The verdict against the Richmond police department was issued June 3.

Six days after the verdict, the Richmond city council voted to initiate the present appeal of that verdict.

An estimated 48 percent of Richmond's population is Black. Twenty percent of the police force is Black.

On Oct. 9, 1980, Johnny Roman was shot to death in his bedroom by Richmond cops. Michael Guillory was murdered on Jan. 9, 1982. They are two of six young Black men killed by the Richmond cops within the last three years. In all cases the Contra Costa County district attorney refused to press criminal charges against the cops involved. Because of this, the Richmond chapter of the NAACP offered legal help to the families of the slain men.

Charges were initiated against the cops and the city for bringing about the wrong-

ful deaths of the young men. Oliver Jones, staff counsel for the Western Region of the NAACP, served as chief counsel for the families.

The trial lasted 63 days with 150 witnesses being brought forward. After four and a half days of deliberation, the jury, composed of four whites and two Blacks, brought in their verdict.

In addition to awarding the families \$3 million they also found the city of Richmond liable because it was responsible for the administration of the cops and was "deliberately indifferent" to reports of cop violence.

Police Chief Leo Garfield and the deputy chief were found directly responsible for the murders because "they so exercised their authority that their conduct" encouraged Richmond cops to carry out racist acts of violence.

At the trial witnesses testified to numerous acts of violence against Black and Latino residents of Richmond and the surrounding towns by the cops. Black members of the Richmond Police Department also came forward to testify that racism was rampant in the department. The Black cops who testified later had their lives threatened by fellow officers.

Following the verdict, there was a great deal of celebrating in Richmond's Black community.



# Anti-imports drive weakens steel union

Continued from back page

tomobile on a downtown street.

This campaign is harmful to the labor movement. It does not protect workers from the antiunion assault of the employers, and it has not, and will not, save jobs.

It does contribute to the breakdown of solidarity among working people. Such solidarity is more necessary today than ever if the bosses' assaults are to be successfully combated. A brutal illustration of this danger occurred in Detroit, where a young Chinese-American worker was beaten to death with a baseball bat. As Chrysler foreman Ronald Ebens murdered Vincent Chin he was heard to say, "Because of you, we're out of work."

While some might argue that such attitudes are to be expected from some foremen, the fact remains that the protectionist atmosphere, which the union officials have helped contribute to, allowed the judge in the case to get away with sentencing the racist murderer to a mere probation.

## Results of import restriction

What are the actual economic results of a protectionist policy that limits imports? First and foremost, by restricting import competition, such a policy allows U.S. corporations, from steel companies to garment manufacturers, to charge higher prices for their products. This puts no one back to work. But it does mean that workers are forced to pay higher prices for everything from automobiles to clothing.

Furthermore, the protectionist legislation that more and more union officials are backing will bring a reaction from governments and employers abroad. The result will be job losses for the many U.S. workers whose jobs are tied to exports. At worst, an increase in protectionism could lead to a trade war of the type that threw the world economy into chaos in the 1930s and threw workers all over the world out of work at that time.

To steelworkers at Fairless Hills, who will be most directly affected by U.S. Steel's actions, these considerations may not seem as immediate or important as the

possibility of saving their own jobs right now. That is why many are willing to join in the USWA's campaign to stop the British imports.

However, even on this most immediate level, the anti-imports drive is a dead end.

In April, U.S. Steel's Roderick told members of Congress that the import plan was the only way to preserve jobs at the plant. He argued that if the plan did not go through, it was likely that the entire works at Fairless Hills would be shut down permanently by 1990.

## Rate of profit

This cannot be dismissed as an idle threat. U.S. Steel is not in business to make steel. It is in business to make money.

The bottom line for Roderick is the overall rate of profit for the corporation. If that can be raised through importing slabs, that is what U.S. Steel will try to do. But if overall corporate profits can be raised by closing the mill — even if that mill is profitable — that is the course they will follow. This is what led Bethlehem Steel to mothball its steelmaking operations at Lackawanna just this year.

In this sense, U.S. Steel is not committing treason. Rather it is being loyal to the only laws it cares about — the laws of the capitalist economic system that govern which businesses prosper and which go under. That's why the problem facing steelworkers is not imports. The problem facing steelworkers is capitalism.

This also sheds light on another side of the proposed British Steel deal that has steelworkers hopping mad.

## 'Unfair trade'

Every steelworker knows that until recently U.S. Steel was one of those companies that cried the loudest and the longest about imports. In fact, U.S. Steel used the line of "unfair trade" on the part of their competitors in Europe and Japan as an excuse for everything from cutting wages to postponing compliance with environmental

guidelines. "We can't afford those things," they cried.

Now Roderick says it's not imports U.S. Steel is opposed to — just "unfair" imports. "Unfair" imports are those that make money for other companies. "Fair" imports are those that make money for U.S. Steel. That explains why other American steel corporations, like Bethlehem and Inland, oppose Roderick's plans. From their point of view, the British Steel deal is "unfair."

In no case do the interests of steelworkers enter into the thinking of these corporations.

In a letter to Bethlehem Steel employees about the U.S. Steel-British Steel plans, company chairman Donald Trautlein wrote, "We understand, and we share, the serious concerns that Mr. McBride, our employees and many others have expressed on this subject."

But Trautlein's "shared concern" (and that of other top company executives who have sent out similar letters) is as phony as a three-dollar bill. Steelworkers' concerns are about jobs. The concerns of Trautlein and his ilk are about corporate profits. The two have nothing in common, as Bethlehem's ongoing program of job combination and elimination demonstrates.

This gets to the heart of the problem the anti-imports campaign poses for the USWA and the entire labor movement. In addition to the fact that it will not save jobs, the outcome of such a perspective is to draw the labor movement into an objective alliance with the employers and their government, against the real interests of the working class.

## Battle of ideas

Furthermore this campaign plays a key role in the battle of ideas that is intensifying today. At precisely the point that capitalism finds itself less and less capable of fulfilling basic human needs for many workers, the employers and their mouthpieces among the media, Democratic and Republican politicians, and the trade union bureaucracy step up their efforts to convince workers that capitalism remains the

best possible system.

Toward this end they must persuade workers that the root of their problems is elsewhere. So they point to imports, foreign-born workers, "Arab oil," "communism and communists" — anything to take workers' attention off the capitalist economic system, the capitalists themselves, and the government that functions in their interests.

This ideological campaign is aimed at tying workers more firmly to procapitalist ideas. Among the key ideas the employers put forward is that "we" are all in this mess together; "we" need to stop imports; "we" need a giant war budget to defend "our" national security. The trade union officials who spearhead the anti-imports drive in the labor movement thereby aid the employers in this effort. The capitalists rely on these bureaucrats to speak for them in the workers movement.

## USWA officials' campaign

And that's exactly what the top leadership of the USWA is doing around the issue of imports.

The first advertisement taken out by McBride, which appeared in the *New York Times* on May 19 is headlined, "The British are coming, the British are coming — and America's steel independence is going."

Specifically labeled, "A message especially for stockholders of American steel companies," it includes the following arguments among others:

- The British Steel deal is "contrary to the best interests of stockholders of other American steel companies."

- The losers in the deal will be these same stockholders, thousands of unemployed steelworkers, and the American people, "who would find themselves dependent on foreign producers for our steel needs, including steel for defense purposes."

This last idea is developed further in a letter McBride addressed to all union members in the basic steel industry. "What would happen to our national defense," asks McBride, "if we became addicted to foreign steel? If we should be threatened by a foreign power, would our ability to make the arms and ships for our own defense depend on steel production from abroad?"

Let's take a closer look at some of these arguments to see why they point away from a real fight for the interests of steelworkers.

The problem is not that "the British are coming." The problem is that U.S. Steel eliminates jobs in order to raise its profit rate. The thrust of the anti-imports campaign, like the protectionist propaganda of all types, is to point the finger of blame for unemployment away from the real culprits — U.S. employers, their government, and the capitalist economic system — and directly at fellow workers in other countries who are also victims of capitalism and the greed of their own employers.

Why doesn't the USWA officialdom tell steelworkers that fellow workers in Britain will also be hurt by the U.S. Steel-British Steel scam? Why not report that British steelworkers too will lose jobs, on top of the 80,000 they have already lost over the past few years?

# Miners' leaders: 'No backward steps'

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

RACINE, W. Va. — Several hundred southern West Virginia coal miners and their families attended a Miners Festival for jobs held at Coal Valley Park outside Racine, West Virginia, July 10. The focus of this event was to discuss how to deal with massive unemployment that has hit the coalfields. About one-third of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) membership is currently out of work. Featured speakers were UMWA President Richard Trumka and Vice-president Cecil Roberts.

Roberts explained why the rally was being held. "We're upon tough times now. As economic conditions get tough, people start blaming themselves and their union. It's not your fault you're unemployed. It's

not your union's fault. There's been corporate decisions made that profits made off your labor are being used overseas to make more money."

Trumka strongly endorsed the August 27 march for jobs, peace, and freedom scheduled for Washington, D.C., to commemorate the 20th anniversary of Martin Luther King's "I have a dream" speech. "I urge all of you to be present in Washington, D.C., to demand human dignity and jobs for the unemployed," said Trumka.

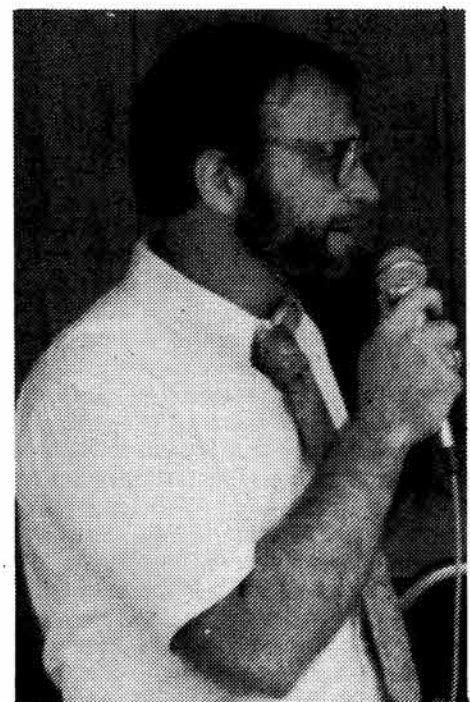
Trumka also hit upon a theme that's increasingly popular among UMWA members: "We can no longer have the luxury of supporting the lesser of two evils. We must seek candidates who will speak for working people. The UMWA won't take pitances or crumbs from any political table. Candidates must be on our side."

In an interview with reporters prior to his speech, Trumka refused to rule out a strike when the UMWA contract expires next year. "All courses of action are viable alternatives," said Trumka. "If a strike occurs next year, it will be because the coal operators wanted it."

Roberts reiterated the theme that swept the Trumka slate into office late last year. "We campaigned on no concessions, no backward steps, no takeaway contracts. Concessions put no one back to work. There will be no backward steps, no giveaways at the bargaining table in 1984," he explained to a cheering crowd.

One of the big issues miners here are concerned about is the growth of nonunion mines throughout southern West Virginia's District 17 — the largest and one of the most militant UMWA districts. Roberts appealed to the ranks to get involved in helping the UMWA organize. "We need to involve our rank-and-file miners in organizing because you're one of the greatest resources we have."

Trumka in his remarks also discussed what he saw as the causes of unemployment. "The history of the UMWA is the



Militant Wayne Glover  
United Mine Workers Vice-president Cecil Roberts.

## From Pathfinder

### Steelworkers Under Attack

How to fight back and defend jobs



Geoff Mirelowitz

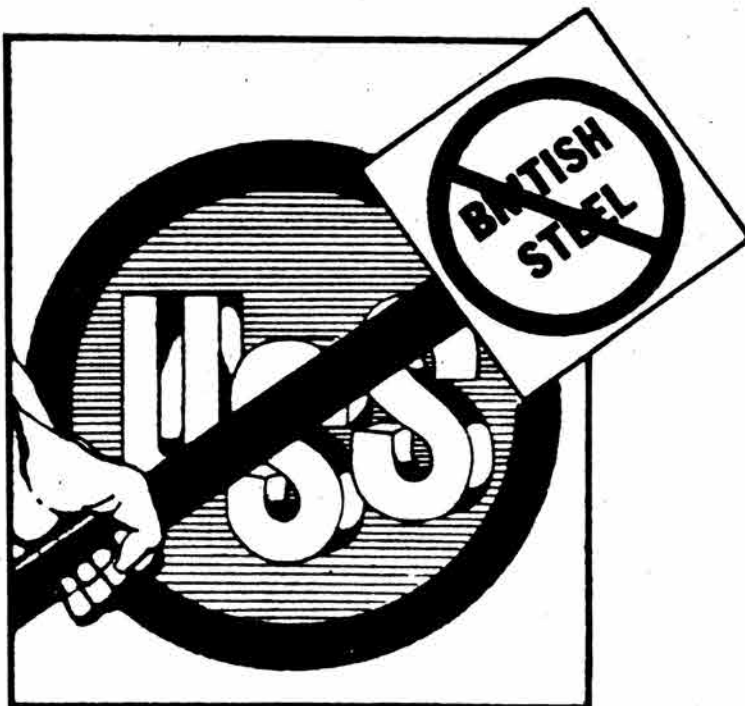
### Steelworkers Under Attack: How to fight back and defend jobs

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.

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Steellabor

Militant/Jon Hillson

USWA's anti-imports graphic (left). At right, demonstration for jobs organized by USWA Local 65 at South Works in Chicago. March was example of mobilizing union power against corporations, rather than collaborating with them against workers from other countries.

Most important, why not appeal to British steelworkers to join in a common fight against the anti-working-class policies of both steel corporations and the two capitalist governments — Margaret Thatcher's and Ronald Reagan's — that back them.

#### Class-conscious leadership

A class-conscious leadership would not tell the workers to concern themselves with the employers' needs. Rather, it would urge workers to fight for their own needs.

It would educate workers on the evils of capitalism and why this system is responsible for the suffering of workers. It would explain that there is no individual solution, no single plant or single industry solutions, to the crisis of capitalism. It would explain that the framework of working-class politics must be independent of and against the capitalist class.

A class-struggle leadership would fight for a shorter workweek with no cut in pay to spread the available work around. It would demand that the government take the billions of dollars from the war budget and use it to create a bold program of public works to provide jobs for the unemployed and rebuild the schools, hospitals, bridges, roads, and mass transit facilities that working people need — especially those of the oppressed nationalities whose communities and services are the poorest.

Such a leadership would urge unionists to strengthen their ties with their allies among Blacks and Latinos, women, and farmers — also victims of the capitalist crisis.

But the protectionist campaign suggests that steelworkers look to precisely the wrong class forces as allies in the fight for jobs.

The stockholders of smaller steel corporations are not the allies of steelworkers. These are the same corporations which, along with U.S. Steel, imposed a concession contract in the basic steel industry that is costing steelworkers billions of dollars.

The workers who are employed by these companies know all too well that each competes with the other to do the most effective job of cutting wages, eliminating and combining jobs, and gutting health and safety regulations.

But this proposed alliance has a deeper, more dangerous meaning. Behind the rampant protectionist ideology is the idea that workers should make a bloc with their employers as the way to defend their rights and standard of living.

This idea holds that workers have more in common with their employers in their own country than with working people in other countries. The ultimate logic of this argument is not only to support one's own employers in a trade war, but to support them in a shooting war as well.

This idea lies behind the appeal to stop British imports because of the threat to "our national security." As McBride shouts out in bold type in one of his letters to union members:

"If President Reagan really believes in a strong national defense . . . he cannot let our nation become more and more dependent on foreign governments for the basic material of military strength — steel."

This is the most dangerous idea of all.

Making sure there is enough American steel to produce weapons and bombs is completely contrary to the interests of steelworkers and the entire working class. Such rhetoric only encourages the drive toward war and the escalation of the real war that the United States is conducting in El Salvador and Nicaragua today.

It is these wars which pose the real threat to the security of working people. It is steelworkers and auto workers and garment workers and farmers and others who will be sent to die on the battlefields of the new Vietnam — just as it was working people who died on the battlefields of the last one.

There are many genuine needs for more steel production in the United States that would help put the unemployed back to work. A serious program of public works would require a lot of steel and a lot more working steelworkers. The appeal by top USWA officials for more steel for war purposes does a disservice to the union and to every steelworker.

The interests of steelworkers and all working people cannot be defended through an alliance with the very class that is responsible for attacking workers' rights and living standards. No amount of camouflage or subterfuge about so-called common "national security interests" can change that fact.

No effective fightback can be mounted against the employers' assaults so long as workers' interests are tied to those very employers' profit needs. Once headed down this road, it will not be possible for the unions to stop only at helping the employers in the fight against imports. The same logic leads to helping the employers to "stay in business" and therefore "provide jobs" by taking wage cuts, accepting greater discrimination against Blacks and women, permitting health and safety provisions to be gutted, and agreeing to fight more Vietnam-style wars. The employers have demanded all of these measures and will continue to do so because they are all necessary to the bosses in order to raise their profit rate to a level they find acceptable.

The issue of what stand the labor movement should take in response to the employers' protectionism poses the most basic questions of what kind of society working people need and what strategy should be followed to achieve it.

Workers have been drawn into a false discussion about imports because of the very real crisis working people face. Many workers are trying to chart a course for-

ward and defend the unions from the employer and government attacks.

Steelworkers who, unlike McBride, are genuinely interested in doing this will find a correct idea in one of his letters to union members:

"When we stick together — when each of you acts together with your brothers and sisters — then we can get results. United action is the key to our success!"

The question is united action towards what goals and with what allies. Increasingly more workers see the need for an alliance with others in order to move forward. Such an alliance, to be successful, must be with the right social forces. An alliance with the "stockholders of other steel companies" or any section of the employing class and its government means subordinating labor's interests. An alliance with Blacks, Latinos, farmers and women means affirming labor's interests.

Such an alliance means a fight against

the employers on an independent course. It poses the need for a political instrument, a labor party based on the trade unions, that can help organize the fight and carry it out on all levels from the shop floor, to the electoral arena, to the streets. Ultimately it means contesting which class should run society.

The current crisis is not caused by imports. It is caused by the fact that the government is one of big business and the banks. It runs the country in the interests of the employing class. United action, for the right goals and with the real allies of the working class, will pose the need for a different government; a government of the workers and the farmers that will reorganize society in the interests of the vast majority who produce the nation's wealth. Only such a government can solve the problem of unemployment permanently and move forward towards a rational, humane society.

## Fremont UAW representative denounces Vincent Chin murder

BY LEE ARTZ

OAKLAND — Speaking at a rally July 15 at Laney College here, Sam Marsh, an official of United Auto Workers (UAW) Local 1364, charged that "corporations like GM, Ford, Chrysler, Toyota, Exxon, and the rest" were what he called "the real cause" of the murder of Vincent Chin, a Chinese-American bludgeoned to death in Detroit last year by an unemployed Chrysler foreman and his stepson.

The corporations, Marsh said, "try to brainwash us and pit one worker against the other. They want to see the American unemployed hating the Japanese."

But the Japanese, he said, "haven't done anything to the American people in the way of unemployment."

Chin's killers were fined and placed on probation for beating Chin to death with a baseball bat. They blamed Chin, a Chinese-American, for unemployment in the auto industry.

Since the kid-glove treatment of the racist killers, rallies demanding justice for Chin have been held in a number of cities. The meeting here was part of a week-long series of meetings in the Bay Area to organize support for the case.

Touring the Bay Area and elsewhere are Lily Chin, Vincent's mother; Helen Zia, secretary of the American Citizens for Justice (ACJ), an Asian-American organization based in Detroit; and others.

ACJ is seeking federal civil rights prosecutions for the murderers.

Lily Chin and Zia spoke at the rally here, as did Rev. Frank Mar, a Presbyterian minister who cochaired the meeting, Ken Kwangho Lee of the East Bay Korean Community Center; John George, chairman of the Alameda County Board of Supervisors; and representatives of organizations of Americans of Japanese, Chinese, and Filipino descent.

For the first time, Zia said, "Asian minorities are working for a common goal: justice for Vincent Chin and for Asian-Americans."

The Chin case, she said, "is not isolated. We are learning that either we work

together or suffer separately. We intend to show that Asian-Americans are capable of working with each other as a political force."

Zia also pointed to strong support from the Black community. "The NAACP supported us very early," she said, "with very solid support. Black organizations in Detroit helped open doors for us."

Rev. Mar pointed out that racism against Chinese in Oakland "goes back to 1876 with a rally at City Hall blaming the Chinese for unemployment."

He added that he had witnessed "racism against my Japanese friends here in Oakland during World War II," when Japanese-Americans were put in concentration camps.

Lee said, "It doesn't matter what nationality we are, if we are yellow, we are the scapegoats for high unemployment."

Zia reported that ACJ has met in Detroit with the UAW International about the Chin murder and how the union's anti-imports campaign has lent itself to the racist atmosphere in which the killing took place.

"We have an open line of communication with the UAW," she said, "and I think we can reach some kind of joint view, especially since the UAW has a strong stand for civil rights."

In response to a question, Marsh, who chairs Local 1364's Community Services Committee, added, "Workers are being pitted against each other throughout the world. There is a discussion and debate going on in the UAW and the unions about imports. Unions have to come together around the world to combat injustice."

Local 1364 represents workers at the Fremont GM plant, which has been closed by GM and is to reopen next year under joint GM-Toyota management. The local is fighting for rehiring of its members by seniority, which GM and Toyota are resisting.

Besides supporting the Chin case, Local 1364 also calls for reparations for Japanese-Americans interned in World War II, and its officials have testified at hearings for such compensation.

## Reading on labor history

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

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

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



**Don't forget the Coppertone** — "The result [of radiation exposure] is somewhat analagous to sunlight. . . . Long-term expo-



**Harry Ring**

sure in one day can be harmful, while the same total exposure distributed over a few weeks produces a nice tan." From a federal civil

defense "Teacher's Resource Manual."

**America the Beautiful** — "Elderly experience discomfort while waiting in food lines" — Headline in Birmingham *Post-Herald*.

**Things are tough all over** — According to his ex-PR person, the late Alfred Bloomingdale, who headed the Diners Club, once confided: "Most middle class and poor people envy the rich, never knowing what crosses we bear. . . . We fornicate strangely, we sleep with relatives, and we sometimes gamble too much. We spend too much, and

some of us not enough." The PR person added, "Alfred always felt his wealth was a burden that kept him from being himself."

**Long view** — The 1917 Russian revolution was "just a temporary setback," according to one participant in an international parley of some 100 promonarchists in New Hampshire. The gathering was dedicated to Nicholas II, last czar of Russia.

**Take that!** — The Navy has been paying \$110 for electronic diodes that cost four cents. The Sperry Corp. billed the Navy

\$80,204 for spare parts that cost \$3,658, while McDonnell Douglas collected \$3.2 billion (that's right, billion) for parts that should have cost \$683,000. Secretary of War Weinberger sternly declared he was "extremely displeased."

**Strictly business** — Warring on waste, Weinberger and several associates will fly to the coast to check out the Oakland naval supply center. They've reserved an Air Force plane that costs \$3,200 an hour to operate. From Oakland, they'll proceed to the nearby all-male Bohemia Club for its annual bash.

**Shucks!** — Shortly after press reports of Weinberger's slated journey to the coast, it was announced that he and his entourage had cancelled the trip because he wanted to spend more time with the president of Lebanon.

**Thought for the week** — "Civilians should remember that their electronic watches might be destroyed, television sets might become inoperable, cars with electronic ignitions might stop functioning. . . ." — Edward ("Father of the Bomb") Teller, on the possible crippling electronic effect of a nuclear explosion.

## Johnny Imani Harris convicted in Alabama trial

BY DARRYL TURNER

BIRMINGHAM — Johnny Imani Harris was convicted in Bay Minette July 26 for the second time by an all-white jury on frame-up charges of killing a prison guard in a 1974 prison revolt.

"I have killed no one," Harris said after the verdict, as 50 supporters listened in silence in the courtroom.

The verdict carries an automatic death penalty under an 1862 Alabama law.

This was Harris' second trial on these charges, even though Alabama officials have never claimed that Harris himself actually killed the guard, according to the Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice (SOC).

Rather, Harris was charged with murder for taking part in a "riot" in which a prisoner and the guard were killed. A white prisoner who observed the guard's death has testified that Harris had no part in it.

Harris was convicted in 1975 under a 19th century Alabama law that prescribes death for murder by a prisoner serving a life sentence. He won a stay of execution in 1978 while just 56 hours away from the electric chair. A judge then ordered a new trial, ruling that the prosecution had withheld evidence favorable to Harris.

The rebellion took place in Atmore Prison, now Fountain Correctional Center. A year after the rebellion, a federal judge ruled that conditions at Atmore were unconstitutional.

### Kansas City Blacks and labor build August 27 march

BY BILL BOLLINGER

KANSAS CITY — "It has been proven time and time again that, when they are forced to, the people of this country will stand up for what is just and what is right." With these remarks, Rev. Nelson "Fuzzy" Thompson opened a press conference here to announce local organizing plans for the August 27 march for jobs, peace and freedom. Statements were also presented by Joyce Wallace, president of Kansas City Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Robert Reeds, executive secretary of the Kansas City Labor Council, AFL-CIO; and Andy Anderson of the United Auto Workers CAP Council.

Other groups that have come together to work on a local demonstration as well as the national march include: Service Employees International Union, Operation PUSH, Urban League, National Organization for Women, Communication Workers of America, Missouri State Labor Council, Central America Solidarity Committee, and UAW Local 31.

Members of UAW Local 31, who work at the General Motors Assembly plant in Fairfax, Kansas, have been discussing the march for jobs, peace, and freedom for the past two months. Local 31 has voted to send a bus to the national demonstration, and has also endorsed the demonstration planned for Kansas City.

"This could be the largest demonstration in history" said one worker recently. Many workers agree that we need to "do something" about the situation that faces working people in regard to attacks on civil rights, massive unemployment and job uncertainty, and the growing war drive.

Harris wound up in jail the same way many Black youth do. In 1970 he and his family moved to an all-white Birmingham neighborhood, where they were harassed by Ku Klux Klansmen and Birmingham cops.

Harris was soon charged with four cases of robbery and rape of a white woman. Although innocent, he was too poor to get adequate legal representation.

That case is being appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

Harris has received wide support. On July 16 a news conference was held in Bay Minette, attended by Anne Braden, one of SOC's cochairs, and 50 other supporters. A week earlier, in nearby Mobile, 60 people took part in a rally.

SOC says other groups sending observers to the trial include the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression, the Alabama Prison Project, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Concerned Ministers for Human

Rights in Montgomery, and several church organizations.

Sonja Franeta, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Birmingham, said her campaign "defends Johnny Imani Harris in his fight for justice."

Harris "has been framed up and harassed," she said, "as many young Blacks and other workers are. We say, stop the death penalty, the real criminals are the rich and their police who shoot, terrorize, and arrest innocent victims of the racist system we live in."

## SWP's 'Proposed Findings of Fact'

Continued from Page 11

sion of the Fees and Cost Memorandum. Taking into consideration the factors of uncertainty, undesirability of the litigation, novelty of issues, and the burden placed upon defendant SWP and counsel throughout this abusive and bad faith litigation, the Court finds that a multiplier of \_\_\_\_\_ is warranted, resulting in a total amount as reasonable attorneys fees of \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

### III. CONCLUSIONS OF LAW

The Court incorporates herein each and every of the findings of fact recited above.

The Court reaches the following conclusions of law on the issues presented in this case:

#### CONCLUSION OF LAW NO. 1:

This Court has jurisdiction over the Constitutional claims alleged in the complaint pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1331 and 1334(4). The Court has pendant jurisdiction on the remaining claims as alleged.

#### CONCLUSION OF LAW NO. 2:

The SWP is a bona fide political party and is entitled to the full protection of the First Amendment. Any attempt by any Government agency, including the FBI and CIA, to manipulate, control, or secretly in-

fluence the private or public activities or decisions of the SWP would be unlawful. However, there is no credible evidence in this case of any such attempt in any way connected with plaintiff's claims.

#### CONCLUSION OF LAW NO. 3:

The expulsion of plaintiff from the SWP did not violate any right or protection to which he is entitled under the Constitution or laws of the United States.

#### CONCLUSION OF LAW NO. 4:

Plaintiff is not entitled to relief under his pendant claim that his expulsion from the SWP violated the party's Constitution, Organizational Principles, or traditions.

#### CONCLUSION OF LAW NO. 5:

Defendant SWP and the individual SWP defendants are entitled to judgment against plaintiff Alan Gelfand on all counts.

#### CONCLUSION OF LAW NO. 6:

Defendant SWP is entitled to judgment against plaintiff Alan Gelfand and plaintiff's counsel John Burton, Robert Moest, Barry Fisher and the firm of Fisher and Moest for attorneys fees in the amount of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ and costs in the amount of

\$ \_\_\_\_\_. Liability for said judgment against plaintiff and his counsel shall be joint and several [that is, any one of them can be held liable for the full amount if the others do not pay].

Respectfully submitted,

MARGARET WINTER  
SHELLEY DAVIS  
CARLA RIEHLE  
DAVID MARSHALL  
MARGOLIS, MCTERNAN, SCOPE,  
SACKS & EPSTEIN

By:  
DAVID B. EPSTEIN  
Attorneys for Defendant  
Socialist Workers Party

## Milwaukeans protest U.S. intervention

BY KATHY OWEN

MILWAUKEE — More than 250 people here demonstrated their opposition to Reagan's war in Central America on July 23. The march and rally were called to celebrate the 4th anniversary of the Nicaraguan revolution.

Demands of the protest included an end to U.S. intervention in Central America, asylum for Salvadoran and Guatemalan refugees, and money for jobs at home.

The march and rally were sponsored by the Central America Solidarity Coalition, Mobilization for Survival, and Sanctuary Coordinating Committee.

The featured speaker was Francisco Campbell, first secretary to the Nicaraguan embassy in Washington, D.C. Campbell emphasized that, "the people of Nicaragua will not be swayed from one fundamental principle — the support for people elsewhere who are struggling to be free."

Sister Marjorie Tuite, chair of the Women's Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in Central America and the Caribbean, also spoke. "The government of the United States," she charged, "is lying in terms of what is happening in Nicaragua. In every sense of the word, our government is at war with the people of Nicaragua, whether or not they have the courage to ask Congress for a formal declaration of war."

Other speakers included Ted Krukowski, president of United Electrical Workers Local 1111; Mike Trokan, Mobilization for Survival; Sister Nancy Hansen, a health-care worker living in Nicaragua; Jorge, a Guatemalan refugee; and U.S. Congressman James Moody.

## Black-white income gap

Continued from back page

tion to more skilled jobs. Protection of affirmative action gains during layoffs. In short, measures to deal a hammer blow to the setup Blacks have endured for so long — "last hired, first fired."

A real affirmative action program has to have teeth. The teeth are quotas.

The fight for affirmative action is an important one for the labor movement.

In the unions, there must be a persistent campaign to build solidarity among all working people. The reality is that the unions cannot successfully defend any of their members as long as Black workers are systematically kept on the bottom of the ladder.

And the same goes for women workers. The unions can only gain from supporting the fight of women for full rights.

Political action is essential. But not "traditional" political action — that is hustling votes for Democratic or Republican "friends" of labor, "friends" of Black people, "friends" of women.

These politicians have had more than enough opportunity to demonstrate what they can deliver.

It's no accident that under both parties, things have gotten worse. Both parties are committed to capitalism. And capitalism can only survive with racism, sexism, unemployment, exploitation, and war.

It doesn't even help when these parties decide to spruce up their image by making room for some Black elected officials.

Yet all the basic problems of Black people remain. And those of white workers as well.

The need for independent Black political power, working-class political power, has never been more evident.

This is the only way to effectively challenge the capitalists who rule this country and are responsible for all its misery.

And it will lead to building a new kind of government — a government of workers and farmers. A government that puts people above profits. A government that will wipe out the scourge of racism.



# 'Sanctuary': indictment of U.S. immigration policy

*Sanctuary*, produced and directed by Héctor Galán. A segment of public television's weekly show "Frontline."

BY NANCY COLE

*Sanctuary*, broadcast in New York and other cities on July 11 and again on July 17, effectively presents the growing controversy around U.S. immigration policy.

The show moves from the journey of Guatemalan refugees to a sanctuary home in Kansas, to interviews with government officials responsible for implementing immigration policy, to contrasting the outcome of two political asylum requests.

The composite is an indictment of the U.S. government, which uses its power to grant or deny political asylum as part of a foreign policy that calls for support to the dictatorships in El Salvador and Guatemala.

John Fife — pastor of the Southside Presbyterian Church in Tucson, Arizona — speaks for the sanctuary groups often during the 60-minute program. Explaining the reason behind sanctuary, which has grown from his one church to more than 60 nationally, Fife says, "We tried legal aid. We tried raising enormous amounts of money for bond. We tried to secretly aid Central American refugees."

"We came to the conclusion that the problem, the essential problem, was a policy of the United States government, which was resulting in the deaths of literally



Undocumented Salvadorans in Chicago church wear masks to hide their identities

admit that what they are really doing is opposing the president's policy in Central America."

Immigration attorney Arthur Helton explains that before 1980, "only people fleeing communist countries and certain areas of the Mideast were considered refugees." The 1980 refugee act supposedly eliminated such "favoritism," establishing a standard that entitled anyone with a well-founded fear of persecution to asylum.

*Sanctuary* reveals the politics behind implementation of this law by contrasting two applicants for political asylum — one from Poland, the other from El Salvador.

## Two asylum requests

Yarek Hruziwicz, fresh off a boat from Poland in September 1982, told the INS that he faced imprisonment in Poland because of his activity with the trade union Solidarity. Requiring nothing more than his word, the INS granted him political asylum one week later.

Luis Domínguez was a high official in the Salvadoran government, a top agricultural engineer, and one of the leaders of the government's agrarian reform program until he was fired in 1980 for becoming a critic of that program. He fled El Salvador with his family after receiving threats from right-wing death squads.

Two years after he applied for political asylum, the INS rejected his request.

Whether or not Hruziwicz's application for asylum was approved, he would not have been deported, because all immigrants from Poland are presently granted "extended voluntary departure" status.

"There are very good foreign policy reasons for doing that," snaps the State Department's Abrams in reply to a series of questions about that status. Quoted often in the program, Abrams comes off as arrogant, sarcastic, and when that doesn't work, he simply labels facts and charges as lies.

During 1982, only 6 percent of political asylum applications from Salvadorans were granted. Six thousand Salvadorans were deported back to El Salvador. Scenes at a Texas detention camp, a jail for 600 men and women mainly from El Salvador and Guatemala, include interviews with young refugees about what may face them if sent back.

The State Department makes a recommendation to the INS on every application for political asylum. When Massell asks Abrams how the department that makes foreign policy can possibly wipe that policy from its im-

migration recommendations, Abrams smirks, "It's very easy. You take an oath of office that says you're going to follow the law. You don't send somebody back to what looks like death or torture or prison because you think it will make some crumb mad in a foreign ministry halfway around the world," if asylum is granted.

## Santana Chirino Amaya

But that's what happened to Santana Chirino Amaya, who was 24 when the United States deported him back to El Salvador in 1981 along with 10,000 other Salvadorans that year. His sister Cristina Amaya, who lives in Virginia, describes his mutilated, decapitated body dug up by his uncle the day after he was murdered. She breaks down in tears, comforted by her three children.

"More horror stories cross this desk every day than you have probably read in the last month," responds Abrams. "The fact remains that not everyone in El Salvador has the right to live in America [just] because [El Salvador] is not a nice country. It is *not* a nice country right now. It is one of the hundred not-nice countries, and not everyone has the right to live here."

After Cristina Amaya's brother was murdered, she applied for political asylum here. Her request was denied.

Abrams claims that if human rights groups were to prove a pattern — "not one case out of 10,000; that's not a pattern, that's a freak" — the U.S. government would stop deporting people.

Rev. Fife compares that to the arguments used prior to World War II to send Jewish refugees in this country back to Nazi Germany. Given the human rights record of the Salvadoran military, sanctuary leaders say, no one should have to take the risk of being sent back there.

The documentary ends with a film clip of Reagan's June 20 speech in Jackson, Mississippi, where he warned that a failure to carry out his policies in Central America could result in "a tidal wave of refugees. This time they'll be feet people, and not boat people, swarming into our country seeking a safe haven from communist repression to our south."

But as the show adequately documents, thousands and thousands of Central Americans are now being forced to flee their homelands *because* of U.S. policies. The fact that thousands may die as a result of an inhumane immigration policy is small potatoes for a government engineering a regional war in Central America.

## TELEVISION REVIEW

tens of thousands of people. The only way to change that policy was to tell the American people what was happening to refugees."

Fife's church helps organize the modern-day underground railroad that transports undocumented Central American refugees across the country. One of these journeys — that of a Guatemalan family of six — was filmed for the TV documentary. The family members are Indian, which automatically makes them a target of the Guatemalan military.

## 'We do not want to die'

"We left Guatemala, our land, because we do not want to die," explains Rosario. "The military came down to our village in five helicopters and it rained bullets and fire bombs. They killed and burned four women and their children. Everything burned — clothes, corn, all our food. We ran. Two weeks we traveled through the jungle staying under trees."

Rosario and her family spent three months in refugee camps in Mexico, where they were attacked by Guatemalan helicopters. From there they traveled 1,600 miles across Mexico by foot and bus, and then paid a professional smuggler to take them across the U.S. border.

The scenes of their sanctuary-organized journey across four states to a Catholic safehouse in Kansas include interviews with the church people — Catholic, Presbyterian, Quaker — who assist them.

For the government's point of view, reporter June Massell interviews Elliot Abrams, assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs, and Alan Nelson, commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS).

"On the sanctuary question, I would like to ask a rhetorical question," Nelson tells Massell, seemingly convinced he's on to something. "What is the real theory behind the sanctuary movement? Many of them will

# U.S. rulers' offensive against democratic rights

Continued from Page 14

to jump over the different levels of understanding and the unevenness that exist in the experiences that workers are and will be going through. But this remains our goal.

Our members in industrial unions are continually involved in all kinds of activities, protests, resistances. Little actions, demonstrations, discussions on a variety of issues around that. And as we participate in these struggles we continually raise immediate demands.

By the way, Trotsky didn't use the word "reform" in the "Transitional Program" to refer to these demands. He refers to immediate demands, democratic demands, and transitional demands. Not reforms. Because the idea is to lead, not to reforms, but toward charting a course toward taking over the government, changing the government. And more reforms are wrested from the bosses as a byproduct of this struggle than any other way.

As the Bolsheviks explained over and over, the difference between them and the reformists was not that the Bolsheviks opposed reforms while the reformists favored them. The difference was, as Lenin put it, that the reformists "confine themselves to reforms and as a result stoop . . . to the role of 'hospital orderly for capitalism.'"

Lenin reminded the Swiss Left Social Democrats in 1916 that "the conditions of bourgeois democracy very often compel us to take a certain stand on a multitude of small and petty reforms, but we must be able, or learn, to take *such* a position on these reforms (in such a manner)

that — to oversimplify the matter for the sake of clarity — five minutes of every half-hour speech are devoted to reforms and twenty-five minutes to the coming revolution."

The sequence of demands as it is developed in the "Transitional Program" leads toward this end. Of course, this sequence can't always be presented in one piece, it can't always be presented in one demonstration. But unless its logic and sequence is presented in one way or another, many things don't make sense.

If you are not out to organize the working people to take over the government and eliminate the domination of capital over this country — if that is not your goal — then you will never, ever, win a debate with a serious worker about whether the financial health of the boss is important to the workers in that plant. Because unless some boss can hire you, you can't work, pure and simple.

Unless the idea is to change what class runs the government and to use governmental power to change the whole economic system, you can't convince people that the idea isn't to protect the profits of the boss, ultimately.

In the "Transitional Program," Trotsky wrote that the decay of capitalism deals the heaviest blows to the oppressed. And, he explained, it is among the most exploited layers of the working class that the Fourth International will find "inexhaustible stores of devotion, selflessness, and readiness to sacrifice." That remains our conviction.

What we have set out to accomplish in basing ourselves in industry — in building our Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union and International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union fractions in the garment industry; along with our other national industrial union fractions, in our attention to and our work in the battles of the oppressed nationalities as an interlinked part of this perspective — is to deepen the process of building a party of workers who are leaders.

The only party we are interested in building is a party of workers who are leaders, who think for themselves and see themselves, each individual, as part of a team of revolutionary workers.

We are convinced that where we are looking and where we are heading is not where — as some petty-bourgeois intellectuals believe — we will find the mass base for fascism; but where we will find the potential mass base of Bolshevism. We are convinced that this is not where we will find "low-level" people, but where we will find high-level revolutionary politicians, who will not be simply students but teachers in the class struggle.

We are convinced to the marrow of our bones that it is along this line of march — deeper into the industrial unions and more deeply intertwined with the struggles of the most oppressed here and abroad — that we will construct this party.

If we are wrong about this, we are wrong about everything. If we are not wrong about this, and if we don't hesitate, don't shrink from the challenge, and don't shirk our responsibilities, we will succeed.



## August 27 march and U.S. war

The small minority of billionaires that rules this country is moving into a decisive stage in its war against Nicaragua and the insurgent workers and farmers of El Salvador.

The August 27 march on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom will be an important opportunity for working people to make our voices heard against this war. A growing number of Black rights fighters, unionists, and women are throwing their support behind this demonstration.

Our voices will not be heard in the "great debate" over war policy in Congress. While some of the Democratic and Republican politicians there are making worried noises about Reagan's war moves, "doves" and "hawks" alike share Reagan's goal of defeating the Salvadoran freedom fighters and rolling back the revolution in Nicaragua.

### Attention subscribers:

This is the last issue of the "Militant" before our summer two-week break. The next issue will be dated August 26.

ragua. They share his goal of using U.S. military power to make Central America safe for big-business profiteers.

Reagan's critics in Congress will not stop the escalating U.S. military intervention. It is their war too. Their doubts and hesitations concern the prospects for success.

A powerful struggle by the great majority who have nothing to gain from imperialist war — the working class, the Black and Latino communities, and all the oppressed and exploited — is needed.

The August 27 march is a step toward such a struggle.

By linking the issues of jobs, peace, and freedom, the call for the march reflects a growing awareness among working people that the war drive is part of the attack on

our rights and living standards by the employers and their government.

The drive toward war in Central America is the spearhead of the capitalist offensive against working people today.

The corporations and their government are preparing to sacrifice the lives of thousands of soldiers and sailors in an effort to crush the workers and farmers of El Salvador and Nicaragua.

The war against the people of Central America is a racist war. It will mean more attacks on the Black and Latino communities.

As in Vietnam, it will mean disproportionate casualties for Black and Latino youth.

To justify their war, the rulers will seek to strengthen racist prejudices and intensify efforts to roll back the civil rights gains of the 1960s. Latinos will be a special target. Reagan sent out the signal on this when he tried to whip up fear of Latin American "feet people" overrunning the United States.

War will mean more union-busting. You can bet that the government and the bosses will readily agree that strikes, union organizing, and demands for decent pay disrupt the war effort.

War will mean more cuts in funding for education, housing, unemployment benefits, welfare, social security, and other basic needs. We will pay in lost wages and living standards for the bombs and guns used against our brothers and sisters in Central America.

It will mean escalating attacks on democratic rights. That is the only way the rulers can carry out an unpopular war.

Spreading the word about August 27 and mobilizing broad participation in it is one of the most important ways to answer Washington's relentless aggression.

All out to build the August 27 March on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom!

## New challenges face UAW

At the same time that the auto makers are enjoying renewed profits from the upturn in new car sales, General Motors is stepping up its attack on the United Auto Workers. The evidence is growing that GM, and its new-found partner Toyota, have every intention of reopening the former GM plant in Fremont, California, with a much weakened union (see story page 1).

As evidence of the seriousness of GM and Toyota's challenge to the UAW mounts, so too does evidence of the inability of top union officials to lead a successful fightback.

This is primarily due to the policies of these officials who, along with the other bureaucrats who sit atop the U.S. labor movement, urge workers to solve our problems by collaborating with the employers. Their outlook holds that auto makers and auto workers are both suffering from the problems of a troubled industry. Therefore the best workers can hope to do is cooperate with the employers and try to keep from losing any further ground.

In practice, this approach leads to sacrificing workers' real interests at every turn. Today the officials are prepared to sacrifice the seniority and union rights of the membership of UAW Local 1364 at the Fremont plant. Yesterday they were prepared to sacrifice wages and working conditions at Chrysler to help "keep our company from going under." This, in turn, led to concessions at Ford and General Motors.

Taking the approach of seeing union members and the employers who exploit their labor as "we" and "us" effectively precludes any genuine fight for the real interests of workers, which, of course, are fundamentally different from those of the bosses.

A particularly dangerous aspect of this class-collaborationist approach is demonstrated by the anti-imports campaign that has been a hallmark of the UAW leadership over the past few years as Japanese auto corporations have scored some successes in their competition with their U.S. counterparts.

The logic of the UAW leadership's support for protectionism is that auto workers should make a bloc with their U.S. employers in alliance against the Japanese.

This takes an interesting twist in the GM-Toyota venture in Fremont. The big-business press tries to convey the impression that GM is more willing to work things out with the UAW. The hard, antiunion line, so the story goes, comes from Toyota, which supposedly threatens to pull out of the deal altogether if it cannot get what it wants.

This version of things (with its not so subtle overtone of anti-Japanese racism) is not persuasive. The idea that GM is, all of a sudden, a friend of auto workers — and somehow less interested in making maximum profits than Toyota — is a public relations fairy tale.

It is aimed at convincing the UAW that it has a common interest, with GM, in keeping the joint venture alive. Therefore it should be happy that some new jobs are being created and should accept whatever deal it can get — including a weakened union — just so long as the plant opens.

The same line of reasoning has led the UAW officials into their own version of the protectionist drive: a campaign of lobbying for "domestic content" legislation, which would compel companies based overseas, but which sell over 100,000 vehicles in the United States, to carry out some of their production here.

Although this legislation has not yet been adopted by Congress, the UAW tops already claim great success in "pressuring" Japanese companies to open U.S. plants.

But what has been the real result of this policy? Honda has opened a plant in Marysville, Ohio. It is nonunion.

Nissan has opened a plant in Smyrna, Tennessee. It is nonunion.

Now Toyota is going in on the Fremont plant with GM.

Former UAW President Douglas Fraser bluntly stated the attitude of the UAW officialdom towards the Honda and Nissan plants at the union's convention in May when he explained, "Our first priority is getting jobs for workers, period. Then we'll work on organizing those plants."

This defeatist policy, which puts off confronting the serious challenge of an entire new nonunion sector of the auto assembly industry to some never-never land of the future, would be wrong under any conditions, but is especially false today.

The upturn in the auto industry has given the UAW potentially greater leverage to use in the fight against the employers. Thousands of UAW members are back on the job, including a section of the younger, more militant workers. Production is being stepped up. Entire shifts that had been laid off are being called back. More and more workers are being forced to work overtime as the employers try to milk the upturn for all its worth.

If there was ever a good time for the UAW to launch a fight to win back some of the ground workers lost over the past few years, the time is now. Not only is it more possible to recoup previous losses, but it is also possible that new gains could be won.

Many workers at Chrysler see this especially clearly. They are still paying the price of the concession contracts imposed on them by the employers with the cooperation of the top UAW officials. Now they are stepping up their demands for a bigger share of the tens of millions of dollars the company is now raking in.

The situation at Fremont points to the dangers for auto workers of a leadership that is not prepared to lead in a real struggle for workers' rights. Nevertheless, the situation there is not settled and Local 1364 has made it clear that it does not want to give up without a fight.

These and other developments among the ranks of the union indicate that a growing number of workers are searching for a new approach and strategy.

A new strategy that puts workers' interests first, and rejects all collaboration with the employers on the political and economic level, is what is needed to take on the challenge from GM, Toyota, and the other auto companies and defend the interests of all auto workers.

## Frederick Engels on Volume I of Marx's 'Capital'

On July 25, 1867, Karl Marx completed Volume I of *Capital*. Below are excerpts from the first of two articles by Marx's collaborator Frederick Engels, explaining the contents of the first volume to German workers. The articles appeared in two May 1868 issues of the *Democratic Weekly*, edited by Wilhelm Liebknecht.

As long as there have been capitalists and workers on earth, no book has appeared which is of as much importance for the workers as the one before us. The relation between capital and labor, the hinge on which our entire present system of society turns, is here treated scientifically for the first time.

Political economy up to now has taught us that labor is the source of all wealth and the measure of all values, so that two objects whose production has cost the same

## LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

labor time also possess the same value and must also be exchanged for each other, since on the average only equal values are exchangeable for one another. At the same time, however, it teaches that there exists a kind of stored-up labor, which it calls capital; that this capital, owing to the auxiliary sources contained in it, raises the productivity of living labor a hundred and a thousandfold, and in return claims a certain compensation which is termed profit or gain.

As we all know, this occurs in reality in such a way that the profits of stored-up, dead labor become ever more massive, the capital of the capitalists becomes ever more colossal, while the wages of living labor become constantly less, and the mass of workers living solely on wages becomes ever more numerous and poverty-stricken. How is this contradiction to be solved? How can there remain a profit for the capitalists, if the worker gets back in another form the full value of the labor he adds to his product? And this should be the case, nevertheless, since only equal values are exchanged.

On the other hand, how can equal values be exchanged, how can the worker receive the full value of his product, if, as is admitted by many economists, this product is divided between him and the capitalists?

In tracing the development of capital, Marx starts out from the simple, notoriously obvious fact that the capitalists turn their capital to account by exchange: they buy commodities for their money and afterwards sell them for more money than they cost. This excess . . . over the original capital, Marx calls *surplus value*.

In spite of the fact that the capitalist buys the commodities at their value and sells them at their value, he gets more value out than he put in. How does this happen?

The capitalist finds on the market, under present social conditions, *one commodity* which has the peculiar property that *its use is a source of new value, is a creation of new value*. This commodity is *labor-power*.

What is the value of labor-power? The value of every commodity is measured by the labor required for its production. Labor-power exists in the form of the living worker who requires a definite amount of means of subsistence for his existence, as well as for the maintenance of his family, which ensures the continuance of labor-power even after his death. Hence the labor time necessary for producing these means of subsistence represents the value of labor-power. The capitalist pays him weekly and purchases for that the use of one week's labor of the worker.

The capitalist now sets his worker to work. In a certain period of time the worker will have delivered as much labor as was represented by his weekly wages. Supposing that the weekly wage of a worker represents three labor days, then, if the worker begins on Monday, he has by Wednesday evening *replaced for the capitalist the full value of the wage paid*. But does he then stop working? Not at all. The capitalist has bought his *week's* labor and the worker must also go on working during the last three days of the week. This *surplus labor* of the worker, over and above the time necessary to replace his wages is the *source of surplus value*, of profit, of the continually growing accumulation of capital.

Here we have the solution of all those contradictions. The origin of surplus value (of which the capitalist's profit forms an important part) is now quite clear and natural. The value of the labor-power is paid for, but this value is far less than that which the capitalist can extract from the labor-power, and it is precisely the difference, the *unpaid labor*, that constitutes the share of the capitalist, or more accurately, of the capitalist class.

As long as "a part of society possesses the monopoly of the means of production, the laborer, free or not free, must add to the working time necessary for his own maintenance an extra working time in order to produce the means of subsistence for the owners of the means of production" (*Capital*, Volume I).



# LETTERS

## Steelworkers say no wage cut

Texas steelworkers employed by Alcoa Aluminum in Marshall, Texas, recently voted 218-67 to reject a company-proposed wage cut of \$2.65 an hour.

The pay cut was presented as an ultimatum to the union by Alcoa. The aluminum giant told the workers the plant would be shut down if they refused the wage concession.

The workers still rejected giving up their wages. Alcoa says the plant will shut down in 90 days.

Jim Kendrick  
Dallas, Texas

## Landlord terror

Last year Anthony Postiglione, a landlord of several buildings in Manhattan, was found guilty of violating a court order to "cease threatening tenants." He was given a short sentence.

According to the July 15 *New York Times*, "He had been accused of creating conditions in which tenants were assaulted, robbed and locked out and their rooms vandalized. According to the Mayor's Office of Single Room Occupancy Housing, Mr. Postiglione intended to demolish the building and replace it with a high-rise building."

At the time it was disclosed that in the preceding five years he had received over \$2.1 million in property tax exemptions and abatements for his buildings.

Neither the money or the court decision caused him to change his ways. He has since found it necessary to plead guilty to two counts of coercion and one count of con-

spiracy, which quite possibly reflect only a few of his offenses. The three charges carry a total maximum of 18 years in prison.

The judge described Mr. Postiglione as "a greedy criminal" who "was going to empty those buildings and he hired thugs to do it." The evidence caused the judge to conclude "He is a man without contrition. He's a man without any remorse."

However, the judge sentenced him to only one year in jail and a fine of \$15,000. And what's more he was given a month to deal with "personal affairs."

In case you think this has taught him a lesson or decreased his gall any, forget it. His lawyer stated he would also use the month to "appeal the severity of the sentence!"  
David Brandt  
New York, New York

## Iacocca: friend of labor?

An incident at the recent state convention of the Michigan AFL-CIO said a lot about the perspective and direction of top union officials here.

Lee Iacocca, chairman of the board of the Chrysler Corp. and the man responsible for imposing the historic concession contract on workers at that auto company, was invited to address the gathering.

It was the first time in over 20 years that an employer spoke before a convention of the Michigan AFL-CIO — and an auto employer who is partly responsible for the fact that nearly 200,000 auto workers remain on layoff — most of them right here!

But that didn't bother the union

officials. Feeling right at home and honored that he would take time to speak to them, they interrupted him countless times with applause, especially when he stated his support for the anti-imports campaign that the leadership of the United Auto Workers, among other union officials, have embraced.

Iacocca's appearance is a sign that this anti-imports drive is just another attempt to encourage workers to accept collaboration with the employers as the way to solve our problems.

It's a pretty good bet that rank-and-file auto workers, who have had bad contracts imposed on them over the past few years by Iacocca and others like him at Ford and General Motors, weren't too happy to see him welcomed at a union gathering. Chrysler workers have already made it plain that they feel they have a score to settle with Iacocca and Chrysler when the union contract comes up soon.

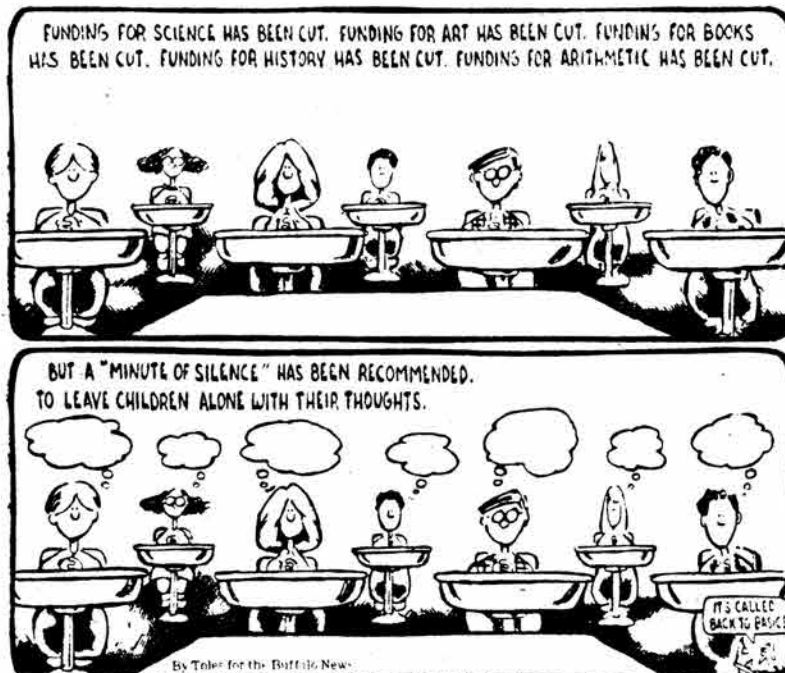
A fight against the company for a decent contract — not embracing Lee Iacocca in a joint campaign against workers in other countries — is more in keeping with the real needs of working people.

Andrew Pulley  
Detroit, Michigan

## War & steelworkers

The Pittsburgh Labor Committee rally against U.S. intervention in Central America July 22 was an exciting event. Equally so was the process of building for it.

In the week before the rally, I and others in the coalition distributed a total of 5,000 to 6,000



leaflets at major steel mills in the area.

I have never experienced such a friendly and concerned reception for anything I've handed out at plant gates in 10 years. No one expressed hostility.

Many stopped to say things like, "Hey, an antiwar leaflet. That's right up my alley" and asked for explicit directions to the rally.

Others said "Hey, you see what that crazy Reagan's doing? He's sending ships down there."

After distributing about 700 leaflets each at two large mills, not more than 10 to 15 could be seen discarded in the parking lot. In one case, a plant guard who came out to inspect the leaflet, said he was going to post it where everyone could see it after I explained it to him.

It was a joy to build this event at the mill gates. Rejection of the war moves by the ruling class and appreciation of the efforts to organize labor against them was the overwhelming sentiment encountered.

By means of these leaflets, the rally's impact went way beyond those who could attend.

This experience at the gates confirmed a leftward shift of the ranks of the working class.

I hope such rallies can be held all around the country.

Bill McCaughy  
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

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.

# N. Carolina Teamsters say no to concessions

BY LISA POTASH

GREENSBORO, N.C. — On June 26, Teamster members employed by Gilbarco here almost unanimously rejected a proposal by this Exxon subsidiary to defer the 10 percent wage increase due in July. They also voted against extension of their three-year contract for another

## UNION TALK

year. The contract expires in July 1984.

Although Gilbarco admitted it had the money to pay the raise, it threatened further layoffs and the possibility of the plant closing or moving. The company has laid off workers seven times since July of 1981.

Three days before the union vote, management met with all the production departments to urge workers to look at the needs of Gilbarco, which pleaded low profits.

In one department, a worker asked to see Gilbarco's books. She was told such information was "personal!" Gilbarco produces gas pumps for \$10,000-\$12,000 a piece, and it pays the lowest wages in the industry.

The union members' vote of 560-4 reflected the impact of widespread discussion in the plant leading up to the vote, as well as at the union meeting itself. In the plant and at the meeting, workers pointed to the Chrysler "bail-out" in 1979. They explained that the significant wage and benefits concessions made by auto workers didn't protect the jobs of thousands who were laid off later. These ideas were typical shop-floor talk before the vote and at the union meeting.

At the last minute, the company tried unsuccessfully to split the vote by proposing not one, but three alternative ways to space out wage concessions. Despite the fact that workers had the option on their secret ballots of voting for any of these three giveback timetables or voting

against any givebacks or extension of the contract, only four workers voted for any wage concessions or contract extension.

The significance of this combative vote is underscored by the weakness of the labor movement in North Carolina. The 75 percent union membership at Gilbarco is unusual in this right-to-work state, where it is common in many industries historically to terrorize union supporters.

This spirited and united union meeting, with chanting and applause throughout, is a big plus for strengthening the union's hand in the plant in general. Recently, Gilbarco has victimized a number of workers for allegedly violating minor work rules and for not meeting impossible production rates. The result of this vote is exactly the shot-in-the-arm workers need to give them greater confidence in figuring out how to effectively use their union to fight these company attacks. It has also inspired discussions about the new contract due to come up in July 1984.

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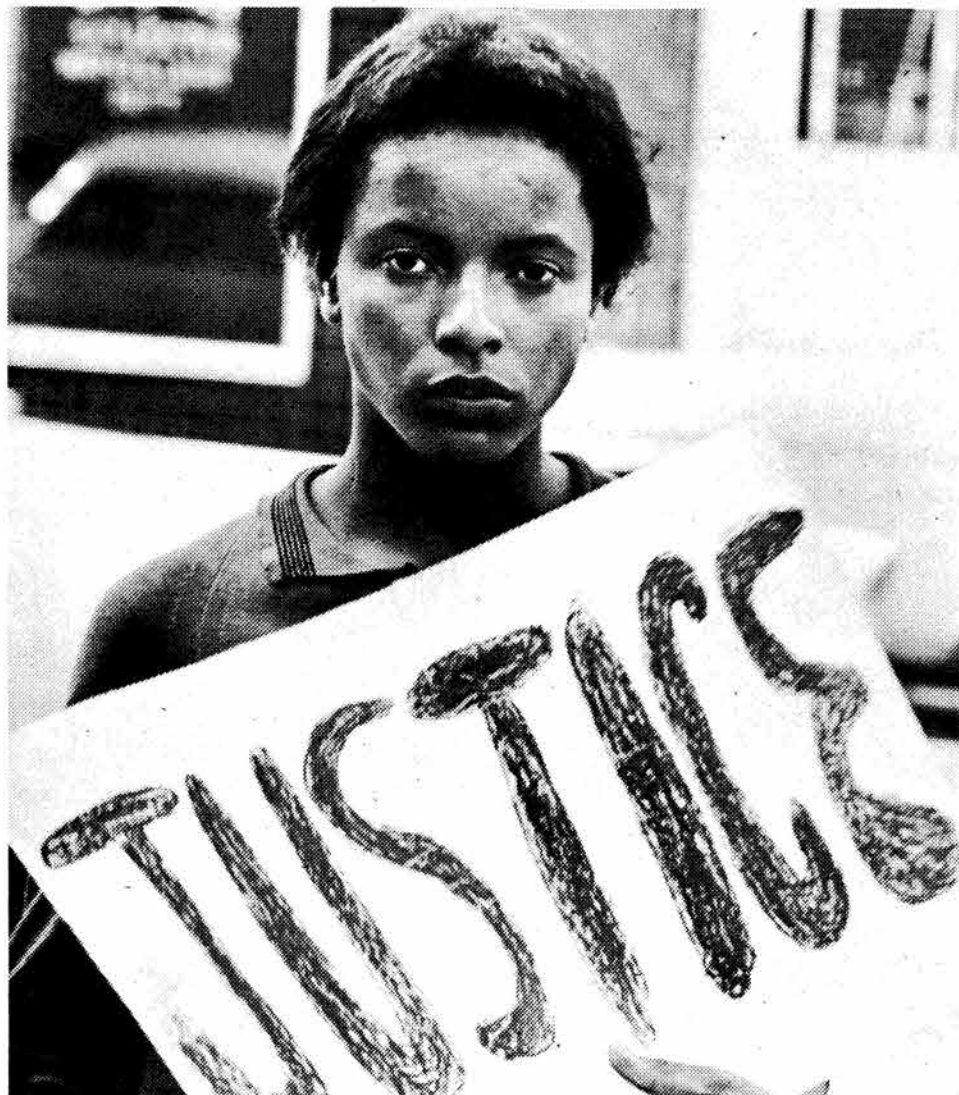
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## Black-white wage gap same as 1960



Black Star/Declan Haun  
Despite gains from civil rights struggle, Blacks today earn only 56 cents for every dollar earned by whites.

BY HARRY RING

With the birth of the modern civil rights movement in the early 1960s, Black people have waged a hard, persistent fight for their rights and have won some victories. But race discrimination is so deeply rooted in this country that the gap between Black and white income is the same today as it was in 1960.

In 1981, the median income for Black families was estimated at \$13,266. For white families it was \$23,517.

In other words, for every dollar of income of whites, Blacks now receive 56 cents. In 1960 Blacks received 57 cents for every dollar earned by whites. Some progress in narrowing this gap was made during the relative prosperity of the 1960s. By 1970 the ratio was 61 cents to the dollar.

Unemployment, which is substantially worse for Blacks today than it was in 1960, has played a big part in wiping out earlier gains. Twenty-three years ago 74 percent of Black males over the age of 16 were working. Today, according to the government, only 55 percent of Black adult males are working, compared to 70 percent of white adult males.

The 45 percent of Black adult males not working includes those officially listed as unemployed, as well as those termed "not in the work force." The latter category includes retirees, but also many workers who have given up looking for a job.

Today a lot of white families — 28 percent — are struggling to get by on less than \$15,000 a year.

For Black families, though, it's 54 percent.

In 1981, 15 percent of white children were living below the official poverty

level. Among Black children, it was 45 percent, the same 3-1 ratio as in 1960.

In 1950, eight percent of Black families were headed by women.

By 1960, it was up to 21 percent.

Today, 47 percent of Black families are headed by women.

The victims of both sex and race discrimination, half of these families headed by women have incomes below the official poverty level.

The Census Bureau cannot find an estimated 15 to 20 percent of Black men in this country aged 20 to 40.

These "missing" men are presumed to have neither jobs nor permanent residences.

Where do these figures come from? Some group out to show how rotten this capitalist system is?

No. They were compiled by a group called the Center for Study of Social Policy. The director is a man named Tom Joe. He was a member of the Nixon administration.

The report explodes one of the most persistent, widely promoted racist myths. The problem of Black people, according to that myth, is that they "aren't qualified." They lack education. If they were just motivated enough to get some education their situation would change.

That's not what this study found.

### Big educational gains

Over the past 20 years, they report, Blacks have made greater educational gains than whites.

"By 1981," the report states, "the median level of schooling for both black males and females was above 12 years, and the difference between white and black years of schooling was only a half a year."

They further found that illiteracy among Blacks has dropped rapidly and there is now little difference between Black and white reading ability.

And, since 1968, the Black school dropout rate has gone down, while the white rate has remained about the same.

During this same period the rate of Blacks entering college has increased sharply.

The study found that the average Black with four or more years of college education can expect to earn no more than whites with a high school education.

### Racism and capitalism

These facts and figures confirm that racism is a basic feature of the capitalist system. And as the crisis of capitalism continues to deepen, racist oppression grows worse.

Racism is perpetuated because it means superprofits for the capitalists.

Blacks earn 44 percent less than whites. That's a mighty big hunk of extra profits in the pockets of the billionaires.

And there's a double whammy involved. The low wages paid Blacks also helps to hold down the wages of white workers.

Clearly, an effective program of action is needed.

One good starting point is the August 27 March on Washington for jobs, peace, and freedom.

The demands of that demonstration point to the fact that unemployment is deeply related to war and lack of equal rights.

A massive public works program to build housing, schools, hospitals, and recreation facilities, especially in the Black community, would create millions of jobs. The funds are there — in the mammoth war budget.

"Freedom," real equality for all, is another demand of the August 27 march. To eliminate racist discrimination and stratification in the job market requires affirmative action.

Affirmative action in hiring. In promotion. Continued on Page 20

## Drive against British Steel imports weakens union, won't save jobs

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

The upturn in the capitalist business cycle has led some corporations, including the steel companies, to recall some laid-off workers. However, most steelworkers have little confidence that this will solve the basic problems that have led to massive loss of jobs in the industry.

Tens of thousands of steelworkers remain unemployed. In June, Bethlehem Steel, which earlier announced the permanent shutdown of most operations at its mills in Lackawanna, New York, and Johnstown, Pennsylvania, closed its wire and nail mills at Sparrows Point, Maryland. This came on the heels of the announcement of the shutdown of the Sparrows Point pipe mills just a few months earlier.

Big-business experts on the steel industry say that even more shutdowns can be expected as the corporations close their older, less efficient mills in order to boost their overall rate of profit.

### Threat to close Fairless Hills

To this can now be added United States Steel's threats to import steel slabs from Britain and close the steelmaking operations at Fairless Hills, Pennsylvania. This move would cost some 3,000 jobs and leave only the finishing mills at the plant open.

David Roderick, chairman of U.S. Steel, says the company can save \$25 to \$50 a ton by importing the slabs rather than producing them at Fairless Hills. If the deal does not go through, he warns, U.S. Steel will shut down all operations at Fairless and throw more than 7,000 steelworkers out of work.

In response, the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) has embarked on a massive and costly campaign to try to stop the

imports plan. The union has taken out full-page advertisements in publications such as the *Wall Street Journal*, *New York Times*, and *Business Week*. USWA president Lloyd McBride debated Roderick on the nationally televised "MacNeil-Lehrer Report."

McBride has also fired off lengthy letters to every steelworker urging each to send postcards to President Reagan and to appeal to "our company" to take a stand against the import deal. The union held a picket line at U.S. Steel's stockholders meeting in Chicago in May.

Many steelworkers are glad to see this. After years of inaction on the part of top union officials in response to layoffs and job combination and elimination, as well as cooperation with the employers in the face of their demands for tremendous wage and benefit concessions, it now appears to some that the union leadership is finally doing something to try to save jobs.

In fact, even some of those forces who have traditionally stood in opposition to the top USWA officials now say they have something in common with McBride. At the picket line outside the U.S. Steel stockholders meeting, a brochure was distributed, signed by, among others, Jim Balanoff, Joe Samargia and Ron Weisen (all longstanding oppositionists in the USWA). It was titled "The threat is real from U.S. Steel."

This literature argues that the company is committing "treason" and that the import deal is "an act of betrayal to our nation's vital interests."

The threat is real from U.S. Steel. In their never-ending effort to increase their profits at the expense of steelworkers, thousands of jobs are on the line. But adopting the protectionist, anti-imports position, which originated with corpora-

tions such as U.S. Steel in the first place, is not the way to stop the threat or save jobs.

### An issue for many unions

This is not a new discussion in the USWA or in the entire labor movement for that matter. Propaganda directed against steel imports, and Japanese imports especially, has been a hallmark of the McBride leadership for years. As the employers have cut wages, combined and eliminated jobs, and shut mill after mill down for good, the response of the top USWA officials has been to blame imports for the problems of steelworkers.

The same line is echoed by top union officers in other industries. The United Auto Workers leadership blames Japanese cars for the loss of jobs in the U.S. auto industry and is hard at work lobbying for a "domestic content" bill in Washington, D.C. This bill would compel companies that sell over 100,000 autos and light trucks annually in the United States to carry out a portion of their production here.

The top officials of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union orchestrated an eight-day frenzy of anti-imports propaganda at the union's recent convention. The other major union in the garment industry, the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, holds a similar mistaken position and officials of that union have also helped to organize public anti-imports protests.

Even the leadership of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), headed by recently elected President Rich Trumka, has jumped on the anti-imports bandwagon. In April Trumka helped lead a march in Birmingham, Alabama, that concluded with the public demolition of a Datsun au-

Continued on Page 18