

Coal miners in Britain battle cops and gov't

BY BRUCE KIMBALL

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, England, Mar. 21 — For coal miners Britain is in a state of martial law. More than 20,000 police — the largest number since the 1926 general strike — have been mobilized to break the strike called by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM). Organized by Scotland Yard under the code name "Operation Robin Hood," this police operation is designed to maintain a system that steals from the poor and gives to the rich.

More than 100,000 of the 183,000 miners are on strike, and pickets are persuading others to stop work. The miners are protesting government plans to close many mines, or "pits" as they are called here.

This strike brings miners and those who take solidarity action with them into a head-on confrontation with Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's Conservative (Tory) Party government and its antiunion laws.

I had a chance to talk this week with strikers from all over Britain who had come to the Nottinghamshire area in central England. Nottinghamshire has become the focus of attention because the 40,000 miners in the region voted 3 to 1 not to strike in

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Cops bust up picket line at Ollerton Colliery in Nottinghamshire, England, center of coal miners' strike battle.

Challenges facing union women today

"It is imperative that within the framework of the union movement the Coalition of Labor Union Women take aggressive steps to more effectively address the critical needs of millions of unorganized sisters and make our unions more responsive to the needs of all women, especially the needs of minority women who have traditionally been singled out for particularly blatant oppression...."

"The primary purpose of this National Coalition is to unify all union women in a viable organization to determine our common problems and concerns and to develop action programs within the framework of our unions to deal effectively with our objectives. This struggle goes beyond the borders of this Nation and we urge our working sisters throughout the world to join us in accomplishing these objectives through their labor organizations."

Coalition of Labor Union Women
Statement of Purpose

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The 10th anniversary convention of the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) meets in Chicago March 22-25. The needs of working women, which prompted the 3,200 unionists at CLUW's founding gathering to form a national organization of women unionists, have become even more critical in the last 10 years.

The employers and their government have launched a full-scale union-busting assault. The Supreme Court has sanctioned the use of phony company bankruptcy claims to rip up union contracts; employers have imposed big concessions on local after local; and plant shutdowns and company mergers are being used to get rid of unions.

In the case of the Arizona copper miners, who have been on strike for eight months, the company has used scabs to keep the mines running while state troopers and compliant judges have helped Phelps Dodge victimize strikers.

Working people are also facing high unemployment; forced overtime; cutbacks; speed-up; stepped-up attacks on Blacks and undocumented workers; and a massive

U.S. military budget that is financing the Pentagon's escalating aggression against El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Lebanon.

Women workers face additional problems on top of all these: attacks on affirmative action, abortion rights, and the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); low pay and discriminatory working conditions; sexual harassment; cutbacks in child care and other social services; and the antiwoman propaganda campaign generated around the New Bedford rape trial.

In thinking about how CLUW can deal with these problems, it's useful to look at where the organization came from.

CLUW's roots lie in the rise of women's liberation struggles in the late 1960s and the new consciousness this produced among working women. This movement, in turn, was a product of the big influx of women into the labor force in the 1960s and 1970s. The new consciousness of working women has been more and more

expressed by the desire of women to get the power of the labor movement behind their demands.

This desire is at the heart of CLUW's founding statement of purpose, which remains the organization's guide to action. The statement outlined four goals for CLUW: organizing unorganized women, affirmative action in the workplace, political action and legislation, and participation of women within their unions.

These four objectives are key goals for working women fighting to win equality.

Real progress has been made in the decade that CLUW has been in existence.

Thousands of women have used affirmative action to fight their way into higher-paying, better-organized jobs in steel mills, coal mines, auto and aerospace plants, and rail yards.

Some unions have begun to participate in actions to defend abortion rights. Sexual

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Kampucheans celebrate Int'l Women's Day

BY DIANE WANG
AND STEVE CLARK

PHNOMPENH, Kampuchea — The International Women's Day celebration here March 7 began early to avoid the midday heat and sun of Kampuchea's dry season.

Our correspondents Steve Clark and Diane Wang have just completed a several-week visit to Vietnam and Kampuchea. This is the first of their articles.

By 7 a.m. nearly 10,000 women had lined up at the Phnompenh stadium for a rally sponsored by the Revolutionary Women's Association of Kampuchea (RWAK).

The rally was held on March 7 because International Women's Day itself, March 8, is a national holiday. This is especially appropriate here since women make up almost two-thirds of the population. During

the 1975-79 regime of the butcher Pol Pot in this country, as many as 3 million people were murdered, starved to death, or died from the lack of any medical care. More men died than women, leaving Kampuchean women with unique problems and responsibilities.

At the rally most women wore the long skirts typical of the country. Women of the Cham (Muslim national minority) could be distinguished by their scarves. A contingent of women in blue overalls singled out the role of women workers. Another group, carrying sickles and hand-woven baskets, represented the peasant women. Some women wore the olive-green or blue uniforms of the country's army and security forces.

Banners in the Khmer script read, "Long live the spirit of International Women's Day," and "Long live solidarity and friendship with women of Vietnam, Laos, the USSR, and all women who love peace and justice all over the world."

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Blockade of Nicaragua by U.S. is condemned

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

PUERTO SANDINO, Nicaragua — The U.S. government has imposed a "de facto blockade against Nicaragua," charged the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry after a Soviet oil tanker struck a mine entering the harbor here March 20.

Five sailors on the tanker were injured, two of them seriously enough to require hospitalization. Fortunately, the explosive device was not powerful enough to do greater damage, since the tanker was carrying 250,000 barrels of fuel that, if ignited, could have produced a holocaust.

This is the third international vessel in three weeks to be hit by mines in Nicaraguan harbors. The mines are planted by CIA-financed counterrevolutionaries.

A Panamanian ship, a Dutch dredging vessel, and several fishing boats have been hit by mines off Nicaragua's coasts prior to the explosion that damaged the Soviet tanker.

On March 21, Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko personally delivered a note of protest to the U.S. government. "The Soviet Government holds the United States Government responsible for this grave crime," the note said. It explained that Washington is financing and organizing "gangs of mercenaries and terrorists who intrude into Nicaraguan territory, commit banditry and violence and kill peaceful civilians."

[In Washington, U.S. officials rejected the Soviet protest, making it clear they are continuing to organize terrorist attacks against Nicaragua. White House spokesman Larry Speakes refused to answer reporters who asked if the U.S. funds given to the counterrevolutionaries are used to produce the mines. The March 22 *New York Times* reported that another administration official admitted the mining of Nicaraguan ports is part of the CIA campaign against Nicaragua. "The use of 'hand-made' mines is intended not to have them linked by markings to the United States Government, he said," according to the *Times*.]

Here in Puerto Sandino, Commander Manuel Calderón of Nicaraguan state security told the journalists that "we have no minesweepers. We're using fishing boats, dragging nets, to try to clear the mines from our harbors."



Militant/Diane Wang
Phnompenh rally March 7. Signs hail "spirit of International Women's Day."

—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY DIANE SHUR

KANSAS CITY, Mo. — With the recent upturn in sales in the auto industry, General Motors (GM) employees collecting Guaranteed Income Stream (GIS) were told to move from their homes in one area of the country to other areas depending on where GM needs them.

(The GIS gives GM workers with at least 10 years of service a guaranteed income if they are laid off through work force reduction or plant closings.)

If the workers failed to follow GM's wishes, they faced elimination of their GIS benefits. Once in their new location, these workers — many with 20 or more years' seniority — were back on the assembly line and back on a 30-day probation.

Over 1,000 GM workers laid off from the Fremont and Southgate plants in California now live in Kansas City where they work at the company's Fairfax and Leeds plants. Many of these workers, as well as many other GM employees, bought the recent issue of the *Militant* that contained GM's plans for the September 1984 contract negotiations with the United Auto Workers (UAW). A total of 250 copies of this issue of the paper were sold to workers from both plants.

The *Militant*, as it was read by auto workers, sparked hundreds of discussions.

One former Fremont worker in the Fairfax plant told a socialist coworker, "Two years ago they got those of us who were out of

work to vote for the contract because of the promise of job security — the GIS. We had no idea of the kind of concessions and the problems for new hires the contract had. We've got to turn these concessions around or they'll destroy the UAW."

Another Fremont worker spoke about GM's joint venture with Toyota that will lead to a reopening of the now-closed Fremont plant. There GM and Toyota plan to call back laid-off workers without strict regard to seniority and at reduced wages.

He said, "I think this all began when the union agreed the joint venture was a new business and didn't protect our seniority and pension rights. Now they are trying to make what is happening to us happen to everyone in the union."

Outside in the Fairfax parking lot another worker stopped after buying the *Militant* and returned to talk with the salesperson. "This all started with PATCO," he said.

Pointing towards the plant he continued, "When [the air traffic controllers] went out on strike and the government moved the scabs in, we should have closed the sucker down."

Did the Fairfax workers find GM's plan depressing? No way. As one worker said, "That's just their idea. We have brains and we have to come up with our own idea."

At the Leeds' paint department a supporter of the Socialist Workers Party xeroxed 40 copies of GM's plan and distributed them to



Militant/Jeff Powers

Laid-off auto workers picketing General Motors Leeds plant in Kansas City, Missouri, last April, demanded jobs. UAW members like these have eagerly bought *Militant* for exposé of GM bosses' plans.

his coworkers. At break three workers were found sitting at a table reading the xerox out loud.

One woman announced, "I'm going to the t-shirt store to make a shirt that says 'Restore and More in '84.'" That slogan is popular in the ranks of the union. When the union's contract with GM expires in September, auto workers here and around the country expect a big wage increase and restoration

of concessions lost in the last contract.

In the Leeds' chassis department, for example, discussion centered on how to prevent GM from imposing a bad contract on the union in the next round of negotiations. After one worker obtained a *Militant* from a socialist worker, he returned to ask for another copy. "I want to keep this one for contract time," he said. "I

want to be able to show the people what GM is trying to do."

He continued, "This is something the union should have printed for the membership."

Another Leeds worker said, "My, my, my, my, my, it looks like we're going to have to strike."

Diane Shur works at General Motors Fairfax plant and is a member of UAW Local 31.

Rightists shoot four Irish nationalist leaders

BY WILL REISSNER

Sinn Féin Pres. Gerry Adams and three fellow activists in the Irish freedom struggle were shot March 14 while driving through Belfast. A fifth occupant of the car was not injured.

The attack was mounted from a passing vehicle by three members of the right-wing, pro-British Ulster Freedom Force. All three were arrested.

Adams was shot in the neck and head. He left the hospital March 19, following surgery. Long-time Derry activist Sean Kennan was seriously wounded, as was Joe Kennan. Both are in stable condition following operations.

The attempt to murder Adams, the top leader of the struggle against British rule in Northern Ireland, has all the earmarks of a setup. The attack took place after Adams had left a Belfast court where he has been the object of a much-publicized trial. Because of his daily presence in court, potential assassins had no trouble monitoring his movements.

Adams is on trial for the "crime" of fly-

ing the Irish flag from his car during his successful June 1983 election campaign for a seat in the British Parliament. Although elected, Adams refused to take his seat in that body.

The June 9, 1983, issue of *An Phoblacht/Republican News*, the weekly newspaper of Sinn Féin, described the arrest of Adams and five others in that incident as "almost symbolic." But British authorities pressed ahead with the trial nine months later, pinpointing Adams's location for potential assassins.

Had the murder attempt succeeded, a heavy blow would have been dealt the Irish nationalist movement. Adams has been a key figure in developing mass action strategies that have made Sinn Féin the leading party of the nationalist community in Northern Ireland and are expanding the party's base in the formally independent south of Ireland.

(For an extensive account of the growth of Sinn Féin political influence, see *Intercontinental Press*, Feb. 6, 1984.)

Adams is the latest in a long line of freedom fighters targeted for assassination in Northern Ireland. On Jan. 16, 1981, for example, three assassins broke into Bernadette Devlin McAliskey's home, seriously wounding her and her husband Michael.

Dublin hands over Irish fighter

For the first time since Ireland was partitioned in 1921, the government in the formally independent south has turned a guerrilla fighter over to British police in Northern Ireland. Dominic McGlinchey, a leader of the Irish National Liberation Army (INLA), was captured by Irish police on March 17 and turned over to British authorities the next day.

The Irish Republican Socialist Party, which has close ties to the INLA, termed the extradition the act of "a puppet government subservient to Britain."

Miriam Daly, who had been a leader of the Irish Republican Socialist Party until shortly before her death, was murdered June 26, 1980. Two weeks earlier, assassins had gunned down John Turnley, a leader of the Irish Independence Party.

From *Intercontinental Press*

Three other opponents of British rule have also been ordered extradited to Northern Ireland. Two are members of the Irish Republican Army, and one is accused of membership in the INLA. Those orders are being appealed to the Supreme Court in the south.

The Dublin government's readiness to turn Irish freedom fighters over to British authorities bolsters London's attempts to criminalize the freedom struggle in Northern Ireland, and reflects the Irish government's acceptance of British rule over the north.

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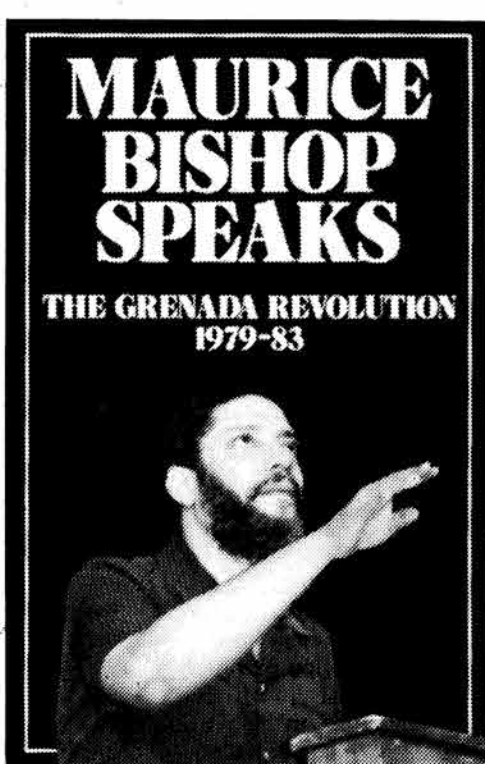
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Marroquin talks with shipyard workers

BY STEPHEN JEFFRIES

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — The Tidewater tour of Héctor Marroquín was an important opportunity to talk to workers at the largest shipyard in the country. The Newport News shipyard, which employs 18,000 production workers, is organized by United Steelworkers of America Local 8888, whose composition is 65 percent Black and 30 percent women.

Marroquín and a team of his supporters took his case to the workers, speaking about how the attacks on his democratic rights are a part of a concerted campaign against the rights of all working people. Marroquín explained that the attacks are an attempt to intimidate the U.S. working class and hamper any campaign to oppose the U.S. government's war on working people at home and abroad.

"Here in this country," Marroquín said, "workers are denied their right to organize trade unions by threats or violent attacks against them." He pointed to the drive at the Newport News shipyard in 1979, in which the state and local police attacked striking workers at the direction of the company and with the support of the Democratic and Republican officials. Marroquín linked this struggle with the battle of the Arizona copper miners, who are fighting to better their living and working conditions and have to face the state police, National Guard, and other assaults.

Many workers picked up on this call for solidarity and requested literature on Marroquín's case. Some gave money to support his defense efforts. Workers felt outraged that Marroquín was being punished and persecuted — both in the United States and Mexico — for supporting trade union rights.

Because the shipyard works on U.S. naval vessels, there are many sailors stationed at Newport News. A number showed interest in Marroquín's case. Two who stopped by to ask more about the case were from California and said they knew about the miserable social conditions in Mexico and understood why people were trying to change these conditions through

out Latin America. "We know why people are rebelling in El Salvador and throughout Latin America," they said, "it's because of these conditions."

Marroquín also gained the endorsement of many organizations here in his fight for political asylum in the United States and an end to his harassment by the Immigration and Naturalization Service. The Norfolk chapter of the National Education Association, Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, Haitian Refugee Committee, Manuelito Gordula of the Friends of the Filipino People, Old Dominion University chapter of the Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, Southeast Virginia Peace Coalition, and the Jesus Care Committee were all endorsers of the Marroquín case.

These organizations were represented at a rally in Newport News on the final day of the tour that was attended by 30 people and raised \$200 for continuing the defense of Héctor Marroquín.



Talking with students at St. Philip's College in San Antonio. Héctor Marroquín has been winning support for his seven-year fight against deportation.

Texaco workers resist union-busting

BY HALKET ALLEN

LOS ANGELES — The strike against Texaco's refineries here and in Anacortes, Washington, is entering its second month. It began on February 24.

Texaco imposed the strike on the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Local 1-128 (OCAW) after the union rejected a major take-back contract. Although Texaco has agreed to the Gulf settlement on wage increases of 20 cents an hour for the first year and 35 cents an hour for the second year, it wants major concessions that include:

- Wrecking the seniority system by eliminating the bumping rights of workers who lose their jobs when a refinery unit is shut down.

- Eliminating the bid system that allows

workers to bid by seniority on jobs that open up in operations and maintenance.

- Instituting a 42-hour base workweek that would displace 30 to 35 workers and require workers in operations to work an automatic double shift every month.

- Starting new workers at a wage rate of \$7.75 an hour — a little more than half the current rate — with three years to catch up to the wage scale that is now in effect.

- Laying off operators during "turn arounds" when refinery units are shut down for repairs by replacing these operators with nonunion contract workers who earn half the wages.

- Instituting an even worse penalty system for taking vacation days away from workers who take time off for union business or for sickness.

- Combining crafts in the maintenance department, which would eliminate jobs and open the way for even more contracting out of union work.

- A no-strike clause.

- The end of union dues check off.

Each of these demands — if implemented — would weaken the union and lead to worse working conditions for Texaco workers.

Texaco is demanding more than just a weak contract. It seeks to bust OCAW. The company organized a decertification campaign at the Sulphur Recovery Unit, a small unit not connected to the main refinery. OCAW beat back that attack and won the vote against decertification.

However, Texaco is demanding that the Sulphur Recovery Unit's contract expire in one year instead of two, as is the case in the majority of OCAW-organized oil contracts.

If successful, the Port Arthur Refinery, Los Angeles Refinery, and Sulphur Recovery Unit would be negotiating contracts at different times. This would strengthen Texaco's hand in bargaining.

Texaco is also trying to convince striking workers to cross the picket line. The company recently mailed a letter to union members along that line.

"This letter is to advise you that work is available to each and every one of you at your respective work locations," it began. "For those employees who have elected not to participate in the strike currently in progress and who are reporting for work and are on the active and current payroll, management is maintaining and continuing in effect the working conditions provided in the terminated labor agreement."

So far only five workers have crossed the line.

Texaco has also called on the courts to aid their fight against the union. An injunction has been issued limiting the number of pickets, size of the picket signs, poles, and materials that they are made of.

The injunction limits pickets to two for each gate and four for the main gate. It forbids pickets to yell at scabs crossing the line or to "obstruct or prevent" anyone from doing business with Texaco. The penalty for violating this court order is \$500 and/or five days in jail for each violation.

The Texaco unit of OCAW has responded by asking other unions for solidarity. There has been leafleting and plant-gate collections at the other oil companies in the area, including ARCO, Shell, and Union 76. The Texaco strike solidarity committee has arranged for a striker to address the membership meeting of McDonnell Douglas United Auto Workers Local 148 and is trying to set up presentations at other union executive and local meetings. The longshore union has provided longshore jobs to striking workers and offered to join the picket line.

These acts of solidarity will be essential to win the strike.

Halket Allen is a member of OCAW Local 1-128.

Toronto meeting hails Grenada revolution

BY LARRY JOHNSTON

TORONTO — Some 350 people rallied here March 13 to celebrate the publication of the new book *Maurice Bishop Speaks* and to launch the Toronto chapter of the Maurice Bishop and October 19, 1983, Martyrs Foundation.

They gathered on the fifth anniversary of the Grenada revolution to hear Don Rojas, former press secretary to slain Prime Minister Maurice Bishop; former editor of *Caribbean Contact* Ricky Singh; and other speakers.

The speakers outlined the gains the revolution had brought to the people of Grenada and the beacon of hope it provided to the peoples of the rest of the Caribbean and the world.

Singh and Rojas condemned the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the betrayal of the revolution by the clique led by Bernard Coard, which opened the door to U.S. imperialism.

"Coard and the gang of mass murderers" must "receive revolutionary justice," Rojas stated. But he added that "only an indepen-

dent people's court can dispense this step, not the Yankees, not the caretaker government."

Rojas explained that Washington would use the trial of Coard and his supporters to attack the image of Maurice Bishop and the Grenada revolution. He appealed to the audience "to put our efforts into a defense campaign for the Maurice Bishop and October 19, 1983, Martyrs Foundation because that is what the U.S. government sees as the most dangerous threat inside Grenada today."

"The stronger the foundation becomes," Rojas added, "the more dangerous it is perceived to be in Washington."

Sixty copies of *Maurice Bishop Speaks* were sold at the rally and over \$1,200 was collected for the memorial foundation.

The rally heard greetings from U.S. Congressman Ronald Dellums, a member of the Congressional Black Caucus. Dellums noted that "the achievements and successes of the revolution have left an undeniable imprint on the lives of generations to come."

* * *

Brothers and sisters,

In continued solidarity I join you to commemorate the spirit of the fifth anniversary of the March 13 Grenada revolution. The achievements and successes of the revolution have left an undeniable imprint on the lives of generations to come.

It is not the tragedies of October 1983 that we want to memorialize, but the fervor, courage, and beauty of the contributions and dreams for all humankind that we would cherish and hold dear as we celebrate March 13, 1984.

Those who died for justice and peace will live on in our continuing struggles. As we remember, let us look forward in hope and commitment.

Peace,
Ronald V. Dellums
Member of Congress

Socialist hall shot up in Atlanta

BY CHRIS HOEPPNER

ATLANTA — For the second time in a week, shots were fired into the headquarters of Socialist Workers Party senatorial candidate Susan Winsten and candidate for the 5th Congressional District Maurice Williams during the weekend of March 17.

Eight shots from a pellet gun were fired into the storefront at 504 Flat Shoals Ave., S.E. The weekend before, five shots struck the window of the building, which also serves as Georgia headquarters for the socialist presidential and vice-presidential slate of Mel Mason and Andrea González.

Mason, a former city councilman from Seaside, California, recently concluded a successful campaign stop in Georgia.

These shots occur in the atmosphere of stepped-up violence against fighters for civil and human rights, such as the Cater family in Mableton. The failure of the government to take action against those responsible only gives the green light to further acts of violence. These acts are designed to intimidate those who speak out for the rights of working people and the oppressed here and around the world.

Socialist candidates Williams and Winsten have just returned from a fact-finding trip to Nicaragua. They have already begun speaking out about the accom-

plishments of the Nicaraguan revolution and warning of the imminent threat of a U.S. invasion.

"These cowardly acts will not stop us from spreading the truth about the U.S. government's war drive against the workers and farmers of Central America and Lebanon," Williams said at a City Hall news conference March 20.

"We demand that the Atlanta police, Mayor [Andrew] Young, and the city administration conduct a complete investigation of these incidents and prosecute those responsible," Williams said.

"We urge that our Democratic and Republican opponents join us in supporting the democratic right of all candidates to be heard in this election."

A letter condemning the shooting was signed by several community leaders and activists. Signers included, Leamon Hood, area director of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; Joe Beasley, coordinator for the Jesse Jackson for President campaign committee; Mary Cater, NAACP leader who is currently demanding an investigation into racist shooting into her house in Cobb County; Bill Thurston, Operation PUSH; and attorneys Brian Spears and Kathy Wilde.

Fund provides Spanish campaign material

BY YVONNE HAYES

Thousands of workers and farmers in this country whose first language is Spanish will take a leading part in the fight for a new society — a socialist society like the one that Mel Mason and Andrea González are campaigning for. Because of the generous contributions made to the \$84,000 kick-off fund so far, the socialist campaign is meeting and involving more and more of these workers.

The recent tour of Andrea González, Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate, and a team of campaign supporters to the Rio Grande Valley was made possible because this is a bilingual campaign. The majority of the people that González met while on tour are Mexicans, Chicanos, and Salvadorans. Many were farm workers facing extreme hardship due to the recent freeze — *la helada* — which destroyed thousands of acres of crops.

Armed with Spanish-language campaign

brochures, posters, and buttons, the team of socialist campaigners was able to bring the socialist program for working people into the Valley. González met with Salvadoran refugees at a "halfway house" to learn of their situation and to express solidarity with their fight against the Immigration and Naturalization Service — *la migra*.

González held a news conference across the border in Matamoros, Mexico, in order to reach the thousands who get most of their news from the Mexican press. She was also interviewed at a Spanish-language news conference in San Antonio and on Spanish-language radio and TV in several other cities.

Andrea González is a member of the editorial board of *Perspectiva Mundial*, the sister publication of the *Militant*. Through the pages of *PM*, thousands of people are reading about the activities and ideas of the

socialist campaign.

This week, González received a letter from a reader of *PM* who is imprisoned in Texas. He explained: "I am Cuban... a youth 24 years old who is filled with the patriotism and rebelliousness of my people and my ancestors, and with the ideas I got from the Heroic Guerrilla [Che Guevara] and Comandante Fidel Castro.... I'm writing you personally as a defender of our people who are enslaved by the yankees, someone who speaks the same language as I do, a language which the rulers of this country would like to take from us." This working-class fighter requested more information on the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, saying he hopes to join when he gets out of prison.

Distribution of *Perspectiva Mundial* will continue to be an important activity of the socialist campaign. Through the campaign many people will be introduced to this socialist magazine for the first time.

The socialist presidential campaign has made available taped copies of a bilingual speech by Andrea González denouncing U.S. foreign policy. Also available are Spanish-language leaflets and a special volunteer card to be used with the socialist ballot drive. These materials and a new poster in English and Spanish — "Support the Socialist Campaign/Apoye la Campaña Socialista" — will be valuable organizing tools for the Mason-González campaign.

Completing the \$84,000 campaign kick-off fund is key to continuing these efforts. As we move into the final week of the fund, we need to make an extra push to collect the \$98,549 pledged. Of this, \$20,838 remains outstanding. Every contribution to the fund will help guarantee that the Mason-González campaign continues to reach out to the entire working class.

ILGWU continues to battle Davis Pleating



Picket supporting striking garment workers at Davis Pleating in California

BY SETH GALINSKY

LOS ANGELES — Gene Davis and his business partner did pretty well last year. As owners of Southern California Davis Pleating and Button Co., they paid themselves a half million dollars in salary (not to mention the company's profits and any fringe benefits).

Meanwhile, Davis demanded that work-

ers agree to a 40 percent cut in pay. The 150 workers, whose average wage was \$5 an hour, voted unanimously to strike on Aug. 10, 1983, after Davis refused to budge from his original offer.

Davis hired scabs and professional strikebreakers to try and crush the strike.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union responded by setting up

picket lines around firms that did business with Davis, convincing them to send their work elsewhere. Seven months of the strike and boycott forced the company back to the negotiating table, but it continued to demand unacceptable wage cuts. Now Davis has announced it will close the factory in April if the union does not call off the strike.

At a March 1 rally of over 100 striking workers and supporters, Miguel Machuca, organizing director for the ILGWU explained, "there are only two choices for the company, either they sign a contract or we will force them out of business." While winning a contract would be the best for the workers, it's better to force a garment shop out of business than to allow it to continue to operate with scab labor.

Preparations for the spirited rally helped spark discussion here at Manny Industries, also organized by the ILGWU, a manufacturer of bedspreads and comforters. Over 65 workers took part in lunch-break meetings to discuss the importance of demonstrating solidarity with the Davis Pleating strikers.

Over 25 workers from Manny's made it to the demonstration. Several workers who were unable to attend the demonstration wore red and black to work to symbolize support to the strike. As in previous demonstrations at Davis, the strikers and supporters wore red and black — "the color of strike in Mexico."

Contributions to the strike fund can be sent to ILGWU Workers Strike Fund, 400 W. 9th St., Los Angeles, Calif. 90015.

33,000 workers join Salvador strikes

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — Tens of thousands more workers, nearly all government employees, have joined the wave of strikes under way in El Salvador.

The strikes, which began in late February, are demanding a substantial pay increase. Most wages in El Salvador have been frozen for four years by government decree.

On March 15, 33,000 public employees in the capital, San Salvador, joined the 10,000 who remain out on strike despite military takeover of their workplaces.

According to a dispatch by the Salvadoran news agency Salpress, the new strikers include 20,000 employees at the Ministry of Public Works, 12,000 at the Ministry of Agriculture, 650 at the Institute of Tourism, and 350 sanitation workers.

The Salvadoran news agency AIP reported the same day that the national teachers union, ANDES, has begun rotating two-hour strikes for a 50 percent wage increase and release of political prisoners. Workers at the national lottery went out on strike for a \$1.40 pay hike, and the union of workers in the coffee industry is demanding a 20 percent pay increase.

Remaining out on strike, despite the dispatch of troops to their offices, are workers at the Institute of Social Security, Institute for the Regulation of Distribution, Institute for Pensions, and the national water works

(ANDA).

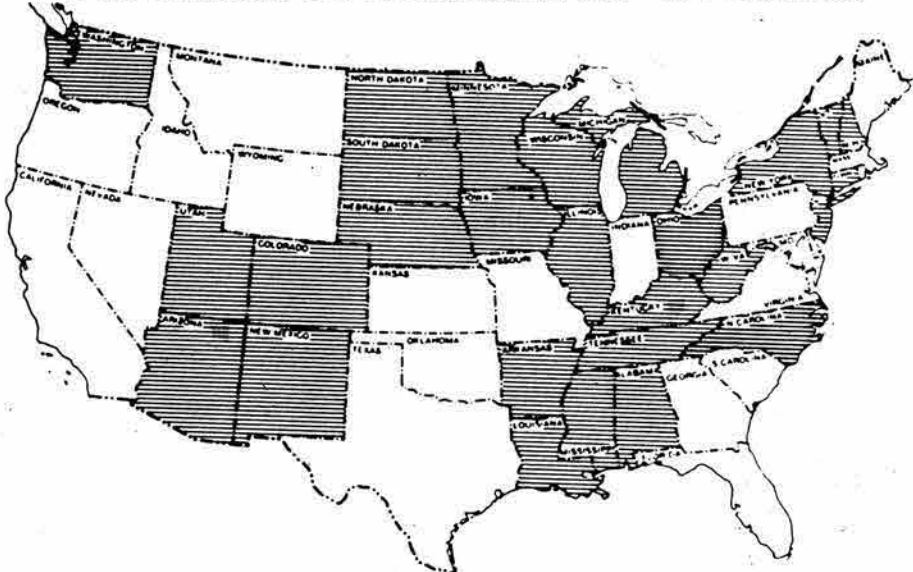
Under normal circumstances, the response by the dictatorship would be to try to break the strikes by armed force. But the fact that the strikes coincide with an image-polishing presidential election scheduled for March 25, and the presence of hundreds of foreign journalists to cover the election, greatly increases the political cost of such a move.

So far, the government has sought to buy time, combining threats, selective repression, and a meager wage increase. Some strikers have received telephoned threats from the paramilitary death squads backed up by threats of dismissal by employers. Some strikers have been arrested; others have "disappeared," the victims of paramilitary kidnappings.

One of the major union federations involved in the work stoppages, the United Trade Union Federation of Public and Municipal Employees, rejected the government's offer of a 10 percent wage increase as an "insult to the working class."

Subscribe to *Perspectiva Mundial*, biweekly, Spanish-language sister publication of the *Militant*. \$2.50 for 6 issues, \$8 for 6 months, or \$16 for one year. Write to 408 West St., New York, New York 10014.

Put Mason & Gonzalez on '84 ballot!



Undemocratic election laws in the U.S. require the collection of large numbers of signatures on petitions to put Mel Mason and Andrea González on the ballot in November. The socialist candidates plan to be on the ballot in the majority of states (shaded). The petition drives are an opportunity to reach hundreds of thousands of working people with socialist ideas. Socialist campaigners are nearing completion of a successful petitioning drive in Alabama. Michigan supporters begin petitioning on March 24, and West Virginia begins on March 31. Volunteers are needed for both of these big efforts. Contact the campaign headquarters nearest you to help (see socialist directory, page 17).

Atlanta workers give Mason warm welcome

BY SARA JEAN JOHNSTON

ATLANTA — Socialist Workers presidential candidate Mel Mason recently toured here. Mason arrived amidst a growing battle between city workers demanding a pay raise and their boss, Mayor Andrew Young.

Mason's first stop Saturday morning was the 9 a.m. Operation PUSH meeting. Speaking before Mason were Leamon Hood, district director of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), and Mary Cater.

Hood explained that Atlanta's city workers make 23 percent less than city workers across the country.

Rev. Bill Thurston, executive director of Atlanta PUSH said, "Andrew Young goes all around the world preaching human rights, but won't give justice to city workers in Atlanta."

Mary Cater, an executive board member of the NAACP whose house was shot into by racists last October, solidarized with the AFSCME workers present. She called on AFSCME workers to "stand behind my family because the same kind of folks who are robbing you are shooting up my house."

Thurston then introduced Mel Mason. "These politicians offer no help to Mary Cater. In fact, I invited the Hart and Mondale campaigns to be here, but they said, 'some other time.' I invited the Jackson campaign, and they told me that I would represent Jesse."

"I also feel I can support Mason because he calls for a new political party in this country. For one thing, Mel ain't no capitalist. He came out of the struggle. He

is among us, made by us."

Mason began, "They never ask the question 'should a white run for president?' I ran and was elected to city council in Seaside, California, as a committed revolutionary. My program was simple — I would support everything that was in the interest of Black and workers rights."

"Two years later the community thought it was doing me a favor by electing two Black Democrats to city council. And everytime a critical issue came before the council there was only one vote for the community — me. So much for Uncle Tom Democrats."

AFSCME workers from the back shouted, "tell it like it is."

"We have to ask ourselves," continued Mason, "is it our government or somebody else's? In Morenci, Arizona, you can see clearly whose interests are served. Thirteen unions, forced out on strike eight months ago by Phelps Dodge, called on their 'friend of labor' governor — who they had campaigned for — to help them."

"This 'friend,' Democratic Gov. Bruce Babbitt, called out seven units of the National Guard on these strikers. Many of those strikers are not talking about electing Democrats and Republicans anymore."

"Holding office in this country does not constitute being in power. This country is run and controlled by the rich," said Mason to shouts of "that's right!"

"To get real political power," continued Mason, "we need to create a political party for the oppressed. A party that would fight killer cops, fight for women's rights, and fight for unions. In South Africa they're fighting for majority rule against minority



Mason examines results of racist assault on Cater home in Mableton, Georgia.

rule. We've got minority rule right here.

"To get political power," concluded Mason, "we've got to run our own kind for office. We've got to solve this crisis the same way our brothers and sisters did in Cuba and Nicaragua. We've got to take over the government."

As Mason left the podium to a standing ovation led by the city workers, Thurston stated, "I can follow that program. Does anybody here want to keep the present system?"

PUSH activists, city workers, and Mary

Cater surrounded Mason following his speech. Many city workers expressed their anger that Mayor Young was "posing as Martin Luther King's lieutenant" while holding down the very workers King gave his life for.

Saturday night Mason and supporters campaigned at the National Black Organizer's Conference (NBOC) rally featuring Rev. Ben Chavis and Nicaraguan representative Francisco Campbell. Mason's campaign and its central theme of making a break from the Democratic and Republican parties was well received by many conference participants.

Following Nicaraguan representative Campbell's speech outlining the gains of the Nicaraguan people after they took political power in 1979, Mason campaign supporters sold 25 copies of the *Militant* newspaper and distributed socialist campaign literature.

The next night, after a successful lunch with PUSH and AFSCME activists interested in finding out more about the socialist campaign, Mason gave a hard-hitting talk on how Blacks and other working people will end their oppression at a Mason for President campaign rally.

The first people on their feet following Mason's speech were Mary Cater and her family. Susan Winsten, socialist candidate for U.S. Senate, appealed for funds for the Mason-González campaign, giving examples of what she and Maurice Williams, candidate for the 5th Congressional District, had seen as part of an international brigade in Nicaragua. Donations and pledges totaled over \$2,200.

Mason and supporters also campaigned at General Motors Lakewood plant.

Later that evening, Mason was out in 28 degree weather talking to International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) members during shift change at Seimens Alis plant, north of Atlanta. Campaigning with him were Maurice Williams and other socialist workers from the plant. Mason met with IBEW members later at a nearby Howard Johnson's restaurant.

The tour ended with Mason campaigning at the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union-organized Arrow Shirt warehouse with ACTWU member Susan Winsten.

The warehouse is located one and a half miles from the home of the Cater family, where Mason made his last stop. He saw first hand the bullet-riddled door and the slugs in the living room wall that had barely missed the head of their youngest son.

While the response to Mason among workers in struggle and victims of racist attacks who are standing up to the government was a warm one throughout the tour, the response of the Atlanta media was ice-cold. From the three major TV crews leaving the PUSH meeting as Mason began to speak, to news directors stating that they were only covering the Democratic and Republican candidates, Atlanta's corporate owners tried to minimize the impact of the socialist campaign.

"That only goes to show you the power of the ideas this campaign is raising," said Mason. "When you're pointing the road forward and raising ideas, you threaten those who rule this society for a profit."

S.F. unionists hear Sandinista youth

BY SAM MANUEL

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. — A crowd of 300 people turned out here in the city's largely Central American Mission District February 24 to honor Augusto Sandino, national hero of the Nicaraguan revolution. Among the speakers was Ninuska Méndez, a member of JS-19, the Sandinista youth organization of Nicaragua.

Méndez is presently on tour speaking on the role of youth in the Nicaraguan revolution.

Later that week 30 people gathered to hear Méndez at the home of two supporters of the Socialist Workers 1984 U.S. presidential ticket of Mel Mason and Andrea González. The meeting consisted mostly of assembly workers from the Kar Kar Electronics plant in San Francisco, along with activists opposing U.S. intervention in Central America.

The workers at Kar Kar are organized by International Association of Machinists (IAM) Lodge 1327. They are largely from China, Vietnam, and Latin American countries.

The recent immigrants from China and Vietnam have many questions about socialism because of their experiences in their homelands. But facing racist discrimination on and off the job in the United States has led some of these workers to be open to the ideas raised in the socialist election campaign. Supporters of Mason and González have made special efforts to reach Chinese-speaking workers by distributing literature in their language. Several Chinese coworkers have helped in these efforts.

Two Chinese women present at the meeting were impressed with the confidence expressed by Méndez. They asked if there were other young women like her in Nicaragua.

Méndez related that her father had been a fighter in the war against Somoza. After the revolution she was reunited with her father. He won her to the revolutionary movement after explaining the aims of the revolution.

"We started," she continued, "a JS-19 with only three or four people at the Catholic school I attended. It grew to 400." Méndez was soon placed in charge of a four-school zone.

Another worker asked her about Nicaraguan 16-year-olds having the right to vote. She smiled and explained, "We have won this right. Many young people 16 years and younger fought and died in the revolution against Somoza."

Another worker explained that young people in the U.S. were opposed to service in the U.S. Army. She asked why the young people in Nicaragua participate in the army.

Méndez responded, "Young people in Nicaragua answered the call to defend the country in order to defend the changes that are taking place due to the revolution. This is why we are not opposed to military service."

After the meeting some workers bought literature to learn more about the Nicaraguan revolution. The revolution was the topic of conversation in many languages as pockets of workers discussed what they had learned. One Chinese worker had bought the pamphlet *Nicaragua: Introduction to the Sandinista Revolution* and had almost finished it. She also decided to learn Spanish in order to follow the revolution more closely.

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Challenge to union women

Continued from front page

harassment is starting to be recognized as a serious problem by the labor movement, as is the need for child-care centers.

There's the important pay equity victory in Washington state. And there was the large labor participation in the last leg of the unsuccessful ERA ratification effort.

These and other advances are based on the increased sense of solidarity among the ranks of labor, where there's a growing understanding that women's equality is an important union issue and that women's rights benefit all working people.

The key to every one of these victories is struggles by women and their allies, often through their unions, CLUW, and other women's rights organizations such as the National Organization for Women (NOW). By fighting for their rights, women workers have strengthened the labor movement, and changed the consciousness of millions of working people.

CLUW born as downturn began

CLUW's founding coincided with the beginning of a prolonged, international capitalist economic crisis. This made winning victories harder. And gains won previously are under heavy fire from big businessmen and their political servants.

And while CLUW was formed soon after Washington was forced to withdraw its troops from Vietnam, today we're at the beginning of a new Vietnam in Central America, in which young workers and the children of other workers will be sent to kill and die.

Thus, CLUW's 10th anniversary convention occurs as the need for labor and women to mobilize against the employing class' war at home and abroad is becoming more pronounced.

Affirmative action

The first day of the CLUW convention is devoted to discussing affirmative action. Rightly so. The small but important affirmative action measures that have been won are the targets of a frontal assault by the White House and the bosses.

In the Reagan administration's attack on the Detroit police department affirmative action plan, the White House argued that affirmative action quotas — which force employers to hire, train, or retain a certain percentage of female, Black, and Latino workers — discriminate against white male workers.

CLUW should be in the forefront of debunking the "reverse discrimination" myth, and explaining that all workers benefit from every step forward for the most oppressed. Quotas, that is, affirmative action with some teeth in it, need to be imposed and defended.

In predominantly female industries, most notably the garment industry, affirmative action is also an important issue. Not only should female garment workers have the opportunity to become steelworkers. They should also be able to get the higher-paying garment jobs, like becoming cutters.

In the Detroit case, the Justice Department also attacked the use of separate seniority lists for Black and white officers, which were used to make sure that Black and white officers were advanced in equal numbers.

On December 6, the Justice Department asked the Supreme Court to overturn lower court rulings that prohibited the Memphis, Tennessee, fire department from laying off newly hired Black workers according to strict seniority. The layoffs would have gutted the gains won through implementation of a court-ordered affirmative action plan.

The National Education Association supports a contractual modification of the seniority system as a way to prevent discriminatory layoffs of Blacks, women, and Latinos. This is an example for the entire labor movement.

At a time when the seniority system itself is under attack from many employers, a fight by the labor movement to defend the seniority system and modify it so that it helps preserve the gains of the most oppressed workers would strengthen the labor movement by unifying its ranks. CLUW should take the lead in educating on why seniority can and should be strengthened.

Sexual harassment

With larger numbers of women coming into the work force and the union movement and the development of the fight for women's rights, women have started fighting back against degrading, dangerous, and discriminatory sexist harassment.

Employers foster such harassment as a way to get rid of women they were forced to hire. Sexual harassment is also used to divide and discipline the work force and to intimidate a particular group of workers.

As in cases of rape and wife-beating, women are told sexual harassment is *their* fault, that something they did or said caused the harassment. Fighting sexual harassment is an important union issue.

Sometimes male coworkers, in addition to foremen and other company people, harass women workers. Every time a male worker engages in sexist harassment, he is playing the bosses' game of divide, intimidate, and conquer, and should be called to order by the union.

The Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers issued guidelines on sexual harassment that included harassment by workers.

The guidelines said, in part: "Unfortunately, sexual harassment is not only practiced by supervision. Co-workers have too often been known to sexually harass other workers. Sexual harassment in the form of remarks, gestures, physical touching, etc., by co-workers can make the victims' worklives miserable and hurt their ability to do their jobs."

"Sexual harassment violates the fundamental principles of fairness and equality for which the union has fought so hard. Sexual harassment of co-workers runs contrary to the basic union objective of decent working conditions free of discrimination."

"Sexual harassment engaged in by one member against another member could very well constitute conduct detrimental to the welfare and interest of the membership of the Union; and, therefore, may constitute the basis for internal charges against the offending member." This recognition of sexual harassment as an obstacle to union solidarity is an important step forward.

CLUW, as a women's rights organization within the labor movement, is uniquely situated to bring this critical issue to the fore, helping to organize support for women fighting cases of sexual harassment and educating the unions on the stakes all workers have in opposing such antiwoman behavior.

The national antiwoman media campaign around the Massachusetts trial of six men on charges of raping and beating a young woman in a New Bedford barroom (see story on back page) is designed to intimidate and demoralize women. It encourages sexual harassment and other reactionary attacks on women. Every woman worker has been the victim of the kind of slanders leveled against the woman victim in this case, often circulated by bosses.

Another slander campaign against

women is the increasing attacks on working mothers, who often are forced to leave their children home alone because there is no child care available. After suffering the guilt and worry every day over the safety of their children, they must also suffer the accusations that they are the cause of everything from juvenile delinquency to teenage suicide.

Countering antiwoman propaganda of all types is an important task for CLUW.

Abortion rights

CLUW has a firm position in support of the right of women to choose abortion, including support for government funding for abortions for poor women who want them.

The White House is carrying out an unrelenting ideological offensive against this right, and the Catholic church hierarchy is pitching in as well. This is to prepare a new wave of attacks on this right. In Washington state, where there was a violent attack on an abortion clinic, the labor movement has begun to speak out on this issue. There are a few other examples of labor support as well.

CLUW chapters should take every opportunity to get the union movement involved in the struggle to defend the most basic right of all — the right of women to control their own bodies.

Pay equity

The recent pay equity victory in Washington state, where the state government was forced to give an estimated \$838 million in raises and back pay to women workers found to have been paid less than men for jobs of comparable worth, puts a spotlight on the depth of employer discrimination against women.

In the wake of that victory, there have been loud protests against the concept of pay equity by the employers and the government. The response of the union movement to this challenge must be unequivocal: we cannot afford *not* to fight for equality, no matter how deeply it cuts into capitalist profits.

The related fights for affirmative action and for pay equity challenge the fundamental premise that women *should be* super-exploited and oppressed workers. The employers will fight both with everything they have, including the power of the government. Lawsuits and collective bargaining on these issues will only be effective to the extent that they are backed up by a mobilized, militant labor movement, working hand in hand with fighting women's rights and Black rights movements.

Undocumented workers

CLUW's 1982 convention condemned the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) raids that were taking place at the time in workplaces across the country. At CLUW's 1983 Organizing the Unorganized conference, there was a discussion on the contributions immigrant workers have made to the U.S. labor movement and the need for labor to defend the rights of the undocumented and expose the use of the INS as a strikebreaker.

Congressional Democrats and Republicans, meanwhile, are falling all over themselves trying to come up with an "immigration bill," which, no matter what the final wording, will include restrictions on the rights of immigrants and all working people.

CLUW's national gatherings are becoming an important place for those in the labor movement who want to defend the undocumented. This is an important discussion, especially given the fact that the AFL-CIO leadership supports many of the reactionary features of the anti-immigrant Simpson-Mazzoli bill.

Foreign policy

U.S. foreign policy, war, and the military budget were all discussed at CLUW's last convention in 1982.

Since then, these issues have come even more to the fore of the concerns of working people. That's not surprising. Billions are being spent to escalate the wars against the peoples of El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Lebanon while cutbacks continue in government-funded daycare, Medicaid fund-



Alabama auto worker. Coalition of Labor Union Women can play important role in defending affirmative action, combating sexual harassment.

ing for abortions, and other social services.

Working women suffer the most from the blows the labor movement is suffering at home and have the biggest stake in the fight against U.S. wars abroad. CLUW's statement of purpose, as quoted at the beginning of this article, stands for the principle of international solidarity among working women. Such solidarity begins with opposing the U.S. government's attacks on sisters in other countries.

That is why many CLUW chapters have been involved in antiwar activities and discussions about the U.S. role in Grenada and Central America.

This discussion is taking place in the labor movement. More unions are speaking out against U.S. policies in Central America; more locals are inviting Salvadoran and Nicaraguan trade unionists to address their meetings; more unionists are going to Nicaragua to see for themselves the gains workers have made under the Sandinista government; and more unions are participating in antiwar activities.

AFL-CIO Pres. Lane Kirkland, on the other hand, participated in the bipartisan Kissinger commission on Central America, which called for a massive increase in aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship.

Many CLUW chapters have passed resolutions calling for this CLUW convention to take a stand against Washington's aggression in Central America and the Caribbean. That would put CLUW on the side of the overwhelming majority of workers and peasants in that region, whose progress toward dignity and equality is being hampered by the same U.S. government and big businessmen attacking the rights of women in the United States.

Political action

CLUW is also confronting the question of what kind of political action can best advance the cause of working women. This will require political action independent of the two parties of the employers — the Democrats and Republicans. Neither Walter Mondale nor Gary Hart nor Jesse Jackson offer any alternative to the bipartisan policies of union-busting, racism, sexism, and war.

The growing need for a labor party based on the unions is an objective challenge facing the entire labor movement and one which CLUW can be part of working out. The increased role of women in the unions today ensures that a fighting labor party would be a women's rights party, and a party in which women would be candidates and leaders.

On political action, as on other union questions, union women can and should play a ground-breaking role.

Reagan's War on Women's Rights

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Socialist view on women & '84 elections

The following statement is by Mel Mason and Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidates for U.S. president and vice-president.

One of the central issues in the 1984 presidential elections is: how can women's rights be defended and extended in the '80s?

The answer most commonly given to this question by leaders of women's rights organizations is: women should turn out at the polls to "dump Reagan" and replace him with a Democrat. This is the same answer the labor officialdom gives to the question: how can we reverse the union-busting drive of the employers and the government?

We disagree with this answer.

The idea that a Democratic Party-dominated White House — headed by Walter Mondale, Gary Hart, or Jesse Jackson — would put the government on the side of women is false. It starts from the wrong premise that Reagan is the primary cause of the problems facing women and that electing a Democrat is the best immediate thing we can do to advance women's interests.

The socialist campaign has a different starting point.

We say the problems facing women and all working people come from the employers and their two party system.

Broad assault on women's rights

When women think about the problems they confront today, it's clear that they go way beyond Reagan and the Republican Party. Reagan's virulently antiwoman views and actions, in fact, are part of a broader assault on women's rights.

Women see it every day on the job, where they are paid less than men. Where they are prevented from getting higher-paying jobs because they are women. Where they are subjected to sexual harassment.

Women are also victims of the speed-up, gutting of work rules, pay cuts, and other antilabor attacks.

They suffer from cutbacks in social services, including child care, denial of abortion rights, and the lack of legal equality. They are the victims of increased antiwoman propaganda, such as that around the New Bedford rape trials, and rightist bombings of abortion clinics. Sisters who are Black, Latina, Asian, and Native American suffer the effects of institutionalized racism combined with sexism.

While the attacks on women's rights and living standards have accelerated since Reagan took office, they didn't begin in 1980.

The second-class status of women has deep roots in this class-divided society.

It is the employing class of big businessmen and bankers — the ones who profit from paying women less and who benefit from the divisions between male and female workers — who are responsible for maintaining women's oppression.

The government serves these wealthy families, making sure that their right to make a profit at our expense is safeguarded.

The Rockefeller, Mellon, and Carnegie families are not simply the most powerful of many so-called special interest groups that compete for governmental influence. They control both the Democratic and Republican parties, which jointly utilize the power of government to defend the private-profit system.

Because this system is in a deep crisis today, both parties have stepped up their attacks on women and all working people.

This was true before Reagan was ever elected.

Carter-Mondale

It was the Democratic administration of Carter-Mondale that cut Medicaid funds for abortions, attacked affirmative action, killed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), reinstituted draft registration, armed the dictatorial Salvadoran regime, and invoked the antilabor Taft-Hartley Act against the coal miners during their 1978 strike. And this was with a Democratic majority in both the House and Senate.

The more recent reactionary measures, which are often summed up as "Reaganomics" and "Reaganism," are not the work of one man, or even one party. It is the bipartisan Congress that passes budgets



Militant Yvonne Hayes
Socialist Workers Party presidential candidate Mel Mason and vice-presidential candidate Andrea González.

and laws.

Why doesn't Congress take the millions of dollars of workers' tax money that is going to Nicaraguan rightists who blow up child-care centers, and use it to pay for some child-care centers right here?

Why doesn't Congress take the millions going to the Salvadoran death squad heads, who shoot down women, men, and children, and use it to upgrade the wages of 47 million women workers who are discriminated against in every paycheck?

It doesn't because the rulers it serves can't tolerate women's equality — here or in Central America.

What can be done today?

If neither the Democratic nor Republican parties are vehicles for fighting for women's rights, does this mean nothing can be done?

On the contrary. It was the independent mobilization of women that was key to

winning abortion rights and other laws that benefit women. Out of the struggle for these rights came the founding of women's organizations such as the Coalition of Labor Union Women and the National Organization for Women.

It was women standing up for their rights — against bosses and the Democratic and Republican parties — that won broad support in the labor movement and among antiracist fighters for women's equality and made passage of the ERA a part of labor's agenda.

With the attacks on all these gains today, it is necessary to intensify this struggle and expand it by building a massive, fighting, women's liberation movement based on the millions of women workers, especially Black and Latino sisters.

Experiences on and off the job have convinced many women that they must take their struggle for liberation into the political arena. This accounts for women's increased interest in politics today.

Our campaign says that what we need is not just some new faces in high places, but a new kind of government, a workers and farmers government, a government of those who have a stake in ending the oppression of women, racism, war, and class exploitation.

A workers and farmers government would lead the fight for a new society — a socialist society — where human needs, not private profits, get top priority.

Such a government would take the billions of dollars being spent to bomb workers and peasants in Central America and Lebanon and use those funds instead to send food and construction aid to the peoples of Latin America, the Mideast, Asia, and Africa. It would use those funds to launch a crash program of public works in this country to create jobs building child-care centers, abortion clinics, new housing, and battered women's shelters.

But to fight for a new society, we need a new political instrument. The support by the top labor officialdom for the Democrats and Republicans is an obstacle to utilizing the power of the labor movement to fight for the rights of women and all workers.

Need for a labor party

Our campaign proposes that the unions break with the bosses' parties and, in alliance with fighters for women's rights and Black rights, form a labor party.

Just as women's rights fighters have dramatically changed the views of the labor movement on women's equality, they can also have an impact on the political thinking of the labor movement, helping to move it in a new direction.

Women have a great stake in the formation of a labor party, based on a militant, mobilized labor movement. Women workers will be in the forefront of efforts to build such a party in this country.

A labor party will be a political instrument through which workers and all the oppressed — women, Blacks, Latinos, and others — will take on the employers and their government.

It will be an antiwar party and an advocate of international working-class solidarity. It will champion all aspects of the fight for women's rights — not just on Election Day, but 365 days a year.

Our campaign, the socialist campaign, is the only one putting forward an effective approach for winning women's liberation. Join us.

Women and the Nicaraguan revolution — speech by Sandinista leader

The following are excerpts from the speech of Nicaraguan leader Magda Enríquez to a meeting February 20 in San Jose, California. Enríquez was a founder of AMNLAE, the Nicaraguan Association of Women — Luisa Amanda Espinoza, and is currently the AMNLAE representative to Nicaragua's Council of State.

In her speech below, Enríquez explains the historical role of women in the fight for social justice in Nicaragua, the rise of the first Nicaraguan women's organization, AMPRONAC (which became AMNLAE after the victory of the Sandinista revolution in 1979), and the role of women today in advancing the revolution.

To talk about the participation of women in Nicaragua today we must talk a little bit about the extraordinary history of the participation of women in all of Nicaragua's struggles.

When the Spaniards came to conquer our lives the Indian women refused to bear children in order not to give the Spaniards any more slaves.

That example was followed by many women throughout our struggle for independence from Spain. It was continued in the struggle from 1927 to 1934, the struggle of Augusto César Sandino, who led an army of barefoot men and women against the occupation of Nicaragua by the U.S. Marines.

By the time of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) victory on July 19, 1979, many women had joined the

struggle on an individual basis.

However, we had not been able to organize as a women's movement. We tried to do it in 1969. In fact, we called our first national women's meeting in a little town called Juigalpa in the Department of Chontales. The meeting was called for 1:00 in the afternoon and when the time came only three women showed up.

One of these women was the first woman member of the FSLN. She was already a guerrilla fighter in the mountains. Her name is Gladys Baez and fortunately, she is still alive today. Gladys insisted that the meeting should go on.

We went into the theater. She went up to the stage before the audience of two women and she delivered a speech, which, in short said that the day was a very historic day for the Nicaraguan women because for the first time in our lives we had called upon ourselves to meet as women to discuss our role in Nicaraguan society. And, secondly, because the empty theater certainly showed us how much work we had to do.

Formation of AMPRONAC

A few years later, on Sept. 29, 1977, we met in a church called Las Palmas in Managua. We didn't even fit in there. There were wall to wall women packed in that church. That was the birth of the Association of Nicaraguan Women Confronting the National Problem (AMPRONAC).

On one hand we were organized and founded by the men and women who belonged to the FSLN, although we did not

organize as a party organization or as the female branch of the FSLN.

Not only were we not a party organization, but AMPRONAC was organized as a very open group where women from all different political parties participated. In fact, the great majority of women did not belong to any party at all.

This organizing of AMPRONAC by men and women responded to a principle that for us is still valid — the fact that we do not believe that women's problems are the problems of women but rather the problems of men and women.

Also, we did not organize to struggle exclusively for women's issues. Again, for very specific reasons: First of all, because we knew, and history has proven us right, at least in the Nicaraguan situation we could not talk about the emancipation of women without talking about the emancipation of men — men and women of a society that was certainly not emancipated, but under oppression and repression.

So, we organized to be a force in the liberation struggle and we understood again, that for us to struggle on the political program of AMPRONAC, the first thing we had to do was to topple the dictatorship.

We started as a human rights group. We kept going from jail to jail, working with lawyers to get the prisoners out of jail.

From the human rights activities, we went into hunger strikes. We went on to take over churches, lead strikes, and mobilize in the streets. We learned how to fight back against the National Guard.

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Women advance Nicaraguan revolution

Continued from Page 7

But, most importantly, we learned how to overcome fear. We learned that fear was a very valid feeling. But we learned that the important thing was to overcome fear and to work jointly in the struggle that was a matter for us of life and death.

In doing so, an extraordinary learning experience took place in Nicaragua. We, as women, learned what we were capable of doing. We learned that we had been born for other things besides the roles we had been taught — that is, to be a good woman, you had to be a good wife and a good mother.

To be a good wife and mother you had to be feminine enough to be successful in the marriage market. And then, feminine meant Revlon, Max Factor, and so on. The women in Nicaragua who are brown as I am, began dying their hair blond. In 1971 when hot pants and boots were in fashion in the United States, the Nicaraguan women were wearing boots in 90° or 100° weather.

Only a small number of females could afford Revlon and Max Factor, hot pants, and boots. The majority of women in Nicaragua could not afford these things. They were second-rate women.

Enclosed within four walls in the cities, or at the hearths in the rural areas, in her wooden kitchens, the woman had the role of servant, actually, to the husband. In fact, when you came to the hut of a peasant woman in Nicaragua, she would not even come to talk to you if the husband did not invite her to.

Illiteracy

Illiteracy among the rural women in Nicaragua was nearly 100 percent. Those families who could afford to send to school one of their children, sent the boy because, after all, he was going to have to support the family, so let him learn.

And, since the woman only had to make sure she got a husband, she had only to learn to cook and wash, do the dishes, and take care of the children.

This was the picture in Nicaragua in 1977 when we started to organize women with the objective of becoming a political force in the liberation struggle.

We as women were feeling probably more than anybody else the repression of one of the most brutal dictatorships of the Latin American countries. We not only suffered being raped by the National Guard. We also suffered seeing our children being killed because they were young and therefore possible guerrilla fighters.

All of these things started to accumulate to the point when we understood that the revolution in Nicaragua could not be made without half of the population of the country — women. So, we started to organize.

We started to learn how to organize a community. We learned that we could lead a battle. We learned we could lead a front.

Throughout all of this practice, not only did we learn what we were capable of doing, but the image of women in Nicaraguan society started to change. Our people began to learn what we were capable of doing, as women.

We never entered into a lot of theoretical discussions about women's liberation or the emancipation of women. In fact, we never said that we were equal — we simply demonstrated it, in the battlefields, on the barricades, in the mountains, in the cities.

In doing so, at the time of the victory on July 19, 1979, not only had the Nicaraguan people achieved its first major victory, but



Rachel Field

International Women's Day demonstration in Managua in March 1982. Sign reads "In face of imperialist threats, women are present in the defense of the popular Sandinista revolution."

we as women had also achieved one of our major victories.

I would like you to reflect on what it was like for us on July 19, 1979. I want you to imagine what a country is like when there is a complete vacuum of power and a bunch of young people who are experts on guerrilla fighting — take over the power. We certainly knew nothing about organizing a democratic government. Not because we were young, but because we had no history of democracy. We did not even know what a democratic government should look like.

We also had to face the fact that we had to get an economy going. And we had inherited an economy in complete bankruptcy. Banks full of paper, with no money. A treasury robbed by Somoza, the gold taken out, only \$3 million left. A dependent economy. We depended on the United States for raw material and technology.

But there was another blow that was even greater. The human cost of the war. Fifty thousand Nicaraguans dead — 1.5 percent of our entire population. If we apply that percentage to your population, it is equivalent to 3,390,000 people. That was our human cost, which also produced 40,000 orphans.

But why am I talking about this if I am supposed to be talking about women? Because we are part of the whole thing. Because if we were going to make a democratic government, we had to make sure that through the structuring of that government, the political will for the emancipation of women was getting its due.

That's why we struggled for a seat on the Council of State. That's why we struggled for the women's office under the executive that coordinates all the different programs that benefit women and also deals with the female labor force.

That's why we struggled for a legal office for the woman, so that her legal rights will be protected, so that she will be counseled and advised of her legal rights and will have a team of lawyers to help her in court, if that becomes necessary.

That's why we struggled also for a Family Protection Office, so we could deal with family problems sitting around a table before we took them to court. That's why we have been changing the laws from the Council of State. From that seat on the Council of State, AMNLAE doesn't only change or make laws, but also makes sure that no discriminatory laws are passed.

Changes in laws

The laws that we inherited from the dictator Somoza, of course, were very discriminatory laws.

So, we had to change the patriarchal laws and instead of those, we now have a law which regulates the relationship between mother, father, and children, giving equal rights to all the members of the family, and of course, putting the mother first as recognition of the participation of women in the liberation struggle.

We sit on the Social Security and Wel-

fare Council where we decide where the child-care centers are going to be and how they should be. Some technicians get very enthused and want to build these big beautiful elephants that can take care of only 80 children and we need to provide for 200, so we decide how they are going to be.

We also are going to decide how the educational programs in the child-care centers should be, so there is no stereotyping as the children grow up. The little boys and girls should both play with the trucks, blocks, pots, pans, and dolls. And, we also have to of course deal with the books so there is no stereotyping of women.

For us, this is the practice of democracy. When we as women decide where the child-care centers are going to be built, we are participating. When we the women decide we need a hospital to deal with specific gynecological problems, and we get that hospital, we are practicing democracy. When we are able to vaccinate 200,000 children over a weekend and eradicate whooping cough, measles, and polio for the last two years using volunteers, we are building democracy. When the people teach the people how to read and write, we are building democracy.

We also are organizing women at the grass-roots level in all the different sectors.

Work in factories

In a factory, for example, we will organize a working committee of AMNLAE. The women in the working committee will mobilize the rest of the women in that factory to make sure that they are aggressive enough in their union so that the labor leaders learn that they are not only the leaders of the men, but the men and women in the union. And that women's issues must be put in the collective bargaining process.

This is very easy to say but much harder to do, because you have to teach women about labor laws and the labor movement, so that they make sure they don't get fooled by false and corrupt leaders. The woman must learn everything about production in her factory and so on, and eventually, she will get elected to office in the union. We work the same way with all the different sectors — farm workers, cooperatives, neighborhood organizations, professional organizations, students, etc.

We don't believe in tokens. We don't want to have a token woman in the government junta just to say, "Wow, we finally made it to the junta." Unless somebody can convince me that because there is a Margaret Thatcher in England the status of women has changed there — then maybe we'll go for it. Or if you can convince me that the legal status of women has changed in this country since you have one woman in the Supreme Court.

The major problem that we have is that all the resources that could be going into continuing the building of our democracy cannot be used for this work, since they must be put into defending our hard-won revolution. The political, economic, and military aggressions from the United States have increased. There are 5,000 U.S.

Marines in Honduras and 12 destroyers off our coast. It is a very dangerous situation.

For us it is not a case of paranoia. Since 1855 we have been invaded by the U.S. government. In fact, the U.S. buccannier, William Walker, had himself elected president of Nicaragua, made slavery legal, and wanted Nicaragua to become a southern state of the union. Since then, 12 major invasions.

So it is not paranoia. It is a fact. That's why we are prepared for the worst. That's why all of the weapons are in the hands of the people, which, by the way, if we want to talk about democracy, is another example. So we are ready to defend every inch of our territory, and we have been doing so.

The counterrevolutionaries have not been able to take over even one single inch of land. They have been able to cause pain and suffering and destruction. They can only hit and return to Honduras, where the U.S. trainers, of course, reorganize them, and give them new weapons, because of course, we take the ones they bring in. So they get ready to come in again.

Think about the fact that the Nicaraguan children last November were playing a game, "how fast can you run from your house to the bomb shelter," when other children were preparing for Christmas. We do not like it. Because we are not warriors.

I don't like to put my uniform on again, leaving my children behind and go to the battlefield. I don't like to see my 14-year-old son, who should be playing football and baseball, having to be a member of the militia. He is the head of his squad in a battalion. I am extremely proud of him, but I don't like it.

A Grenada will not happen

Of course, I would like it even less for him to be killed or to see everything that we have achieved destroyed because we were not prepared. That's why we do it. That's why a Grenada will not happen in Nicaragua.

At the same time, we continue to hope for the best because we have great faith in the people, the same faith that brought us to victory on July 19, 1979, and is keeping up the defense of the revolution.

We also have faith in the capacity of your people. I hope that all who struggle for social services in this country — for health, education, child care, for jobs — learn that every tax dollar taken from those programs is being turned into bombs and bullets which then kill Nicaraguans who are educating their people, who have brought health to their people.

I certainly hope that those connections are made, and that the foreign policy of this country is changed, so that we can sit one day as two sovereign nations whose principles are the same as the forefathers of this nation — the principles of human rights and human dignity, not only for the men and the women in that country, not only for the men and the women of that society, but for the dignity of an entire nation. Thank you.

Speech by Nicaraguan Commander Tomás Borge Women and the Nicaraguan Revolution

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Sandinistas build defense committees, discuss abuses

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — It's 11 p.m. Block by block, groups of neighbors leave their houses, carefully close the doors behind them, and head to the streets.

They are part of the revolutionary vigilance teams that help the Sandinista police protect Managua and most other cities during what used to be the most common hours of sabotage, robbery, and street crime — 11 p.m. to 3 a.m.

For the next four hours, in shifts of two hours apiece, the volunteers will watch over the block to sound the alert if anything happens.

The vigilance teams are organized through the Sandinista Defense Committees (CDS). The CDSs now have 500,000 members, organized in nearly 9,000 block committees across the country. It is estimated that more than half of the members take part in vigilance on a regular basis.

The CDSs also distribute the "guarantee cards" — an identification document that entitles each family in the country to basic food items at subsidized prices.

When presented at state distribution outlets, the card assures every member of the household of four pounds of rice, four pounds of sugar, one liter of cooking oil, and two bars of laundry soap a month. (This doesn't mean that's all you can get of these items. If you want more, you can go to the private markets, which exist in each neighborhood. But there the prices aren't subsidized, and the same item may cost two to three times the "guarantee" price.)

The subsidies are intended to benefit every person in Nicaragua, regardless of their degree of participation in the mass organizations or their political point of view. To obtain the guarantee card, you don't have to take part in vigilance, and you don't even have to be a member of the CDS.

In practice this is not always the case. At the neighborhood level the CDSs, like every other mass organization in this young revolution, at times reflect frustration and impatience at the pace of social change. In deeply polarized neighborhoods, guidelines are sometimes ignored and opponents of the revolution can find it difficult to get their guarantee cards.

These and other growing pains of the country's biggest mass organization were recently discussed by Commander Leticia Herrera, general secretary of the CDSs on a national level.

In an interview published on the front

page of the Sandinista daily *Barricada* February 17, Herrera explained that "given the great limitations in our system of communication, it's difficult to get out our guidelines. It's also hard to see to it that they are adhered to."

As a result, "some [CDS] coordinators, at times on a block level, at other times on a neighborhood level, have adopted arbitrary attitudes and positions. These are then used by reactionary sectors to accuse the CDSs of being repressive."

A small minority of coordinators, she said, "have made themselves into little dictators. They impose their own norms, take their own measures, without paying any attention to the guidelines we set. Our policy for integrating the population into the tasks of the revolution is to use persuasion, to convince people, not to use repressive measures."

Herrera took as an example a coordinator who tells a neighborhood resident that if he doesn't participate in vigilance, he won't be given a guarantee card.

"This has happened; we have to acknowledge it. But at the same time we point out that this is not the line of the organization, but rather a mistaken step taken by some *compañeros*."

To help correct such errors, she said, standards are going to be set for who can serve as a CDS coordinator, and the term in office will be limited to one year.

Another source of problems, Herrera said, stems from the fact that the CDSs are an extremely broad and diverse organization.

"No one has to be a Sandinista militant to join the CDS. They can be Catholics,



Militant/Cindy Jaquith
Sandinista Defense Committee members outside local headquarters in Monimbó, Nicaragua. CDSs are discussing how to curb abuses of committees' powers.

Protestants, members of any religion. We have Catholic and Protestant coordinators, and they are good coordinators. All that really interests us is their willingness to work, and that they have never had any links with groups or government bodies that served the [Somoza] dictatorship."

Some people have taken advantage of this openness to join with the hidden intention of seeking personal gain. "We've let some of these people practically enthrone themselves there," Herrera said, "and this, too, has created problems."

Part of the frustration local coordinators feel stems from weaknesses and poor coordination on the part of some government ministries.

It is not infrequent, Herrera said, that a community will call for a fine or sanction against a merchant caught charging illegal prices or hoarding, but the Ministry of Internal Commerce (MICOIN) or the local government junta won't respond. Other times they overrule the fines called for by

the CDS.

When things reach a boiling point, CDS members have "intervened," or temporarily taken over a store, so as to force MICOIN to come and hear their complaints. "That is an unfortunate situation and shouldn't happen. But it does happen when the community has gone through all the normal channels without success."

None of these problems are new. A year and a half ago, on Oct. 7, 1982, Commander Bayardo Arce, coordinator of the Political Commission of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, sent an internal letter to all units of the CDSs calling attention to similar shortcomings and urging corrective action.

Frank, open, and public discussion of the problems in the pages of *Barricada* represents a renewed effort to confront them. Organizational measures are part of the solution, Commander Herrera said, but the fundamental thing is "to develop the consciousness of our people."

U.S. undocumented gain ally in Nicaragua

BY MARGARET JAYKO

The Nicaraguan revolution has produced a staunch ally of the superexploited and oppressed undocumented farm workers of the United States: the organized agricultural workers of Nicaragua.

In the December 1983 issue of *El Machete*, the newspaper of the Rural Workers Association (ATC), under the heading "Solidarity," was an article denouncing a campaign of repression and terror launched by the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and their border cops.

The article was titled "Repression and death of farm workers in the United States."

It reported that the offices of the Rural Legal Assistance in California filed a suit against the INS and border cops.

What prompted this action was the death of 17-year-old Mexican agricultural worker Margarito Lupercio, which occurred last year in an irrigation canal in the area of Westley, in northern California.

The article emphasized that this is but one example of the daily situation faced by "our immigrant brothers in the fields in the southern United States."

Lupercio, said *El Machete*, was "one of thousands of *compañeros*, who arrive in the United States from different countries in Latin America looking for work who die as a result of persecution and repression" at

the hands of the border police and immigration service.

It pointed out that the government refuses to grant these workers legal status, and then uses their "illegality" to justify repression and the denial of even the most elementary human rights. This, said *El Machete*, "in the country that claims to be an example of democracy."

According to *El Machete*, a petition calling for an investigation of human rights violations by the U.S. border patrols and INS has been presented to the Interamerican Commission of Human Rights of the Organization of American States.

"The farm workers of Nicaragua unite our voices to denounce the daily tragedy endured by our brothers who enter the United States with the hope that they will find work," which they cannot find in their own countries due to the "imperialist exploitation and domination imposed on our peoples."

"This shows us that the enemy is the same, that our cause is the same, and that we will only be able to face it by uniting," said *El Machete*.

The article concluded, "from our liberated country, in defending and deepening the revolution, we contribute to the struggle of all the workers and peasants of our continent" against "our principle enemy, North American imperialism."

Nicaragua unions call for peace conference

BY JANE HARRIS

MANAGUA, Nicaragua — The Nicaraguan Trade-Union Coordinating Committee (CSN), which represents more than 200,000 of the country's workers, has issued a call for an International Meeting for Peace to be held here April 24-27. It is inviting unions from around the world, including U.S. unions in the AFL-CIO.

The CSN's call for this meeting explains that "it is hardly necessary to argue that the danger of a thermonuclear war exists. Such a threat is a fact. At the same time, part of the bitter reality of today's world is the local wars being waged in countries of the so-called Third World. Besides destroying lives, production facilities, and culture, and making the problems of backwardness and poverty still worse, such wars can, in ways not only predictable but also unpredictable, lead to a worldwide conflagration of incalculable consequences."

Nonetheless, the CSN affirms, "we are convinced that the workers of the world must offer greater cooperation than they have up to now in the long and difficult struggle for peace. Considering their power, their numbers, and the place they occupy in society, in production and services, workers are fully capable of contrib-

uting decisively to the prevention of wars of any kind.

"If we are able to act in a united way to impose dialog and negotiation as the way to solve local or international conflicts," the call continues, "we will have taken a giant step in the history of humanity."

"We know that the trade-union movement is divided inside many countries and at the international level, and that it is not easy for it to unite. Political and ideological positions separate us. But in this case it is not a question of deepening disagreements, but rather of seeking points of convergence in such a vital matter as the cause of peace. We believe that in this case we can arrive at concrete agreements, taking important joint initiatives and exercising a powerful influence on the course of world events," the CSN declares.

The CSN unites the largest trade unions and professional associations of Nicaragua, independently of their ideology or political positions. Also invited to the gathering are the Council of Trade-Union Unification (CUS), which is a social democratic tendency, and the two factions of the Nicaraguan Workers Federation (CTN), which have a Christian Democratic orientation.

The CUS and CTN do not belong to the CSN.

At the international level, invitations have been extended to the World Confederation of Labor, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and various member organizations of the U.S. AFL-CIO.

For further information, write to the CSN, Apartado Postal 2957, Managua, Nicaragua. Telephones — 74953 and 74973.

N. Carolina socialist announces for Senate

BY LESTER DOLPHY

GREENSBORO, N.C. — The North Carolina Socialist Workers Party entered the 1984 election race by announcing the campaign of Kate Daher for U.S. Senate.

"The Socialist Workers Party will be on the ballot in the November elections. This is a big victory for workers and the poor of this state," Daher told a group of reporters and supporters during a March 6 news conference here.

Daher's name will appear on the ballot along with Mel Mason, SWP presidential

candidate, and Andrea González, SWP vice-presidential candidate.

Ballot status for the SWP was the result of a four-year campaign by party members and supporters that included petitioning drives and several lawsuits. The party will have ballot designation through this year's election.

Daher, who works in a corrugated board plant and is a member of United Paperworkers International Union Local 853, will be opposing Republican Sen. Jesse Helms and Democrat Jim Hunt.

Washington, Pretoria increase pressure on

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Is the apartheid regime now waging a "peace offensive" in southern Africa? Has it decided to forego the battlefield for the negotiating table? Is it finally ready to relinquish its control over Namibia?

That is the impression that the U.S. government and big-business news media are seeking to convey. Adopting the stance of a neutral mediator and peace broker, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Chester Crocker has been shuttling between various African capitals since late January, in what has been billed as a new U.S. diplomatic drive to end the fighting in the region and arrange a settlement for Namibia's independence.

Coming in the immediate wake of South Africa's massive and devastating invasion of Angola in December, a series of unprecedented meetings, negotiations, and agreements has taken place, involving top government officials from Angola, Mozambique, South Africa, and the United States.

A 'force for positive change'?

In a major speech before the World Affairs Council in Boston on February 15, Secretary of State George Shultz maintained that the U.S. role in southern Africa was "a force for constructive, positive change." Washington, he said, was pursuing "active and energetic" efforts toward peace in the region, and had "defined the agenda and served as catalyst" in the negotiations between Pretoria and the Angolan government, talks that marked "a clearly positive evolution."

The Reagan administration also hailed the treaty between the South African and Mozambican governments signed March 16.

Contrary to Shultz, Washington's goal is not to ensure peace in southern Africa. It is to safeguard imperialism's enormous economic, political, and strategic interests there, in face of the popular struggles for national liberation and social emancipation being waged by the workers and peasants of the region. In order to do that, the U.S. rulers have long followed a policy of supporting the key imperialist bastion in the area: the apartheid regime.

For example, Reagan administration officials have actively opposed calls for investment and trade boycotts against South Africa and have encouraged greater U.S. economic involvement there. The book value of direct U.S. corporate investment in South Africa now stands at \$3 billion, although the real figure could be considerably higher. In addition, U.S. business has in recent years become South Africa's largest trading partner.

The Reagan administration has promoted greater military contacts with Pretoria, allowing frequent visits to the United States by South African military, intelligence, and police officials. The U.S. Coast Guard has begun training South African naval officers.

Within South Africa, Pretoria rules through daily violence and terror. Blacks — who are a majority of the population — suffer brutal national oppression and class exploitation. Denied virtually all rights, they face segregation, police bullets, restrictions on their employment and movement, and eviction from their homes.

The apartheid regime's policy has been similar in the rest of southern Africa as well. Relying on its considerable military and economic power, it has aggressively struck out at governments and peoples throughout the region.

Washington's recent diplomatic initiatives are primarily designed to provide some political cover to this aggression, and to throw U.S. imperialism's own weight behind the South African efforts to blackmail neighboring governments and to force concessions out of them.

The only kind of peace in which Washington and Pretoria are interested is peace on their terms. If that cannot be obtained, the South African capitalists have long shown themselves ready to strike out militarily — whatever momentary agreements they might sign.

Of all the governments in southern Af-

rica, those in Angola and Mozambique have had the closest political relations with the main liberation movements, the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) of Namibia and the African National Congress (ANC) of South Africa. Both the ANC and SWAPO have military training facilities in Angola, while the ANC also has offices and refugee centers in Mozambique.

Terror and destruction

Ever since Angola won its independence in 1975, under the leadership of the anti-colonial People's Movement for the Liberation of Angola (MPLA), it has been the victim of an unremitting series of provocations, incursions, bombing raids, and full-scale invasions. The massive 1975-76 South African invasion was turned back only thanks to the help of thousands of Cuban troops.

While Pretoria has sought to strike at SWAPO facilities and Namibian refugee camps, it has also targeted the Angolan people and economy, destroying roads and bridges, factories, schools, warehouses, villages, and food stocks. Following one invasion in August 1981, Pretoria established an occupation force of several thousand troops in southern Kunene Province. Most recently, in December 1983, it sent as many as 10,000 troops across the border, striking several hundred miles into Angola.

In addition to its own direct attacks, the apartheid regime has acted to destabilize the Angolan government by using remnants of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), with which it was allied during the 1975-76 invasion. Armed, financed, and trained by the South Africans, the UNITA bands have carried out widespread sabotage and terrorist actions in central and southern Angola.

For a poor and underdeveloped country like Angola, the cost of this South African-imposed war has been enormous. According to a May 1983 United Nations report, some 10,000 people had been killed in Angola up to 1982. Economic damage has been estimated at a staggering \$10 billion since 1975.

Mozambique has suffered from several direct South African raids as well. In January 1981 and May 1983, South African jets bombed Matola, an industrial suburb of Maputo, the capital, killing a number of South African refugees and Mozambican civilians.

Although Pretoria has not launched an invasion of Mozambique on the scale of its strikes into Angola, Gen. Magnus Malan, the South African defense minister, has openly warned of one. Mozambique would be extremely vulnerable to such an invasion — Maputo is just 40 miles from the South African border.

More immediately damaging have been the attacks of the Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo, also known as the MNR), a South African proxy force. Composed largely of Mozambicans who had fought with the Portuguese colonialists against the freedom fighters of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), Renamo was originally set up by the Rhodesian Central Intelligence Organisation shortly after Mozambique won its independence in 1975 and Frelimo came to power. When the Rhodesian regime was ousted with Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, Pretoria took over the group's direction.

Like the UNITA in Angola, the Renamo bands, which number several thousand men, concentrate largely on sabotaging key installations, burning grain stocks, and terrorizing villagers, often by killing or mutilating them. White advisers have been sighted with some of the Renamo groups, and they are resupplied by Pretoria through air and naval drops.

According to Mozambican government estimates, the actions of Renamo, along with Pretoria's efforts at economic destabilization, have cost Mozambique \$3.8 billion.

Severely battered by this continual South African aggression — and weakened by famine, drought, and the impact of the world capitalist economic crisis — both the



South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) fighters have pledged to continue their struggle against imperialist domination by South African and U.S. ruling classes.

Angolan and Mozambican governments have been looking for ways to win some respite from the pressures bearing down on them. They have thus been open to Pretoria's offer of negotiations. They hope to gain some let-up, however temporary, from the warfare that is wearing down their economies and peoples, as well as to test Pretoria's professed willingness to engage in serious negotiations over Namibian independence.

'Disengagement' in Angola

The first significant sign that the apartheid authorities were ready to ease up on their aggressive actions came on January 31, when Prime Minister Pieter Botha announced the beginning of a military "disengagement" from southern Angola.

The Angolan government replied that it would observe an effective cease-fire during the disengagement. SWAPO also declared that it would not attack the South African troops in southern Angola as they were pulling out.

After a series of negotiations between Angolan and South African officials, Pretoria's initially vague proposal was concretized into a plan for a four-phase withdrawal of South African troops from the 24,000-square-mile area of southern Angola where they had been based. If no new fighting broke out, each phase of the withdrawal was to take a week once the process actually began. The cease-fire between Angolan and South African troops was also formalized.

On February 16, in an unprecedented tripartite session, Angolan, South African, and U.S. officials met in Lusaka, Zambia, and agreed to set up a joint commission, composed of several hundred Angolan and South African troops, to monitor the cease-fire and withdrawal. It was stipulated that a small number of U.S. personnel could participate if both the Angolan and South African governments agreed.

Washington then quickly announced that it was opening a U.S. mission in Windhoek, the Namibian capital, to help monitor the cease-fire and withdrawal.

Pretoria, in return for pulling its troops out of Angola, has insisted that the Angolan government halt all movement by SWAPO guerrillas into the area vacated by the South African troops.

Angolan Interior Minister Alexandre Rodrigues responded to this demand at a February 21 news conference in Luanda.

He said that his government would agree "to restrict the activities of SWAPO" on Angolan territory and that only Angolan troops would occupy the region in the south. But, he added, this would be done in agreement with SWAPO and only on the condition that negotiations on the Namibian conflict actually begin.

A few days later, the official Angolan press agency commented that while the government in Luanda would "scrupulously respect" the accord, it could not be held responsible for the movement of SWAPO forces in the south, especially since the area was still occupied by South African troops and not under Angolan control. This came in response to a South African claim (denied by SWAPO) that some 800 Namibian guerrillas were taking advantage of the withdrawal to move closer to the Namibian border.

While negotiating with the South Africans, the Angolan leadership has also reaffirmed its political and material backing for the struggles led by SWAPO and the ANC.

Cuban troops

According to Angolan officials, one demand that was *not* raised in the talks, either by Pretoria or Washington, was that the Cuban troops in Angola be withdrawn.

The presence of thousands of Cuban troops, who help protect Angola from South African attack, has frequently been used by the Reagan and Botha governments to justify Pretoria's continued occupation of Namibia, and they have insisted on a Cuban withdrawal as a condition for Namibian independence.

Though the U.S. and South African negotiators decided not to raise the Cuban issue in these particular talks, that demand remains a key one in their negotiating stance.

For instance, South African Foreign Minister Roelof Botha claimed January 19 that free elections could not be held in Namibia "as long as the Cuban forces form a permanent source of menace and intimidation north of the border and as long as SWAPO continues with its terror, backed by Cuban forces." If, he added, the Angolan authorities "want to see the settlement plan [for Namibia] implemented they ought to get rid of the Cubans as quickly as possible."

Despite such pressures, the Angolan government has not budged from its position that the Cuban troops are needed for

southern African liberation movements



uggle to liberate Namibia from im-

efense as long as Pretoria is able to launch attacks against Angola from its bases in Namibia.

Namibia: real or fake independence?

Chester Crocker and other U.S. officials have indicated that the current talks between Luanda and Pretoria could open the way toward broader negotiations on Namibia itself.

A South African colony since World War I, the territory is rich in minerals, including diamonds, uranium, copper, zinc, and various rare and precious metals.

Since the mid-1960s, the Namibian people have been engaged in an armed struggle for independence, under the leadership of SWAPO. Although the country has a population of only a little more than 1 million, Pretoria has sent in more than 60,000 troops in an effort to crush the independence struggle and retain its dominance.

Despite a brutal counterinsurgency campaign — which has included uprooting tens of thousands of people from their homes, massive military sweeps, massacres of villagers, and frequent detentions and killings of suspected SWAPO activists and supporters — the apartheid regime has been unable to weaken SWAPO's base of support among the population. South African security officials have acknowledged that SWAPO would easily win a majority of votes if democratic elections were held.

Although Pretoria still remains in firm military control of Namibia, the war has been a drain on its military and economic resources.

In addition, Pretoria has come under increasing international pressure to grant Namibia its independence.

But when South African officials indicate that they are prepared to discuss Namibian independence, they do not have in mind negotiating a hand-over of power to the freedom fighters. The only kind of "independence" Pretoria is yet willing to consider is one that keeps the country subservient to South African political and economic domination. Thus in recent years it has been casting about for some suitable Namibian political force that could be used as a counterweight to SWAPO.

The latest anti-SWAPO coalition that Pretoria has sought to promote is the Multi-party Conference (MPC). It is composed predominantly of pro-South African and regionally-based parties, but also includes some that have tried to foster a more anti-

colonial image, such as SWAPO Democrats, a split from SWAPO.

In his January 31 speech, Botha strongly urged the MPC to get its act together.

Washington appears to endorse this approach. Just before Botha's speech, he and leaders of the MPC met in Cape Town with Chester Crocker.

As part of the apartheid regime's efforts to promote the MPC, Botha has also rejected SWAPO's call for direct negotiations. Instead, he has proposed that SWAPO talk to a delegation of MPC leaders headed by the South African administrator-general of Namibia.

In a statement in early February, SWAPO replied, "It would be a mockery of the concept of negotiation for us to speak to their puppets rather than those who pull the strings. It is with the South African regime, the illegal occupiers of our country, that we are in armed conflict."

Mozambique security pact

Parallel to the Angola talks, negotiations have been under way between the Mozambican and South African governments.

Some of the negotiations involved general economic relations, the possible resumption of South African tourism to Mozambique, and electricity sales to South Africa from Mozambique's giant Cabora Bassa hydroelectric dam.

The centerpiece of the negotiations, however, has been a new security pact between the two countries.

On March 16, the Mozambican and South African governments signed an accord committing both sides to prevent their territory from being "used as a base, thoroughfare, or in any other way by another state, government, foreign military forces, organizations, or individuals which plan or prepare acts of violence, terrorism or aggression" against the other.

As the Mozambican government emphasizes, this means an end to South African backing for the rightist Renamo guerrillas. In a New Year's message, Pres. Samora Machel declared, "We reaffirm to the SA authorities that the establishment of good neighbourly relations between the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Republic of SA requires the ending of SA support for the armed bandits which the Pretoria regime recruits, trains, finances, equips and directs to launch criminal actions against our sovereign state."

Pretoria, which has never publicly admitted backing Renamo, in turn insists that the Frelimo government restrict the activities of the ANC in Mozambique.

The ANC does not now maintain military bases in Mozambique, although until now they have been able to travel through Mozambican territory.

Although several press reports emanating from South Africa claimed that some leading ANC members had been expelled from Mozambique, the ANC has denied any knowledge of this.

However, in a February 24 interview with the Paris daily *Le Monde*, Maj.-Gen. Jacinto Veloso, a member of Frelimo's Political Bureau and a minister in the president's office for economic affairs, made several concessions to the South African and U.S. position.

Veloso maintained, "Apartheid is a domestic South African problem that concerns all of humanity. There are even

people in the ruling circles of that country who are interested in a solution to this question." Veloso portrayed the U.S. role as "important in the establishment of a climate of peace and stability in the region."

Alongside such conciliatory remarks, the Mozambican leaders have reiterated their political backing for the liberation movements. The same week that Veloso gave his interview, President Machel declared that his government would "always support the just struggle of the peoples of the two countries and remain on the side of SWAPO and the African National Congress."

Preparing for more war

While engaging in talks with the South Africans, the Angolan and Mozambican governments have simultaneously continued efforts to strengthen their military defenses.

On January 12, the official Soviet press agency Tass reported that the Soviet and Cuban governments, after meeting with Angolan representatives, had agreed to increase military aid to Angola for the "strengthening of its defenses, independence and territorial integrity."

The Mozambican government has recently obtained important military assistance (arms, equipment, and instructors) from a number of countries, including Tanzania, North Korea, Portugal, and Britain. Some 1,000 Zimbabwean troops are now in Mozambique, helping to guard the rail and oil pipeline links to Zimbabwe from attacks by the Renamo gangs.

According to a report in the January 13 *London Guardian*, "Frelimo is training tens of thousands of people for militias, a form of Home Guard. Most Beira secondary school children and teachers, for instance, now receive military training during school holidays. A key to the army's better performance and tactics has been the return to the army of many veterans of the liberation war against Portugal."

Angola and Mozambique — as well as other countries in the region — have good reason to expect renewed war. Pretoria has not reconciled itself to the loss of Namibia, and it will fight to defend its interests there. Nor is it moving toward dismantling the apartheid system. As long as national oppression and class exploitation exist in South Africa, as long as the vast majority of the population is subjected to rule by the white capitalist class, South African society will remain extremely volatile and the regime will be a source of constant danger to all the peoples of southern Africa.

Whatever agreements Prime Minister Botha and other South African officials may put their signatures to, they will not refrain from using military force if that proves to be in their interests. The continued backing they receive from Washington and other imperialist capitals will only encourage them to do so.

Since the opening of the talks with Angola and Mozambique, the South African surrogate forces, UNITA and Renamo, have both declared that they will continue their armed actions. They can do so on a significant scale only with direct South African backing.

'We will continue fighting'

Despite any accords that may be concluded between Pretoria and neighboring

governments, the struggles of the Namibian and South African people will not come to a halt.

The bases of support for both SWAPO and the ANC are not in neighboring countries, but among the masses of Namibia and South Africa themselves. Their activists are present in the Black townships and rural villages, in the trade unions, youth groups, and community organizations. To an extent, their armed fighters are also increasingly being trained and operating from within the borders of their countries.

Nevertheless, both liberation movements have benefited from solidarity, assistance, and sanctuary in neighboring countries. Any serious curtailment of this will be a blow to their struggles.

During the various negotiations that have been under way in recent weeks, both the ANC and SWAPO have made their views known and have reaffirmed their determination to fight for the liberation of their peoples.

In early February, the ANC responded critically to a communiqué issued at the close of a two-day meeting of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC), a group of nine Black-ruled countries in the region that are seeking to lessen their economic dependence on South Africa. The communiqué had welcomed "signs of a less aggressive stance from South Africa" and urged international pressure on Pretoria to "bring about a process of peaceful change in the region."

Thabo Mbeki, the ANC's director of information, declared in Lusaka February 4, "We don't share those views. There cannot be any détente with apartheid, there can only be struggle." He added, "I think people want to believe you can talk South Africa out of aggressive action so there can be peaceful change. We know that is not true."

Mbeki noted that representatives of the ANC and SWAPO were not invited to attend the SADCC meeting, as they had been in the past.

Following one of the meetings in February between South African and Mozambican officials over the security pact, the ANC issued a statement that declared, "Peace and apartheid colonialism are inherently mutually exclusive. No non-aggression pact will stop the ANC and the people of South Africa from fighting for their self-determination and liberation."

SWAPO has put forward a similarly combative stance. Sam Nujoma, the organization's president, has observed that "the interests of the Namibian people are not covered" by the accord between Pretoria and Luanda. While SWAPO would respect the cease-fire within Angola, he said, its fighters would not lay down their arms and the SWAPO units within Namibia itself would continue their fight against the South African occupation forces.

In fact, the South African authorities have maintained that there has been an upsurge in guerrilla activity in Namibia's more heavily populated northern regions.

The Namibian independence struggle received a significant political boost on March 1 when Pretoria finally agreed to release from prison the founding leader of SWAPO, Herman Toivo ja Toivo. Thousands of Namibians turned out in Katutura Township, just outside Windhoek, to give Toivo a joyous welcome.

Although Toivo had spent the past 16 years in South Africa's notorious Robben Island prison, he lost no time in attacking the apartheid regime's continued oppression of his homeland, as well as its efforts to promote anti-SWAPO groupings like the MPC.

"SWAPO has no alternative but to take up arms to fight the colonial regime and root them out of Namibia," Toivo declared at a March 2 news conference in Windhoek.

"SWAPO is still fighting. We will continue fighting until we get our independence, and even then we will still not be free until our brothers and sisters in South Africa are free from the apartheid regime." From *Intercontinental Press*



Reagan official Chester Crocker (left) and South African Prime Minister Pieter Botha.

International Women's Day in Kampuchea

Continued from front page

Behind the ranks of women waved bright-colored streamers, along with the flag of the People's Republic of Kampuchea — the five gold towers of Angkor Wat against a red background. At the rally's climax, hundreds of balloons went up in the morning breeze as participants sang "The Internationale" in Khmer.

The presiding committee on the platform was made up of officials from Phnompenh and the RWAK. In addition some 50 guests attended from around the world, representing Vietnam, Laos, the Soviet Union, Cuba, several Eastern European countries, and the international relief agencies based here.

Women confront big obstacles

Kampuchean women confront tremendous objective obstacles. Women are only now emerging from centuries of a degrading feudal tradition, reinforced and intensified by French, and later U.S., imperialist domination.

On top of that, the country was devastated by one-half million tons of U.S. bombs from 1969 to 1973. Then, from April 1975 until Jan. 7, 1979, women, along with all other Kampucheans, were forcibly evacuated from their homes and sent throughout the country to agricultural slave-labor camps run by Pol Pot's henchmen. When the Kampucheans, with Vietnam's help, drove out Pol Pot on Jan. 7, 1979, the country was left in a state of famine and chaos. The entire population wandered the countryside on foot in search of their families and en route to their home villages.

If it had not been for the liberation in 1979, the March 8 International Women's Day would mean nothing to Kampuchean women, explained Mean Sam An, president of the RWAK. She summarized the achievements of Kampuchean women in the last five years since Pol Pot's defeat.

The new government and the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, she said, "have gradually realized the roles and tasks of women in a revolutionary society, enhanced considerably the social equality of women, and promoted all-round support

and assistance, creating favorable conditions for them to contribute" to rebuilding and defending the country.

Grappling with backward tradition and the country's devastating poverty, women here have attempted to take on new roles in production and political leadership. Women now make up more than 30 percent of the government workers. Significantly, women have begun to assume leading positions. In May 1981, women were elected to 21 of the 117 seats in the National Assembly. There is also a woman minister in the government, two women vice-ministers, and nine women department chiefs.

The progress reaches throughout the country. All agricultural production is organized through *khrom samaki* (solidarity groups) usually involving 12 to 15 families who cooperate in cultivation and share animals and tools. Mean Sam An reported that 19,238 chiefs of these solidarity groups are women.

Receive trade-union awards

In the country's handful of factories, too, women are playing a crucial role in the reconstruction of Kampuchea. So far about 150 women have received trade-union awards for helping meet production schedules or save hard-to-come-by raw materials.

Women's roles in education and health are of special importance, since Pol Pot targeted literate and educated people for execution. Kampuchea now has 25 women doctors. One-third of the students at the country's medical school are women. Women comprise 60 percent of the nation's teachers.

The government is attempting social reforms to benefit women within the limits dictated by Kampuchea's current meager resources. Almost 400 kindergartens and crèches have been set up and a government pamphlet on education lists the first reason for these programs as being "to liberate women." Government workers have a three-month paid maternity leave.

The literacy campaign has especially benefited women, since they were the majority of the more than 1 million illiterates. The Ministry of Education is currently emphasizing the need for local leaders, such as heads of solidarity groups, to complete primary schooling, as well. This will help women assume more responsibility.

Confronting Pol Pot threat

In addition to economic development, another precondition for advancing women's emancipation in Kampuchea is defeating the Pol Pot and other reactionary forces. Backed by U.S. imperialism and the misleaders of the Chinese workers state, these counterrevolutionaries maintain a huge force of armed bandits on the Thai border and periodically carry out terrorist attacks and seek to undermine stability and progress in Kampuchea.

Confronting this threat was a major theme at the first congress of RWAK last October.

In a country where virtually every family lost a husband or son, women play an important role in encouraging people to join the armed defense forces and taking care of families whose sons do volunteer. Some women have also joined the army, and women participate in the local militias. In Kompong Chhnang Province, for example, almost 1,100 women have joined the militia.

Mean Sam An reemphasized the need for women to help defend Kampuchea's reconstruction. She also voiced solidarity for other countries fighting U.S. imperialism. "We always stand with the brave women of Cuba, Nicaragua, and Angola, who are ready to defeat the invasion, intrigues, and aggression of imperialism."

Following the rally, participants went inside the stadium complex to watch a good-natured game of basketball. The women's team from the city's sports center challenged an all-male team. No. 10 on the men's team was the mayor of Phnompenh. Other team members included the minister of education and other government leaders.

The women won, 24 to 17. The men never narrowed the women's lead to less than three points.



Militant/Diane Wang

Children from Phnompenh orphanage bring flowers to International Women's Day celebration.

Coke workers in Guatemala defy gov't union-busting

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

Workers at a Coca-Cola bottling plant in Guatemala have been occupying the factory since February 17. The workers' militancy and courage is underlined by the fact that the job action takes place despite brutal repression against trade unions by the U.S.-backed regime of Gen. Mejía Victores. The workers, members of the National Committee of Trade Union Unity (CNUS), are protesting the bosses' plans to close its Guatemala City franchise, which, the owners claim, is bankrupt.

The factory — the Embotelladora Guatemalteca, S.A. (EGSA) — has been the scene of previous labor battles. In the late 1970s, the workers fought against a union-busting attack by EGSA's owners. The union faced heavy repression, with nine CNUS leaders being murdered between December 1978 and May 1980. Among those assassinated were three of the union's general secretaries.

An international solidarity campaign with the Guatemalan Coca-Cola workers was organized by the International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations (IUF), which the CNUS is affiliated with. The workers' militancy, along with the solidarity campaign, forced the Atlanta-based Coca-Cola Corp. to change the franchise owners, who then signed a contract with CNUS.

The workers point out that the current owners' bankruptcy claim is a ploy aimed

at breaking the union. If the plant is allowed to close, the CNUS explains, it will be opened a short while later with new, nonunion workers. The CNUS is demanding that Coca-Cola Corp. step in and change once again its franchise owners at EGSA. The IUF, with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, is planning to initiate another international solidarity campaign with the EGSA workers.

To date, the Guatemalan government hasn't physically attacked the EGSA workers. Union leaders say people are allowed to enter and leave the facility freely. How long this situation will last is unclear. However, in the two week period before the EGSA occupation, four Guatemalan union leaders were kidnapped and another two assassinated. Repression against the EGSA workers could come at any moment.

Meanwhile, negotiations began in Atlanta February 27 between Coca-Cola officials and CNUS representatives. In addition, Dan Gallin of the IUF is in Atlanta for talks with the company's managers.

In an "urgent action" call sent to hundreds of unions around the United States, the Labor Committee in Support of Democracy and Human Rights in El Salvador urged trade unionists to send telegrams to: Harold T. Circuit, Latin America Department, Coca-Cola Corp., 310 North Ave. N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30313; or call at (404) 676-5964.

N.Y. garment workers win child care

BY SELVA NEBBIA

NEW YORK — On January 17, the official inauguration of the Garment Industry Day Care Center of Chinatown took place. The day care center, which is the first in the city to serve workers in a single industry, began operating last November.

The center serves members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) Local 23-25 in the Chinatown area. More than 18,000 of the local's 26,000 members are Chinese. Most of these women live and work in Chinatown, where there is a large concentration of garment shops. Lots of these women have young children and need proper child care.

While the need for daycare facilities for working parents increases, government cutbacks continue to decrease the availability of quality, affordable child care.

Garment workers many times are forced to leave their young children at home unattended, or take them to work. It's not uncommon to walk into a shop and see a child

playing in a corner or by an empty sewing machine.

ILGWU activist Katie Kwan told the *New York Times*, "In China, any unit you belong to has a day care center as a matter of course." She said that immigrant parents "can't believe it when they get here and there's nobody to take care of their kids."

The ILGWU daycare center is the result of years of work by Local 23-25 members in the Chinatown garment district. They drew up a petition and went to many of the 500 garment factories in Chinatown during their lunch hours collecting signatures. Three thousand garment workers signed the Chinese-language petition.

The center will mainly be funded by money from the city and from garment shop owners. The cost to the parents will be on a sliding scale basis, ranging from \$2 to \$8 a week per child.

Selva Nebbia is a sewing machine operator and member of ILGWU Local 23-25.

New York tribute to Wilfred Burchett

NEW YORK — A tribute to Australian journalist Wilfred Burchett will be held on March 31, from 1 p.m. to 3:30 p.m., at the United Nations Church Center, 44th St. and First Ave., New York City.

Burchett, who died Sept. 7, 1983, wrote extensively on the liberation struggles in Indochina, and other parts of the world, including the book *Vietnam Will Win*. He was one of the first journalists to report Hiroshima after the U.S. government dropped the atomic bomb there on Aug. 6, 1945.

The March 31 program includes speeches by Mrs. Vessa Burchett; James Aronson, a founding editor of the *Guardian*; antiwar activist David Dellinger; and Archie Singham, political science professor at Brooklyn College. The Australian television documentary "Public Enemy #1" — showing Burchett in Vietnam, Kampuchea, Hiroshima, and other war fronts — will be shown.

Sponsors and endorsers of the meeting include Cedric Belfrage, a founding editor of the *Guardian*; Elombe Brath, Patrice Lumumba Coalition; Chan Bun Han, Kampuchea Thmay; Steve Clark, editor of *Intercontinental Press*; Rev. William Sloane Coffin; Tod Ensign, coordinator of Citizen Soldier; Dierdre Griswold, editor of *Workers World*; Cindy Jaquith, editor of the *Militant*; and Don Luce, Southeast Asia Resource Center.

Also endorsing are Samori Marksman, program director of radio station WBAI; David McReynolds, War Resisters League; Michael Myerson, director of U.S. Peace Council; Irwin Silber, editor of *Frontline*; Deborah Weisburd, Committee in Solidarity with Vietnam, Kampuchea, and Laos; and Cora Weiss, director, Riverside Disarmament Committee.

For more information, contact Abe Weisburd, 33 W. 17th St., 9th floor, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Leadership crisis shown in USWA election

Steelworkers need fightback program — not backward U.S. chauvinism

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

On March 29 members of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) in the United States and Canada will have the opportunity to go to the polls to elect a new international union president. They will have to choose between two top union officials: International Secretary (and acting president) Lynn Williams, and International Treasurer Frank McKee.

The signs are that faced with this choice many steelworkers will not bother to take the opportunity to vote. They will ignore the election just as the two candidates have ignored the real issues facing the union.

This election came about as the result of the death of former USWA Pres. Lloyd McBride last November. The winner will serve out McBride's term. The next regular election will be held in November 1985.

When the special election was called it posed the opportunity for a needed discussion in the union. The union membership is under fierce attack from the employers. The top union leadership has followed a proconcessions policy in an effort to appease the employers. This has failed. Despite massive concessions the attacks on jobs, wages, work rules, and union rights continues in basic steel and other industries organized by the USWA. There are now 720,000 members in the union. Plant closings have reduced union membership by about 40 percent.

Serious union activists hoped the election would be an opportunity to discuss what changes must be made in union strategy in order to rearm the union and effectively defend workers' interests. An open discussion of union policy and how the USWA can best fight back against the employers could have invigorated the union and drawn more rank-and-file workers into the life of the union.

This did not happen. The reason is that all sections of the union officialdom — both the wing supporting Williams and the wing favoring McKee — united to oppose such a discussion.

Neither candidate wanted a serious debate on the issues because neither has anything new to say about how the union can fight back. Neither wants to draw rank-and-file workers into union activity. Both prefer that it be totally dominated by full-time staff and officials. They fear that an infusion of rank-and-file activism will intensify the search for new leaders to replace the current bureaucrats.

Weisen challenge

Ron Weisen, president of USWA Local 1397 in Homestead, Pennsylvania, tried to present an alternative to the politics-as-usual approach of Williams and McKee. Weisen attempted to get on the March 29 ballot with a program favoring a militant fightback against the employers and favoring increased rank-and-file control of the union.

Williams and McKee used their hold on the union apparatus to ensure that Weisen was denied a ballot spot. With Weisen ruled off the ballot, the way was cleared for Williams and McKee to conduct the type of union election campaign they know best: straight power politics.

'Ins' vs. 'outs'

To most workers this campaign seems to be nothing more than the "ins" versus the "outs." Of course prior to the election both Williams and McKee counted themselves among the "ins." Both had been elected

twice — together — as part of Lloyd McBride's "official family" slate. Both fully supported McBride's policy of cooperation with the employers.

But McBride's unexpected death led to a falling out within the family. As the campaign unfolded it became clearer that no substantial differences over union strategy were involved. Rather it was a simple power struggle.

Williams immediately put himself forward as McBride's natural successor, the faithful continuator of his policies. He was successful in winning the majority of USWA district directors and their obedient staffers to his banner.

McKee began his campaign by attempting to pose as a reform candidate. He said the time for concessions was over and voiced support for the right of all steelworkers to vote on their contract (a right basic steel workers do not have).

In the past, McKee claimed, he had disagreed with decisions made by the union's top leadership, but had kept quiet out of loyalty and the desire to maintain a united front. But now, said McKee, he would speak out and say what he really thought.

From the outset there was room for suspicion about McKee's "born again" militancy. Weisen — a consistent opponent of the concession strategy — was clearly a better candidate, one who would have offered a meaningful choice to steelworkers on election day.

Unfortunately Weisen's effort was abandoned by some traditional opposition forces in the union many weeks before he was ruled off the ballot. They claimed he had no chance to win and threw their support to McKee. This undermined the effort to present a real alternative to the policies of the top union officials.

However, after Weisen was ruled off the ballot the idea of voting for McKee as a "lesser evil" candidate deserved consideration. In a union election it is often correct to vote for a candidate who, at best, will only make the union a little bit better, if that's the only choice available. This can be a step, albeit a small one sometimes, on the longer road toward fundamentally changing the union.

A vote for McKee might have been in order, not because everything he said was to be believed, but because union militants could have fought within the USWA to hold him to his new-found views if he were elected. This would have been a more favorable situation than the election of a candidate — Williams — who pledged to continue the union's mistaken course of seeking an accommodation with the employers.

It should be noted that in response to rank-and-file dissatisfaction Williams too claimed the time for concessions had passed (while he defended those already made). All the anticoncessions rhetoric was put to the test in late December.

U.S. Steel shutdowns — no fightback

U.S. Steel announced a vicious new wave of plant closings. The top union officials — including Williams and McKee — did nothing in response. This too persuaded many workers that these two candidates offered no meaningful choice in the election.

McKee's silence in the face of U.S. Steel's plant closings confirmed that his fightback rhetoric was just that — talk but no action.

However another consideration intervened that clearly stamped McKee as a



Steelworkers' "official family." Rivals for union presidency Treasurer McKee (second from left) and Acting President Williams (third from left) have done nothing while U.S. Steel wiped out over 15,000 jobs. Both have united during election to rule out rank-and-file discussion of crisis.

candidate to be rejected by any serious union militant.

McKee and his supporters began a vitriolic campaign of backward, anti-Canadian, U.S. chauvinism. McKee urged U.S. steelworkers to act to prevent "Canadian interests from gaining control of the union." Williams is Canadian.

Frank Valenta, USWA district director in the Cleveland area and a key McKee supporter, argued long and loud that 2.4 million tons of steel was imported from Canada last year "stealing" 13,000 "U.S. jobs."

This was not just one part of McKee's campaign. It became the central, dominant, overriding theme of the entire effort. McKee clearly decided this was the way to win the election, by trying to encourage and play on backward attitudes among U.S. steelworkers.

This approach did more than point the union in the wrong direction at a time when the maximum solidarity among all union members is sorely needed. It repelled many union militants who recognize that any effective fightback will have to begin with reviving the tradition of working-class solidarity.

Black workers react

For many Black steelworkers McKee's U.S. chauvinism has a particularly ugly ring. Valenta appeared in Baltimore in January to make nominating speeches for McKee in USWA locals. His presentation to Local 2610, which has a large Black membership, took the anti-Canadian theme to new heights. Many Black workers reacted with: "that sounds like just what they say about us."

Black shipyard workers in USWA Local 8888 in Newport News, Virginia, had a similar reaction. At a union nominating meeting of close to 200 workers, only two Black workers voted for McKee.

Meanwhile Williams was playing politics of his own. In the U.S. he correctly pointed to the way in which McKee's use of nationalism undermined union values. But in Canada, Williams' main appeal to USWA members was to vote for him because of his nationality. (This was no doubt more effective than appealing for a vote on the basis of his record.)

All of this leaves USWA members with little choice on March 29. Many will not bother to vote. Others will cast a blank ballot. Some may try to write in the name of Ron Weisen as a protest vote. Any of these options underline the fact that in this particular union election there is no acceptable candidate on the ballot.

What next?

For union activists who are committed to the difficult job of changing the USWA the question is not really how to vote on March 29. It is what to do after March 29 — no matter who wins.

Weisen and some who were active in his campaign have pledged to continue to organize for the future. This is a good sign. Reform forces in the union have been badly disorganized and without an effective political perspective for some time. This is one factor which made it easier for Wil-

iams and McKee to shape this election along the lines they preferred.

The key to future organizing by reform forces is patiently and clearly putting forward an alternative program and strategy for the USWA. By itself, criticism of the policies of the international leadership will not be enough. Steelworkers will want to know what policies the reform forces propose instead.

Reform forces will need to do more than simply put up an alternative candidate in the 1985 election. They can begin now to work to reach the union ranks with a fightback program. They should explain why steelworker interests cannot be tied to employer profits. They must forthrightly defend affirmative action on the job for Black, Latino, and women workers, all of whom continue to suffer discrimination. They can explain why union democracy — rank-and-file control — will strengthen the union. They must take an interest in the problems facing USWA members throughout the union — including sectors outside of basic steel.

Champion labor solidarity

The reform forces should champion the idea of labor solidarity. Whenever working people come under attack from the employers or the government, reform forces should propose that the USWA and other unionists come to their defense. Urging action along these lines will clearly differentiate the reform forces from the do-nothing policies of the officialdom.

The absence of effective labor solidarity is one of the chief weaknesses facing the union movement today. It, in part, accounts for setbacks and defeats in countless strikes and other battles such as the 1981 air traffic controllers strike and the stalemate in today's Arizona copper strike.

Reform forces in the USWA need not limit proposals for solidarity activity to events affecting USWA members. Important showdowns are shaping up between the United Mine Workers of America and the coal operators, and between the United Auto Workers and the profit-rich auto makers. These coming confrontations merit the attention of all union militants.

At the same time the U.S. war in Central America is steadily escalating. Urging union action to oppose U.S. war moves is another important arena of activity for USWA militants. Last summer Weisen's Local 1397 sponsored a meeting to oppose the U.S. war in El Salvador. This example can be emulated by others.

All of this activity should be aimed at drawing fresh forces into the USWA reform effort, particularly Black, Latino, women, and younger workers. It is younger, more militant workers — including those not yet active in the union — who must be inspired to become active by an alternative leadership that puts forward effective proposals to launch a fightback.

If this challenge is taken up now, the foundation can be laid for an effective fight in the November 1985 USWA election. This can contribute to the bigger goal of transforming the USWA into a fighting organization that can help lead the entire labor movement forward in defense of workers' interests.

Steelworkers Under Attack How to fight back and defend jobs

By Geoff Mirelowitz, 95 cents, 40 pp.

U.S. Steel's plant closings point to the urgent need for a discussion of strategy and perspectives in the Steelworkers union. How can the union defend itself? Why won't the top officials mount a fight? What kind of leadership will it take to do the job?

Steelworkers will be discussing these questions as the union's March 29 presidential election ap-

proaches. This pamphlet answers the employers' lies that blame workers for the steel industry crisis, including why stopping imports will not end unemployment. It outlines a fightback strategy for the steel union and all workers.

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

Settlement reached in L.A. cop spying suit

Legitimizes red-squad operations against Black, women's, socialist movements



Settlement in suit against Los Angeles cops accepts idea of "legitimate" spying. "Surveillance" is part of police terror against Black community.

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

LOS ANGELES — An out-of-court settlement of a suit against this city's police department is being widely hailed as a victory for opponents of cop spying and disruption.

However, a careful look at what was actually agreed to shows the settlement is a heavy setback for civil liberties.

On February 21, the Los Angeles City Council voted to approve the proposed settlement, capping weeks of informal negotiations. Final authority for approving the agreement on behalf of the city and police was in the hands of the council.

Suit filed by ACLU

The suit was one of several brought against municipal police forces in the 1970s as part of a wave of revulsion over revelations of secret police activity on a federal, state, and local level.

The suit was brought against the Los Angeles police intelligence unit by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and 144 groups and individuals. Two suits against the cops filed in recent years were joined together by the court.

The ACLU suit made a significant contribution to exposing police spying and harassment by prying loose 6,000 pages of secret intelligence documents. The revelations that came out of this cast a spotlight on many aspects of the dirty dealings of the police.

Among the named plaintiffs are the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (predecessor of Democratic Socialists of America), La Raza Unida Party, Black Panther Party, Los Angeles chapter of the National Lawyers' Guild, Young Workers Liberation League (predecessor of the Young Communist League, the youth group associated with the Communist Party). Prominent individuals include Frank Wilkinson, Dorothy Healey, and Irv Sarnoff.

A new Red Squad

The L.A. settlement — like agreements adopted in several other suits against police spying — accepts and promotes the idea that there is such a thing as "legitimate" government surveillance of groups and individuals.

A similar settlement of a lawsuit in Chicago in 1981 sparked strong, vocal opposition from some victims of cop spying, many of them Black, but went through nonetheless. Attempts to settle a lawsuit in New York City against the cops have floundered because of opposition by some plaintiffs to provisions similar to those in the Los Angeles settlement.

No opposition to the terms of the settlement here has surfaced publicly, although one plaintiff reportedly did not approve the agreement.

The agreement awards \$1.8 million to the plaintiffs and their lawyers. It includes a consent decree signed by both sides and approved by the court that sets guidelines for the police Anti-Terrorist Division (ATD). The ATD is the latest incarnation of what has been variously called the Red Squad and, most recently, the Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID).

The ACLU had originally proposed that a retired judge be put in charge of authorizing police spying, but the city council turned that idea down. The ACLU then suggested that the Police Commission be given the job, but the commission vetoed the proposal.

Finally an agreement was set up whereby two members of the police commission will okay spy missions. If the two can't agree, final decision will be made by the entire commission.

Who are the civilians?

Proponents of the settlement make much of the fact that the Police Commission is made up of civilians. But to find out what kind of role these civilians are likely to play you need to look no further than one Mariana Pfaelzer. Now a federal judge, the liberal Pfaelzer once headed the commission.

In 1976 Pfaelzer and other commissioners announced a set of guidelines covering cop spying. Like the new guidelines they limited spying to groups and individuals deemed likely to commit "disruption." Using these criteria Pfaelzer admitted okaying spy operations against 524 individuals and 37 organizations.

Among the groups spied on was the Socialist Workers Party.

Pfaelzer — who monitored the spying on the SWP — then went on to preside over a disruption lawsuit filed against the SWP by a Los Angeles county lawyer, Alan Gelfand, who had been expelled from the party. At issue in the case was the right of federal courts to supervise the internal affairs of political organizations and designate their leadership.

In collaboration with a London-based outfit known as the Workers Revolutionary Party and its U.S. affiliate, which calls itself the Workers League, Gelfand demanded the federal court reinstate him into membership in the SWP and remove the party's elected leadership, whom he accused of being agents of the U.S. government.

Gelfand never offered a shred of proof for his charges. Rather than throwing this

outrageous case out of court, Pfaelzer let the suit drag on for years, draining valuable resources from the SWP. Finally, after the case was tried in 1983, she announced she would rule against Gelfand. She is now considering arguments from the SWP's attorneys that Gelfand and his lawyers should be held responsible for the socialists' legal expenses.

Police powers upheld

The settlement of the L.A. police spying suit comes at a convenient time for the cops. For months they have been on the defensive.

Jay Paul, a former PDID detective, was found a year ago to have 180 boxes of secret police files stashed in his garage. Moreover, he was feeding information from them into a computer hooked to the Virginia offices of an ultraright outfit headed by the late Larry MacDonald, U.S. Congressman from Georgia and head of the John Birch Society.

Paul recently broke a long silence when, during a public police internal investigation, he swore that his superiors had given full authorization to his actions.

The settlement of the suit will in no way lead to an end to this. The result of the settlement, in fact, will legitimize previously illegal police activity. A reading of the provisions of the settlement makes this clear. The settlement stipulates that the city "maintains that the Defendants (especially the police officers) acted properly in all respects."

On top of this, when the City Council adopted the agreement, they passed a resolution praising the cops.

The agreement also includes a guideline for police activity, which asserts that the city of Los Angeles has legitimate intelligence activities that include prevention of "disruption of public order, through the collection and analysis of information on individuals and organizations which plan, threaten, attempt or perform unlawful acts which can reasonably be expected to result in death, serious bodily injury or significant property damage."

The agreement also declares that it is "necessary and proper to accommodate both the legitimate law enforcement needs of the city of Los Angeles and the constitutional rights of the individuals and organizations affected by law enforcement efforts."

In other words, spying victims are expected to give up some of their rights to "accommodate" the government's need to spy. Thus, constitutional rights are not guaranteed to everyone, but must be trimmed to meet the requirements of the cops.

Like the FBI guidelines, there are provisions for preliminary and fullscale investigations.

Also, there is a distinction made between "target" and "nontarget" groups to be spied upon. Spies can be sent into nontarget groups if that's the best way to get a

member of a "target" group that "infiltrates" those who are not targeted. Of course what this really means is the secret police spy net is significantly widened. For example, a civil rights or women's liberation group can be infiltrated by the cops if a "targeted" individual joins the organization.

Investigations aren't harmless

Underlying all of this is a dangerous assumption: that there is such a thing as harmless investigation by undercover cops and paid stool pigeons.

The fact is that they do not limit themselves to the mere collection of names and such — although they have no right to do that and for any self-avowed civil libertarian to approve it, as this settlement does, is an outrage.

The stand taken by the ACLU is reactionary and a blow to democratic rights. More so, because the ACLU's reputation as defenders of the Bill of Rights is being used to give credibility to an attack on civil liberties.

Cop agencies are in the business of setting people up for jail sentences and worse. One of the best examples is right here in Los Angeles where both the FBI and Los Angeles cops were revealed to have played a role promoting a shoot out between the Black Panther Party and US, a Black cultural nationalist organization, in which two members of the Panthers died.

Need to fight back

A giant police apparatus exists in Los Angeles and other cities across the country and this will continue. This apparatus exists for a reason — not to stop crime, as the agreement in the ACLU suit implies, but to defend the interests of the wealthy minority class that now runs this country.

It is a fact that for years the police have been used against the labor movement, Black organizations, antiwar organizations, socialist organizations, and anyone challenging the status quo.

Now there is an escalating offensive against labor and the standard of living of working people in this country. There is also an expanding drive toward war in Central America and the Middle East. Given this, we can expect that the repressive police apparatus will be used more and more against workers and other opponents of war. And this is what the agreement made by the ACLU and other organizations completely covers up — the fact that the police are basically a repressive apparatus to be used for this purpose.

The agreement promotes the false illusion that the police have now been "reformed" when the truth is that we can expect worse crimes by them in the years ahead.

Rather than halting attacks by the police, the agreement in Los Angeles will help put the legal stamp of approval on repressive police activities that were previously done without cover of the law.

Herman Courts: a fighting socialist

BY SCOTT BREEN

CINCINNATI, Ohio — Herman Courts, a longtime supporter of the *Militant* and the Socialist Workers Party, recently passed away here at the age of 81.

Herman worked in the paper mills around Cincinnati most of his life, retiring in 1966. An active unionist, he had joined the SWP in the 1940's as an at-large member.

During the 1950's, both the small size of the SWP and the McCarthy witch-hunt led Herman to end his active membership. But he continued to vote SWP, read the *Militant*, and made what campaign contributions he could.

So it was with great delight and satisfaction that he found the SWP had established a branch in Cincinnati in 1976. He walked in the hall one day, announced who he was, and was around the movement ever since. He became an active supporter, regularly attending Militant Labor Forums, supporting our election campaign efforts, and staffing the bookstore on Saturdays.

He liked to explain how capitalism worked, robbing the working people of this

country of the wealth we created. And there wasn't a month that went by that we didn't receive a letter or two about the insanity of capitalism with an appropriate news item attached, or an idea about how the socialist view could be better heard.

He attended his very first national conference of the SWP and Young Socialist Alliance last summer, at Oberlin, Ohio. He spent the entire week there, and especially enjoyed talking with young people from around the country.

And Herman had another passion — the race track. He had a good nose for the horses, and often the track was good to Herman. And when the track was good to Herman, Herman was good to the party, regularly giving a hefty contribution from his winnings.

Herman once got up at a forum, shortly after George Meany died, and said, "George Meany once said, 'I've supported free enterprise all my life.' I hope no one says that at my eulogy." Herman doesn't have to worry. He was a fighting, angry socialist to the end. We all miss him.

Poland: behind Catholic church's impact

BY HARRY RING

TV, radio, the papers — all the capitalist media in this country — have had a field day with the story of demonstrations by Polish youth against a government order to remove crucifixes from public schools. The story has been handled as top quality grist for the anticommunist propaganda mill.

Carefully and consciously relegated to the news background is another significant story from Poland, one that doesn't help fuel the anticommunist drive.

That's the story of an unparalleled protest by parishioners against the Polish church hierarchy. In an industrial suburb of Warsaw, a dozen Catholics conducted a hunger strike and thousands rallied publicly behind them.

Their grievance? A decision by the hierarchy to transfer a local priest to an isolated rural area because he was persistently outspoken in his support of Solidarity, the banned union movement seeking democratic reform in a socialist context.

The student protest was definitely good news material. Several hundred students at a small public agricultural college stage a sit-in protesting an order to take down crucifixes in conformity with a statute providing for a separation of church and state.

The students are dispersed and the college shut down. Several hundred area high school students respond by attending a protest mass. Then several thousand more youth from various parts of Poland come together at a national church shrine to add their voices to the protest.

The response of these young people in defense of the crucifix confirms that religion still has a strong hold in Poland.

But these religious beliefs don't exist in isolation from key social issues confronting the Polish people. In a warped way, devoid of any progressive consequence, it is a measure of the depth of alienation of the people from the government, youth included.

Justifiable opposition to privileged bureaucrats who deny them all voice in the nation's decision-making process and the absence of a viable alternative feeds and strengthens their adherence to religion.

This is skillfully exploited by the Catholic hierarchy to further its anticommunist aims.

The hierarchy in Poland has a well-established track record in manipulating and exploiting mass sentiment for its own right-wing purposes.

For a century and a quarter, ending with the close of World War I, Poland was partitioned and occupied by Russia, Austria, and Prussia. National oppression was harsh. During that period, the church succeeded in shaping its image as a central force in resisting that national oppression. It draws on that image to this day.

In the present situation, its object is to stymie the development of a movement of Polish workers and farmers independent of the hierarchy. This is made clear by its attacks on Solidarity.

Protest U.S. troops

BY VERONICA CRUZ

SAN FRANCISCO — An emergency picket was called here on a two-day notice to protest the recent moves by the U.S. government to send 2,500 troops presently stationed in Panama to the border of Honduras and El Salvador. The picket was held March 13 in front of the Federal Building.

Nearly 500 people attended the noon-time rally called by the Central American Non-Intervention Coalition, Casa El Salvador, Casa El Salvador Farabundo Martí, and Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador.

Felix Kury, West Coast representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR), denounced Washington's move. "We maintain that the construction of peace requires the broad participation of the majority of social and political forces. But if the United States should decide to intervene militarily before the [March 25] elections in El Salvador, during the elections, or after the elections, our popular forces will be prepared to resist this aggression."

Other speakers at the rally included Gus Newport, mayor of Berkeley, and Holly Near, well-known feminist singer.

In the Warsaw suburb of Ursus, site of a huge tractor plant, Rev. Mieczyslaw Nowak regularly delivered pro-Solidarity sermons at the Church of St. Joseph the Worker. The government wanted him silenced, and the church cooperated.

Thousands packed the church nightly for protest masses, demanding the transfer be rescinded.

On March 15, in the face of this unprecedented challenge to church authority, Jozef Glemp, cardinal of Poland, met with Father Nowak and firmly told him the transfer would not be cancelled.

Nor was this simply a matter of coexistence with the regime. Cardinal Glemp recently returned from a trip to Latin America. In a Brazilian newspaper interview, Glemp made a vitriolic red-baiting attack on Solidarity.

He asserted that Solidarity leader Lech Walesa had "lost control" of the union to Marxists and Trotskyists and that half of Solidarity's members belong to the Communist Party, "which means that its ideals are not the same as the church's."

The attacks on Solidarity are intended to further weaken the outlawed organization and to advance the hierarchy's anticommunist "ideals" among opponents of the bureaucratic regime.

Yet the question is posed: how is it that nearly four decades after the abolition of capitalism in Poland, religion enjoys a strong grip on its youth?

True, long-prevalent religious beliefs don't vanish overnight. But they are reinforced when people see themselves trapped in what appears to be a social blind alley — where the population feels powerless and profoundly alienated from school, work, and politics.

It's worth comparing the continuing strength and influence of the church in Poland with the steady dwindling of its influence in Cuba.

A quarter of a century ago, on the eve of the revolution, Catholicism was virtually a state religion in Cuba, and the church wielded strong right-wing influence.

Today, it is a negligible factor in Cuban



Above, students protest government removal of crucifixes from schools. Right, Cardinal Jozef Glemp. Church hierarchy exploits mass sentiment for democratic reforms for its own right-wing purposes.



politics; and the number of its parishioners has shrunk steadily over the years.

Certainly this has not been due to any repression of the church. To the contrary, the Cuban revolution has scrupulously respected its declared commitment to freedom of religion and has not interfered in the church's religious activity.

But it has equally firmly stood by its commitment to separation of church and state. From the outset of the revolution, it was made clear to the church that its business was strictly religion and, as an institution, it had no further role to play in politics.

Adherence to that two-sided policy — freedom of religion and separation of church and state — coupled with offering the Cuban people a revolutionary purpose in life, has dealt with this problem in a salutary way.

Or consider beleaguered Nicaragua. There the church enjoyed a considerable base of support and is active in its virulent opposition to the revolution. But the revo-

lutionary government has met this substantial challenge in an effective way.

It has shown the necessary sensitivity to popular religious beliefs and assured freedom of religion. At the same time it has not shrunk from the hierarchy's right-wing political challenge.

The results were most dramatically registered when the pope visited Nicaragua last March.

Masses of people did turn out for him. But in revolutionary identification with their government, they pressed the pontiff to speak out against the aggression being directed against them from the north, urging that at least he offer his blessings to those who had already fallen victim to the aggression.

His stubborn refusal to do so was not lost on his audience.

Cuba and Nicaragua confirm that it will require the victory of workers democracy in Poland to open the way for rooting out the Catholic hierarchy's reactionary influence.

French civil workers strike 'their' gov't

BY JEAN LANTIER

PARIS — On Feb. 16 and March 8, 1984, civil service workers demonstrated in the streets of all the main cities in France. These workers, who are in the main traditional supporters of the Socialist and Communist parties, were demonstrating against the policies of the SP and CP, which have headed the capitalist government since June 1981.

The government plans to impose very severe cuts in their purchasing power. This could have wide ramifications since the outcome of the annual negotiations over the wages of government workers generally sets the tone for negotiations in other sectors of the economy.

There are 2.65 million national government workers, who make up about 14.9 percent of all wage workers. In addition there are 1.4 million workers in local (mainly city) government, 600,000 hospital workers, and 2.5 million retirees and veterans. This means that in all more than 7 million people are involved. Wages represent one-third of the government budget.

The Civil Service Ministry, the largest employer in France, is headed by a member of the French CP, Anicet Le Pors. Le Pors is applying the government's policy in a determined manner.

The aim of that policy is to overturn the system of raising wages to compensate for inflation, an arrangement that has provided some protection for the purchasing power of civil service workers. Now the government is trying to lower real wages.

The government has offered a 5 percent wage increase, which is below the government's own forecasts for inflation in 1984.

It should be noted that social security payroll deductions have risen for civil service workers, adding to their loss of purchasing power.

Because the civil service workers have been a stronghold of the Socialist and Communist parties, they feel particularly betrayed by the government's actions. They see themselves being attacked by the

very government they brought into power.

The civil service unions organize a higher percentage of the work force in their sector than do other labor federations. The largest union among civil service workers is the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), led by the CP. Next is Force Ouvrière (Labor Force), led by members of the SP and the Gaullist right. Third is the French Democratic Confederation of Labor (CFDT), which is led by the SP and openly defends the government's austerity policies.

These federations have not reacted in a unified way to defend wages. But in each there has been a rise in discontent among the ranks.

Civil service workers are no longer afraid to think about a strike. Previously they were hesitant, feeling that striking would mean playing into the hands of the rightists. But with their backs to the wall and facing the SP-CP coalition government's attacks, they were forced to defend themselves.

Responding to this desire to fight, both Force Ouvrière and the CGT separately called for a national strike on February 16 to win back the wages lost over the past two years and to keep wages indexed to the inflation rate.

The national CFDT, which backs the government on this question, did not call for action. But on their own, local CFDT unions and federations went to the February 16 demonstrations to express their own positions and their opposition to the CFDT's national line.

Although the February 16 day of action was an undeniable success, the government stuck to its guns. On February 29, during the negotiations with the unions, the minister of civil service workers proposed a lump sum \$62 bonus and a 1 percent wage increase effective April 1.

The union federations were obliged to call some kind of action since they knew their members would view the govern-

ment's proposal as a provocation. But the division among the unions persisted.

The CFDT continued to refuse to take part in action. The CGT joined with the National Teachers Federation (which represents 80 percent of the country's teachers) to call a 24-hour strike on March 8, with street demonstrations.

The March 8 demonstrations were larger than those on February 16. Workers in several nationalized branches of the economy (electricity, Paris transit, airlines) joined the civil service workers. A spirit of "everyone get together" permeated the contingents on the demonstrations, which were the largest since 1976 and 1977, when the right-wing government then in power announced the first austerity plans.

Where do we go from here is the question now posed. The leaders of the civil service unions do not want a confrontation with the government. But the civil service workers know that in order to win there must be a prolonged and united struggle, organized in the ranks.

The question of where to go from here is also posed for the workers in the shipbuilding industry, the steel industry, the coal mines, and the auto plants.

The Revolutionary Communist League, French section of the Fourth International, has members active in the civil service as well as in the industrial sectors. It is putting forward the idea of "everyone getting together" from all the affected sectors of the economy in order to force the SP-CP government to prohibit employers from laying off workers and to meet the workers demands.

Since the beginning of the year, there have been impressive marches for jobs in the shipyards, mines, and steel industry. There have also been growing struggles, in the auto industry and elsewhere, against layoffs. As a result, the organization of an across-the-board response on wages and jobs is becoming a concern of masses of the workers.

Ultimate tribute — At a socialite benefit for the Princess Grace Foundation at Washington's L'Enfant Plaza, the women's room toilet bowls were sprinkled



Harry Ring

with carnation petals, with maids restocking them after each flush. Queried on this, a hotel spokesperson explained they generally provide rose petals for such occasions, but carnations were Prin-

cess Grace's favorite.

Serves a great cup of coffee? — Defending his administration's record on women's rights, Reagan offered "praise" to female members of his staff, singling out for special mention his personal secretary, Kathleen Osborne, who he referred to as "my girl Friday."

Just doing a brain scan — CBS paid Nixon \$500,000 for taped interviews with him by a former aide. Of the Watergate probe, Nixon opined, "It's the responsibility of the media to look at government — especially the president — with a microscope. I don't argue with that, but when

they use a proctoscope, it's going too far."

O'er the ramparts he watched — Harold Spruell is doing 10 years for knocking over three North Dakota banks. The bank jobs, apparently, were moonlighting. His regular job was as an Air Force captain supervising security for Minutemen silos at the Grand Forks air base.

Tax tip — Buy a Rolls Royce for \$109,000, use it for "business" purposes, and you can save over \$65,000 in three years on your income tax. The Senate is reported talking about a measure to limit such tax benefits on luxury cars to

the first \$15,000 of cost. A querulous spokesperson for Mercedes-Benz enquired, "What's this penalty for trying to achieve excellence?"

Laugh, I thought I'd die — Two Labor members of the British Parliament protested the import of a U.S. video game where the object is to wipe out populations with nuclear attacks. The Arizona manufacturer responded that the game appeals to people with a sense of humor.

Going to speed up the service? — A House Interior subcommittee voted to study whether to preserve the Pony Express trail, which was used by riders delivering mail in

the last century.

Keep it in mind — "Most personnel directors react favorably to job seekers who want to do something for the company and unfavorably to those who demand to know what the company will do for them." — Free advice in the *New York Times* "Careers" column.

Sartorial tip — In time for our Easter outfit, Bijan's of Beverly Hills has opened a New York shop. Suits, \$1,800; shirts, \$240-\$480; ties, \$110; mink-lined bomber jackets, \$7,000. Nicest touch, dressing rooms with padded walls.

CALENDAR

ARIZONA

Phoenix

Ireland: World's Oldest National Liberation Struggle. A report on recent trip to Northern Ireland. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 24, 7:30 p.m. 17 E Southern Ave. (corner of Central). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 268-3369.

Palo Verde Rate Hikes and Radiation. A panel of speakers from Valley organizations. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 31, 7:30 p.m. 17 E Southern Ave. (corner of Central). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (602) 268-3369.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Nicaragua Today — A Slide Show by U.S. Workers Who Joined Coffee and Cotton Harvests. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 30, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W Pico Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (213) 380-9460.

San Jose

Socialism: a Future Worth Fighting For. Socialist campaign rally for Mason, González, and Allen. Speakers: Kim Allen, SWP candidate for 10th Congressional District, member of International Association of Machinists (IAM) Local 562 at FMC; Siobahn Dugan, 1983 SWP candidate for school board, member of IAM Local 562; Kate Hobbs, just returned from cotton harvest in Nicaragua. Sun., April 1. Rally at 5 p.m., party to follow. 46 1/2 Race St. Donation requested. Ausp: SWP '84 Campaign. For more information call (408) 998-4007.

INDIANA

Indianapolis

Grenada: Unraveling Reagan's Lies. Video showing and presentation. *The Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again*, videotape interview with Don Rojas, press secretary to murdered Grenadian Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Speaker: Roger Jones, Socialist Workers Party. Sun., April 1, 6 p.m. 4050 N College. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (317) 283-6149.

KENTUCKY

Louisville

Lessons of the Grenada Revolution. *The Truth Crushed to the Earth Will Rise Again*, videotape of interview with Don Rojas, press secretary to Grenada's murdered Prime Minister Maurice Bishop. Speaker: David Welters, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate. Sun., April 1, 7:30 p.m. 809 E Broadway. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (502) 587-8418.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Union Women Moving Forward: Report Back From National Coalition of Labor Union Women Convention. Speakers to be announced. Sun., April 1, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

Nicaragua: U.S. Trade Unionists Report on Cotton Harvest. Speakers to be announced. Sun., April 8, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MINNESOTA

Virginia

Nationalize the Steel Industry: Fight to Stop Concessions. Speaker: David Salner, Socialist Workers candidate for 8th Congressional District, laid-off member of United Steelworkers of America Local 6860. Sat., March 24. Social hour, 6 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. 112 Chestnut St. Ausp: 1984 Minnesota Socialist Workers Cam-

paign Committee. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

MISSOURI

Kansas City

Elections in El Salvador and Nicaragua. Speakers: John Colt, recently returned from work brigade in Nicaragua; Salvadoran unionist. Translation to Spanish. Sun., March 25, 3 p.m. 4715-A Troost. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Can Elections Bring Peace to El Salvador? Speakers: representative of the Revolutionary Democratic Front of El Salvador. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 30, 7:30 p.m. (\$2 donation). Pre-forum dinner, 6:30 p.m. (\$3 donation). 141 Halsey St. (corner of Raymond). Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (201) 643-3341.

NEW MEXICO

Albuquerque

Socialist Workers '84 Campaign Open House. Speakers: Paul Mailhot, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Marea Himelgrin, Young Socialist Alliance; Araceli Martínez, representative of SWP presidential campaign; taped message from Mel Mason, SWP candidate for U.S. president. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 24, 3 p.m. to 6 p.m. 1417 Central Ave. NE. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign. For more information call (505) 842-0954.

NEW YORK

Albany

Angola, Namibia, and the Freedom Struggle in Southern Africa. Masani Davis, Coalition Against Apartheid and Racism; Boji Jordan, South African exile, American-South African Peoples Friendship Association; Jim Callahan, Socialist Workers Party, member of Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Local 976T. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 23, 8 p.m. 23 Central Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (518) 434-3247.

Manhattan

Peña Chilena. A political and cultural event. Report and analysis of recent events in the Chilean struggle. Music, songs, and food of Latin America and Chile. Sat., March 24, 7 p.m. Holy Name Church, Amsterdam Ave. between 96th and 97th Sts. Donation: \$4. Ausp: Committee for a Free Chile. For more information call (212) 590-3662.

OHIO

Cincinnati

Stop the Deportations! Political Asylum for Salvadoran and Haitian Political Refugees and Activists. Speakers: Pio Celestino, Pueblo del Casa; Eugenia Hauber, immigration attorney; Peggy Mow, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Sun., March 25, 7:30 p.m. 4945 Paddock Rd. (Bond Hill) Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (513) 242-7161.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speaker: Andrea González, SWP candidate for vice-president; Katy Karlin, SWP candidate for 2nd Congressional District. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 30. Reception, 7 p.m.; rally, 8 p.m. 2744 Germantown Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (215) 225-0213.

Pittsburgh

Iran-Iraq War: The Iranian Revolution Today. Speaker: Fred Feldman, Socialist Workers Party National Committee. Sat., March 24, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., 3rd floor. Donation requested. Ausp: Militant

Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

Eyewitness Report From Nicaragua's Cotton Harvest. Speaker: Susan Anmuth, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., March 31, 7 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., 3rd floor. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

TEXAS

Dallas

Mason for President Rally. Speakers: Mel Mason, Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. president; Beverley Andalora, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate; Steve Iverson, SWP candidate for 24th Congressional District. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 24. Reception, 6:15 p.m.; rally, 7 p.m. Martin Luther King, Jr. Center, 2922 Martin Luther King, Jr. Blvd. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Dallas SWP 1984 Campaign. For more information call (214) 826-4711.

San Antonio

In Defense of Nicaragua: a Report from the International Harvest Brigades. Speaker: Tom Mauer, Socialist Workers Party, recently returned from cotton harvest in Nicaragua; slide show and presentation. Translation to Spanish. Sat., March 24, 8 p.m. 2811 Guadalupe. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 432-7394.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

How to Fight Back Against Union-busting: Case Study of I.M.L. Speaker: Jim White, chairman, Price Socialist Workers Party; others. Translation to Spanish. Fri., March 30, 7:30 p.m. 677 S 700 E. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA

Newport News

Socialist Workers Campaign Rally. Speakers: Andrea González, SWP candidate for vice-president; Eli Green, SWP candidate for Newport News City Council. Sat., March 31, 7:30 p.m. YWCA, 2702 Orcutt Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: 1984 Virginia SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (804) 380-0133.

Victory: rapists convicted

Continued from back page

Women's Center Rape Crisis Project reported that three rape victims have changed their minds about prosecuting their attackers after seeing the treatment of the victim in the Big Dan's rape case.

The fact that the rapists were found guilty is a blow to all opponents of women's rights. And it helps clarify that rape is an act of violence committed against women.

An editorial in the March 20 *New York Daily News* titled, "Seeing rape for what it is" put it this way, "What's really important about the case is that it was tried and decided in the light of an emerging new attitude toward rape. The old view holds that it's a sex crime committed by men just carried away by desire; that the woman, more often than not, really 'wants it,' that even if she doesn't, it's probably her fault for going somewhere she doesn't belong. . . .

"Rape is a crime of violence, committed as an act of hatred against women . . . the victims of rape are just that — victims."

After the verdict, supporters of the rapists began a shouting and shoving match in the courtroom that spilled out into the parking lot of the courthouse. They yelled "shame" and "racist" and cursed at the jurors.

According to the March 18 *New York Times* Alva Melo, spokesperson for the Committee for Justice, an organization that raised bail for some of the defendants and has functioned as a de facto support committee, said, "I'm outraged, there was no way they had enough evidence to prove aggravated rape." She and other members of the Committee for Justice have tried to cloud the issue of the brutal rape that took place by implying the trial is a frame-up because the defendants are Portuguese, and there is discrimination against Portuguese immigrants in New Bedford. The committee never points out, however, that the victim herself is of Portuguese descent. Half of the people on the jury are Portuguese.

Supporters of the victim, such as the Coalition Against Sexist Violence, have condemned the anti-immigrant bias of the media coverage of the rape. But the guilt in this trial is clear.

While a guilty verdict is a victory, no one can ignore the fact that this rape victim has paid a horrible price to get justice in this trial. And her ordeal is not over.

Her lawyer, District Attorney Ronald Pina, warned her and her children not to remain in her home the night the guilty verdict was announced. Threats have been made against jury members as well.

British mineworkers battle cops, gov't

Continued from front page

an unofficial ballot. Mass pickets by miners from other areas have led to some major confrontations there. Last week a Yorkshire picket was killed by a gang in Oller-ton.

"Tell them [U.S. workers] it's a police state here," shouted one miner. He and 34 of his brothers had traveled up to the Hucknall Colliery from Rhymney, South Wales, to try to picket out miners who were still working in the Notts area. Half-way through the journey their union bus was met by police, and they were told they had to turn back. But these miners were determined and took back roads to Hucknall.

Once they arrived, they met the police in full force. "We didn't even get to the damn pit entrance," a young miner said. "Over 500 police intercepted us as we were walking over there. They roughed us up, arrested three of us, and herded the rest of us back here like a pack of bloody sheep," he said as they rested inside the bus.

Hundreds of Kent miners were stopped in London and told they could go no further. Miners in Yorkshire, the center of the strike's strength, were told they weren't allowed to leave the county. Hundreds from Wales, Scotland, and other areas were told they would be arrested if they proceeded any further toward Nottinghamshire.

Mass picketing

I also witnessed a mass picket line at the entrance to the Edwinstowe Colliery in the Notts. Over 100 miners — again from South Wales — had avoided police road barricades and were trying to picket out working miners at the 6 a.m. Monday morning shift. But they were held back by over 200 police.

"Tell American miners not to let this happen to them," a young Welsh miner told me as his buddies were shouting "scab" at a Notts miner going to work. "This is the first time since 1926 that we have miners crossing other miners' picket lines," he said. He was referring to the role the Nottinghamshire miners played in helping to break the 1926 general strike.

"The Coal Board bought the lads off and all they do is think of themselves," he said, adding, "The government has these guys fooled into thinking none of their pits will be closed. But they're going to be hit just as hard as we will." He was interrupted by shouting as a carload of Notts miners turned around when they saw the picket.

Huddled across the street was a small battalion of "Fleet Street" reporters. None would come near the miners to get their point of view. The newspapers in England have done everything possible to break the strike, joining hands with the police, the government, the courts, and the big corporations.

On March 19 over 1,000 miners surrounded the union's national headquarters to keep the government from seizing the union's financial assets. Thousands more

are spreading out throughout the country — in spite of the police blockade and threats of arrests — to build solidarity.

The North Derbyshire area just decided to join the strike. This area is adjacent to the Nott and it could help swing things toward the union. When I visited their first picket line at the Warsop Main Colliery, they explained their recent breakthrough.

"At first the biggest pit over at Shirebrook opposed the strike by 70 percent," one striker said. "They were keeping all the rest of us from going out. But on Sunday we had a mass meeting of over 800. After hours and hours of discussion, we finally convinced them that every miner in England is threatened by these closures. After that we got a majority to favor going out."

The Derbyshire example has been picked up by other areas as well. The number of pits working throughout Britain has been declining each day. Success has been registered in Staffordshire, North Wales, and Leicestershire as well. As one picket in Derbyshire explained, "We're going to get everyone surrounding Nottinghamshire, isolate them, and then force them out again." By mid-week, it appeared that this strategy — combined with the solidarity from other unions — was moving things forward.

Besides facing a hostile press, the miners' union is also being dragged through the courts to stop picketing. This is a repeat of the tactics used last fall by the employers and government in a clash with the 133,000-member printers' union, the National Graphical Association (NGA). But this time the Tories are taking on the most powerful union in Britain, whose 1974 strike brought down the previous Tory government of Edward Heath.

Both rail unions, the seafarers union, and the 1.8-million-strong transport workers union, which organizes the dockers and truck drivers, have declared full support for the miners by pledging not to move coal or oil. This includes preventing any coal being imported by ship.

U.S. socialists extend solidarity to miners

The following telegram was sent to the National Union of Mineworkers in Great Britain by Mel Mason and Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, on March 19.

We extend our full solidarity with you in your battle against the Thatcher government. Its attempt to impose massive job reductions on you is nothing but a means to make British workers bear the burden of the capitalist economic crisis.

The labor movement in the U.S. is facing the same combined employer-government offensive. Union-busting, plant closings, forced contract concessions are all

This secondary action will lead to more bitter confrontations over the Tory laws. These antiunion laws were adopted in 1980 and 1982 by the Parliament. Like Taft-Hartley and other antiunion laws in the United States, the laws seek to narrow the scope for union action by making it harder to set up or maintain a closed shop; by opening union funds to seizure when officials engage in "unlawful" acts; and by outlawing most secondary protests, such as boycotts of products and mass picketing at places other than the pickets' place of work.

Background to conflict

In 1983, Welsh miners went on strike against mine closures. They approached other mining areas for solidarity, but this was rejected by a majority in a national strike ballot. A 55 percent majority rank-and-file vote is needed to call a national strike. Among the 81,000 who voted for a strike, a discussion began to prepare a future fightback. They felt that they had been "constitutionalized out of action" by the national ballot and would have to confront the problem of a union deeply divided by the actions of the National Coal Board (NCB) and misleaders like Lord Joe Gormley, past president of the NUM.

In the 1960s, NUM leaders accepted the closures of hundreds of mines on the grounds that they were not economically viable.

In 1977, Joe Gormley agreed to a new incentive scheme over the heads of the miners. This means 21 percent of the miners' wage is made up of productivity bonuses. Miners in high investment mines in an area like Nottinghamshire get well over this average. Miners in more productive areas can make up to \$150 per week more than others. Because of better coal seam conditions some of the Notts miners are more productive than others. "This incentive plan has split us pit to pit, and even face to face," a miner from the Bledworth Colliery told me. This Notts miner sup-

ports the strike, as do many others in the area.

Union tactic: generalize strikes

These divisions in the union are boosted by Tory plans to concentrate production in those higher investment mines, at the expense of older mines in militant areas like Wales, Scotland, and Kent.

With right-wing union officials, the Tories, and the press playing on some miners' false sense of security, national ballots on strike action are a barrier to a fightback. So, after the 1983 defeat, militant miners prepared a different path toward national strike action.

Their plan was to spread regional strikes — like the present Yorkshire strike against closure — to a national stoppage by calling on basic trade union solidarity. Miners from the nonstriking areas are asked not to cross picket lines of "flying pickets" from Yorkshire. The "flying pickets" are volunteers from the striking mines and their active supporters. They travel around the country and set up picket lines at nonstriking mines in order to spread the strike.

While thousands of miners have been "picketed out," there have been some bitter clashes. The bitterness reflects a real polarization in the miners' union as right-wing officials and the Tories try their divide-and-rule tactics.

Striking miners hope the example of their determined action to save jobs can overcome these divisions in the coalfields and strengthen the unity of the union. Their message is that no mine or job is safe and that selling jobs for inflated unemployment handouts means selling the future of whole communities.

I was told that on the eve of the strike in a move to weaken solidarity among miners, the National Coal Board extended buy-out options to all miners 21 years and older. In the past only miners over 55 years had such an option. Miners who accept the

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ARIZONA: Phoenix: SWP, YSA, 17 E. Southern Ave. (Central and Southern). Zip: 85040. Tel: (602) 268-3369. Tucson: SWP, YSA, 2960 W. St. Tropaz. Zip: 85713. Tel: (602) 622-3880.

CALIFORNIA: Bay Area District: 3808 E 14th St., Oakland. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 534-1242. Los Angeles: SWP, YSA, 2546 W. Pico Blvd. Zip: 90006. Tel: (213) 380-9460. Oakland: SWP, YSA, 3808 E 14th St. Zip: 94601. Tel: (415) 261-3014. San Diego: SWP, YSA, 1053 15th St. Zip: 92101. Tel: (619) 234-4630. San Francisco: SWP, YSA, 3284 23rd St. Zip: 94110. Tel: (415) 282-6255. San Jose: SWP, YSA, 46½ Race St. Zip: 95126. Tel: (408) 998-4007. Seaside: SWP, YSA, 1184 Broadway. Zip: 93955. Tel: (408) 394-1855.

COLORADO: Denver: SWP, YSA, 126 W. 12th Ave. Zip: 80204. Tel: (303) 534-8954.

FLORIDA: Miami: SWP, YSA, 663 Martin Luther King Blvd. (NW 62nd St.) Zip: 33150. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

GEORGIA: Atlanta: SWP, YSA, 504 Flat Shoals Ave. SE. Zip: 30316. Tel: (404) 577-4065.

ILLINOIS: Chicago: SWP, YSA, 3455 S

Michigan Ave. Zip: 60616. Tel: (312) 326-5853 or 326-5453.

INDIANA: Bloomington: YSA, Activities Desk, Indiana Memorial Union. Zip: 47405. Indianapolis: SWP, YSA, 4850 N. College. Zip: 46205. Tel: (317) 283-6149.

IOWA: Cedar Falls: YSA, c/o Jim Sprall, 803 W. 11th St. Zip: 50613. Des Moines: YSA, P.O. Box 1165. Zip: 50311.

KENTUCKY: Louisville: SWP, YSA, 809 E. Broadway. Zip: 40204. Tel: (502) 587-8418.

LOUISIANA: New Orleans: SWP, YSA, 3207 Dublin St. Zip: 70118. Tel: (504) 486-8048.

MARYLAND: Baltimore: SWP, YSA, 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS: Boston: SWP, YSA, 510 Commonwealth Ave., 4th Floor. Zip: 02215. Tel: (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN: Detroit: SWP, YSA, 7146 W. McNichols. Zip: 48221. Tel: (313) 862-7755.

MINNESOTA: Mesabi Iron Range: SWP, YSA, 112 Chestnut St., Virginia, Minn. 55792. Send mail to P.O. Box 1287. Zip: 55792. Tel: (218) 749-6327. Twin Cities: SWP, YSA, 508 N. Snelling Ave., St. Paul. Zip: 55104. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

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#22. Zip: 63118. Tel: (314) 772-4410.

NEBRASKA: Lincoln: YSA, P.O. Box 80238. Zip: 68501. Tel: (402) 464-8933.

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NEW YORK: Capital District (Albany): SWP, YSA, 23 Central Ave. Zip: 12210. Tel: (518) 434-3247. New York: SWP, YSA, 79 Leonard. Zip: 10013. Tel: (212) 226-8445 or 925-1668.

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RHODE ISLAND: Providence: YSA, P.O.

Box 261, Annex Station. Zip: 02901.

TEXAS: Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Tel: (512) 452-3923. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2817 Live Oak. Zip: 75204. Tel: (214) 826-4711. Houston: SWP, YSA, 4806 Alameda. Zip: 77004. Tel: (713) 522-8054. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 2811 Guadalupe, #100. Zip: 78207. Tel: (512) 432-7394.

UTAH: Price: SWP, YSA, 23 S. Carbon Ave., Suite 19, P.O. Box 758. Zip: 84501. Tel: (801) 637-6294. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. Zip: 84102. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

VIRGINIA: Tidewater Area (Newport News): SWP, YSA, 5412 Jefferson Ave., Zip 23605. Tel: (804) 380-0133.

WASHINGTON, D.C.: SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699. Baltimore-Washington District: 2913 Greenmount Ave., Baltimore, Md. Zip: 21218. Tel: (301) 235-0013.

WASHINGTON: Seattle: SWP, YSA, 5517 Rainier Ave. South. Zip: 98118. Tel: (206) 723-5330.

WEST VIRGINIA: Charleston: SWP, YSA, 1584 A Washington St. East. Zip: 25311. Tel: (304) 345-3040. Morgantown: SWP, YSA, 957 S. University Ave. Zip: 26505. Tel: (304) 296-0055.

WISCONSIN: Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 4707 W. Lisbon Ave. Zip: 53208. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

Where's the beef?

"Where's the beef?" Millions of workers have been getting a chuckle out of hearing Clara Peller growl this question in a popular television ad. But in the mouth of Walter Mondale the words ring hollow.

Where's the beef? Perhaps between Mondale's ears, but definitely not in his program — nor that of the other Democratic presidential candidates. Neither Mondale, Sen. Gary Hart, nor Jesse Jackson offer a meaningful alternative to President Reagan and his administration.

All four capitalist candidates sing variations on the same theme — the need for a "strong America" with a "strong defense" — to counter the rising tide of socialist revolution in the Americas.

Mondale attacks Hart for being too "dovish" on Cuba. Hart explains he's for a massive buildup in conventional weapons to combat the "communist threat." And Jackson says the same ends can best be achieved through dialogue.

Reagan has already used U.S. troops in Grenada to stamp out the revolution in that country. Washington has increased the number of U.S. troops in Honduras, preparing for broader U.S. intervention in El Salvador's civil war, and the White House has put in place the first stage of a naval blockade around revolutionary Nicaragua.

Meanwhile, the ruling-class attack against working people here at home continues apace. U.S. workers are being assaulted on the economic, social, and political fronts. The employers' drive to increase their profits means beating down the wages and standard of living of workers, which leads to confrontation with the unions. The bosses' determination to bust the unions is shown in the eight-month copper miners' strike against Phelps Dodge Corp. in Arizona.

The U.S. ruling-class attack also necessitates an onslaught against the democratic rights of working people. Women — who have made important gains in their fight for equality — face intensified attacks on their rights, as the ruling-rich seek to reverse hard-won victories in the battle against sex oppression. The big-business media coverage of the New Bedford rape trial, for example, is aimed at intimidating women, and spreading antiwoman propaganda. The bosses hope this will push back the broad working-class support for full equality for women.

In addition to the attacks on women's rights, the bosses have also stepped up their offensive against Blacks. The cop terror against Miami's Black community following the "not guilty" verdict on cop Luis Alvarez is an example of this offensive.

Workers are turning to their unions for protection against the U.S. rulers' offensive. But in every fightback of the workers, they find they face not only their bosses, but the employers' government and the Democratic and

Republican parties. An effective fightback against the capitalist assault on working people can be waged only if workers organize a political fight independent of the capitalist class and its two parties.

Unfortunately, the top leadership of the trade unions has defaulted on this front. They have tied the labor movement to the bosses' parties. The AFL-CIO has dumped tens of millions of dollars into the coffers of the Mondale campaign. Rather than charting a course of independent struggle against the bosses, their government, and their parties — the Democratic and Republican parties — the labor skates have sought to *collaborate* with the employers. In practice this means *subordinating* working-class interests to the profit needs of a handful of super-rich families that rule the United States.

The established Black leadership accepts the same pro-capitalist framework as the union officialdom. So do the leaders of the major women's rights organizations.

Workers are looking for a way out of this dead-end trap. This sentiment is reflected — in a distorted fashion — in the Jackson campaign. Blacks and other working people are supporting the civil rights leader, not because they think he can win, but because they mistakenly believe Blacks in particular and workers in general can win political representation through backing Jackson's candidacy.

This fact helps explain the large turnout of Black voters in the March 13 Democratic primaries in the South. Only 20 years ago few Blacks could vote at all. Now all Democratic Party candidates have cast themselves as staunch defenders of Black civil rights.

Working people want more political power, but this sentiment is currently trapped in the capitalist two-party system. A layer of vanguard fighters, however, is putting forward an independent working-class alternative. This is expressed in the program of the National Black Independent Political Party (NBIPP).

The NBIPP charter explains that the party "aims to attain power to radically transform the present socioeconomic order, that is, to achieve self-determination and social and political freedom for the masses of Black people. Therefore, our party will actively oppose racism, imperialism, sexual oppression, and capitalist exploitation."

"Both major parties (the Democratic and Republican parties) have betrayed us because their interests essentially conflict with ours," the charter explains.

Mel Mason and Andrea González, Socialist Workers Party candidates for president and vice-president of the United States, agree with this perspective. They are running the only socialist campaign in this election, putting forward a program for building an independent working-class political movement.

Where's the beef? It's in the platform and perspectives of the 1984 Socialist Workers campaign.

Abolish death penalty

James Hutchins was executed in North Carolina March 16.

Two days earlier, James Autry was executed in Texas. Fifteen people have now been executed since the Supreme Court reinstated the death penalty in 1976.

Both men were legally murdered by lethal injection.

It was the second time Autry had been hooked up for the intravenous injection. Last October, after the Supreme Court turned down his appeal, Autry was strapped down to a hospital gurney with an intravenous tube inserted in each arm. Thirty minutes before his scheduled death, a Supreme Court judge granted a temporary stay of execution.

Autry spent almost two hours on the death table before being removed.

His lawyers then tried to have his death sentence overturned on grounds that the aborted execution constituted cruel and unusual punishment. The Supreme Court re-

fused to hear the appeal and Autry was finally executed by the state.

That grisly story speaks volumes about the barbarism of capital punishment.

Its primary function is to make people — particularly Blacks, Latinos, and other workers — understand that the capitalist rulers of this country are ready to preserve their rule by *any means necessary*.

Another function is to harden people to the violence that springs from every pore of capitalist society — from the bombing of innocent Lebanese villagers and the arming of Salvadoran death squads to the execution of working people in this country. When was the last time a millionaire was executed?

There are currently more than a thousand people on Death Row and the frequency of executions will increase. Each one will be a fresh reminder of how reactionary this capitalist society is.

'Equal time': the burial process

Back in 1934, the Federal Communications Act established that when free air time was given to any candidate, equal time had to be given to all candidates for the same office. The regulation was created because the major party politicians didn't trust each other.

But then minority parties like the SWP began demanding their rights under the law. Throughout they faced discrimination by broadcasters and the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). Socialists and others have had to fight every inch of the way to win a small fraction of the air time they have been entitled to.

Then in 1975, a crippling curb was added to the equal-time law. It was decided that staged debates between selected candidates could be covered by broadcasters as "news events" and equal time would not apply.

The League of Women Voters began organizing presidential debates. The socialists and other minority candi-

dates were arbitrarily excluded. These discriminatory debates were aired by the national media.

Then the broadcasters decided to eliminate the middle people. Last November the FCC agreed that broadcasters could organize such debates themselves as "news events" — again, of course, selecting and excluding candidates as they chose.

An outraged League of Women Voters took it to court. On March 15, a federal appeals court in Washington upheld the broadcasters and FCC.

This puts one more shovelful of dirt on an equal-time proviso already almost completely buried.

It's a relevant commentary on the "free elections" conducted by a government that howls like a stuck pig, for instance, about the need to ensure that minority capitalist candidates in Nicaragua get a fair shake in the upcoming elections there.

Antoinette Konikow: Marxist and fighter for women's rights

BY MARGARET JAYKO

"Machinery in industry or the industrial era caused considerable change in the life of women. All agree that the home of today is not what it used to be. The home is 'breaking up,' people say, and of course we socialists are blamed for it."

"The passing of the present home with its drudgery, worries and uncertainty of income would not grieve me. For such a home I would shed no tears; but neither would

OUR REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

I or any socialist accept responsibility for undermining it. Incredible as it may appear, the very people who accuse us, the bosses and their agents, they are the real culprits. They did the job very effectively with their gigantic privately-owned machinery and factories."

These words, which have a contemporary ring, appeared in the *Militant* on July 6, 1940. They were written by Dr. Antoinette Konikow, a lifelong Marxist and fighter for women's rights.

Konikow was born in Russia in 1869. She joined the Russian socialist movement in 1888. Konikow emigrated to the United States five years later where she participated in the struggles of the unemployed, and was a founding member of the communist movement.

Konikow was among the first fighters for the legalization of contraceptives in the United States, while vigorously rejecting and exposing the reactionary arguments of the population-control advocates. She spoke about birth control before working-class audiences at every opportunity.

The *Militant* article by Konikow quoted above, titled "Capital Drives Women Out of Home to Industry," was written at a time, like the present, when women's participation in the work force was increasing sharply.

"The drudgery and monotony of domestic life kept a woman isolated, ignorant of world realities," said Konikow. "She was concerned mainly with her own narrow, family interests. Her work outside the home awakened her to a new outlook. It was not the kiss of Prince Charming which stirred her slumber, it was the whistle of the factory and the rumbling of machinery."

"As she works and mingles with others under modern industrial conditions her very character is altered. At home she was bashful, self-conscious, lacking confidence in her own ability — the so-called clinging vine. She soon acquires a backbone, and begins to assert herself. She learns to think and act independently and likes it."

"How did this affect the home? Desperately women try to combine work with married life. The wife now has on her slender shoulders a double yoke; work in the office, factory, or profession and the care of the house and often children. When a woman comes home from work, she cleans house, prepares supper and cares for the children. . . ."

"Industrialism has created new conditions in woman's life. Is this change altogether detrimental to women? By no means! True, women work harder, their health often suffers, their nerves go to pieces — but in the schooling of this new life, they have gained in experience, self-reliance, knowledge and, if they are workers, they learn to defend their rights and become class conscious."

"It is said that when Moses led the Israelites to the Promised Land, he took 40 years wandering through the deserts because he wanted them to forget the slavery in Egypt so that they would come to the Promised Land with a new generation which had never known slavery."

"I think we women should consider our tramping through the jungles of capitalism in the same way. Despite its hardships, it has a progressive, valuable aspect for women. Involved in the problems of labor, women begin to understand more clearly than can ever be learned from books the crying need of changing this capitalist world of insecurity, suffering and struggle into a new world of socialism."

In the July 29, 1944, *Militant*, Konikow hit the same theme. This was during the slaughter of World War II when the ruling class encouraged women to become industrial workers to replace the men being sent to battle.

"Work in the factories opens the woman's eyes," said Konikow. "She knows now that her boss makes big profits out of her labor. She learns the lessons of the class struggle — and learns them in a shorter time than did her husband and other men workers. Women had to go through the same industrial schooling by which men learned, in order to understand the present system of living. . . ."

"Capitalism created the working class, which is historically bound to overthrow capitalism. . . . In the Second World War, capitalism has brought forth an army of women wage earners, who previously had been far away from the battlefield of labor. Now women work side by side with men, women have joined the industrial army, women are due to become fighting members of the working class."

Racist drive behind 'Black anti-Semitism' charge

BY MOHAMMED OLIVER

There's a raging debate in the big-business media: is Jesse Jackson an anti-Semite?

No. The *Militant* has already answered this charge against Jackson in an editorial in the March 9 issue, pointing out that it's actually a racist slander aimed at all Blacks. The *Militant* explained that ruling class circles condemn Jackson — who apologized for using anti-Semitic language — because they "believe that Blacks have no business running for U.S. president or offering opinions about U.S. foreign policy in the Mideast or elsewhere."

Following Jackson's "Hymie-Hymietown" remark, a lot of attention was focused on whether the slur would damage "Black-Jewish relations." Earlier this month, Jackson himself said he hoped to speak in as many

BY ANY MEANS NECESSARY

synagogues as possible to help mend fences between the two groups. Jackson was reported as saying that the "alliance" between Blacks and Jews in the civil rights movement in the 1960s had been strained in recent years and that the tension has "now reached a critical point."

In the March 18 debate with presidential candidates Walter Mondale and Gary Hart, Jackson said his campaign hoped to "reach out for the locked out, we make a decided effort to reach out for women, for Hispanics, for Blacks, for Asians, for Arabs, for Jews, for those who have been locked out, and that is in part the mission of our campaign."

But this statement's a complete muddle. Blacks, Latinos, Asians, and Arabs suffer national oppression and are mostly working class in social composition. They suffer a second-class status — socially, politically, and economically. Women face oppression as a sex.

Historically, Jews have been discriminated against in ruling-class inspired campaigns designed to make them the scapegoats for problems faced by working people. Jews, however, are not an oppressed national minority in the United States.

Moreover, lumping all Jews together overlooks the fact that they are divided by class and political outlook.

Many Jews did support the civil rights movement and opposed the South's apartheid-like system of Jim Crow. They were inspired — as were many whites — by the massive outpouring of the Black community in direct action against the system of legalized segregation and joined the struggle.

At the same time the official leaders of major white churches, white capitalist media, and most unions — headed by white racist bureaucrats — rarely if ever actively joined the direct action campaigns for Black civil rights. Among these organizations were the major Jewish groups, such as the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith and the American Jewish Congress.

The civil rights movement won a major victory. *De jure*, or legal, segregation was eliminated. It took many years of battle in which many a martyr fell, but Jim Crow was sent to its grave.

Yet, the racial oppression of Blacks continued. Dilapidated and inadequate housing, dirty and low-paying jobs, inferior education, cop terror, and other evils of race discrimination still plagued the Black community. Blacks rose up in rage and anger. In the mid and late 1960s, Black rebellions swept the United States.

Many Black organizations turned to more consciously nationalist ideas and programs, and as they did so they lost the support of procapitalist liberals — including many Jews.

We began to struggle against *de facto* segregation — the institutionalized race discrimination in housing, employment, education, and so on. However, our fight to desegregate housing, win affirmative action, and improve our education through desegregation or community

control of the schools has been met with violent opposition from the capitalist class.

Blacks — fighting to achieve equality — are realizing more and more that we need political power to win full equality and liberation. The U.S. ruling class opposes our struggle. One of their weapons against us is to try to discredit the Black movement. That's the purpose of their demagogic campaign against "Black anti-Semitism." It appeals to well-founded fears about the dangers of anti-Semitism in general to smear the fight for Black civil rights. The lie is spread that if Blacks had political power, we would use it against Jews.

Jewish organizations like the B'nai B'rith, which support the Israeli colonial-settler state and the U.S. capitalist government, toe this same reactionary line. They howl "Black anti-Semitism" and "Black racism" at Blacks fighting for affirmative action with quotas or community control of the schools in the Black community.

The racist charge that Blacks are anti-Semitic is also aimed at the widespread support in the Black community for the Palestinian struggle for national liberation. This sympathy is reflected in the fact that Jesse Jackson and other Black leaders have spoken in favor of the right of self-determination for the Palestinian people.

So, when Jackson made his "Hymietown" jibe, there was a chorus of racist opponents of Black rights who said: I told you so. You can't support the struggle for a Palestinian state without being anti-Jewish.

Well, that's a lie. One can be anti-Zionist without being an anti-Semite. Zionism, in fact, is a reactionary political ideology that tries to justify the formation of the colonial-settler state of Israel on Palestinian soil. The fight to end that occupation is anti-Zionist and antiracist, not anti-Jewish.

Anti-Semitism, however, remains a big problem. But its source isn't the Black community. What the roots of anti-Semitism and other prejudice are and how to combat them will be the subject of a future column.

Coal miners in Britain battle cops and gov't

Continued from Page 17

buyout give up their jobs and receive approximately \$1,500 for each year worked. The buyouts are aimed at preventing a fightback against the closures.

Gov't policy: 'leaner but fitter'

When the Thatcher government won the 1979 election, the banner put forward for industry was "leaner but fitter." This meant a major shake-up of the government-owned nationalized industries — parceling them up for private buyers, squeezing more profit out of fewer workers, and destroying union opposition to the cutbacks. The results for miners are devastating:

- Between 1979 and 1984, 59 mines shut with the loss of 40,000 jobs. One in three mining jobs could go if the Tories carry out their plans to shut up to 90 mines by 1990.

- In the 1970s, mines were closed when coal ran out or geological conditions made it impossible to mine seams safely. Now the NCB insists on profits deciding the fate of mines.

- The NCB plans for a smaller number of "super pits" stuffed with computer technology to replace production spread across the country. Whole coalfields will shut down. Instead of using new technology to shorten dangerously long working hours, it will be used to increase output from a decimated work force.

- "Leaner but fitter" has meant that whole coalfields will be starved of investment. Without these funds new seams cannot be mined or difficult geological conditions overcome. The mines join the closure list as uneconomic risks.

- The Tories cannot get away with this unless the back of the NUM is broken. They are aided by the divisive bonus

scheme and arguments by right-wing union officials that harder work and fewer strikes are the way to a secure future. Other tactics are used too. After decades of bitter battles, the NUM has won a certain veto over work practices. This has now been blatantly disregarded by the NCB,

Enough is enough

Threatened miners are particularly incensed by arguments that mines should shut because they are not economically viable. Aside from compensation still paid to the former private owners after nationalization, last year \$531 million interest found its way to the banks and speculators — that is a drain of \$2.9 million on every mine.

With their determined strike action, miners are saying enough is enough. In fighting for their jobs, they are pointing the way to other workers. They raise demands for their industry to be run safely and for

social needs, not on the basis of profit.

By taking on the government, the miners are forcing the hand of the TUC leaders to unite the opposition to bring down the Tories. As the NUM Pres. Arthur Scargill explained, "We are fighting for a government as loyal to our class as Thatcher is to hers."

The battle British coal miners are waging for jobs and defense of their union is one we in the United Mine Workers of America are quite familiar with. That's added reason why U.S. miners and the entire labor movement should rally in support of their important struggle. The motto, "an injury to one is an injury to all," has no national boundaries.

Militant correspondent Bruce Kimball is a working coal miner in southern Illinois. Kimball is a member of United Mine Workers Local 2295.

LETTERS

Rightists threaten Fonda

The Cuban exiles of South Florida, already notorious for right-wing terrorism in recent years, made headlines recently by causing actress-activist Jane Fonda to cancel an appearance at a Burdines' store in Miami.

Fonda, who won Academy Awards for her performances in the movies *Klute* and *Coming Home*, had planned to give an exercise workout at the store on March 1, but angry phone calls and bomb threats by *gusanos* [Cuban counterrevolutionaries] caused Burdines' officials on February 27 to cancel Fonda's appearance.

Earlier in the year, Fonda had to cancel a New Orleans appearance because of potentially violent opposition from Cuban exiles and the American Legion-type veterans groups.

When Miami newspapers announced she was going to appear in the area on March 1, the right-wing Cuban radio station WRHC began a series of editorial diatribes against Fonda, calling her, among other things, "a reddish leftist."

Questioned about WRHC's at-

tacks on Fonda, general manager Salvador Lew, the most vocal anti-Fonda commentator on the radio station replied: "We don't understand why they are bringing Fonda to a town where there are a million Cuban exiles."

Both the *Miami Herald* and *Miami News* editorially came to the defense of Fonda, criticizing those opposing her visit. The conservative *Herald* denounced Fonda's antiwar activism in an editorial of February 28, stating: "Her 1972 trip to Hanoi was a low point in the antiwar movement of the Vietnam era."

However, the *Herald* also stated: "It is disgraceful that bomb threats forced a temporary evacuation of the Dadeland Burdines' store and caused the cancellation of actress Jane Fonda's scheduled appearance there."

Incredibly, WRHC's officials, including Salvador Lew, claimed that the bomb threat had been made by *pro-Castro* terrorists, an outrageous lie. In recent years, as right-wing Cuban exile violence has proliferated, the *gusanos* have charged that Fidel Castro & Co. were responsible for these right-

ists' acts of violence.

David Miller
Hialeah, Florida

Angela Davis meeting

On February 22, I and two other supporters of the Mason-González campaign attended a public meeting for Angela Davis. The meeting was held on the campus of Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia. It was part of a series of meetings held at ODU in celebration of Black History Month. Davis is the Communist Party's candidate for vice-president.

At the meeting I attended, close to 350 people packed into an auditorium that only seats 266. Many people came out of curiosity to find out what the Communist Party solutions are to the problems that working people, Blacks, women and youth face.

Angela Davis offered little in the way of solutions. She focused much of her talk on an attack against Ronald Reagan and his administration's policies. Davis put forward essentially the same political "solution" that we've heard from the labor officials and many Black and women's movement

leaders who say the most important task for working people is to defeat Reagan.

Davis spoke favorably of Jesse Jackson's campaign for the Democratic Party nomination, while adding that she was an alternative candidate for those who thought Jackson's campaign was not radical enough. But, regardless of whom they support, she urged the audience to work to defeat Reagan. "Our immediate goal is 'Out the door in '84,'" she said.

I and the two other Mason-González supporters were swamped by people who wanted to read about the campaign. We also passed out literature on the campaign of Eli Green, the SWP candidate for Newport News City Council. We sold 46 copies of the *Young Socialist* newspaper, featuring an article on why young people should vote socialist. People were so interested in reading the *Young Socialist* they were standing in line waiting to give us their 50 cents. One man bought three copies and several people bought two.

A.H.
Newport News, Virginia

Workers struggles

I wish to thank you for maintaining your quality coverage of workers struggles. I am an organizer for the United Food and Commercial Workers in "right-to-work" Nebraska and appreciate the constant reminder that many comrades are struggling throughout this troubled world.

Keep it up!
J. Phillip Parterson
Nebraska

The *Militant* special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

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.

Miami cops occupy Black community

All-white jury acquits cop who killed Black youth in 1982

BY ALAN GUMMERSON

MIAMI — The acquittal of Luis Alvarez on March 15 for manslaughter in the killing of Nevell Johnson was a blow to Black rights and to the rights of all working people. Johnson was shot in a video arcade in Miami's Black Overtown section in December 1982.

As the decision was announced, 1,000 Miami cops were mobilized to occupy Black communities in order to stifle any attempt to protest the verdict.

More than 12 Black men, including Johnson, have been killed by cops here since the 1980 acquittal of the cops who killed Arthur McDuffie, a Black insurance salesman. That verdict set off the Liberty City rebellion.

None of the other killer cops were indicted until the rebellion in Overtown, which followed Nevell Johnson's death. Since then, four have been indicted, all for manslaughter. Only one was found guilty, and he may never serve time in jail.

The Alvarez verdict, like all the rest before it, was reached by an all-white jury.

Alvarez claimed he was forced to shoot in self-defense, as Johnson "went for his gun."

Prosecutors from the state's attorney's office agreed with Alvarez's lawyers that Johnson had a gun, even though eyewitnesses denied this. No witnesses saw Johnson make a movement to draw a gun, as Alvarez claimed.

The police lawyers tried to put the victim on trial, trying to prove Johnson deserved to be killed. Johnson did not have a criminal record, but the judge allowed his father's arrest record to be introduced as evidence. Johnson's alleged buying and selling of a shotgun was also presented to the jury as relevant. Meanwhile, the jury was not told of complaints of racist harassment filed against Alvarez.

Not only was Johnson put on trial, but the entire Black community in Overtown as well. Overtown was portrayed as a dangerous place, full of thieves, dope pushers, pimps, and murderers.

Luis Castro, Florida coordinator of the Mel Mason and Andrea González Socialist Workers campaign for president and vice-president, had the following reaction to the verdict: "The acquittal of Alvarez in the unprovoked killing of Nevell Johnson gives cops in Miami the license to continue killing Blacks. All working people are threatened. Just last week, a white truck driver holding a BB gun was shot three times in his front yard by a cop responding to a domestic disturbance. Politicians, government officials, the media, and Black spokespeople all conspired for weeks in advance to cram an Alvarez acquittal down the throats of the Black community."

Mel Mason, who recently returned from a campaign tour here, added, "The acquittal of Luis Alvarez in the cold-blooded killing of Nevell Johnson, Jr. in Miami in December of 1982 is a complete travesty of justice. This action is tantamount to a legalization of police terror, giving the green light to cops nationwide to brutalize and murder Blacks and other workers."

During the course of the trial, successful attempts were made to turn attention away from the murder of Johnson to the possibility of a "riot" in response to the anticipated acquittal of Alvarez.

Black members of the community relations board went on a Black radio station for an hour every day to urge listeners to "stay cool."

Black city manager Howard Gary asked everyone to "let the system work." Preachers called for prayer and reconciliation. The media portrayed Alvarez as Mr. Nice Guy and showed him signing autographs, while editorializing against rioting and violence.

Call-in shows that claimed to be devoted to "rumor control," in fact, spread unfounded rumors about Blacks marching on Latino communities. This whole effort was an orchestrated attempt to blame the Black community, to paint it as prone to riot and violence, and to divide it from other communities in Miami, so that a planned police attack on the Black community could be carried out.

Even before the Alvarez trial ended, undercover cops began arresting young Blacks who were seen as leaders.

The announcement of the verdict was delayed for an hour and a half to give police time to implement their plan to occupy the Black communities.

Roadblocks were put up around Overtown, Liberty City, and Black Coconut Grove to prevent entry or exit.

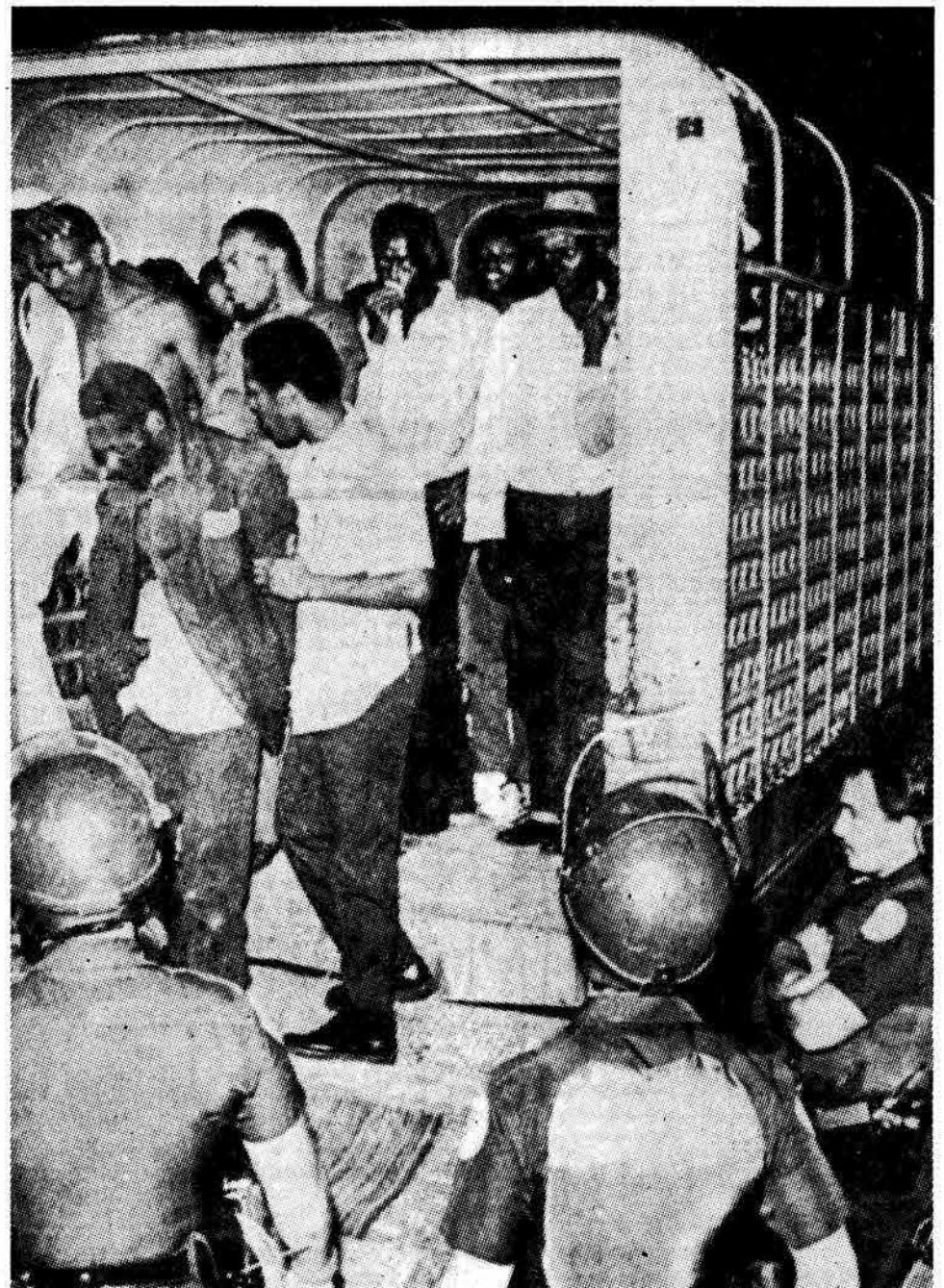
A Black woman who is a transit worker described what it was like to be in Liberty City that night: "I was in a bar with friends. All of a sudden cops came in and announced that everyone had to leave, that the place was being shut down. We didn't even know why, that a verdict had been reached. On the way home I was stopped at roadblocks four times. I had to show them my I.D., they searched my car and asked me where I was going. When I got home, both my telephone and electricity were shut off. All night long helicopters kept flying real low over my apartment building. I was terrified."

A thousand cops were mobilized to occupy the Black areas; convoys of 10 and more police cars roared up and down the street. When residents gathered to discuss the Alvarez verdict, groups of 40 to 50 cops were sent to disperse and arrest them.

More than 400 people were arrested in a 24-hour period. Police herded them into stock trucks designed to carry police horses. Police officials admitted later that many could not be charged with any crime.

House to house searches were conducted in the occupied areas. Many residents were threatened and beaten, usually for the crime of being outside talking to their neighbors. The limited amount of looting and rock and bottle throwing that occurred was usually provoked by the actions of the police.

This military-style occupation of the Black communities was carried out to teach Blacks and other workers a lesson. Not only would racist cops kill and go free, but the entire Black community would be terrorized by hundreds of cops who trampled



Cops put many of 400 Blacks arrested in occupation into trucks used for horses

on civil liberties.

In response to the outcome of the trial and the police occupation, Mason explained what needs to be done:

"The fight against police violence is not only an issue for the Miami Black community. It is an important question for Blacks and other working people across the country."

"We need a working-class movement to fight against all of the crimes of the ruling rich. Such a movement must be part of an overall fight to take power out of the hands of those who inspire violence, the employing class and its government."

"In Miami today, we call for cops out of the Black community and an immediate halt to police terror."

Victory: rapists convicted in Mass.

BY JEANETTE TRACY

BOSTON — A victory for women was scored in a Fall River, Massachusetts, courtroom on March 17 as two men tried in the Big Dan's barroom rape case were found guilty of aggravated rape. The verdict was reached after only four and a half hours of deliberation by the jury.

In his closing arguments prosecutor Raymond Veary asked the jurors not to "perpetuate the myth that rape victims somehow through their own acts invited the crime against them."

Six men are accused of participating in the rape and beating of a 21-year-old New Bedford, Massachusetts, woman in Big Dan's barroom on March 6, 1983. The rape took place on the pool table of the bar and lasted over two hours.

Four of the men are being tried separately because some of the defendants made statements that implicate other defendants.

All six men face charges of aggravated rape — that is gang rape — which carries the stiffest penalties under Massachusetts

law, up to life imprisonment. The two defendants, characterized as the ring leaders of the rape, were found guilty of the maximum charge, in spite of the vicious slander campaign directed against the victim.

The litany of slanders against the woman, both in the courtroom and in the press, is a long one. She is repeatedly described as an unwed mother with two illegitimate children, a welfare cheat, mentally unstable, a drug user, a drunk, a flirt, a prostitute, and so on. For example, the March 6 headline of a Boston *Herald* article said, "Half-naked woman smoked pot, officer told."

The defense lawyers in both trials have consistently insisted she was a willing participant in the events, and only objected when things got "out of hand." Daniel Silva and Joseph Vieira — the two men who were found guilty in the separate, afternoon trial — even tried to deny that sexual intercourse took place. This despite a lab report showing the presence of sperm and the testimony of several witnesses who

watched Silva rape the victim.

John Codeiro, one of the four other defendants, even claimed in his testimony on March 19 that the woman was "laughing away" and "enjoying herself" as he raped her.

In the first trial the victim was subjected to four days of questioning and cross-examination by two prosecutors and six defense lawyers. In addition to hours of questioning about the rape itself, she was asked about such things as the last time she had sex with her boyfriend, whether she had been raped before, if she was a "welfare cheat," and whether her grandmother called her a drunk after the rape episode.

There is evidence that the reactionary propaganda around this trial is having an impact on other rape victims. Laurie Kaslow, a counselor at the Boston-area rape crisis center, estimates one-third of the women she counsels who were planning to prosecute the men who raped them are now saying they will not go ahead.

A spokeswoman for the New Bedford
Continued on Page 16