

New revelations lift lid on U.S. war in Nicaragua



Counterrevolutionaries armed and organized by Washington to attack Nicaragua

Air Force pilots actively assisting invasion forces

BY HARRY RING

Major new reports published in the U.S. press have confirmed that the Reagan administration — in deliberate violation of U.S. and international law — is supplying, organizing, and giving direct military assistance to an escalating counterrevolutionary invasion of Nicaragua.

The revelations confirm that the invasion is being coordinated through the U.S. embassy in Honduras. It is carried out in the field by former members of the Nicaraguan National Guard, a cutthroat gang used by the late Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza.

U.S. Air Force pilots, secretly based in Honduras, are actively engaged in the operation, conducting reconnaissance flights over Nicaragua for the invaders.

A key aim of the invasion by the Honduran-based exiles is to intensify the military

pressure on Nicaragua to the point where it is forced into a direct confrontation with Honduras. Such a war would open the door for direct U.S. military intervention in the entire Central American region and increase the likelihood of an attack on Cuba.

Another reported purpose of the invasion is to try to win control of a Nicaraguan town, either near the Honduran border or on the Atlantic Coast. If successful, more troops would be dispatched, and leaders of a "provisional government" airlifted in from Honduras. Such a "government" would then be recognized, giving the pretext for open Honduran and U.S. intervention.

The revelations were a front-page feature in the April 3 *New York Times*. The same day an expanded version of the disclosures dominated the front page of the *Washington Post* and filled three inside pages of the paper.

The "secret war" was also featured in the April 11 *Newsweek*.

The *Times* said its primary source was a Honduran with "close ties" to the military. He was directly involved in joint U.S.-Honduran military planning until early this year, but the *Times* said, he now fears the consequences of a Honduran-Nicaraguan war.

The paper added that the information provided by the Honduran was largely confirmed by two members of the Senate Intelligence Committee and "a highly placed Reagan Administration official."

The *Washington Post* offered a firsthand report on the invasion force now in Nicaragua. *Post* correspondent Christopher Dickey spent six days with the biggest and

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Chicago socialist candidate hits anti-Black bigotry in mayoral race

BY MALIK MIAH

CHICAGO — When working people go to the polls April 12 to vote for mayor, they will have a choice between three candidates.

The Democratic Party candidate is Harold Washington, a liberal congressman from the South Side. He is attempting to become the city's first Black mayor. The possibility of his winning has generated enthusiasm for his campaign among Blacks who want to end the racist political monopoly of city hall. Blacks are 40 percent of the city's population.

The Republican candidate is Bernard Epton, a liberal and former state legislator from the integrated Hyde Park section of the city. He is running on a thinly disguised racist campaign that predicts catastrophe if a Black becomes mayor. Many Democratic Party bosses are backing him, some openly, some secretly.

The third candidate in the race is Socialist Workers Party leader Ed Warren, a laid-off garment worker. Warren has condemned the racist attacks against Washington, which he calls attacks on the entire Black community.

Warren notes the attacks are coming from both Republicans and Democrats here. He argues that both parties — nationally and locally — are dedicated to denying Blacks political representation and keeping them second-class citizens. The only effective way to fight against this, he says, is for Blacks and all working people to break from the two racist, antilabor parties and form a labor party based on the trade unions.

The bankers and big businessmen here in Chicago and nationally are divided over whether Washington or Epton best serves their interests. Both candidates have similar platforms on most issues such as taxes, budget cutbacks, more cops, and so forth.

At the same time, the city fathers and ruling rich are united in trying to use this election to whip up anti-Black sentiment

among whites, deepen racial divisions and thus further divide working people, and most importantly, totally obscure the conflicting class interests involved. Their goal, whether they favor Washington or Epton as the next mayor is to keep both Black and white workers trapped in the two-party system.

Washington's victory in the February 22 primary here was a surprise for the Democratic machine. Shortly thereafter, the vir-

tually unknown Epton began receiving significant backing (there hasn't been a Republican mayor elected here since 1927). At the same time, racist attacks on Washington began stepping up.

The main campaign ad for Epton has been, "Epton for mayor — before it's too late." Everyone knows what "too late" means.

At a recent Epton rally, supporters sang

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Stop the deportation of Hector Marroquin!

A fight with important implications for the entire working class has entered a decisive stage.

The case is that of Héctor Marroquín, who is fighting deportation. The government is trying to throw him out of the country because his Marxist ideas are not to the liking of the bankers and big businessmen

period of time — as short as two or three months — Marroquín will have to leave the country.

But this is far from inevitable.

What happens will depend in large measure on what defenders of democratic rights do in the coming weeks and months to combat this attack on political freedom.

The Political Rights Defense Fund has launched an urgent campaign demanding that the INS withdraw its deportation order against Marroquín.

PRDF is planning to take this case to every corner of the country, mobilizing support from the labor movement, the Black and Latino communities, antiwar and women's rights fighters, and all other defenders of the Bill of Rights.

As part of this campaign, Marroquín will soon begin a nationwide speaking tour.

PRDF is appealing to defenders of political rights to:

- Organize opportunities for Marroquín to speak at union meetings, and to Black, Latino, women's, and other organizations.
- Get messages and resolutions sent to the INS from unions and unionists — as well as all other concerned organizations and individuals — demanding that the deportation order be lifted.
- Make a donation to help cover legal

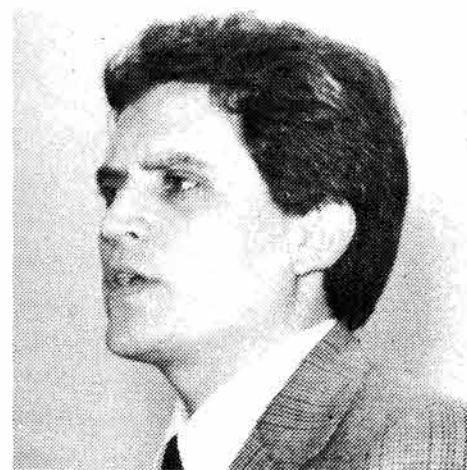
and publicity costs in the case.

Why should working people adopt Marroquín's case as their own?

Because the government's claimed right to deport someone purely on the basis of their political beliefs is an attack on free speech, an attack that all working people have a stake in fighting against.

The INS states baldly that Marroquín's socialist ideas are unacceptable and that the government is free to "exclude an avowed

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Militant/Lou Howort

Héctor Marroquín

EDITORIAL

who run this country. Marroquín is a member of the Socialist Workers Party. He has lived in this country for nine years.

On April 7, Marroquín filed an appeal in the Supreme Court against the decision of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to deport him.

Because of the important constitutional questions posed by this case, prominent civil liberties attorney Leonard Boudin has joined the case. Boudin is representing Marroquín before the Supreme Court.

Unlike previous stages of the five-year-old legal fight — when any adverse ruling could be appealed to a higher court, thereby automatically postponing the deportation order — there are no more appeals after the Supreme Court.

There is a real danger that within a short

—SELLING OUR PRESS AT THE PLANT GATE—

BY MALIK MIAH

CHICAGO — It may be spring, but not in Chicago. Whatever the temperature is, when that wind hits you in the early morning it sends chills up your spine.

While here covering the mayoral election — a hotly contested race between Democrat Harold Washington and Republican Bernard Epton, as well as Socialist Workers Party candidate Ed Warren — I was able to sell the *Militant* a couple of times at area plant gates, and in the Black community.

Warren, several of his supporters, and I sold at a garment shop on the near South Side, and at the huge, now nearly unoccupied U.S. Steel South Works on the far South Side. Of course, the main topic of discussion as we sold was the election campaign.

Selling to garment workers

The garment shop we sold and campaigned for Warren at is a regular sale of *Militant* teams here. Generally one or two papers are sold.

The workers are mostly Blacks and Latinos. The afternoon shift change is quite rapid — maybe 5 to 10 minutes total.

We arrived a few minutes before the change occurred. There were four of us. We went to the main entrance near the parking lot,



Socialist mayoral candidate Ed Warren campaigning in Chicago

which is next to the plant, and talked to workers as they went to their cars. We sold the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, the Spanish-language sister publication to the *Militant*.

We passed out campaign literature. A number of workers took "Warren for mayor" buttons. Others expressed interest in the campaign platform that called for "Jobs not War." Overall, Warren got a good response.

Although we only sold one *PM*, we got out a lot of campaign literature and felt the sale was a success.

The garment sale was on a Wednesday afternoon — the weather wasn't so bad.

But the next morning we got up bright and early to sell at South Works. This mill employed more than 8,000 workers only a few years ago. Now it's down to 1,000 or so.

This was evident as soon as you arrive at the plant. Instead of cars jammed up in the parking lots and surrounding the plant, the lots were nearly empty.

Since I used to sell here a couple years ago when I lived in Chicago,

it was a sight to see; a sure sign of recession.

Nevertheless, the mostly older, and white, work force was interested in Warren's campaign literature. The four of us went to the gate on 89th Street. We were a little late, so we talked to only a few workers. We got out some literature, but no papers were sold.

Warren told me of one discussion he had with a middle-aged white worker from a suburb. "I asked him," Warren said, "what his view of the Chicago mayoral election was? Was he following it?"

He responded, "Of course."

Warren asked, "Who would you vote for?"

"I think I would vote for Washington because of the racism directed against him."

The worker also told Warren that he would read the brochure even though, "I'm not a militant."

Big push for final week

Socialist workers told me that for the final 12 days of the campaign, Warren supporters will be fanning out across the city with campaign literature, especially the campaign newspapers, the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. Jim Little, a campaign coordinator for Warren, told me the heart of this drive will be taking Warren's campaign to plant gates. Socialists

are projecting selling 1,000 *Militants* and *PMs* during this period. They plan to have teams every day at the major steel and auto factories, at the garment shops, and dozens of other plants in Chicago.

They are also urging socialists in the Midwest to come in to help campaign, since the mayoral race here is of national importance. Socialists in Milwaukee, Detroit, and a number of other cities have agreed and are eager to help out.

Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party 1979 mayoral candidate in Chicago, and 1980 presidential candidate on the SWP ticket, is also coming from his home in Detroit to campaign for Warren. He'll be speaking at a Warren campaign rally April 9 and on election night, April 12.

The opportunities to sell the paper and bring workers closer to our ideas, and win some to membership in the SWP, are evident as the big political discussions taking place on racism, war, and jobs deepen.

Socialist workers and other Warren campaigners are confident of the prospects between now and the election to reach thousands of workers with the working-class perspective. They especially see the last 12 days of the campaign as a way to qualitatively strengthen their presence at the major plant gates.

Chicago socialist condemns anti-Black bigotry

Continued from front page

a campaign song to the tune of "Bye-Bye, Blackbird."

Racist mobs have also been organized. The most publicized was when Washington and Democratic presidential aspirant Walter Mondale tried to attend a church service on the Northwest Side. They were jeered and threatened by a mob of 200 whites with Epton signs. "Nigger go home!" the racists chanted.

On April 3 Washington was again attacked in the same part of town, outside a church where he was to attend a meeting of Greek-Americans.

No one was arrested for either incident. The Chicago press even refused to print the racist insults that were yelled at the candidate. But the message was quite clear and obviously directed against every Black in the city: don't come to this neighborhood if you value your life.

Angered by these attacks, Blacks in great numbers have been wearing "Washington for mayor" buttons — often in a defiant manner. A number of whites have also been putting on the buttons to express their revulsion at the racist campaign.

On March 27, 15,000 people turned out for a Washington rally. The main speakers were union officials, including AFL-CIO head Lane Kirkland and United Auto

Workers President Douglas Fraser. The meeting was majority Black, but several thousand whites attended.

The union speakers used the platform to boost the Democratic Party. National Democratic politicians have also flown here to express support for Washington. They, like Kirkland and Fraser, are worried about the anger being expressed by Black workers here, who see local Democrats openly siding with Epton.

Walter Mondale, who supported Richard Daley in the Democratic primary, and Edward Kennedy, who backed incumbent Jane Byrne, came in to campaign for Washington after the primary. This shift on their part reflects a belief that a defeat for Washington could be a serious blow to the image of the Chicago and national Democratic party. It also indicates their view that Washington is not a threat to big business interests here, based on the 15 years' experience with Black Democratic mayors in cities like Gary, Detroit, Atlanta, and Los Angeles.

The national Democratic Party leaders also want to be on record as having tried to help Washington win and to make it appear that the racism all comes from the Republican side. Commenting on this, the April 11 *Newsweek* wrote, "the party aims to keep restive Black voters safely within the De-

mocratic corral."

The media has consciously tried to deepen the racial polarization and to portray the struggle here as Black versus white.

What's actually happened in Chicago is that Blacks and many white workers perceive voting for Washington as a way to say no to the racism. They view the elections as a kind of referendum on Black rights, including the right to political representation. The progressive antiracism being expressed gets derailed into supporting Democrats because there is no mass independent working-class alternative.

The media is attempting to push back the significant antiracist consciousness that exists among Blacks and whites.

A typical example of the media campaign was reflected in an article written by nationally syndicated columnist William Safire, a former aide to President Nixon.

Safire writes, "If it is laudatory for black voters to vote as a bloc for the black candidate, then logic dictates it should bother nobody that white voters are likely to vote as a bloc for the white candidate."

"Accordingly," he continues, "we should either stop praising the black community of Chicago for uniting behind the black candidate, or stop complaining when whites show inclinations to do the same."

Both actions are racist: praise both or condemn both."

This column is now being circulated by the Citizens for Epton Committee. It ran as an advertisement in the main free weekly.

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The Chicago Elections: How Working People Can Win

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Mayoral Campaign Rally. Speakers: Ed Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor; Andrew Pulley, SWP 1980 candidate for U.S. president; Marie Head, SWP candidate for mayor of Gary. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 9; reception, 6:30 p.m.; rally, 7:30 p.m. 555 W. Adam. Donation: \$2.50. Aup: Socialist Workers 1983 Mayoral Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 559-9046.

Election Night Rally. Speaker: Ed Warren. Party to follow. Tues., April 12, 6 p.m. 555 W. Adam. Aup: Socialist Workers 1983 Mayoral Campaign Committee. For more information call (312) 559-9046.

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Rally for Grenada answers U.S. lies

BY DIANE WANG

BROOKLYN — "Our government is convinced Reagan is on the brink of invading Grenada, using mercenary forces. All we have built is in danger of being destroyed," warned Grenada's Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman.

Whiteman spoke to 500 people crowded into a Brooklyn hall for an emergency rally April 3. Built on a few days' notice, the participants came mainly from Brooklyn's Caribbean and Black communities. North

da's 1979 revolution. The island of Grenada, with a population of 110,000, has recently announced a budget of \$225 million for the coming year. Health care and public services are being extended to the outlying islands of Carriacou and Petit Martinique. Pensions are being raised 10 percent retroactively for 1982 and 12.5 percent for 1983.

Whiteman made specific appeals for help. He asked that messages of solidarity be sent to the Grenadian people. Messages from individuals, unions, or organizations can be sent to the Grenada Mission to the UN, 141 E 44th St., Rm. 905, New York, N.Y. 10017.

Whiteman also urged the audience to organize protest meetings and alert friends, newspapers, radio stations, and elected officials about the danger to Grenada.

Roberto Álvarez of Casa Nicaragua brought greetings to the rally. "We're here one more time — and not for the last time — to answer those who think they're intimidating us from continuing our struggle to build a new Grenada, a new Nicaragua, a new El Salvador," he said.

Greetings were also read from a Jamaican supporter; the Committee in Solidarity With Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos; and the Socialist Workers Party.

"We know that the struggles you're fighting here are the same that we're fighting in Grenada," Whiteman concluded. "It is the same struggle of Nicaragua and El Salvador and Vietnam and Cuba, the same struggle the Palestine Liberation Organization comrades are fighting."

"The same enemy who is cutting down welfare and unemployment benefits is the same enemy trying to oppress the people of Grenada."

"Grenada will never give up to Reagan and imperialism. Grenada will never give up what we stand for. Grenada will continue to support the struggle of workers, the struggle of women for equal rights, the struggle of Blacks, the struggle of the people of Nicaragua, of El Salvador!"

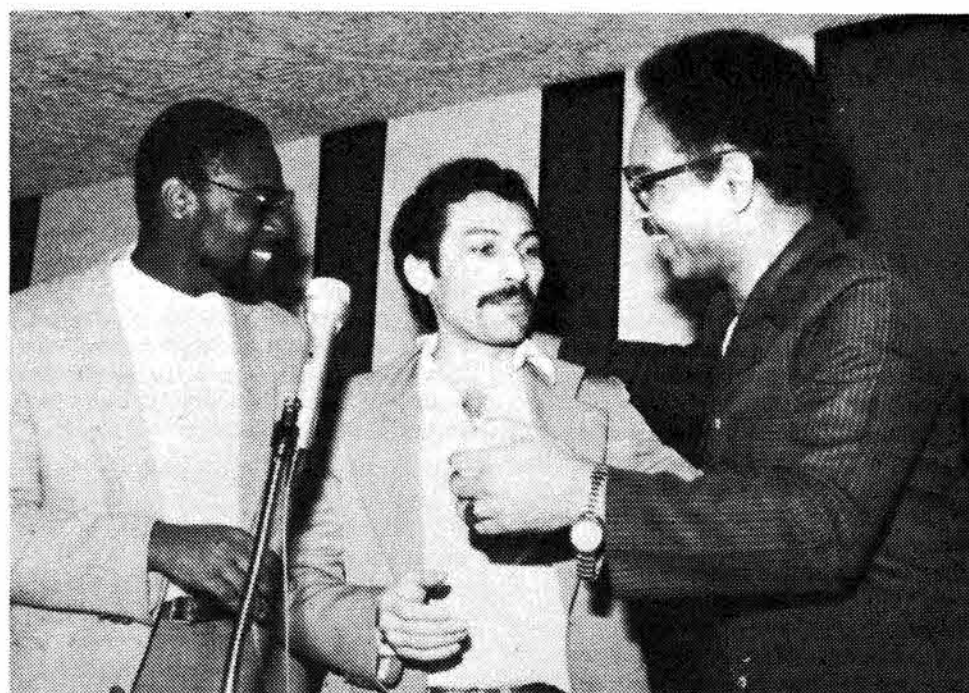
A forum in defense of Grenada will be held in New York City at the Harlem State Office Building, 125th Street and Adam Clayton Powell Boulevard, April 9, at 7 p.m. Speakers include Caldwell Taylor, Grenadian ambassador to the UN; Arnaldo Ramos, representative of FDR-FMLN; Elombe Brath, Patrice Lumumba Coalition; Francisco Campbell, political affairs officer of Nicaraguan embassy; Samori Marksman, Caribbean People's Alliance, and Rev. Ben Chavis, National Black Independent Political Party.

American supporters also attended, along with Nicaraguans, Salvadorans, and Palestinians.

"Over the past several days, the United States has been continuing provocative and hostile military maneuvers in Grenada's airspace and waters, using 300 to 400 jet planes and 77 warships," Whiteman said. He traced the four-year record of U.S. attempts to isolate Grenada from diplomatic and economic support from Europe and other Caribbean islands.

Grenada's ambassador to the United Nations, Caldwell Taylor, refuted myths about the new international airport being built in Grenada, a focus of Reagan's latest attacks.

Joseph Canute Burke, Grenada's consul general to the United States, described some recent gains made possible by Grena-



At rally for Grenada, from left: Grenada's UN Ambassador Caldwell Taylor, Roberto Álvarez of Casa Nicaragua, and Grenadian Foreign Minister Unison Whiteman.

FMLN defeats 'gringo battalion' as U.S. refuses peace talks

BY ERNEST HARSCH

In one of the largest battles in El Salvador this year, guerrilla forces of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) inflicted a major defeat on the U.S.-trained Ramón Belloso Battalion — the "gringo battalion," as the rebel Radio Venceremos called it.

On March 30, FMLN fighters attacked government forces in San Isidro, a town 100 kilometers north of San Salvador, and occupied the town.

Units of the Ramón Belloso Battalion were then sent from nearby Osicala to try to retake San Isidro. They failed. According to Radio Venceremos, at least 67 government troops were killed and 46 wounded.

The rebel radio called the battle "a great victory we have won over the dictatorship's best troops, trained in the United States."

Just a few days earlier, in an interview in the March 28 Mexico City daily *Uno más Uno*, FMLN leader Roberto Roca pointed to one of the key factors in the rebels' military gains. "The imperialist training, as technically sophisticated as it may be," he said, "cannot give the puppet army an essential element that is contributing to our victory: the fighting morale that is increasing among us day by day because of the justice of our struggle."

While the battle at San Isidro was one of the most spectacular displays of the FMLN's strength, it was not an isolated event. Since October, the liberation forces have been on a major offensive in various parts of the country. Enjoying widespread popular support, they have been able to expand their political and military influence significantly.

The dictatorship, on the other hand, continues to rely on military force and terror to rule the country. On March 23, the Human Rights Commission in San Salvador charged that another 32 persons had disappeared over the previous 15 days, including workers, professors, peasants, and students.

Behind this terror stands Washington. Commenting on the March 20 assassination of Human Rights Commission President Marianella García Villas, a commission communiqué declared that "the bullets that murder peace-loving people come from the arsenals of President Ronald Reagan."

The White House is seeking to increase military aid to the Salvadoran dictatorship to \$136 million — five times what has already been allocated for 1983. The number of U.S. military personnel that Washington acknowledges are in El Salvador has risen from 37 to 52. In addition, the March 20 *New York Times* reported, "There are many more covert intelligence operatives and technicians in the region than military advisers. . . . An exact total for intelligence personnel in El Salvador was not available, but officials estimated that the number exceeded 150."

But as Washington drives deeper into El Salvador to try to shore up the rickety dic-

tatorship, it is facing increasing political opposition at home.

Congressman Michael Barnes, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Inter-American Affairs, said in early March that he had been receiving mail from around the country. "Literally thousands of letters," he reported, "say they don't want to send any assistance [to El Salvador], and maybe five say send it."

The call of the FMLN and the Revolutionary Democratic Front (FDR) for the opening of "a dialogue without conditions" among all Salvadoran forces has also won broad support domestically and internationally.

The White House has categorically rejected the idea of such talks. Instead the U.S. government has attempted to deflect the impact of the FMLN-FDR political offensive by pressuring the Salvadoran regime to schedule new elections in December of this year.

The only question to be discussed, according to Washington and its Salvadoran collaborators is how the FMLN will lay down its arms and participate in the elections.

According to a report in the March 15 *Washington Post*, "One purpose of the elections, stated privately by State Department officials, is to attempt to woo the moderate elements in the leftist political opposition away from their Marxist-Leninist allies."

But this attempt to sow divisions within the FMLN and FDR has been rebuffed by representatives of the various organizations that make up the liberation front. They have rejected participating in the electoral farce, since it would be impossible for their supporters to campaign freely while the regime's troops and death squads continue to have a free hand. "We would be slaughtered like sheep," one rebel spokesperson commented.

A broadcast over Radio Venceremos, quoting the official position of the FMLN-FDR, said that the elections would only "seek to cover up the genocide" and that their outcome "has already been arranged in Washington."

White House attempts to drive a wedge between the Salvadoran liberation forces and their international supporters have likewise been forcefully rejected by the FMLN-FDR.

According to a report in the March 14 *Washington Post*, a broadcast over Radio Venceremos two days earlier reaffirmed the rebel's political solidarity with Cuba and Nicaragua, and added that if they do not have close ties to the Soviet Union it is because "unfortunately it is very far away."

"We are and will continue being friends of the people and governments of Cuba and Nicaragua, and it does not shame us," the broadcast said. "Completely to the contrary, we are proud to maintain relations with those people — bastions of the anti-imperialist struggle. The Reagan administration is not one to tell the FMLN who ought to be its friends and who its enemies."

Chicago socialist condemns bigotry

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The fact that nearly 120 years after the abolition of slavery Blacks are still denied equal and fair representation, a basic democratic right, is not mentioned. Safire's main concern, as a spokesman for big business, is to keep working people divided along racial lines and hide the class divisions in society.

Safire's line of reasoning was then picked up on March 29 by Chicago's main television news commentator, Walter Jacobson of WBBM-TV.

Jacobson gives working people his interpretation of racism: "Epton's campaign is racist because its plan is to appeal to whites. And Washington's campaign is racist because its plan is to appeal to Blacks and the reason is that the only way for either candidate to win is to appeal to his own kind; because the fact of life is that people tend to vote for their own kind, particularly in Chicago, which is perhaps the most racially, ethnically and religiously-minded city in the country."

The only candidate to answer this racist, anti-working-class propaganda is socialist Ed Warren.

"The underlying contest in Chicago is not between Black and white, or Democrat and Republican," he says. "No matter who wins April 12, Epton or Washington, attacks on Blacks will continue. The government's drive toward more Vietnams will continue."

"Neither Washington or Epton will use the mayor's office to mobilize working people to win school desegregation in this,

the most segregated big city in the country; to implement affirmative action programs for city and private jobs; to stop layoffs; win abortion rights for women; and to meet other urgent needs of working people."

"The fundamental division in this city and nation is between two classes — the workers, Black, white, and Latino, and the employers. The bosses profit from paying Blacks and Latinos less. They benefit from keeping workers divided through racism. And they hold their whole exploitative system together by keeping us locked inside their two parties, the Democrats and Republicans."

"Our strength lies in our own organizations — especially the trade unions — in the fight against racism, war, and unemployment. But we can't exercise that strength if we stay in the Democratic and Republican parties."

Chicago's big trade-union movement, in which Blacks are a powerful force, offers the base for breaking with these parties, he explains.

"The unions should form a labor party to free working people from the dead-end trap of capitalist electoral politics," Warren says. "The labor misleaders who spoke to 15,000 people at the Washington rally did so to keep workers tied up in that racist outfit. Instead, the labor movement ought to denounce these parties and build a new party that can reach out to all workers — Black and white — and other working people such as working farmers and independent truckers."

"A labor party would crusade for full equality for Blacks and oppose energetically all forms of discrimination and racism."

"No matter who wins, the big political discussions taking place here will continue as working people try to figure out how to advance our interests. Socialist workers will be a part of those discussions on the job, at the plant gates, and all across the city."

Labor news

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Report from Nicaraguan border: Sandinistas predict wider war

BY MICHAEL BAUMANN

EL LIMÓN, Nicaragua — "We are in a situation of invasion. The United States is carrying out a war against Nicaragua, a war that is no less of a war for not having been openly declared."

This description of what Nicaragua is facing, by Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto March 31, is no exaggeration.

The residents of this small farm town, just five miles south of the Honduran border, are among the hundreds of thousands who can testify personally.

This correspondent visited El Limón April 2, just hours after the village militia mobilized to repel a two-hour attack by a unit of 40 to 50 counterrevolutionaries who were National Guardsmen under the old Somoza dictatorship.

Bullet holes from the attack were visible in the adobe brick of El Limón's houses. Militia members who had taken part in combat were still discussing the battle.

There were no Sandinista casualties this time. In large part this was because the entire village is already on a war footing. Each house has a six-foot trench or an underground shelter in the back yard to protect the elderly and children. Most families have at least one member in either the militia or civil defense.

Somewhere in northern Nicaragua, one or more attacks like this take place every day.

There has been an intense escalation of the U.S. undeclared war against Nicaragua. In a briefing at the army command post in nearby Santa Clara, Capt. Oscar Cortés, chief of military operations for the area, gave an extensive report on the situation to journalists from more than a dozen countries.

Reviewing and amplifying, in response to reporters' questions, a major statement made several days earlier by Defense Minister Humberto Ortega, Cortés described the current fighting as "the initial phase" of the invasion.

The invasion began two months ago, he said. In early February the United States used the cover of military maneuvers with Honduras to infiltrate into Nicaragua 1,200 to 1,400 *contras* (counterrevolutionaries), organized in six different units.

These units then carried out a series of attacks. As planned, the resulting battles were widely reported in the imperialist press as evidence of an "internal uprising" against the revolutionary government.

Washington wanted to give the impression that "the Sandinista army had lost control of the situation," Cortés said.

For example, the fight to regain an airstrip at Bocay, about half a mile south of the border, was misrepresented in some U.S. media to the point of claiming the *contras* had held the area long enough to construct an airstrip for purposes of receiving further supplies.

In fact, the strip was one the Sandinistas built last year to facilitate emergency evacuations of civilian residents from the border area. It was the strip used by the helicopter that crashed last December, claiming the lives of 75 children.

Militarily the first phase is in deep trouble, Cortés said. Sandinista units made up primarily of reservists and militia members have reduced the invading forces to trying to fight their way back to Honduras.

Most of Nicaragua's regular army forces have been retained deeper inside the country, because of what the Sandinistas believe is coming next.

"The second phase," Cortés said, "will be to provoke a confrontation between our Sandinista People's Army and the Honduran army, to bring the Honduran army directly into the conflict."

Several thousand more ex-National Guardsmen are sitting on the border, waiting for the signal to attack. The unit that attacked El Limón was part of these fresh forces, Cortés pointed out.

In recent weeks these small-scale infiltrations have been increasingly aided by cover fire and border penetrations by Honduran army units.

Use of one of these incidents to claim Nicaragua has "attacked" Honduras, and to start a formal war between the two countries, is the gravest danger Nicaragua faces at the present moment.

"That would lead to the final phase," Cortés said, "which is clearly to introduce other forces, among which cannot be ruled out U.S. forces."

"We believe the present situation is intimately linked to the situation in El Salvador," Cortés concluded.

"The United States is outraged that the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) is daily gaining strength and striking power."

For propaganda purposes, the United States is trying to link the FMLN's call for negotiations on the civil war in El Salvador with the imperialists' demand that Nicaragua "negotiate with the National Guard."

They know in advance that "we are not going to negotiate our revolutionary power with anyone," Cortés stressed. "Therefore the final phase must involve a U.S. invasion."

And because "U.S. imperialism is trying to protect its interests in the entire area, such an invasion would involve not just Nicaragua but the entire Central American region."



Militant/Michael Baumann

Nicaraguan troops

Revelations on U.S. war against Nicaragua

Continued from front page

best-armed unit of the invaders.

His report cites the conditions under which he was permitted to accompany the unit, but he doesn't disclose who gave him authorization to do so.

Newsweek correspondent James LeMoyné accompanied the same unit and his briefer account generally coincides with Dickey's.

The fact that Dickey and LeMoyné were authorized to accompany the invaders, coupled with the *Times* report that its disclosures were confirmed by a top Reagan official, indicates that the administration actually wanted the story to be told. Perhaps that's why this story has now been splashed across the front pages, although the basic facts have been well-known for more than a year.

Refutes Kirkpatrick

It's also worth noting that the *Times*, *Post*, and *Newsweek* accounts all give the lie to claims made by U.S. delegate Jeane Kirkpatrick at the recent UN Security Council session. Nicaragua documented the evidence of a U.S.-sponsored invasion, but Kirkpatrick responded with the false claim that the fighting was strictly an internal civil war.

And now both the Pentagon and CIA even decline to deny the new press reports, offering a bland "no comment."

According to the Honduran source cited by the *Times* some 5,000 U.S.-trained exiles have entered Nicaragua from Honduras. (According to Nicaragua, the actual number is closer to 2,000.)

The Honduran said U.S. ambassador John Negroponte and Honduran Gen. Gustavo Alvarez were "the brains behind the operation."

He said the exiles were trained by Spanish-speaking members of the U.S. military of Latin American origin who would not be conspicuous in the area.

He said there were more than 50 such advisers. That's as many as the U.S. admits to in El Salvador.

The weapons supply has been generous. Last August, the Honduran said, U.S. cargo planes, "full of weapons," landed in Honduras and the weapons were distributed to the counterrevolutionaries, or *contras* as they're known in Nicaragua.

He said the planes arrived around the time of the joint U.S.-Honduran military exercise on the Nicaraguan border. Delivery was timed that way because with the exercises, "they figured that the planes would not attract notice."

He also disclosed that after the exercises, the U.S. forces left most of their equipment behind for the *contras*.

Additional weapons were supplied by the Honduran army, which "just opened the doors" of warehouses — with the United States, in turn, restocking them.

And, while Reagan so piously assails "terrorists" and "saboteurs," his government supplied underwater equipment and explosives to Argentine-trained sabotage teams which blew up port installations in

Puerto Cabezas, Nicaragua, earlier this year.

U.S. Air Force pilots and technicians are participating directly in the Nicaraguan operation.

The pilots are based in Honduras and are not permitted to write to their families or tell anyone what they're doing.

The Honduran said 15 to 20 of them conduct regular reconnaissance flights over Nicaragua, collecting air photos of Nicaraguan troop and tank locations. They also intercept and tape Nicaraguan military communications. This material is turned over to the Hondurans with the understanding that it be passed on to the *contras*.

The nature of the contra operation is indicated by the reports of *Post* correspondent Dickey.

He traveled with an 80-member contra unit, a part of the outfit which calls itself the Nicaraguan Democratic Force.

The unit was well supplied. Some members carried U.S. grenade launchers, others .30-caliber machine guns. They were able to split up into four 20-member teams, communicating with sophisticated U.S. radio equipment.

The arsenal of this one outfit included eight LAWs — Light Antitank Weapons.

LAWs, Dickey explained, are U.S. bazookas that are discarded after a single firing. "One of these easy-to-use devices," he wrote, "aimed on a direct line and effective up to several hundred yards," can blow apart a government troop transport truck.

According to Dickey, the exile force is composed mainly of small landowners and local country people. These are commanded by "tough professional soldiers from the old National Guard."

Commander Suicide

The head of the gang Dickey traveled with was Pedro Ortiz Centeno, more popularly known as "Commander Suicide."

Suicide is an ex-Guardsman, a "former first sergeant and sometime assassin," according to Dickey.

Suicide was a member of "the crack battalion called the *Cascabeles*, or rattle-snakes."

"They say we are National Guard, and that's true," Suicide told Dickey, referring to 16 of his key aides.

Former Guard thugs are not limited to field duty. A top leader of the "Democratic Force," is Enrique Bermúdez, an ex-colonel of the Guard.

People like Bermúdez and Suicide, Dickey observes, "represent part of the most serious political problem that [this] counterrevolutionary group faces — whether it can persuade international opinion that it lives up to its name as the 'Nicaraguan Democratic Force.'"

As with "the vast majority of Nicaraguans," he adds, world opinion turned decisively against Somoza and his troops when the Guardsmen waged their final brutal fight to save Somoza and themselves.

Dickey writes, "Bombing civilian popu-

lations, summarily executing young men and women in the streets, they only worsened the hatred for them and the man they defended."

The invaders proclaim that their aim is to overthrow the Sandinista government, and scoff at Reagan's pretense that they're there simply to "harass" it.

Reagan's doublespeak on this point is intended to skirt the legal restriction known as the Boland amendment.

Adopted by Congress last year, the law is supposed to prohibit the CIA and Pentagon from financing covert activity "for the purpose of overthrowing the government of Nicaragua or provoking a military exchange between Nicaragua and Honduras."

Boland is chair of the House Intelligence Committee and obviously knew this was in fact the administration's plan. (The House indicated it realized how meaningless the amendment was by passing it 411-0.)

The anti-Nicaragua drive began under Carter but escalated under Reagan. Nicaragua has been targeted along with its revolutionary allies Cuba and Grenada, as well as the popular movements in El Salvador and Guatemala.

Planned attack on Cuba confirmed

The *Post* confirmed that one administration plan considered in 1981 included a bold naval and air strike against Cuba and Nicaragua.

At the time both Cuba and Nicaragua charged that such a move was being discussed and both went on an emergency footing to meet the threat.

In this country, the commercial media scoffed at the idea and only this paper and a very few others headlined the war danger.

The scope and vigor of the Cuban and Nicaraguan response forced Reagan to shelve the plan. But, the *Post* now reports, in November 1981, the National Security Council forged a 10-point program for "political and paramilitary operations" against Nicaragua, coupled with a projected future attack on Cuba.

Some members of Congress are now complaining about the open flouting of the Boland amendment. But it's safe to assume they will not seriously challenge Reagan on this, any more than they have on El Salvador.

Sen. Daniel Moynihan, (D-N.Y.), blustered that the Boland amendment is the law and that it's "absolutely necessary that the administration obey the law."

He added, however, that either the law or the operations in Nicaragua had to be changed. If left to Congress, it's not hard to predict which it will be.

With these new revelations, it's more clear than ever that Washington is propelling us toward a Vietnam in Central America — again for the purpose of denying a people long oppressed by the United States to determine their own destiny.

American working people have no stake in such a reactionary war and we must do everything in our power to prevent it.

April 16 protest called in N.Y.

A rally against U.S. intervention in Grenada and Nicaragua has been called for Saturday, April 16, in New York City.

A march is to start at noon at 34th and Broadway (in front of Macy's) and proceed to the rally at Union Square. The action is being organized by a coalition that includes Casa Nicaragua and the Committee in Solidarity with Free Grenada.

Jeane Kirkpatrick and real muggers at UN



UN Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick

BY HARRY RING

"The goal is isolation and humiliation of the victim. . . . The enterprise more closely resembles a mugging than either a political debate or an effort at problem solving."

That was Jeane Kirkpatrick's version of the recent United Nations Security Council debate around the charge that Washington is sponsoring a counterrevolutionary invasion of Nicaragua.

Kirkpatrick participated in the debate as the chief U.S. delegate to the UN. Her account of the "mugging" of the United States appeared as a guest column in the March 31 *New York Times*.

Her plea surely evokes pity. Frail, defenseless, impoverished USA, victim of assault by such formidable forces as Nicaragua (population, 2.7 million), Cuba (population, 9.98 million), Grenada (population, 110,000).

In the UN debate itself, Kirkpatrick threw up several smoke screens. One was to implicitly justify what Washington is doing to Nicaragua by asserting that Nicaragua is working to overthrow the government of El Salvador and is, in fact, the cause of the civil war there.

Actually the reverse is true in El Salvador. What keeps the Salvadoran civil war going is the massive flow of U.S. guns and dollars to a murderous totalitarian regime, which would not last a week if it were not for Washington.

Kirkpatrick also tried to portray the fighting in Nicaragua as a strictly internal civil war with "democratic" forces rebelling against a new "totalitarianism." This claim has as much substance as Kirkpatrick's mugging charge.

True, there is a deep-going division in Nicaraguan society today. But that division stems from the fact that those who enjoyed the fruits of the old society are resisting changes that are creating a new life for the great majority of the Nicaraguan people.

Landowners, business people, and the top layer of the Catholic church hierarchy bitterly oppose the progressive measures of

the new regime because the reforms touch them at a sensitive point, their pocketbooks and their positions of privilege.

They have succeeded in organizing a layer of middle-class people in Nicaragua whose standard of living has not improved dramatically since the revolution.

But opponents of the revolution are a minority incapable of waging a serious civil war because the new government enjoys the support of the working people in Nicaragua, who are the big majority.

The fighting now going on in Nicaragua is the result of an invasion of the country from Honduras by counterrevolutionary exiles. The so-called guerrillas are almost all former members of the National Guard, which was used by the late dictator Anastasio Somoza to suppress the people in the most barbaric way.

When first established in 1927, the Nicaraguan National Guard was armed, trained, and actually commanded by U.S. Marines.

In 1933, the first Somoza, Anastasio Somoza García, was permitted to take command of the guard and used that power to establish his bloody dictatorship. In the years that followed, officers of the guard continued to receive U.S. training.

Somoza and his family proceeded to rape the country. The plunder continued until his son, Anastasio Somoza Debayle, was overthrown by the Nicaraguan people in 1979.

When the first Somoza was installed, the family reportedly owned one rundown coffee plantation.

Within a decade they owned 46 coffee plantations and 8 sugar plantations. They became the nation's major cattle ranchers. They acquired meat processing plants, fisheries, cement works, and textile plants.

When the second Somoza made a hasty exit to Miami in 1979, U.S. government sources estimated his fortune at \$900 million.

FBI exposed in murder of rights activist

BY JOHN OLMSTED

ANN ARBOR, Mich. — An FBI informant, Gary Thomas Rowe, fired the shots from a speeding car that killed civil rights worker Viola Liuzzo in 1965, the driver of the car has testified. The driver, Eugene Thomas, took the stand here March 21 at the opening of a \$2 million damage suit filed against the government by Liuzzo's five children.

Viola Liuzzo was a 39-year-old white civil rights activist. Horrified by the Birmingham church bombing that killed four Black children in 1964, she went to Alabama in March 1965 to participate in the historic Selma-to-Montgomery voting rights march led by Martin Luther King.

On the evening of March 25 she was driving along Highway 80 between Selma and Montgomery with Black marcher Leroy Moton. A carload of four Klansmen chased them, pulled alongside her car and opened fire, killing Liuzzo.

In three trials that followed, Rowe tes-

tion!

That vast sum was taken out of the pockets, and hides, of the Nicaraguan people.

When the dictatorship was overthrown in Nicaragua, half the population was illiterate. In the most impoverished areas of the country, one child in three died before the age of one. Three years before the revolution, a UN survey found that 57 percent of the children under five suffered from malnutrition.

Less than 2 percent of the population owned half the land. Hunger was widespread in the countryside, and in the cities unemployment ran from 30 percent to as high as 50 percent.

Meanwhile, U.S. businesses and banks enjoyed a near monopoly of foreign investments in the country. Back in the 1960s, it was estimated at more than 80 percent.

It was these conditions that sparked the massive popular rebellion that finally toppled that hideous regime in 1979.

The record of the Nicaraguan people under the new Sandinista leadership has been one of significant progress, despite the enormous obstacles.

They inherited a nation whose public treasury had been plundered and whose economy was near total ruin. They soon faced an embargo and military threats from Washington.

The new leadership moved ahead to develop a genuine popular democracy — that is, one where the mass of the people would become involved in the nation's decision-making process.

But they also understood that to build a real democracy, there must be a material foundation.

The problems of hunger, disease, and illiteracy had to be tackled. Roads had to be built; water and electricity provided. The rural population had to have land; the urban workers, jobs. Without these things, it's meaningless to talk about democracy.

tified against the other three Klansmen in the car. No one was ever convicted of the murder. Two of the Klansmen served six years on charges of conspiracy to violate Viola Liuzzo's civil rights.

The suit charges that Rowe either committed the murder or aided in the murder; that the FBI authorized Rowe, to participate in the attack; and that the FBI failed to prevent the murder and was negligent in hiring Rowe given his record of violence and racism.

Under questioning during the third and fourth days of the trial, Rowe traced his life as an FBI informant and Klansman. The five hours of examination by attorney Dean Robb was via video tape as Rowe is currently living in Savannah, Georgia, under an assumed identity.

Rowe said he was recruited by the FBI in 1960 and told to join the 13th Klavern of the KKK in Bessemer, Alabama.

Rowe's FBI handlers told him to get close to the action, to get into "missionary work," the Klan term for attacks on Blacks.

Rowe described his involvement in a number of night rides and beatings and how he informed his FBI handlers of all details before and after the actions.

On the morning of March 25, 1965, Rowe received a call from Klansman Eugene Thomas to go to the Montgomery voting rights rally. Rowe stated "my big day with the Klan had finally come. . . . I had finally been elected to do the greatest deed of my life for the Klan." He immediately called his FBI handler for instructions. He was told "be careful because this sounds really big." Rowe claimed he didn't know murder was the goal.

Thomas testified at the trial that when they spotted Liuzzo's car that evening, Rowe said, "It looks like we got the cream of the crop over there, a Black and a white. . . . follow them." After Rowe shot Viola Liuzzo with Thomas' .38 caliber pistol, Rowe said, "Well I got 'em. Damn good shooting."

A second Klansman in the car, Collie Leroy Wilkens, also testified that Rowe fired the shots.

Government attorneys claim that Rowe

Somoza's vast land holdings and other properties have been nationalized and made available to the people. Privately owned factories whose owners sabotaged production were also taken over.

Government-funded social services more than doubled in the first years of the revolution. The health-care budget increased fivefold.

There has been a major public campaign against illiteracy, and an estimated one-third of the population is now involved in formal studies.

Unlike in this country, tenants are finally getting a break. Rents have been slashed by as much as 60 percent. The country is now discussing a sweeping new law that will gradually eliminate rents — and landlords — altogether. Meanwhile, evictions have been halted.

Proportionally, the greatest resources have been devoted to overcoming areas that previously suffered the greatest poverty and neglect, especially the Atlantic Coast region, whose population is predominantly Black and Miskito Indian.

Farmers and farm workers organizations have been established. Unions have been built and defend the workers' interests.

Workplace meetings are held regularly, and workers are becoming involved in planning production and managing the factories.

Sandinista Defense Committees involve a significant part of the population in the day-to-day work of the revolution.

There is a newly created but substantial women's organization working to promote full equality.

These are some of the reasons why the working people of Nicaragua are ready to fight and die for their revolution.

And that's why they are now being subjected to the torrent of lies and slanders by Kirkpatrick and those she speaks for. The purpose is simple: divert attention from the real mugger — Washington.

only pretended to be firing shots at Liuzzo's car and that it was Wilkens who fired the shots.

In her opening statement, government defense attorney Ann C. Robertson stated that racists like Rowe come with the informer trade. The FBI never expected Rowe to be an "angel," she said. "The informant business is not a pleasant business. . . . Sunday school teachers don't become informants."

Freedom Rider wins victory against gov't

BY SETH WIGDERSON

KALAMAZOO, Mich. — An important victory was won in the battle against FBI violence when a federal judge here ruled that the government had lost its right to a defense in a damage suit brought by Walter Bergman, who had been savagely beaten by Alabama racists in 1961. Bergman charged FBI complicity with his attackers.

Judge Richard Enslen made his ruling March 7 after the government refused to comply with his order to share secret informer reports with Bergman's attorneys.

Bergman is suing the FBI for its complicity in the beating he received on a civil rights Freedom Ride in May 1961, which resulted in his spending the rest of his life in a wheelchair.

After hearing Bergman's case, the judge ruled that the government would not be permitted to present its defense, due to its refusal to disclose the full extent of the FBI's knowledge of the attack beforehand and its cover-up afterward. He also ruled that for Bergman to sustain his claim he must establish that he was crippled as a result of the beating and that his suit was filed within the statute of limitations.

Bergman was one of the Freedom Riders who travelled to the South in 1961, challenging bus station segregation. One of the buses involved was firebombed. Bergman's group, on a second bus, was brutally beaten in Anniston and then in Birmingham. The attacks, carried out by the Ku Klux Klan, were coordinated with local police and the FBI.

'They will be the defeated ones'

The following are excerpts from an Associated Press dispatch.

RANCHO GRANDE, Nicaragua, March 29 — Seventy-year-old Samuel López Saénz sat on the porch of the government-run People's Supermarket in this mountain village today, cradling an old Soviet rifle in his lap.

"It shoots just fine," he said. "I shot at them Saturday, and I'll shoot at them next time."

Mr. López was speaking of a predawn attack made on this village of 800 people Saturday by about 300 anti-government guerrillas. He and other residents said the people's militia, with about 130 members, had held off the attack, in which four residents, including a French doctor doing volunteer work, had been killed. Seventeen more were wounded, the Government reported.

Residents said the attackers were Nicaraguan exiles based in neighboring Honduras.

A Sandinist official here said life in the village had improved under the present Government in Managua.

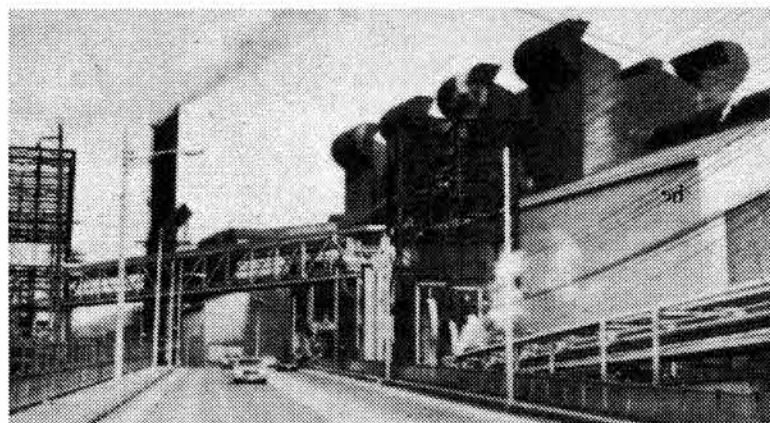
"We had no electricity until last year, only candles," said Marta Rosa García, a member of the local Sandinist directorate. "There was only a mule path here before for people to take their coffee beans to sell. Now we have a road. We have a school here now. These are the fruits of the revolution."

She said a literacy program supported by Cuba had given basic training in reading and writing to peasants in hundreds of villages like Rancho Grande.

The new road has meant an end to the isolation of villages, which are heavily politicized and militarized.

Revolutionary posters decorate many of the huts. A poster in the civic center here shows a charred American eagle crashing in flames. "They will be the defeated ones," it proclaims.

Another poster says, "We are defending our country to build socialism."



Steel mill at Weirton, West Virginia.

Will workers at Weirton buy the plant?

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

National Steel, one of the country's big steelmakers, wants the employees at its Weirton, West Virginia, works to buy the plant. Sometime between now and May 1, workers are scheduled to vote on the proposal which Wall Street bankers have been putting together for the past year.

At one time 12,000 people worked in the mill. Today it's down to 7,000 with 3,100 more laid off. A year ago National announced that it would no longer make any significant investment in the facility. The reason? The company said the plant was making

"inadequate profits."

The decision not to invest stunned the entire area, which is dominated economically by the Weirton works. While the company did not say it would close the plant completely, its decision at best could only mean that the plant would be transformed into a relatively small finishing mill. Thousands of jobs would be lost in an area that is already hard-hit by unemployment.

It is under this pressure that the worker buyout proposal is being made. The final details of the plan were worked out by a committee of representatives of National Steel, the Weirton works, and the Independent Steelworkers Union. (This is one of the few basic steel mills in the United States where workers are not represented by the United Steelworkers of America.)

The Wall Street financial consulting company of Lazard Freres and Company served as advisor to the workers.

Some of the exact terms of the plan are complicated and include provisions for the workers to borrow some \$100-150 million from a consortium of banks in order to make a down payment to National and have \$75 million for operating capital. The workers will also have to assume \$185 million in current and long-term debts.

However, other terms of this scheme are not complicated at all. For instance workers would have to agree to a 32 percent pay cut for starters! Further cuts could come later if the new company did not begin to show an "adequate" profit.

National has agreed to maintain its responsibilities for the pensions of retired employees for the next five years. That means that if the new company goes under within that time the pensions will not be lost. But after five years, if the new company folds the pensions of retired workers may go down the drain.

Women miners win affirmative action victories

Two coal companies, one of them the largest in the nation,

have been forced to pay back wages and to establish priority hiring lists for women. This was a result of suits brought by the Coal Employment Project (CEP).

Peabody Coal Co., the country's largest coal producer, has to pay \$300,003 to 15 Kentucky women and hire one woman for every three men. However, all laid-off miners must be called back before the women are hired at the mines, which are in western Kentucky.

The women are to be hired from a list of 2,000 women who were denied jobs by Peabody. The company also agreed to pay \$100,000 to CEP.

In the other suit, Tennessee Consolidated Coal Co. agreed to pay Billie Thompson \$15,200, grant back seniority, and give first-priority hiring status to her and 10 other women who had applied for work but been turned down from 1979-1981.

Volkswagen forces wage freeze from UAW

Members of United Auto Workers Local 2055 in New Stanton, Pa., have approved, 1,332 to 214, a three-year concession contract with Volkswagen.

The new agreement freezes

wages and defers cost-of-living increases until March 1984. The next COLA increase is not to be paid until a year later, while quarterly COLA increases are to be deferred until December 1985.

The contract approved March 6, covers 2,500 working and 2,400 laid-off VW workers. Another 500 active workers and 150 on layoff were to vote on a similar agreement at a Charleston, South Carolina, stamping plant.

Notre Dame students back farm workers

Students at Notre Dame have voted to ban all Campbell Soup products from the university to support the boycott of the company by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC).

More than 2,000 farm workers in northwestern Ohio, led by FLOC, have been on strike in Campbell-contracted tomato fields since August 1978. The boycott began in 1979, and also includes Libby's.

Campbell's agreed to debate FLOC at Notre Dame, but then cancelled.

For more information about FLOC and the boycott, contact FLOC at 714 1/2 S. St. Clair, Toledo, Ohio, 43609, or call (419) 243-3456.

Women workers discuss how to fight discrimination

BY TONI ADDISON

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — Marie Dolan was fired from GTE Products on Jan. 3, 1983, for working with her union to fight sexual discrimination on the job.

Dolan and three other women workers told their stories at a panel on "Sexual Discrimination on the Job — How to Fight It" sponsored by the Peninsula, Virginia, chapter of the National Organization for Women (NOW) on March 3. Forty people attended this meeting, many of whom are union members in the Tidewater area.

Dolan worked at GTE for 33 months. Before launching her fight around sexual discrimination, Dolan had received company gift certificates for good attendance and gotten excellent evaluations for her work performance. But all that changed last October. That's when Dolan began filing grievances through her union, Local 1340 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW), to receive training in the assembly department where she worked.

Men who worked in the plant were routinely trained and promoted, while some female employees who worked at the company as long as 10 years had never been promoted.

The company responded to the grievance by saying that they didn't have time to train her. Dolan noted that the company trained a young man who was hired in her department months after she had been hired. Women, because they hadn't been trained in all aspects of their departments, were told periodically to sweep floors, clean the parking lots, or weed the flower bed.

"After I filed my first grievance, I received nothing but harassment and was watched constantly," Dolan said.

In December the company finally conceded to her demand that she be trained. Dolan was not pleased with the training she received and filed another grievance charging that she wasn't being trained properly.

On December 22, Dolan was called to the personnel office and warned that she was causing disruption and dissension.

Dolan returned to work at GTE on January 3 following the holiday break. At 9 a.m. two Hampton police officers approached her and asked her to accompany them. Marie thought something might have happened to one of her family members. Instead, she was escorted to the personnel office, told she was fired for insubordina-

tion, and then escorted off company property.

In an interview with the *Militant*, Dolan stated, "I was fired for my union activity. I went through all the channels in the grievance procedure, and based on my record they had nothing to terminate me for."

Dolan said that during the time she worked for GTE she knew of three other women that the company fired. The cops were called in. All of these women had filed grievances. Dolan has taken her case to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and the National Labor Relations Board.

Jan Hooks, a heavy equipment operator at the Tenneco Newport News shipyard, also spoke at the March 3 panel. She was one of the first women hired as a laborer inside the yard. Women currently comprise 20 percent of a work force there of 18,000 production workers.

In 1977 shipyard workers began to organize through the United Steelworkers of America (USWA). In 1979, after a long and bitter strike, Tenneco finally recognized USWA Local 8888 as the bargaining agent. Hooks is the editor of Local 8888's newspaper.

"The women were the most militant workers on the picket line," Hooks said. Many cases of sexual discrimination are

handled by the union. "If it wasn't for my union I wouldn't be where I am. They provided support, moral and financial. Before the union came in, I went to the Peninsula Shipbuilders Association [PSA, the company union] for help and they did nothing. Never in the history of the PSA was a sexual discrimination case filed." Hooks urged women to work closely with their unions. "We can't fight that battle by ourselves."

Nancy Schwalb, a laborer at the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad, was threatened with being fired last August. The company went after her on trumped-up charges that she falsified her job application. At that time, Schwalb was the Socialist Workers Party candidate in the 1st Congressional District. Her union, the International Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers, and women's rights groups rallied in support of her case and Schwalb got her job back.

Schwalb was victimized for her political ideas and her union activity, particularly the fact that she participated in fighting company racism. Schwalb said, "Our strength is in numbers, and that's how we went about fighting these attacks." She explained that the attacks by the employers on working women are a part of the broader offensive against all working people.



Militant Marie Dolan: fired for union activity.

The Peninsula NOW chapter also brought in Betty Jean Hall, director of the Coal Employment Project (CEP), in Dumfries, Virginia. The CEP helps women get and keep mining jobs. As of the end of 1982, Hall said, there were 3,731 women working underground in coal mines, although 41 percent of them are currently laid off.

Brenda Andrews, executive publisher of the *Journal and Guide*, a Norfolk-based newspaper owned by Blacks, also spoke.

Va. unionists, Blacks hear Salvador labor leader

BY CRAIG McKESSIC

NEWPORT NEWS, Va. — Thousands of working people and students were able to hear eyewitness reports on the struggle in El Salvador from Salvadoran labor leader Alejandro Molina Lara when he toured here March 13-20.

Molina Lara was the organizational secretary of the National Federation of Salvadoran Workers (FENASTRAS), which consists of 26 unions and has 80,000 members. Molina Lara is a member of the Exterior Commission of FENASTRAS, formed to help organize support from U.S. trade unions.

Sponsored by the Virginia Alejandro Molina Lara Tour Committee, the tour received broad support in the area and was endorsed by the Newport News and Hampton branches of the NAACP; Dr. Milton Reid, publisher of *Journal and Guide*, Virginia's oldest Black weekly newspaper; Tidewater chapter of the Na-

tional Black Independent Political Party; Tidewater Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador; and others.

On March 13, activists in the Tidewater Haitian Workers Association organized a house meeting for Molina Lara.

Molina Lara also spoke to 60 Black students at Hampton Institute.

On March 15, he addressed the organizing committee of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, Local 563. Molina Lara's talk about working conditions and the repression of the labor movement in his country hit a raw nerve for these workers, who have been carrying out a struggle against their employer, Gloria Manufacturing in Newport News. The company declared bankruptcy after robbing workers and their union of almost half a million dollars.

Molina Lara also went to the Tenneco shipyard here to talk to workers who are organized in Steelworkers Local 8888.

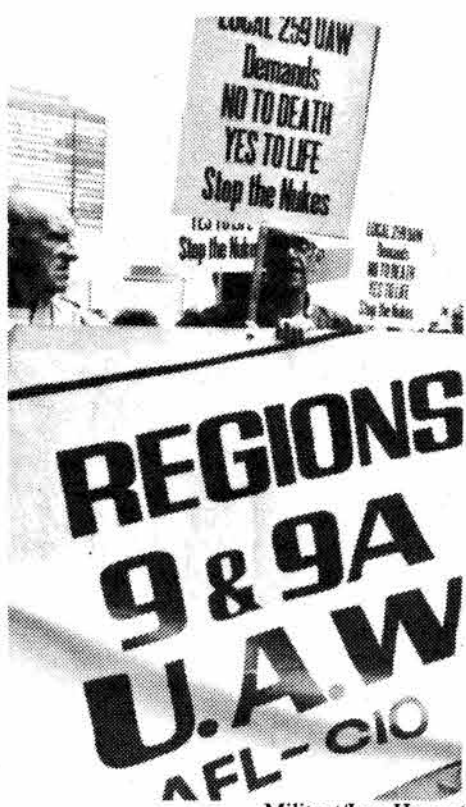
The final meeting on his tour was held at the Bethel AME Church in Hampton. The meeting heard opening greetings of support from Rev. Chuck Patterson, district director for the NAACP in Virginia Beach.

Molina Lara explained his view of Reagan's call for early elections in El Salvador. "Regardless of the change of governments, it is the same system which continues to oppress and systematically arrest and torture our leaders and our people."

"The elections next year will be the same farce as last March. We are in favor of elections, but first a dialogue must take place in order to establish conditions necessary for the safety of our people to participate."

Molina Lara pointed to the fact that leaders of the infamous death squads responsible for the murders of nuns and trade union leaders remained in high places in the military regime. "These criminals have never been put on trial."

UAW vs. bosses' wars at home, abroad



June 12, 1982, antiwar protest.

BY ELIZABETH ZIERS
(fourth in a series)

When two-thirds of the Chrysler workers voted "No" to a fourth concession contract in September 1982, the media raised a deafening cry. The company would go down, Chrysler workers would join the ranks of the 20 million Americans looking for full-time work, and it would all be the workers' fault. That was the chorus of the company, the capitalist news media, the Democratic and Republican party machines and, unfortunately, the top leadership of our union, the United Auto Workers (UAW).

Later in 1982 Canadian Chrysler workers led a successful strike that won gains for themselves and U.S. workers for the first time since 1979. This occurred despite the pitch from the Chrysler Board of Directors that any significant wage gain would send the company into bankruptcy.

The Canadian workers called their bluff and won.

The lesson of that battle is obvious: taking action in our own interests, including striking when necessary, is better than capitulating to the employers' demands. At least through militant action there is a chance of winning. Concession-bargain-

ing, from the start, can only lead to setbacks, defeats, and demoralization.

However, despite the victory by Canadian and U.S. Chrysler workers, our top union leaders continue to say that concessions, in order to improve the profits of the auto giants, are in our interest.

As we explained in previous articles in this series, the policy of class collaboration practiced by the top layers of the UAW bureaucracy — a layer that is more influenced by and identifies more with the interests of the boss than those of the assembly worker — is the reason our union and the entire labor movement is without an effective strategy to fight the employers and their government's take-away demands.

How can we develop a program and leadership with an effective strategy to take on the bosses' attacks?

For starters, auto workers and all other workers must recognize that we are part of one class — the working class. We can't take on and beat the bosses and their government simply as auto workers, steelworkers, or garment workers.

The capitalists function as a class against us. We need to do the same.

Two ideas are valuable in that light: "workers of the world unite" and "an injury

to one is an injury to all." That is, we need class solidarity to take on the bosses' domestic and international drive against working people.

The Canadian Chrysler strike is an important example in this regard. UAW members on both sides of the border faced a hostile employer and hostile governments — in other words, a common enemy. Rather than fall for the employers' line that Canadian Chrysler workers were threatening the livelihood of U.S. workers with their strike, most U.S. Chrysler workers sympathized with their sisters and brothers in Canada. That solidarity helped the Canadian UAW workers win a contract that meant gains for UAW members here too.

UAW workers here should extend the same kind of solidarity to our brothers and sisters in the auto plants in Japan, West Germany, and other parts of the world.

Class solidarity is equally vital with the workers and farmers of Central America and the Caribbean, who are currently the target of an escalating war directed and financed from Washington.

U.S. auto workers have no interest in sending our sons to die fighting the people of El Salvador, who are struggling to get rid of a hated dictatorship that remains in power only by the infusion of millions of dollars of U.S. aid. Those millions could provide jobs in this country for the hundreds of thousands of unemployed auto workers.

Nor do we have any interest in supporting Reagan's war on Nicaragua, where CIA agents are organizing the counter-revolutionary terrorist groups that have invaded that country to set the stage for a war aimed at overturning the Nicaraguan government, a government that has made union rights, decent working conditions, health care, and education a reality for the workers and farmers there for the first time in the country's history.

What about the island of Grenada in the Caribbean? Reagan now tells us this country of 110,000 Black people is also a threat to "our security," a sure sign the Grenadian people face U.S.-inspired aggression too. What Reagan *doesn't* tell us is that since a U.S.-backed dictatorship was overthrown in Grenada in 1979, the workers and farmers government there has reduced unemployment from 49 percent to a little over 14 percent, and — unlike here in this country — the new budget there will *increase* funds for education and other social needs, instead of cutting them back.

Our union should be in the forefront of demanding that all U.S. military personnel get out of Central America and the Caribbean. Some UAW locals and officials have taken a positive step in this direction by helping sponsor the current U.S. speaking tour of Salvadoran trade union leader Alejandro Molina Lara (see page 3).

The antiwar mood in this country has also led to UAW officials adopting a stand in opposition to military aid to El Salvador. This stand needs to be put into action. The UAW should be part of the ongoing protests against U.S. intervention in Central America, and it should mobilize the union membership to participate. Our union could take another step forward by encouraging UAW members to go to Nicaragua or Grenada to see the revolutions firsthand that Reagan says threaten "our vital interests."

This perspective means a break with the bipartisan, prowar policy of the Democrats and Republicans. It's not simply Reagan who sends "advisers" to El Salvador; he's done so with the votes of the Democrats in Congress. It's not simply Reagan who unleashed the CIA to wage war against Nicaragua; the most the Democrats have done is insist the funds given the CIA not be used to actually overthrow the Nicaraguan government!

The UAW officials' class-collaborationist outlook and their support to the Democratic Party are obstacles to mobilizing the union against U.S. intervention. They urge union members to look to electing Democratic "peace" candidates and lobbying as the way to end war.

The upcoming UAW convention in May will be an opportunity to take up the burning issue of U.S. war in Central America and the Caribbean and the role our union should play in blocking the U.S. warmakers.

(To be continued)

Congress promotes 'crisis' myth, cuts Social Security again

BY MORRIS STARKY

CINCINNATI — It came as no surprise when Congress hiked Social Security taxes, slashed benefits, and raised the future retirement age to 67. The move was worked out last year by a bipartisan National Commission on Social Security Reform. The commission was created by President Reagan and Congress to deflect opposition to cuts in Social Security benefits.

A myth was created by Democratic and Republican politicians and distributed by the media that Social Security was in a financial crisis and about to collapse. The myth was intended to scare working people into accepting higher Social Security taxes and lower benefits to "save" Social Security.

The real problem behind the Social Security "crisis" is the government's need to substantially lower the deficit in the federal budget as a whole while increasing the war budget. That means funds for social programs must be cut, and the amount workers pay into such programs must be raised.

The Social Security "rescue" plan passed by Congress includes: requiring new federal employees and those on the payroll of nonprofit organizations to join the system starting next year, tax increases in 1984 and 1988, taxing benefits paid to more "affluent" retirees, and increasing the retirement age gradually to 67 by the year 2027.

Social Security is the main source of income for millions of older workers. Twenty-six percent of the elderly derive at least 90 percent of their income from Social Security benefits. For two-thirds of the elderly, Social Security benefits provide half their total income.

The government's poverty threshold for an older person last year was an income of \$4,359 a year. This threshold is less than that for younger people because it is based on the assumption that the elderly require less food!

Using the government's poverty threshold, the poverty rate for the elderly last year was 15.3 percent. This is slightly higher than the rate for the population as a whole.

Blacks and women are the worst off. Thirty-nine percent of elderly Blacks lived below the poverty line last year, and 43.5 percent of elderly Black women were poor. The poverty rate for elderly people living alone was nearly twice the rate for all elderly people. Most of the elderly living alone were women.

Despite the inadequacy of Social Security benefits, the legal guarantee of retirement income, disability protection, and medical insurance was a big victory for the working class. Until the 1930s, most work-

ing people 65 and over were dependent on others for their support.

Faced with growing militancy in the labor movement in the 1930s, the Roosevelt administration was forced to grant a significant concession, the Social Security Act of 1935.

While Social Security never provided total protection for all retired workers, it did establish the precedent of a government program to provide pensions to workers as a matter of right. This points away from the idea that government benefits are a privilege for those who can establish that they are genuinely and "deservedly" needy. It is a progressive feature, hated by the capitalist class and its apologists.

This is why the provision for taxing the Social Security income of more "affluent" retirees is so dangerous. By dividing workers into income categories, the tax provision of the new law begins to erode the

foundation of Social Security benefits as a matter of right.

Another feature of the Social Security program hated by the capitalist class is the benefit structure of Social Security, which takes the financial requirements, the needs, of recipients into account rather than relating benefits strictly to wages. Low-income workers receive greater benefits relative to their earnings and tax payments than high-income workers. Retired workers with dependent spouses and disabled workers with dependents are entitled to greater benefits than single workers.

The "great compromise" on Social Security between its "friends" and its "enemies" in Congress was as phony as the "crisis" which produced it. The ruling class and its government did not feel sufficiently confident to attempt dismantling the Social Security system. However, there was bipartisan agreement from the outset that wealth we produce had to be used to pay for their wars rather than our retirement.

3 New Orleans cops convicted for torture of Blacks

BY LEE OLESON

DALLAS — Three cops were convicted here March 28 of beating and torturing Black residents of the Algiers section of New Orleans during a cop rampage there in November 1980. Four other cops were found not guilty.

The jury was all white.

No charges have been brought against the police for the killings of four Blacks during the cop rampage.

Mary Singleton Boyer, a sister of one of the four murdered Blacks, welcomed the guilty verdict here, but said she would not be satisfied until the police were tried for the killings as well.

New Orleans Patrolman Gregory Neupert was killed Nov. 8, 1980. Within five days, New Orleans cops killed the following Blacks: Raymond Ferdinand, James J. Billy, Reginald Miles, and Sherry Singleton, a friend of Miles.

Robert Lee Davis, a key witness, testified that he was arrested and beaten by the New Orleans police. To stop the beatings, he falsely implicated Billy and Miles in the death of Neupert.

Billy, Miles, and Singleton were gunned down in pre-dawn raids on their homes.

Detectives Stephen Ferrar, and Dale Donura, and Sergeant John McKenzie were convicted of conspiring to violate the civil rights of Algiers residents and of a

separate charge of beating and threatening Davis.

Each of the convicted cops faces a maximum of 10 years in prison and a \$10,000 fine on the conspiracy charge and a one-year sentence and \$1,000 fine on the other. Sentencing is set for May.

SWP candidates say justice still not done

The following statement was released in New Orleans by Michele Smith, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Louisiana, and Nels J'Anthony, SWP candidate for state senate in District 7.

"The guilty verdict in Dallas for three of the seven cops who tortured Black residents of the Algiers section of New Orleans has revealed a small part of the truth. But there has been no justice yet for the four Blacks who were murdered.

"We call for the trial and prosecution of the cops responsible for the killings of these four Blacks in New Orleans.

"We also call for an independent investigation to examine the evidence shown on the CBS News program "60 Minutes" and what came out during the Dallas trial. It will show that the police are clearly responsible for these murders."

Anatomy of a disruption campaign: court re Socialist Workers Party trial shows lawsuit

BY LARRY SEIGLE

LOS ANGELES — The transcript of the closing arguments in the trial here of the Socialist Workers Party has now become available. It provides valuable ammunition for the ongoing fight in this case, which centers on the campaign to compel the judge to order Alan Gelfand and his high-priced lawyers to pay costs and attorneys' fees to the SWP.

The transcript chronicles the final exchanges between U.S. District Judge Mariana Pfaelzer and John Burton, one of Gelfand's attorneys.

Summing up the results of the trial, Pfaelzer said, glaring at Burton, "You have not proved anything that you said you were going to prove. Nothing."

Gelfand's evidence consisted of "conclusions and innuendo, rumor, hearsay, multiple hearsay, and multiple hearsay on multiple hearsay," the judge held.

Gelfand charged that the SWP is a front for the FBI and/or CIA, and that leaders of the SWP are government agents. He claimed he was unjustly expelled from the party by these agents to keep the membership from learning that their party had been secretly taken over by the government many decades ago.

Massive disruption campaign

On the basis of this ugly smear, which was never backed up by a single fact, Pfaelzer kept the case in court for nearly four years, refusing repeated efforts by the SWP to have the case thrown out. During this time, Pfaelzer, Gelfand, and Gelfand's mouthpieces worked in tandem to carry out a massive disruption operation against the SWP.

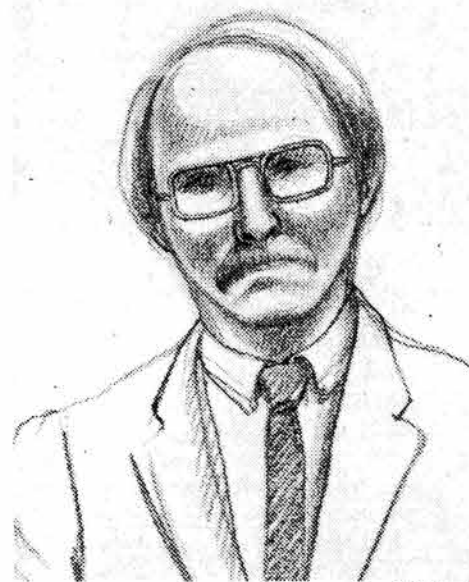
This continued through the trial itself, which lasted from March 2-9. Pfaelzer brushed aside the party's contention that the First Amendment guarantee of freedom

of association and privacy prohibits the court from probing into the internal procedures, political policies, and membership decisions of the SWP. The kind of judicial inquisition represented by this case and by the trial itself, the SWP argued, poses a serious challenge to the right of political organizations such as the SWP to operate free from government regulation and supervision.

Not what judge expected

During the trial, Gelfand's case was exposed as a hoax. He and his lawyers were unable to prove any of their charges, or to offer even a single piece of evidence to back up their accusations.

This put Pfaelzer in a difficult position. The conclusion could not be avoided that the case had been a fraud from the begin-



Militant
Undercover cop Gibby was star witness for prosecution.

ning, designed to harass, disrupt, and defame the SWP. Pfaelzer had used the case to strengthen the power of the courts to investigate the internal functioning and political positions of the SWP. But with the case laid bare as a sham, Pfaelzer's pretense of neutrality and impartiality was uncomfortably exposed.

In a moment of frankness, she expressed her anger at Burton:

"Now, what I expected did not occur. That is, I expected you to show in some way that there was some link between these people [the SWP defendants] and their refusal to deal in the manner that you claim they should have with Mr. Gelfand's charges and the fact that they were agents of the United States Government."

"... You never established that and, consequently, — and I believe now that you never had any evidence of that."

Pfaelzer waved her arm at the defense table, where thousands of pages of depositions stood piled toward the ceiling. The depositions represented hundreds of hours of interrogation by Gelfand's lawyers, and tens of thousands of dollars in expenses.

"Indeed here we are, after spending all of this time and money. And look at the depositions. Look."

It was Pfaelzer, of course, who had rebuffed SWP efforts to have the depositions stopped.

The judge continued, "I have read pages and pages and pages of depositions that don't lead to anything, nothing. I can only assume that there was a motive somewhere in here to paralyze the Socialist Workers Party."

New stage in fight

What Pfaelzer had to say about the motive behind the lawsuit bears directly on the new stage of the fight. The SWP will be filing a motion seeking to recover expenses

and attorneys' fees that have been racked up since the case began in 1979.

The SWP will ask the court to order payment not only by Gelfand, but also by Gelfand's attorneys. These pinstriped hustlers, a Los Angeles firm by the name of Fisher & Moest, were essential to the sustained harassment and disruption campaign against the SWP.

Although they like to advertise themselves as "civil rights" attorneys who represent "a number of First Amendment-type organizations," Fisher & Moest are best known for their services on behalf of Rev. Sun Myung Moon, an ultrarightist and anticommunist connected to the U.S. puppet regime in South Korea.

While the Gelfand case has been draining the SWP and the Political Rights Defense Fund of time and resources, these shysters have been sucking in legal fees estimated as high as \$150 or even \$200 an hour!

The lavish payments have been cheerfully made by the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), a London-based institution. The WRP's branch office in the United States goes under the name Workers League (WL). The primary activity of the WRP-WL for many years has been circulating the accusation that SWP leaders are government agents.

The WRP-WL may well have enriched Fisher & Moest by \$750,000 or \$1,000,000 over the years the case has been in court.

The SWP is entitled to recover attorneys' fees at the prevailing rate, even for the hours spent by lawyers who donated their time.

Most important, the law provides that the judge must order Fisher & Moest to pay the money if the SWP can demonstrate that they prosecuted a lawsuit that was totally without merit and intended solely to harass the SWP.

This is exactly what Fisher & Moest, collaborating with Gelfand and the WRP-WL, have done.

'Worse than you think'

After expressing her conclusion that Gelfand and his lawyers had "not proved anything," Pfaelzer went on to add, "Mr. Burton, I want to take you beyond the point. It is worse than you even think."

Referring to herself, Pfaelzer went on, "The trier of fact in this courtroom, right here, questions Mr. Gelfand's motives. Now, I believe from listening to the testimony that not only can you not establish that the Socialist Workers Party is dominated by agents of the CIA and the FBI, I think that there is a question about why he brought the lawsuit and how it's been financed all along. Now, that is worse yet, isn't it?"

"MR. BURTON: I don't see where your Honor has any evidence to draw such a conclusion."

"THE COURT: Who paid the attorneys' fees? Who paid for the depositions?"

"MR. BURTON: That is in the record. [The record shows the WRP-WL footed the bill — L.S.] The Socialist Workers Party had all the opportunity it needed to introduce that."

"THE COURT: I think this is not the end of the litigation."

Later in the session, Pfaelzer again returned to this theme:

"The whole aura of facts in here leads me to question the motivation for the lawsuit. If I had been presented with one single piece of evidence that would indicate that these people are agents of the Government, that would be an entirely different matter. I haven't a single piece of evidence given to me, and I am deeply disturbed about this, deeply, because after all, the political process is an important thing and it must be protected."

Pfaelzer's new-found concern for protecting the "political process" against disrupters and their lawyers who would use the capitalist courts to achieve their goals rang hollow. She has, after all, allowed her

Court scene: how Gelfand's lawyer argued case

Midway through the summation of his case, John Burton, attorney for Alan Gelfand, cited Gelfand's testimony as evidence the judge should give credence to. When Burton asserted that SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes had made certain statements to Gelfand, the following dialogue between Burton and Judge Pfaelzer took place.

THE COURT: That is if you believe Mr. Gelfand.

MR. BURTON: That's correct, your Honor. In this action Mr. Gelfand is entitled to the highest rating of credibility.

THE COURT: Is he? Is he?

MR. BURTON: Every fact that he's asserted has stood up through this trial and through cross-examination. Every fact has stood up.

The SWP defendants can't say that. They can't point to the record like Mr. Gelfand said, with a contemporaneous record substantiating every fact. All they can do is throw around these generalities. Oh, "slander campaign." He was slandering all these people. The whole thing was part of some slander campaign.

What slander campaign? There hasn't been any proof of any slander campaign here.

THE COURT: Well, one of these days, one of these days I think that will be aired in another courtroom.

MR. BURTON: There was no slander campaign. Sylvia Caldwell was a GPU agent. Mr. Hansen —

THE COURT: We are not talking about Sylvia Caldwell. She is not here in this courtroom. The question is: Hasn't he slandered the people from the SWP?

MR. BURTON: No, your Honor. That is false.

THE COURT: I asked you a question about five minutes ago and you haven't answered it yet. I said: How have you

shown that any of the people from the SWP who are here as defendants are agents of the FBI, the CIA, or an agency of the United States Government. How have you shown that?

MR. BURTON: Yes, we have shown that.

THE COURT: I said: How have you shown it?

MR. BURTON: We have shown it by showing, particularly with respect to Mr. Barnes and the other two acting in concert with him, that they covered up. Mr. Barnes knew —

THE COURT: Now let's just assume that they covered up. May I derive from that the conclusion that they are agents of the CIA or the FBI or any other governmental agency?

MR. BURTON: Now, your Honor, —

THE COURT: Is that a legitimate inference to be drawn from the fact that they covered up?

MR. BURTON: Yes. It is the only inference that can be drawn.

THE COURT: Oh, no. Oh, no, Mr. Burton. I had this discussion with you before.

MR. BURTON: That's correct.

THE COURT: I said to you: There are two equally persuasive inferences. One is that they were taking all this on blind faith, and they may not have been; it may not have been desirable for them to do that. But it certainly is possible that they did exactly that, that they were loyal to Hansen and to Caldwell and they assumed that all of these charges were false. That is an equally persuasive rational inference to be drawn from this set of facts, even giving Mr. Gelfand all the best of it.

MR. BURTON: Now let's take that a moment as our model. We have two inferences that can be drawn from this record.

THE COURT: And that means you don't preponderate.

MR. BURTON: No, because let's look

at each inference and see which stands up under scrutiny.

THE COURT: I am listening.

MR. BURTON: Were these people simply negligent, lackadaisical, didn't care about the history of their movement, didn't care about their party.

THE COURT: Just a minute. Wait just a minute, Mr. Burton. Let's say they are not negligent. They are just devoted to the party. They believe in Hansen, they believe in Caldwell. They think this has all been laid to rest in the past.

MR. BURTON: Number one, it was never laid to rest with Mr. Hansen. Number two, okay, let's take [SWP defendant Larry] Seigle. Maybe he's just completely ignorant of the history of this movement. Maybe he just doesn't care —

THE COURT: Now excuse me. I am the trier of fact and I will tell you, there wasn't anything ignorant about Mr. Seigle.

MR. BURTON: Let's take Mr. Barnes. Now, Mr. Barnes is in a different position than Mr. Seigle.

THE COURT: And not anything ignorant about Mr. Barnes either.

MR. BURTON: Quite to the contrary. Mr. Barnes knew that Mr. Hansen had been meeting with the FBI in New York City. Mr. Barnes knew that Hansen hadn't told a true story about his meetings with the GPU. Mr. Barnes knew that Hansen went time and time again to the embassy.

THE COURT: Does that show that Mr. Barnes works for the FBI or the CIA or a governmental agency?

MR. BURTON: He withheld that information in "Healy's Big Lie." [An earlier collection of articles answering the very same slanders raised by Gelfand.]

THE COURT: I said: Does that mean that he works for a governmental agency?

MR. BURTON: Yes.

THE COURT: It does?

ord from a fraud

courtroom to be used for just that purpose against the SWP. Nonetheless, the statement reflected more than simply the failure of Gelfand's lawyers to marshal a single fact in support of their claims.

The nationwide campaign being spearheaded by the Political Rights Defense Fund to mobilize opposition to the court's violation of the SWP's First Amendment rights also had an impact. Statements protesting the trial of the SWP poured in from an increasingly broad alliance of labor, civil rights, and political groups outraged at Pfaelzer's conduct of the case. This political campaign played a significant role during the trial itself.

Pfaelzer's discomfort was magnified further by a scandal very close to home.

L.A. red squad scandal

Virtually every day in the weeks leading up to the trial and during the trial itself, Los Angeles papers carried revelations on the criminal misdoings of the local police red squad, known as the Public Disorder Intelligence Division (PDID).

This division of the notoriously racist and anti-union Los Angeles Police Department spied on and disrupted the Black movement, labor groups, socialist and communist groups, and even Democratic and Republican politicians.

The new reports of cop crimes concern the very years (1974-78) when Pfaelzer, as a member of the L.A. Police Commission, was personally and directly responsible for supervising the PDID. She authorized the activities of the PDID, and publicly defended PDID cops against criticism from opponents of police spying.

As a liberal Democrat with political aspirations, she was well-chosen for the assignment of giving a new image to the discredited red squad during the 1970s. It was, in part, due to her work on the Police Commission that Pfaelzer was appointed a federal judge.

During her tenure on the Police Commission, Pfaelzer personally authorized PDID agents to infiltrate political organizations, including the SWP. Throughout, she publicly insisted that no one was spied on by the PDID unless they were engaged in illegal activities and planning dangerously violent acts.

Though Pfaelzer's name is never mentioned in the published accounts of the ongoing PDID scandals, the stain on her reputation is widening.

When Gelfand, at the trial, called as key witnesses two former PDID cops who had infiltrated the SWP, it was a truly embarrassing moment for Pfaelzer.

Cop character witnesses

The two cops, Rickey Gibby and Vincent Parisi, were essentially character witnesses for Gelfand. They testified that Gelfand had been an "upstanding" member of the SWP before being unjustly expelled. He had been "well-liked" by his comrades, said Gibby. Gelfand had always acted "in good faith" as a member of the SWP, the two cops agreed.

In his summation of the "evidence," Burton placed great weight on the cops' testimony.

"MR. BURTON: . . . You heard Mr. Gibby say that there was nothing wrong with what Mr. Gelfand was doing [while a member of the SWP]."

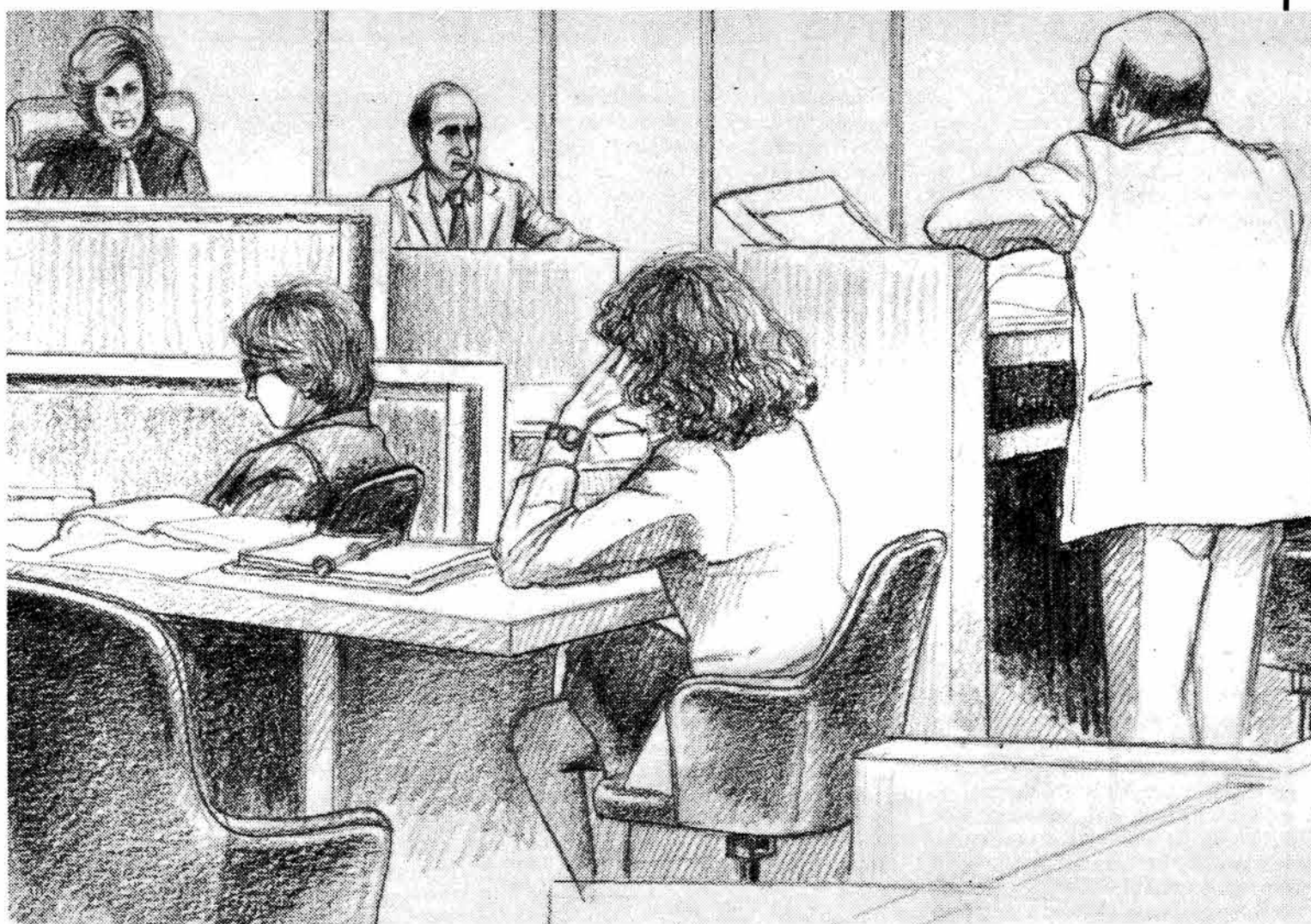
"THE COURT: Oh, come now, Mr. Burton. Now what weight do you want me to give Mr. Gibby's testimony?"

"MR. BURTON: The weight that you see fit."

"THE COURT: Mr. Gibby is a police officer from the Public Disorder Intelligence Division. He was in there, right or wrong, to determine what the party was doing. That is all he was doing. He was an observer. Now what weight can I give that kind of testimony?"

Coming from a government official who has never previously conceded that the

Continued on Page 10



David Epstein, attorney for SWP, confronts Alan Gelfand. "Purpose of this lawsuit is nothing other than to paralyze SWP," Epstein told judge.

Militant

'At long last, have you no shame?'

Following are excerpts from the closing arguments presented on behalf of the SWP defendants by David Epstein, the party's chief attorney at the trial.

It leaves one almost speechless thinking what I say in the interests of my client to comment on what we have just heard today and over the last six days.

Usually, my work is that as a trial lawyer. I have been trained that the less said, the better, when something isn't coming in that hurts my case. We think of our case as within the narrow confines of the rules of evidence, as we have known it.

The tragedy here is that the "so what" response to matters that are alleged doesn't alleviate for one moment the four years of harassment that my clients have been put through.

THE COURT: You have got a point there.

MR. EPSTEIN: About three and a half years ago, December of 1978, a little over three and a half years ago, Mr. Gelfand filed an amicus brief and recorded that he had reached the highest point in his, I suppose, his political career.

[Gelfand intervened with his "amicus brief" into the SWP's lawsuit against the FBI, CIA, and Attorney General. The brief accused certain members of the SWP of being agents of the FBI and the Soviet secret police, and charged that the party was run by the FBI. When the party learned that Gelfand had filed this brief, he was expelled.]

One is reminded, I had a flash of recollection of a famous documentary film of the fifties, the "Army-McCarthy Hearings," when Senator McCarthy had reached the lowest point. I remember that famous saying, when counsel I believe for the Army, Rob Welch, who was senior partner in a very prominent southern firm, was examining Mr. McCarthy. After McCarthy had talked about this private in the Army, the famous quote was: "Have you no shame, sir? At long last, have you no shame?"

THE COURT: I remember that very well indeed.

MR. EPSTEIN: This trial brings shades of that.

THE COURT: This has got some of that in it.

MR. EPSTEIN: This is not a plaintiff who brought a case and didn't prove it. This is not an innocent man who thinks he

was wronged and is seeking his right to redress and simply wants his day in court.

Mr. Gelfand is an attorney. The notion that in the course of a piece of litigation in which the Socialist Workers Party, which only three months ago Mr. Justice Marshall observed in the opinion of *Brown v. Socialist Workers*, — that had to do with whether this party would be required to disclose the names of campaign contributors.

THE COURT: Yes, yes.

MR. EPSTEIN: The Supreme Court, Mr. Justice Marshall recited a long history of problems and difficulties and sad aspects of society and how it comes to bear on people who have views that are minority views, which clearly the Socialist Workers Party has, a minority party, and the kind of hostility that that party has suffered from government agencies — the surveillance, all of these things, and from employers. The only thing Justice Marshall left out was: From rival, jealous, bitter, and twisted people who, for whatever political or other motives they have, do their best to disrupt and prevent my client from exercising its First Amendment rights under the Constitution.

This case is a studied attempt by Alan Gelfand who reached the peak of his career by infiltrating himself, setting himself into this party, by setting about from the very beginning to act in the most disruptive, provocative way he knew how. The only frustration that man suffered is that it took him until the filing of this amicus brief, until January of 1979, to get himself kicked out so that he could then pose some real costs and real burden on my client to bring this lawsuit.

It was the peak of Mr. Gelfand's career because he finally had what he wanted. He had been to England. He knew he now could file a lawsuit, could conduct discovery, could subject people to the kind of harassment that no person should be asked to countenance in this case. The purpose, I conclude, is nothing other than of paralyzing this party in the interest of some other ideology or purpose or goal that Mr. Gelfand has not told us about.

THE COURT: Now, I am going to make this comment advisedly, and this is for the benefit of the Ninth Circuit. I agree with what you just said. I think the lawsuit has been harassing. I think in large measure I have suspected that it was brought for motives other than getting Mr. Gelfand back in the party. I am more confirmed in that

than I ever have been before.

MR. EPSTEIN: The Supreme Court has also observed and I am referring to *Demo-cratic Party of U.S. v. Wisconsin*, — that is an opinion by Justice Stewart in February of 1981 — the fundamental right of a political party to determine who its members are. Justice Stewart observed that freedom to associate for the common advancement of political beliefs necessarily presupposes the freedom to identify the people who constitute the association and to limit the association to those people only.

"Any interference with the freedom of a party is simultaneously interference with the freedom of its adherents."

He observed in a footnote that freedom of association would prove an empty guarantee if associations could not limit control over their decisions to those who share the interests and persuasions that underlie the association's being.

There was only one way that my client could assure its continued being, and that is by expelling Alan Gelfand. Why they took so long in doing so, I cannot answer for the Court. Abundance of tolerance or other reasons, whether it is naive or not. But there is no question that where an attorney files an amicus brief — and I think the posture of that case is important.

As I understand it from the testimony,

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Sen. Joseph McCarthy (right), Roy Cohn in 1950s. Stench of McCarthyism was strong in Los Angeles courtroom.

Record shows lawsuit against SWP a fraud

Continued from Page 9

PDID, acting under her supervision, may have done at least some "wrong," the statement was a sign of the pressure on Pfaelzer. Nonetheless, she didn't let the opportunity go by without repeating the standard cop lie that undercover agents and stool pigeons are merely passive "observers," rather than the disrupters and provocateurs they are in real life.

Burton, sounding more and more like a cop lawyer himself, immediately picked up on this, agreeing with the judge that Gibby, his star witness, had been "an observer" in the SWP. "He was like a television camera, a movie camera that recorded these events," he claimed.

Soviet agents, too

In the mythology of Gelfand and the WRP-WL, the police takeover of the SWP was begun first by the Soviet secret police, shortly after the party was founded in 1938. One advantage of this angle is that it allows the slander campaign to incorporate charges from openly anticommunist sources, including U.S. government prosecutors and FBI stool pigeons.

Witch-hunting the SWP for Soviet "agents" was a key feature of the trial. It gave a distinctly right-wing and police odor to the plaintiff's side of the courtroom. Former undercover agents like Gibby fit right in with the rest of Gelfand's evidence.

For instance, one of Gelfand's chief witnesses — though he is dead and was present only in the form of his written words — was Louis Budenz, an FBI informer, professional witness for the government, and notorious liar. Budenz played a key public role in the late 1940s and early 1950s as a witness for the government against members of the Communist Party on trial for violation of the thought-control Smith Act.

In 1948, Budenz made front page headlines by accusing Eugene Dennis, then general secretary of the Communist Party, of being the head of a giant Soviet spy ring in Washington, D.C. His testimony for the government at the Smith Act trials helped send Communist Party members to prison for years.

As a result, his name is anathema to the entire working-class movement in this country. But not to Gelfand and his mouthpieces, who invoked Budenz as an authority repeatedly.

Budenz, you see, had fingered not just

CP members, but also several SWP members, as Soviet agents. Among these were Joseph Hansen, a central leader of the SWP until his death in 1979, and Sylvia Caldwell, who had been a secretary in the SWP national office.

As Burton put it in his final argument, "Budenz was saying that Mr. Hansen was a GPU agent," a charge that should be believed because Budenz "admittedly, and everybody agrees, had a great deal of knowledge of GPU operations in the United States." (The GPU were the initials used by the Soviet secret police, today known as the KGB.)

According to Burton's summary of the case, Joseph Hansen was a Soviet spy from "the beginning," that is when he joined the revolutionary movement in the early 1930s. He was "turned" by the FBI and became a U.S. government agent as soon as Washington learned he was working for Moscow.

According to Burton, "They knew exactly what to do with that. They now had their man in the Socialist Workers Party. He rose to prominence in the fifties and sixties, just in time for a flood of new recruits who came into the movement — not traditionally out of the working class and out of the struggles of the working class but conveniently off the campus of Carleton College in faraway Northfield, Minnesota."

Carleton College connection

Burton then referred to the testimony of Jean Brust, who identified herself as a member of the National Committee of the Workers League. Brust had been a member of the SWP in the 1940s and 1950s, and left to join the Workers League in the early 1960s.

Her assignment as a witness was to prove that the SWP in Minneapolis and St. Paul was so weak in the early 1960s that it could not possibly have recruited any young radicals from nearby Carleton College. Several of the SWP defendants in the suit attended Carleton College in the early 1960s and joined the movement in Minnesota.

Brust, however, claimed that the Twin Cities SWP had decided — "never!" — to try to recruit anyone from Carleton College.

What's more, she testified that in her ex-

pert opinion the whole SWP in Minnesota was incompetent. "There was no one there who could put two political words together," she said.

Minnesota SWP

This condemnation of the entire Minnesota SWP included such active revolutionary cadres as V.R. Dunne, who had been among the leaders of the struggle that built the Teamsters union in Minneapolis in the 1930s, and was one of the most respected national leaders of the SWP. Brust solved this problem by asserting that Dunne was too "frail" and sick to play any role in the party.

The following exchange took place as Burton began summing up the "Carleton connection."

"THE COURT: My goodness, Mr. Burton. Go on about Carleton College."

"MR. BURTON: Now, Miss Brust's testimony demonstrated that their story [the SWP defendants who attended Carleton] is completely without credibility. There was not a vigorous branch that was actively recruiting people out of Carleton College. This was a branch in shambles, with people — V. R. Dunne was in his seventies. He was sick. He was elderly. He wasn't a vigorous young man of the 1930s."

"THE COURT: Mr. Burton, I want the Appellate Court to have this comment right now in your argument that you are making now. That is the most outrageous and ridiculous thing that has almost ever been argued in this courtroom, what you are now arguing. You want me to assume that the testimony about Carleton College is very persuasive in this lawsuit. Is that what you want me to do?"

"MR. BURTON: Again, your Honor, it is an element of the circumstantial case. This is where the primary actors who did in Mr. Gelfand came from. That is what it is all about. These are the same people who can't explain reasonably or realistically their own entry into the party, who then —"

"THE COURT: Would you be persuaded on this set of facts that they were not agents of the FBI or the CIA if they all came from different colleges."

"MR. BURTON: No."

"THE COURT: Was the FBI or the CIA only recruiting in that one college?"

"MR. BURTON: No. But there's obviously some sort of operation going on here where students are being taken out one or two out of every class, sent down —"

"THE COURT: Now where is there any evidence of that?"

Burton had to concede there isn't any.

The bulk of Burton's summation, just like the material presented in the guise of "evidence" and briefs submitted, was not designed to advance a legal argument, but rather to provide copy for the lavishly printed newspapers, magazines, and books of the WRP-WL operation.

Pretending that what had happened at the trial had not happened, Burton declared, "The case, every fact which Mr. Gelfand has set out to prove from the day he filed his complaint through the trial brief, through the point where plaintiff rests, has been established."

And in a peroration undoubtedly worthy of publication in the WRP-WL journals, he proclaimed:

"We may not have a smoking gun, but we certainly do have a stinking corpse, I will tell you that, in the Socialist Workers Party, because people in this kind of movement just do not act this kind of way if they are what they say they are."

Chickens to roost

During the trial, Pfaelzer had used stronger and stronger language to characterize Gelfand's case as without merit, and aimed at disrupting the SWP.

But the nature of Gelfand's case was not a surprise. The theories presented at the trial were the very same theories that had been presented in answer to SWP efforts to have the case thrown out before the trial. The evidence presented at the trial was the very same evidence that had been presented to the court over nearly four years. And the "circumstantial case" — from Carleton College to Louis Budenz — was identical to what lawyers from the Fisher & Moest firm had spelled out previously.

In fact, this was pointed out to Pfaelzer repeatedly by Burton himself. Why should



Militant

Plaintiff Alan Gelfand, an attorney.

Fisher & Moest take the rap for a sham lawsuit, he implied, when the judge herself had supervised the case and authorized its continuation for nearly four years?

Burton boldly reminded the judge, "Now, you can't be surprised at the case we put on here. This tracks exactly the case we presented in opposition to the [SWP motion for] summary judgment." If the SWP motion for summary judgment had been granted, the case would have been thrown out of court years ago, without a trial.

Gelfand's 'day in court'

Pfaelzer could do no more than weakly respond, "That is exactly what should have been granted, was the summary judgment. It should have been granted at the time. You remember the discussions we have had all along. I denied that motion for summary judgment against my strong feeling that there was no case here. But I understand that there is a feeling in the Appellate Court that every litigant, if there is the slightest doubt, should have his day in court."

Gelfand's "day in court" lasted for four years!

But Burton wouldn't let Pfaelzer off the hook so easily. He insisted on reminding her — in an effort to save his own neck —

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'Have you no shame, sir?'

Continued from Page 9

there was an action by the SWP which had to do with a finding — the motions had to do with discovery of government reports concerning agents who were in the party.

THE COURT: Yes.

MR. EPSTEIN: The context of this was that there had been order issued by the Court. The Attorney General had refused to submit the papers. There had been a contempt, and we were on appeal on the contempt. The argument raised by the Government in that context, one of the arguments, is the argument of the safety of informants if we disclose their identity.

THE COURT: Yes, I know.

MR. EPSTEIN: In that context, Mr. Gelfand submits papers to the Court including a report that a leader of the party killed someone by tying him up and throwing him in a crater.

THE COURT: That is absolutely true, and that was an issue in that case. That is the effect of what he filed.

MR. EPSTEIN: We don't have an innocent but ill-advised act here. Mr. Gelfand had practiced law by that time for five years. He was an attorney. He filed this in his own name. He knew full well what he was doing.

The presumptiveness of this plaintiff coming to this Court and of counsel arguing to this Court, looking this Court in the eye and saying that that was in the interest of the Socialist Workers Party, it just defies — it challenges one to think of a response. I just can't imagine a more ludicrous argument.

This man knew everything that he was doing. He calculated. He did it as best he could.

The answer is that he had no shame. He had no shame in secretly tape recording

conversations. He had no shame in making allegations as to which he knew there was no foundation, and he had no shame in putting into motion every ounce of energy he had to disrupt and interfere with the functions of this party, including through to this very day.

This action constitutes an unscrupulous effort by this plaintiff, and I am sorry to add, and I am mindful of the seriousness when I add this, and his counsel to manipulate the judicial process of this Court and to manipulate it for the purpose of constructing a political platform from which to carry out its attack on my client. And it is a cowardly act. It is the act of someone who will not take his political — who will not rely on taking his political arguments to the public forum where it belongs, but instead, intends to utilize the Court so that he can then get up and speak and say, "The court records show," and then proceed with the same kind of monologue that we have heard repeatedly in this case, and the same kind of pointless, unprincipled statements.

I think that there is no interpretation of why we are here that is consistent with good faith. There is no interpretation of why we are here other than the purpose of this plaintiff, joined by his counsel, in presenting a vexatious piece of litigation that will have the maximum effect of inhibiting and paralyzing the activities of the Socialist Workers Party.

We would like to request from this Court a finding that there is no substantial basis for the claims presented by this client, that this action has been brought in bad faith. We would also like to request that the Court consider language incorporating the standards set forth in, I believe it is, Title 28, Section 1927, which refers to unreasonable and vexatious litigation.

Slander campaign targets Grenada solidarity rally

NEW YORK — Members of the Workers Revolutionary Party-Workers League (WRP-WL) took their campaign of slander and disruption in the workers movement to a rally in solidarity with Grenada here April 3.

WRP-WL representatives buttholed people entering the meeting who had either bought copies of the *Militant* or had stopped to speak with *Militant* salespeople. "Be careful of those people," the WRP-WL representatives would warn. "Their leaders are FBI agents."

One WRP-WL supporter overheard *Militant* salesperson Helen Schiff tell a participant at the meeting that she had just returned from a trip to Grenada to participate in the fourth anniversary celebrations of that country's 1979 revolution. Schiff said that one of the reasons she had gone was to bring back the truth about what is happening in Grenada to her coworkers on the New York transit system.

The WRP-WLer then began to finger Schiff to people entering the meeting, especially those who stopped to speak with Schiff. He would point to Schiff and tell people, "She is very suspect." He claimed that Schiff had gone to Grenada to collect names to hand over to the FBI for assassination hit lists. He also said Schiff had been sent into the Transport Workers Union by the Socialist Workers Party to disrupt the union on behalf of the FBI.



Militant/Steven Fuchs
Draft resister Gillam Kerley

Meeting in Milwaukee assails Gelfand suit against SWP

BY NANCY COLE

MILWAUKEE — A March 20 meeting here, sponsored by the Political Rights Defense Fund, celebrated the Socialist Workers Party victory in federal court in Los Angeles and vowed to continue the fight for the right to organize against government policy.

Speakers linked the social struggles they are involved in to the fight against court disruption of the SWP. The party had just received a favorable ruling in a lawsuit against it by one Alan Gelfand, a lawyer for the Los Angeles county government who had been expelled from the SWP. His suit asked that the court remove the SWP's elected leadership and order him reinstated into membership.

Gillam Kerley, now awaiting trial for refusing to register for the draft, spoke of the

fight of draft resisters as a part of the movement against U.S. intervention in Central America.

There is going to be increasing repression and government interference, Kerley concluded, as the movement against war in Central America grows.

"This is the significance of [the SWP] case," Kerley said. If the socialists had lost the case, "it would have provided a precedent for the government to disrupt other groups. In defending itself in this case, the Socialist Workers Party is also defending the rights of all of us in this country fighting for social change. For this, the SWP deserves our enthusiastic support."

Black community activist Rev. Claude Joyner also spoke. Joyner has played a big role in the fight here to win justice for Ernest Lacy, a Black youth murdered by cops

in July of 1981. Several weeks ago, the appeals court upheld the dropping of criminal charges against the three cops who killed Lacy. On March 17 the Fire and Police Commission opened its hearings to determine whether the three cops should at least be fired.

Rev. Joseph Ellwanger, pastor of the Cross Lutheran Church where the meeting was held, spoke of his involvement in the civil rights movement in Birmingham, Alabama, and of the disruption of that movement by the FBI.

Fran Kaplan, director of the Bread and Roses Women's Health Center and a longtime fighter for the right to abortion, told the meeting she was horrified when she read the material on the Gelfand lawsuit against the SWP.

"I thought, this means that Phyllis Schlafly could head the National Organization for Women; the NAACP would have to let in George Wallace; and here in Milwaukee, Police Chief Harold Brier would probably be in charge of the Ernest Lacy Coalition," she said.

Political Rights Defense Fund Executive Director John Studer brought a firsthand report on the Los Angeles trial to the meeting.

Statements of support were read to the meeting from Luis Santiago, head of the Puerto Rican Organization of Wisconsin; Juanita Espinosa, of the Dennis Banks Defense-Offense Committee in Minneapolis; and Roger Bybee, editor of the union paper, *Racine Labor*.

Several scheduled speakers were unable to attend because of a snowstorm, including Paul Blackman, president of Smith Steelworkers Local 19806, and Ruth Chojnacki, coordinator of the Salvadoran Refugee Sanctuary Committee.

A fund appeal raised more than \$2,700 in contributions and pledges.

Chicago rally hears opponents of Red Squad

BY JON HILLSON

CHICAGO — Two prominent fighters against political repression participated in the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) rally here March 18.

The meeting heard a report by PRDF Executive Director John Studer on the recent trial in the suit by Alan Gelfand against the Socialist Workers Party. Sharing the platform with Studer were Paul Bigman of the Chicago Committee to Defend the Bill of Rights and Flint Taylor of the Peoples Law Office.

Bigman blasted Gelfand's use of the courts to victimize the SWP and assailed Judge Mariana Pfaelzer for permitting the case to go to trial.

Taylor was a principal lawyer in a suit that recently ended with the federal and local government making an out-of-court settlement in the 1969 police murder of Black Panther Party leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark.

The financial settlement, which gives more than a million dollars to relatives of the slain Panthers, does not end the struggle, Taylor declared.

There are, he observed, "many political lessons to be learned and put forward in as many ways as possible." Government victimization, including the murder of its opponents, he noted, has not ended.

He cited the frame-up of Indian activist Leonard Peltier; the role of the FBI-police informers in the Greensboro, North Carolina, killing of five Communist Workers Party members; and the systematic at-

tacks on Black activists across the country.

Taylor also discussed the cooked-up 1981 settlement of a class action suit against the Chicago cops for spying, disruption, and other illegal activity.

The targets of illegal police spying included unions, Blacks, and radical political organizations.

The out-of-court settlement agreed to by the American Civil Liberties Union and others constituted a whitewash of the Chicago cops and their coconspirators, the FBI and CIA, and accepted the idea that some secret police activity is legitimate.

Taylor, along with the SWP and other plaintiffs, fought unsuccessfully against the settlement.

One justification for the settlement was the 1976 guidelines, which supposedly curbed illegal activity by the FBI. This March, the 1976 guidelines were replaced with new ones that make even less pretense of inhibiting the illegal activities of the FBI.

Pointing to the new guidelines, Taylor said they authorized everything the 1981 Chicago settlement was supposed to void.

This alone, he said, vindicated the stand of those who fought against the settlement.

There were also messages to the meeting from the Chicago South Side NAACP, Urban League, Committee in Solidarity With the People of El Salvador, and National Lawyers Guild.

The rally raised more than \$2,000 for PRDF's \$75,000 Emergency Fund.



Militant/Etta Ettlinger
PRDF Executive Director John Studer

PRDF organizes to collect outstanding fund pledges

BY HARRY RING

NEW YORK — Even though the actual trial has ended in the Gelfand harassment suit against the Socialist Workers Party, supporters of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF) clearly recognize that funds are still urgently needed.

This is evident from the substantial pledges that continue to be made to the \$75,000 Emergency Defense Fund the committee launched on the eve of the trial to meet the most pressing expenses of this costly case.

According to PRDF coordinator Holbrook Mahn, a total of \$4,500 was raised at two rallies alone held since the Gelfand case was thrown out of court. These were in Milwaukee and Cincinnati.

The committee had set its sights on the \$75,000 as a minimum goal and, as of this writing, more than \$95,000 has been contributed or pledged.

However, with the fund due for completion May 1, more than half that amount remains to be collected. Mahn said PRDF is urging supporters to zero in now on a sys-

tematic drive to collect the entire amount by the closing date.

In addition to the financial burden of four years of litigation in this disruption suit, PRDF was also compelled to divert resources from other important defense cases it's conducting.

One example is the now nearly six-year-old fight to prevent the deportation of Mexican-born socialist Héctor Marroquín. (See editorial page 1.)

An appeal to the Supreme Court for reversal of the deportation order against Marroquín was slated to be filed April 8.

Supreme Court briefs must be submitted in printed form, in a total of 50 copies.

Mahn estimated that the printing bill for these 50 copies will be \$2,500.

This gives you an idea of the kind of money needed when you find yourself in the court system.

Your contribution will help defray some of the costs of this expensive but necessary fight in defense of democratic rights. If you haven't done so already, use the convenient coupon on this page. Every dollar will be appreciated and put to good use.

Anatomy of a disruption campaign

Continued from Page 10

that she had been complicit in the whole affair.

"MR. BURTON: . . . Now, as far as this fabricated case, it is beyond me, your Honor, because from the very beginning the complaint states the theory of Mr. Gelfand's proof.

"Immediately after the motion to dismiss was denied asserting that Mr. Gelfand had a constitutional claim alleged in his complaint, there was a motion filed for summary judgment. The opposition to the motion to summary judgment — we filed three or four oppositions and each one stated exactly the same theory of proof. That is the exact theory of proof which has been presented at trial today and which has been proved to the hilt.

"THE COURT: And we had the same exchange each time.

"MR. BURTON: But you denied summary judgment." (Emphasis added.)

A few minutes later, Burton returned to the same point:

"You can look back at the record, you can look back at the pleadings that were filed from the complaint on through each motion for summary judgment. We told the Court exactly what we had and exactly where we wanted to go. There's been no deception in that regard and there is no cause for surprise at the kind of case that was put on here because if you look at our

summary judgment briefs and if you look at our trial brief, it is exactly the same theory of circumstantial evidence. Every time."

To this, Pfaelzer had no effective answer.

Continued campaign necessary

Following the trial, on March 21, Pfaelzer ruled that the SWP is entitled to recover legal expenses and attorneys' fees stemming from the lawsuit.

Attorneys for the SWP are now preparing the massive evidence proving the suit was a sham from the beginning, designed purely to disrupt and harass the party. This evidence shows that the Fisher & Moest law firm was in on the game from the beginning, and therefore should be held liable for the fees owed to the SWP.

Experience shows that it will take a continuing public campaign to ensure that Pfaelzer enforces the law against Gelfand and Fisher & Moest.

But this is exactly what is necessary to deter enemies of the working-class movement, and ambulance-chasers eager for lucrative cases, from using the courts for harassment and disruption operations like the Gelfand case.

This is a fight that deserves the energetic support of every defender of the First Amendment.

PRDF \$75,000 Emergency Defense Fund

Enclosed is my contribution of \$ _____.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

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

THE GREAT SOCIETY

The servants quit? — In the 1950s, R. Brinkley Smithers built a bomb shelter on his Long Island



Harry Ring

estate spacious enough to include room for three servants. Smithers has since let the shelter go to pot and says he's now heading a foun-

dation which sponsors research for peace.

Progress report — Beginning next March 1, South African Blacks will no longer be subject to a higher income tax rate than whites.

That good old American incentive — High school students in Lewisville, Texas, are offered \$100 for information leading to the conviction of a student for using or selling drugs. "You'd be astounded at how well the students are cooperating," a school official enthused. "Some have even turned

in their best friends."

Getting sticky — So many insurance outfits are balking at paying corporate claims that one underwriter is offering a new kind of insurance — insurance to cover the cost of suing an insurer who refuses to pay the claim. But what do you do if the insurance insurer refuses to pay?

It figures — The *Tobacco Observer*, voice of the Tobacco Institute, reported with glee that in Los Alamos, New Mexico — birthplace of the bomb — voters turned out in record numbers to defeat an

ordinance regulating smoking in public places. Which sounds reasonable to us. With atomic material at hand, why worry about nicotine.

Heavy stuff — We haven't checked out the *National Journal*, a Washington weekly, but it claims to be influential among government and corporate biggies. Which may be. The annual household income of its subscribers averages \$73,500 and a year's subscription is \$455.

A certain symbolism — A Cincinnati-area judge decided to re-

duce the number of people being jailed because they couldn't pay their fines by giving them the option of paying off the fine in blood. However, the local blood center saw it as contrary to the image of their donor program as voluntary.

With passengers? — A bill before the Arizona legislature would make "BWI" — "boating while intoxicated" — a criminal offense. A senate amendment would have required cops to sink the boats of those suspected of BWI. After much debate the sinking amendment was deleted.

CALENDAR

ALABAMA

Birmingham

Union Maids A film showing with discussion to follow. Sat., April 16, 7:30 p.m. 205 18th St S. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (205) 323-3079.

ARIZONA

Tucson

The Case of the Legless Veteran A film showing. Fri., April 15, 8 p.m. NW Neighborhood Center, 2160 N 6th Ave. Sat., April 16 at 8 p.m. and Sun., April 17 at 8 p.m. Senior Ballroom, Student Union, University of Arizona. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Political Rights Defense Fund and American Civil Liberties Union. For more information call (602) 573-1545.

CALIFORNIA

San Francisco

History of the Black Movement in the U.S. A three-part series by Clifton DeBerry, longtime activist in civil rights and labor movements. 1: "The Civil Rights Movement," Fri., April 15, 8 p.m. 2: "The Black Nationalist Movement,"

Sat., April 16, 1 p.m. 3: "Independent Black Political Action," Sat., April 16, 3 p.m. Translation to Spanish. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$2 per class, \$4 for series. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

MARYLAND

Baltimore

Invasion of Nicaragua: Reagan's Bay of Pigs. Speakers: Victor Rivas, representative of Casa El Salvador, Washington, D.C., and Democratic Revolutionary Front; Peter Anastos, member Young Socialist Alliance, visited Nicaragua late 1982. Translation to Spanish. Sun., April 10, 8 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0014.

Reagan's Speech On Weapons Build-Up: More War at Home and Abroad. Speakers: Joey Rothenberg, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor, member United Steelworkers Local 2609; others. Translation to Spanish. Sun., April 17, 7:30 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave., Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (301) 235-0014.

MASSACHUSETTS

Boston

Chemical Poisoning in the Environment and the Workplace. Speakers to be announced. Sun., April 10, 7:30 p.m. 510 Commonwealth Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Why Reagan Bullies Grenada. Eyewitness report and slide show. Speakers: Donald Telford, acting president of Grenada Michigan Association; Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., April 16, 8 p.m. 6404 Woodward. Donation \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (313) 875-5322.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Farmers Fight Foreclosures: Labor's Stake in the Family Farm, History of the Farmers'

Struggle, What Is Happening Today. Speakers: John Enestvedt, activist in farmers' struggles since 1920s; representative of U.S. Farm Association. Sun., April 17, 4 p.m. 508 N Snelling Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Twin Cities Militant Forum. For more information call (612) 644-6325.

Virginia

Taxes: The Big Rip-off. Speaker: Jay Ressler, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., April 15, 7 p.m. 112 Chestnut St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Iron Range Militant Forum. For more information call (218) 749-6327.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

Freedom Struggle in South Africa. Speaker: David Ndaba, African National Congress; Stuart Crome, National Executive Committee, Young Socialist Alliance. Translation to Spanish. Fri., April 15, 7:30 p.m. Rutgers University, Newark. Donation: \$2. For more information call (201) 653-2518.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

Eyewitness Report: Revolutionary Cuba Today. Why the U.S. Government Won't Let You Go. What Reagan Is Afraid You Would See There. Representatives of the Antonio Maceo Brigade talk about their recent trip to Cuba. Translation to Spanish. Fri., April 15; dinner, 6:30 p.m.; forum, 7:30 p.m. 79 Leonard St. (5 blocks south of Canal). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Antonio Maceo Brigade, Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (212) 226-8445.

OREGON

Portland

Labor, Socialism, and Capitalist Politics: Why the American Working Class Is Different. Speaker: Tom Robinson, longtime socialist. Sun., April 17, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Ireland: The Struggle For National Liberation. Speakers: George Harrison, acquitted defendant in "Freedom Five" trial; Mark Eranation, Socialist Workers Party. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 16, 7 p.m. St. Augustine's Hall, 3rd and Arch. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (215) 927-4747.

Pittsburgh

The Jobs Crisis — The Socialist Solution. Speaker: Gail Skidmore, Socialist Workers candidate for Allegheny County Commissioner, laid-off steelworker, member of Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., April 9, 7:30 p.m. 141 S Highland Ave., 3rd fl., (East Liberty). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum and Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (412) 362-6767.

WEST VIRGINIA

Charleston

How Socialism Can End Racism and Sexism: Cuba's Example. Speakers to be announced. Wed., April 13, 7:30 p.m. 1584 A Washington St. E. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (304) 345-3040.

UTAH

Price

Eyewitness Report From Occupied Palestine. Speakers: Georges Sayad and Deborah Lee, Young Socialist Alliance National Committee members recently returned from Palestine. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 16, 7 p.m. 23 S Carbon Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (801) 637-6294.

WISCONSIN

Milwaukee

Which Way Forward for Black Rights? Lessons of the Chicago Mayoral Election. Speaker: Ed Warren, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Chicago. Translation to Spanish. Sat., April 16, 7:30 p.m. 4707 W Lisbon Ave. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (414) 445-2076.

Utah Statewide Educational Conference

UTAH

Price

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Iranian peasants continue battle for land

BY ERNEST HARSCH

Our article last week reported on the Iranian class struggle in the cities. A similar struggle is also unfolding in the countryside. This is the subject of our final article in this series.

Following the overthrow of the shah, peasants in many parts of the country began seizing the land of big landlords and cultivating it themselves. Many of these landlords fled to the cities or left the country entirely.

In early 1980, the government, led by Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, put forward a land reform law. One section of the law, which would have legalized the takeover and distribution of the big landholdings, was suspended after six months under pressure from the landlords.

Though the land occupations were not legally sanctioned, the peasants nevertheless fought to continue cultivating their newly acquired land — sometimes in opposition to gangs of armed thugs sent by the landlords.

The government refused to defend the peasants from landlord attacks, but it has provided various forms of assistance that have improved the peasants' lot, including loans and the free provision of tractors and fertilizer. This — plus the overall rise in investments in agriculture — has led to an increase in the amount of land under cultivation and bigger harvests of such crops as wheat and rice. The activities of the Reconstruction Crusade, volunteers who work in the countryside building schools, clinics, dams, and irrigation ditches have likewise benefited the peasants enormously.

To defend these gains — and to fight for their still unfulfilled demands — the peasants have organized themselves into shoras,

introduced themselves as the owners, or the attorneys of the owners, and are campaigning to take the land back. We warn the authorities that this offensive by the pro-shah people and their friends is an insult to the Imam's precious commands. We hope that the officials will put up a determined fight against this conspiracy."

In Yazd, in central Iran, a seminar of peasant shoras has protested against the discriminatory way in which water is distributed between the cities and the countryside.

In Zabol, a town in eastern Iran near the border with Afghanistan, a local religious dignitary declared during the Friday prayer meeting January 21 that the land of the big landowners should be taken over and distributed to the peasants.

Fighting in Kurdistan

Shortly after Khomeini's 8-point message, seven recently elected Kurdish members of the Majlis met with Majlis speaker Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani to ask whether the declaration applied to Kurdistan as well. Rafsanjani replied that it did.

But the government's repression in Kurdistan had not ended. At a news conference in Tehran December 28, Mohsen Rezaie, the commander of the Pasdaran, described various military operations against the Mujahadeen and Kurdish groups, in which hundreds were killed or captured.

A few days earlier, the Iranian press reported a series of battles on December 19 in 24 Kurdish villages between Sanandaj and Kamyaran, in which some 20 insurgents were killed.

Just as the peasants are key allies of the



Since overthrow of shah, peasants have won important gains, but battle continues for genuine land reform.

jobs and education, denied the right to use their own languages or observe their own cultures.

Thus Azerbaijanis, Kurds, and Arabs in particular fought heroically in the struggle to overthrow the shah and bore the brunt of his army's attacks.

With the defeat of the monarchy, the Kurds seized the opportunity to demand their right to control their affairs in their own part of the country, northwestern Iran. Kurdish peasants began taking over land owned by the pro-shah landlords.

The Khomeini government in Tehran sent its army against the Kurds, charging that their actions were counterrevolutionary and proimperialist. The sharpest point of military conflict came in August 1979, when the central government launched a major offensive aimed at wiping out the organized Kurdish forces. The resistance of the Kurds, combined with growing antiwar sentiment among Persian-speaking workers, forced the government to pull back. But battles have continued ever since, with the government unable to impose direct control in Kurdistan.

The imperialists, hypocritically bemoaning the denial of Kurdish rights, have tried to exploit the divisions caused by the regime's policies. So has Saddam Hussein, who has made overtures to both Kurds and Arabs inside Iran. Most Arabs and Kurds have remained loyal to the revolution, however, as shown by the ability of Iranian troops to progressively push back the Iraqi forces that had occupied parts of Iran where Kurds and Arabs live.

But the counterrevolution has scored some successes in Kurdistan, notably the defection of the leadership of the Kurdish Democratic Party to the proimperialist National Council of Resistance led by Bani-Sadr and Rajavi. This is a blow to the Kurdish liberation struggle, and to the revolution as a whole.

Thus the failure of the Iranian regime to meet the justified demands of the oppressed nationalities has weakened the nation as a whole in its fight against imperialism.

Women press demands

Women, too, are continuing to demand their rights.

Since the overthrow of the shah, millions of women have been drawn into the revolutionary mobilizations. They participate in large numbers in the Reconstruction Crusade, and there are armed units of women in the Pasdaran.

As with other sections of the population, the capitalist government of Iran is also trying to restrict the rights of women. Some child-care facilities in government offices have been closed down.

Like other workers, women employees are also attempting to use Khomeini's 8-point message to fight against arbitrary firings.

In a letter in the February 17 *Jomhuri-e Eslami*, a group of 10 women who were fired from the Union of Workers Consumer Cooperatives (EMKAN) wrote that their firings violated "Articles 20 and 10 of the Constitution, which emphasizes the equality of men and women in an Islamic framework."

After meeting with Motamed Rezaie, an undersecretary of the Ministry of Labor (to which the cooperatives' union is attached), Rezaie "proclaimed the reason for our firings to be his personal taste and desire. And in reply to our charges that such decisions are illegal, he claimed that using Article 33 [of the shah's labor code], any employer has the right to fire workers because of his personal taste and desire."

"We, the fired sisters, condemn this action by the managerial board, which took place immediately after the issuance of the Imam's historic edict."

The provision of child care has become another common demand in factory shora meetings. And often this and other demands of the women are being backed by male workers.

Under such pressures, a bill has been submitted to the Majlis that would give women employed in educational institutions one year of paid maternity leave.

An ongoing revolution

These continuing struggles of workers, peasants, women, and the oppressed nationalities show that the image of Iran projected in the imperialist media is totally false. The people of Iran have not been crushed. Their revolutionary aspirations and determination remain very much alive.

After more than four years of concerted imperialist attacks, after two and a half years of one of the costliest and most protracted wars in the Middle East, after countless efforts by the Iranian capitalists and landlords to slow down and break the mass mobilizations, the Iranian revolution has still not run its course.

This should be an inspiration to the oppressed throughout the world, an example of the power and tenacity that working people can display in their struggle for a society that reflects their interests.

It should also be a warning to working people everywhere that the imperialists will not rest. They will do everything they can to stop the revolutionary process in Iran.

Solidarity with the struggles of the Iranian workers and toilers must begin from that basis. It must focus the most determined opposition possible against all attempts by imperialism to intervene in Iran and deny the Iranian people the future they are fighting for.

From Intercontinental Press



Iranian revolution today Part III

ras, which now exist in some 20,000 villages. These shoras work closely with members of the Crusade. They have helped peasants solve various technical and organizational problems they face and have fought for implementation of the land reform law, access to credit, improvements in irrigation, technical assistance, and so on. In many of the smaller and more remote villages, where the government's presence is rarely felt, the peasant shoras constitute the only real authority.

Peasant shoras legalized

In an important victory for the peasants, a law was passed in late 1982 legalizing the peasant shoras.

Then on December 5, the Supreme Judicial Council ordered the dissolution of all cultivation shoras. These are committees of peasants set up to manage taken-over land that is farmed on a cooperative basis among a number of peasant families.

On January 23, however, the council reversed itself and ordered the cultivation shoras reinstated, with the same composition as before. It also issued a memorandum that legalized the takeovers of land that were carried out from 1979 through 1981, but it seeks to draw the line there. All cooperatively cultivated land taken over after 1981 without the authorization of the appropriate religious authorities must be given back to its original owners, the council insisted.

Some landlords have also begun to try to use Khomeini's 8-point message on the judicial system to regain their property. That message criticized arbitrary violations of constitutional rights by the government. But at the same time it implicitly condemned peasant land seizures and demands for expropriation of capitalists' property.

In a letter published in the February 17 *Jomhuri-e Eslami*, six peasants who had received land left behind by a supporter of the shah in Tonekabon, in the north, wrote, "Using the 8-point edict of the Imam, some heirs of the shah's fleeing supporters have

Iranian workers, so are the oppressed nationalities within Iran. The Iranian revolution combines two interrelated national questions: the fight of Iran as an oppressed nation to be free of imperialist domination, and the fight of oppressed nationalities within Iran for an end to domination by the Persian-speaking nationality.

Oppressed nationalities under shah

The dominant Persian nationality in Iran is only 40 percent of the population. The other 60 percent is made up of Azerbaijanis, the largest and most proletarianized oppressed nationality; the Arabs, who have considerable weight in the oil industry; the Kurds, a primarily peasant population and so far the most combative in fighting for their national rights; Turkmenis and Baluchis, mainly peasant and nomadic; and others.

Under the shah these nationalities were brutally repressed, discriminated against in

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The March 28 issue of *Intercontinental Press* carries the complete version of "Iranian Revolution Today." In addition there are articles on the fight to extend the socialist revolution in Poland, the situation in Zimbabwe, and the struggle for women's rights in India.

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Reagan Drives Further Into Salvadoran War

Missile protests in W. Europe

Reagan's proposed "interim solution" for the planned deployment of new nuclear missiles in Europe failed to slow the rising outcry against Washington's nuclear arms buildup.

During the Easter weekend, hundreds of thousands of protesters, mostly young people, took to the streets in several countries of Western Europe. The target of their protests is the imperialist militarization drive spearheaded by the U.S. government and NATO's planned deployment of 572 Pershing II and cruise missiles.

The European demonstrators thus gave voice to something the great majority of humanity around the globe now sees more clearly than ever before in history: the danger of war, including nuclear annihilation, comes from Washington.

The danger of war does not come from some irrational, out-of-control "arms race." Nor does it come from the Soviet Union or any other workers state, where capitalism and its drive toward war have been eliminated. Rather, the war danger comes from the coolly calculated imperialist policy of using threats of war and war itself to preserve capitalist rule.

Behind the massive buildup of conventional as well as nuclear weapons is the necessity for imperialism to fight new counterrevolutionary wars like the one in Vietnam. The billions being poured into new nuclear arms are aimed at warning the Soviet Union to stay out of these wars.

For Washington and its imperialist allies, there are immense stakes in the political battle now underway over the new NATO missiles. The massive opposition to its nuclear arms buildup and its military interventions abroad, especially in the Caribbean and Central America, has left the U.S. rulers isolated on a world scale as never before.

To counter the rising protests in Europe and the parallel growth in opposition to Reagan's war budget at home, the administration has stepped up its propaganda about the Soviet military "threat" to the United States.

In a speech to evangelical preachers in Florida last month, Reagan called for resistance to "the aggressive impulses of an evil empire."

In a followup speech to the National Association of Manufacturers, the president made clear what "evil" he was talking about. If the rebel forces triumph in El Salvador, said Reagan, "El Salvador will join Cuba and Nicaragua as a base for spreading fresh violence to Guatemala, Honduras, even Costa Rica. The killing will increase, and so will the threat to Panama, the canal and ultimately Mexico."

"Soviet military theorists want to destroy our capacity to resupply Western Europe in case of an emergency. They want to tie down our forces on our own southern border and so limit our capacity to act in more distant places..."

But, as the whole world knows, the revolutionary fighters in El Salvador are not acting on behalf of "Soviet military theorists." They are fighting to end imperialist

domination of their own country, and to bring to power a government of the workers and farmers of El Salvador.

In his subsequent "Star Wars" speech, Reagan initiated a vast new expansion of U.S. capability to wage nuclear war against the Soviet Union. Once again he sought justification by referring to the advancing revolution in Central America and the Caribbean.

Reagan's propaganda war has also sought to shift the blame onto Moscow for failure to reach agreement on limiting nuclear weapons.

Reagan's first move was to propose the so-called zero option. This meant the Soviet Union would be required to dismantle all of its intermediate-range missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union. The United States and its European allies would dismantle nothing; but the 572 new Pershing II and cruise missiles would not be deployed.

Yuri Andropov, on behalf of the Soviet government, offered last December to cut the intermediate-range missiles maintained by the Soviet Union in Europe from 600 to 162. This would match the number of French and British missiles already pointed at the USSR. This Soviet initiative was well-received by activists in antimissile groups and added to the pressure on Washington and its allies in capitalist Europe.

In the face of European opposition and deepening hostility among working people at home to his proposed war budget, Reagan went back on television at the end of March to offer the "interim solution." Under this plan, Moscow would dismantle some of its intermediate-range missiles, while NATO would expand its missiles by less than it now plans to. According to Reagan, this would leave each side with the same number of nuclear warheads on such missiles. However, Reagan's calculations leave out of account the British and French missiles already targeted on the Soviet Union.

Rejecting Reagan's latest ploy, Soviet leader Andropov noted the massive U.S. nuclear capacity already deployed on ships and planes "literally at our threshold." Referring to Reagan's TV speech with aerial photos of three Soviet-supplied helicopters at Managua's airport, Andropov pointed out that Reagan had not displayed "photographs showing hundreds of runways thousands of miles away from the United States, runways on which U.S. aircraft with nuclear weapons on board are stationed ready to take off at any moment."

The propaganda from Washington about the "threat" from the Soviet Union is aimed at justifying the vast expansion of war spending, militarization, and military interventions abroad that are at the heart of imperialist policy.

This policy is in the interests of the ruling rich. But it is not in the interests of the working people of this country. We need to fight for our own foreign policy, one that is based on a program of peace and friendship with the peoples of the world, not one based on war and threats of war in the interests of protecting capitalist rule.

Stop deportation of Marroquin!

Continued from front page

Marxist" like Marroquin from the United States.

Marroquin fled to the United States after being falsely accused of terrorism by the cops in his home country of Mexico. He arrived here in the same way as tens of thousands of other Latin Americans have arrived: as a political refugee, but without any legal status.

While living here as an undocumented worker, Marroquin joined the Young Socialist Alliance and SWP.

In 1977, Marroquin requested political asylum, but was turned down by the INS, which openly stated that the basis for its decision was Marroquin's political affiliation. In its official rulings, however, the INS claims that Marroquin did not provide ample evidence to prove that his life and safety would be endangered if he were sent back to Mexico. They simply ignored the mountain of evidence that Marroquin has presented.

The government's drive to deport Marroquin comes as the U.S. rulers are stepping up their attacks on democratic rights and are deepening their efforts to sow divisions within the working class.

The government has increased its attacks on affirmative action, the right to strike, busing for school desegregation, abortion rights, bilingual education.

Reagan has issued new FBI guidelines which sanction even more FBI spying and disruption operations against anyone who challenges what those in power are doing.

And the INS, an essential part of the political police apparatus in this country, is continuing its efforts to declare the SWP a "proscribed" organization. By placing the SWP on its blacklist, the INS would then be able to move to deport any SWP member, or anyone who contributes money to or supports the party. The threat of such a move is aimed not only at the SWP, but at every organization opposed to government policies, and at every foreign-born person who speaks out against Washington's actions.

Repression against foreign-born workers is a central

part of the government's efforts to curtail the liberties of all working people. And scapegoating immigrants for the catastrophes facing working people helps take the heat off those in power.

A good example of this is the Simpson-Mazzoli bill now in Congress. The ostensible purpose of this bill is to limit the flow of immigrants into the United States in order to provide more jobs for "Americans."

But the bill won't provide a single job — for anyone. Instead it will intensify discrimination against all Latinos, and it will force all workers, native- and foreign-born alike, to carry government identity cards, thus giving the employers and the cops a new weapon against the union movement and militant workers.

The Simpson-Mazzoli Bill would also make it harder for those fleeing persecution in their native lands, like Héctor Marroquin, to fight for and win the right to live and work in the United States.

It is precisely because the government's moves against Marroquin are part of the broader offensive against the rights of working people in the United States that a broad-based movement in his defense is so important.

Many prominent groups and individuals have already endorsed Marroquin's right to remain in this country. They include the National Education Association and many individual trade union officials; U.S. Congressmen Ronald Dellums and Parren Mitchell; Ms. editor Gloria Steinem; Tony Bonilla, president of the League of United Latin American Citizens; Angela Davis of the Communist Party; and Michael Harrington of the Democratic Socialists of America.

Donations and messages of support should be sent to: PRDF, P.O. Box 649, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Checks should be made out to PRDF and earmarked for the Marroquin defense.

Protest messages demanding lifting of the deportation order should be sent to Alan Nelson, Commissioner, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Washington, D.C. 20536, with copies to PRDF.

Marx and Engels on protectionism: lessons for today

BY WILLIAM GOTTLIEB

Several readers responded to my "Learning About Socialism" column of February 11 on Marx and Engels and free trade versus protectionism. They wanted to know how what Marx and Engels wrote in the 19th century applies today.

As I explained in that column, Marx and Engels realized the capitalist system could never be made to operate in the interest of the worker. If capitalist production were held back artificially — for example, by a high protective tariff on grain imports — the ensuing economic stagnation would result in mass unemployment. Unemployment

LEARNING ABOUT SOCIALISM

ment would then force wages down to the lowest possible level. Thus, "the worker will go to the wall," as they put it.

On the other hand, if capitalism had a free hand to develop — free trade — the rapid development of capital would lead to increased exploitation, technological unemployment, as well as unemployment generated by crises of overproduction. Under these conditions as well, "the worker will go to the wall."

Marx and Engels were thus not interested in trying to "reform" the capitalist system. As revolutionary leaders of the working class, they were interested in another question.

In their day there was a class of landlords separate from the capitalist class. A class struggle raged between the landlord class and the capitalist class over who was to get the lion's share of the booty stolen from the working class. In England, for example, the landlords had been able to maintain a high protective tariff on grain until 1846. High rents going to the landlords squeezed the capitalists' rate of profit. The capitalists, for their part, were able to blame the high level of rent for the poverty of the working class. Free us from the grip of the landlords and the conditions of the worker will improve, the English factory bosses proclaimed.

Marx and Engels were for the most thoroughgoing rout of the landlords possible, because this would insure the most rapid development of capitalism, and thus of the English working class. It would also demonstrate that problems of the worker flowed from capitalism itself. In a bourgeois democratic Britain, freed from landlordism, the class struggle between the capitalists and the workers would come to the fore. The overthrow of British capitalism would be on the agenda. The road to a socialist revolution in Britain thus passed through the defeat of the landlords. It was because free trade represented a defeat for landlordism that it was in the interests of workers to support it, Marx and Engels said. The victory of free trade and capital over landlordism would enable the workers to overthrow capital and free trade at the next stage.

How can the political method of Marx and Engels be applied to the very different situation that confronts us today?

In the U.S. there is no class struggle between the capitalists and a separate landlord class with fundamentally different interests. What does exist today is a struggle within the world capitalist class over who gets the biggest slice of profits produced by the working class. Some sectors of the U.S. capitalist class have experienced losses in this struggle due to increased competition from Japanese or European capitalists. They want protectionist measures to reverse this.

But this struggle over profits among the capitalists is of no concern to the working class. Whoever emerges the winner, the working class is still the loser.

There is another, more fundamental reason why protectionism must be opposed by the workers. The capitalist crisis has done much to undermine the myth that the "free enterprise" system is the best possible one. The bosses and politicians are afraid workers will draw anti-capitalist, prosocialist conclusions.

They therefore have to come up with an explanation for the economic crisis that shifts the blame from the capitalist system itself onto some other factor. This is where protectionism comes in.

By claiming that unemployment and falling living standards in the U.S. today arise not from the very workings of the capitalist system, but from the unfair trading practices of "the Japanese" and "the Europeans," the bosses and politicians attempt to pit different sections of the world working class against one another. They say to U.S. workers, "we Americans" — employers and employees — must unite to meet this new challenge.

All of this is aimed at retarding and if possible reversing the growth in class consciousness of U.S. workers.

This is why U.S. Marxists must be unrelenting in their opposition to all kinds of protectionist schemes. This is especially true where racist and chauvinist sentiments are stirred up. We explain to our fellow workers that our allies are the Japanese, European, Latin American, Asian, and African workers — not the U.S. bosses.

Big business clamors for slashing Social Security

BY WILLIAM GOTTlieb

The U.S. capitalist class is stepping up its attack on Social Security. The House and Senate have agreed to a Social Security bill that undermines the cost-of-living escalator provisions, increases the retirement age, hikes the rate of Social Security taxes, and establishes income taxes for the first time on some Social Security benefits.

That the bosses mean business on Social Security was confirmed by a two-page ad that appeared in the February 24 *New York Times*. It was paid for by an outfit called the Bi-Partisan Budget Appeal. Now a two-page ad in the *New York Times* costs a lot of money. But don't worry, it

AS I SEE IT

isn't money that the Bi-Partisan Appeal lacks. The list of signers of the ad reads like a Who's Who of the ruling class.

The founding members listed in the Bi-Partisan Appeal ad include no less than five former secretaries of the treasury — both Democrats and Republicans — plus one Peter Peterson.

Peterson is a former secretary of commerce and is now currently serving as the chairman of the board of the investment banking house of Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb. Peterson is also the author of a series of articles that have appeared in the *New York Review of Books* claiming that the Social Security system is facing collapse unless drastic reductions in benefits are imposed. Peterson, in the name of "saving" Social Security, insists that these cuts be instituted.

The Bi-Partisan Appeal presents itself as a group of concerned citizens, both Democrats and Republicans, who are alarmed by the projected budget deficits that the U.S. government is expected to run throughout the 1980s. Its real character is indicated by its signers.

The ad was signed by more than 350 heads of banks, insurance companies, industrial corporations, and Wall Street law and accounting firms. Among the signers are David Rockefeller of Chase Manhattan Bank and the Rockefeller oil, banking and real estate financial empire; Lewis Preston, chairman of Morgan Guaranty Trust Co.; Lee Iacocca, head of the Chrysler Corp.; and James Lee, chairman of Gulf Oil Corp.

Another signer, Donald Ross, is chairman of the New York Life Insurance Co. The insurance business has a lot to gain from the weakening or elimination of the Social Security system.

Besides these kings of finance and industry, the ad was also signed by Theodore Sorensen, former adviser to President John Kennedy; Zbigniew Brzezinski, former top foreign policy adviser to President James Carter; longtime Republican senator from New York Jacob Javits; as well as Robert McNamara, McGeorge Bundy, and Dean Rusk, who were key architects of the war in Vietnam under President Lyndon Johnson.

Together these men — Democrats and Republicans —

represent the decisive core of the employing class.

What about the substance of the Bi-Partisan Appeal ad itself? In a nutshell the message is that Reagan's cuts so far are not enough. The bosses want far more drastic ones.

The ad points to the fact that the U.S. government is expected to run huge budget deficits during the 1980s. These deficits, expected to run in the hundreds of billions per year, are considered disastrous by the Bi-Partisan Appeal.

It takes no great financial genius to see the source of the budget deficits. They flow from the ruling rich wanting a huge military buildup — to protect their investments from the workers and peasants of the world — without paying for it. Do the gentlemen who signed this statement point to the folly of the course that their class has embarked on? Do they urge a reconsideration of either the military buildup or corporate tax cuts?

"The defense budget increases now planned," the ad states, "should be moderated so as to save about 25 billion dollars in [fiscal year] 1985. This would still provide for a major and sustained defense buildup, an overall increase in real terms between 1981 and 1985 of about 7% and an increase in hardware purchases of about 11% per annum."

They recommend this modification to their fellow bosses because "It would encourage more explicit planning for that buildup and lead to wider, sustained public support for a strong defense posture."

In other words, the slight cuts in the rate of growth in military expenditures can then be used to drum up support for the military buildup itself. This kind of "saving" urged by the Bi-Partisan Appeal won't begin to close the projected budget gap.

Does the Bi-Partisan Appeal at least urge the rich to pay for their Pentagon spending spree?

Not on your life.

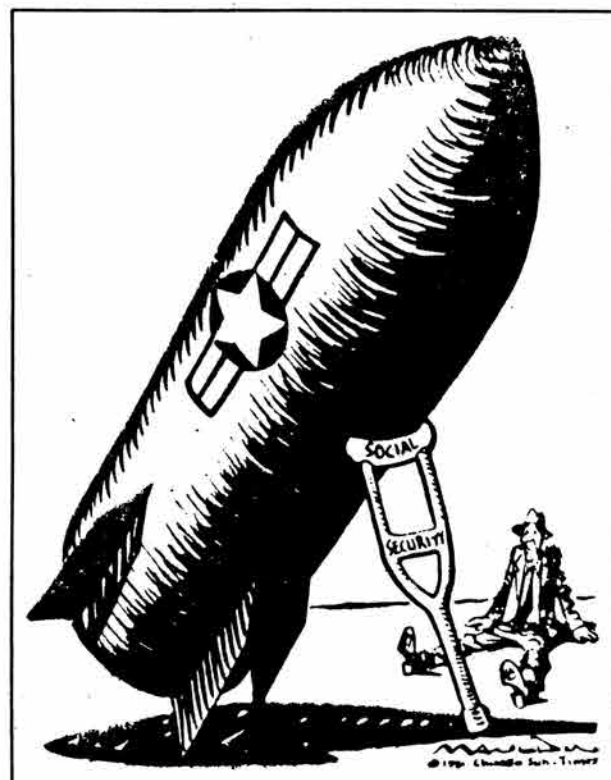
"Cutting deficits by measures that would simultaneously reduce savings and productive investment would make no sense," the ad says. The translation goes something like this: Deficits must be reduced while, at the same time, the employers' rate of profit must be increased. Under no condition must the rich or the corporations pay for this, since that would reduce profits. And that "would make no sense."

So, while proclaiming that the country faces a disastrous situation due to budget deficits, the Bi-Partisan Appeal specifically rejects either dumping the arms buildup or having the rich pay for it.

So what's left?

You guessed it. Have working people pay for it. Exactly how is this to be done?

It's insufficient, the ad points out, to cut welfare-type social programs that benefit the very poor. Not that the multimillionaire signers of the ad are against these scandalous cuts. But, they argue, even if these types of social programs were reduced to zero, the cuts would not be enough. Therefore the ad urges a "wider sharing of the burden."



In other words, cuts in government social programs that have so far hit the very poor most severely must now be extended to the working class as a whole. And this is where the attack on Social Security comes in.

"As we squeeze the share of [gross national product] taken up by federal spending," the ad states, "we should concentrate on programs that subsidize consumption (e.g., the social entitlement programs)." As for taxation, "When increasing revenues we must focus our new taxes on private consumption and not on private savings and investment."

In plain language, they want to cut Social Security and similar programs and increase taxes that fall on working people. In this way the Pentagon's buildup can be financed without reducing profits by one cent. Indeed the huge tax cuts that Reagan and Congress have already given to the rich can be retained.

So if the U.S. ruling class has its way, the cuts Congress just passed in Social Security are not the end, but only the beginning of a major onslaught against rights the working class fought long and hard for.

Perhaps one thing can be said in the Bi-Partisan Appeal's favor. They have at least done us the service of stripping away any illusion that the attacks on Social Security are an aberration of the Reagan administration or the Republican Party. As the ad proudly states, and the recent vote in Congress illustrated, the war on Social Security is *bipartisan*. It is the product not of individual reactionary politicians, but of a reactionary class and a social system based on profits, not human needs.

LETTERS

Howard Univ. fight

Howard University officials threw a bad light on themselves when they expelled the editor-in-chief of the student newspaper, *The Hilltop*, in February. Janice McKnight, a graduating senior with a 3.2 grade average, was informed by telegram that she was no longer editor of *The Hilltop*, then later told that she was expelled for falsification of her application to Howard.

McKnight had been the focus of administration attacks after she exposed, through the newspaper, sex discrimination in hiring on the part of university officials.

McKnight's expulsion ignited protests by students, who organized several campus demonstrations. One building was the site of a 24-hour sit-in. All the activities were picked up by the local media, which riveted the community's attention to the issue.

Howard is one of the most respected universities in Black America. Although the administration's actions could have tainted Howard's reputation, and left the institution open to attacks by racists and budget slashers, the determination of the students has gained the utmost respect. Their struggle not only championed free speech and student rights, but the right of women to fair and equal hiring practices.

Even though the court ruled in favor of the University on February 25 regarding McKnight's

expulsion, Howard President James E. Cheek "permitted" her to remain a student at the university. He was apparently embarrassed by the public attention drawn to his "objectives and goals." Another victory was scored when McKnight was reinstated recently as editor-in-chief of *The Hilltop* despite the creation by the administration of a board to "evaluate the quality" of the newspaper and hand pick as well as overrule the editor.

Ironically, Cheek, who led the attack on student rights, was awarded the Medal of Freedom by President Reagan on February 23.

Jo Stallworth
Washington, D.C.

CLUW and abortion

The March meeting of the Greater St. Louis Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) took up the issue of the right to choose abortion and how it affects working women.

Ann Boyce, president of the Freedom of Choice Council, a coalition of prochoice organizations in the St. Louis area, spoke to the meeting. She gave a lively history of what forces were involved in the fight for abortion rights prior to 1973, both nationally and in St. Louis.

We learned about Norma McConney, the "Jane Roe" of the *Roe v. Wade* Supreme Court case, who became pregnant by rape. The court did not rule in her favor in time for an abortion, so she was

forced to bear the child and to give it up for adoption during the case.

She is now a house painter in Texas and a vivid reminder to us at the CLUW meeting that the right to choose is an issue for working women.

Our CLUW chapter has recently affiliated with the Freedom of Choice Council. The council is working to get more labor support for the abortion rights issue after it held a successful January 22 program, which included a speaker from the United Auto Workers (UAW).

The council is first approaching unions that have positions in support of the right to choose, like the UAW; the American Federation of Teachers; American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

Women in our chapter agree that without the right to choose what to do with our own reproductive bodies, including the right to choose abortion if necessary, working women have no real security when it comes to our job situations, equal pay, or equal rights on the job. It is a fundamental issue for working women that we must defend.

Ann Riley Owens
St. Louis, Missouri

'Militant' would help

I am a politically conscious young Black man who also happens to be a revolutionary socialist in ideology.

I would like to know, could you put me on your prisoners list so that I may start receiving the *Militant* newspaper? With the U.S. imperialists intensifying their interventionist policy generally, and particularly in the Central America region, the *Militant* would be much help to me in articulating the various maneuvers the imperialists will try to make to "save" their neocolony.

A prisoner
Pennsylvania

YSA tour

On February 23, the Young Socialist Alliance in New Haven, Connecticut, sponsored a talk by YSA national leader Judy Stranahan, held at Southern Connecticut State University. The presentation, entitled "Working-class Solutions to the Capitalist Crisis: What Socialists Stand For," was well received and several *Militants* were sold.

The following day, the same talk was given at the University of Connecticut in Storrs and followed by a half-hour interview on the campus radio, WHUS.

On March 2, a teach-in on the "Crisis in Central America" was held at the University of Connecticut, organized by the Young Socialist club, an organization of socialist-minded students; the Puerto Rican Center; and the YSA. Nearly 50 students attended the event.

It was chaired by Professor Lugar from the Latin American Studies Program and speakers included Tim Gabriel from the Hartford Coalition for Justice in El Salvador; Eastern Connecticut State University Prof. Tom Anderson, a monitor at the 1982 March elections in El Salvador; and myself from the YSA. The teach-in emphasized the struggle in El Salvador and the revolutionary gains of the Nicaraguan people, and included Ed Asner's documentary "Americas in Transition."

Alex Koskinas
New Haven, Connecticut

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, New York 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.

W. Va. socialist coal miner defies Klan attempt to stop her campaign

BY CHRIS HORNER

CHARLESTON, W. Va. — The mayoral campaign of socialist coal miner Joan Radin is at the center of a fight for democratic rights and against right-wing violence here. Election day is April 18.

Radin and her supporters have stood up to attempts by the Ku Klux Klan to intimidate them. On March 21, Radin and two supporters were threatened by three hooded Klansmen, one of them West Virginia Grand Dragon Edward Richards.

The socialists had been campaigning at the Mammoth portal (entrance) of Valley Camp Coal Co. When the shift ended, three Klansmen drove up. One of them yelled, "This is Klan country, niggers." To avoid violence, the socialists left.

Valley Camp Coal has a history of discriminating against Black miners.

Two days before the Klan's attack on the socialists at Mammoth, Radin's campaign offices here were vandalized.

The attack on the offices, Radin said, "like others before it, was clearly political,

and was timed for the same day as a well-publicized campaign forum and a fundraiser at the headquarters at which I spoke on the danger of a new Vietnam in El Salvador."

Radin and her supporters have refused to be intimidated. They have since returned to Mammoth and campaigned among miners. The Klanners did not show.

An earlier attack by Klansman Richards on the socialist campaign was printed in the letters column of the February 7 Charleston *Daily Mail*.

Richards wrote that allowing socialists or "anyone who advocates these principles to run for public office is a slap in the face to all loyal Americans."

A reply by Radin — defending her views and her right to run for office — was printed March 2.

Meanwhile, a state law designed to intimidate voters from supporting the rights of working-class candidates is being challenged in court by Radin and several other Charleston residents.

The law makes it illegal to sign a petition for ballot status for a third party or independent candidate and then vote in a primary election.

Stiff fines or a jail sentence are part of the law. Although a circuit court judge ruled against the suit on the eve of the March 21 primaries, plans are under way to appeal the decision to the state supreme court.

The suit has received wide support, including that of the Charleston chapter of the National Organization for Women. One of the suit's plaintiffs, along with Radin, is John Kozack, president of the West Virginia Civil Liberties Union.

Radin, a member of United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) Local 2271, won an official spot on the ballot in late March, after submitting many times more than the required number of signatures on nominating petitions.

Unemployment is a major issue in the elections here.

Incumbent Democratic Mayor Joe Smith, who is running against Radin, has proposed a plan that would create 74 jobs for three months — at minimum wage.

Klansman Richards blamed unemployment on Iranian and Cuban exiles "who have taken over this country while our people are living in poverty."

Radin's Republican opponent, Mike Roark, currently the county prosecutor, offered another solution to unemployment: more cops and stiffer jail sentences.

Unemployment is a big issue throughout the state. Federal jobless figures for January show 20.4 percent, the highest statewide rate in the nation.

Among miners, the situation is worse than the federal jobless figures indicate. Of about 70,000 West Virginia miners, 24,560 were out of work in March; this is more than 35 percent.

Radin emphasizes that the economic crisis working people are being made to pay for cannot be separated from the escalating danger of a new Vietnam War in Central America.

At a debate March 14 sponsored by the National Organization for Women, Na-



Militant/Wayne Glover
Charleston SWP offices after right-wing vandal attack in 1982. Offices were hit again in late March.

tional Lawyers Guild, NAACP, Women in Employment, and Minority Open Forum, Radin pointed out that money is available in the Pentagon budget to fund a massive public works program — with wages at union scale — to provide jobs for all, building roads, housing, hospitals, and schools, and cleaning up the environment in Kanawha Valley.

Radin's campaign has gotten extensive media coverage, and she has become well known as an outspoken critic of the government's war in Central America.

Radin has received a friendly response from miners, including members of her UMWA local at the Armco Sundial mine in Raleigh County.

One union brother from Sundial remarked, "Everything you've said makes sense."

Another miner read over the socialist platform and told her, "I probably agree with a heck of a lot more of this than even you think I do."

Carthan moved to federal jail

BY GEORGE JOHNSON

Eddie Carthan, the former mayor of Tchula, Mississippi, has been moved to a federal minimum-security prison at Maxwell Air Force Base near Montgomery, Alabama.

Carthan's transfer came after Mississippi Gov. William Winter suspended a three-year sentence on a frame-up charge of assault on a police officer.

Conditions are better at Maxwell than at Parchman State Penitentiary, one of the nation's worst prisons, where Carthan had been held. But Carthan should not be in jail at all.

He is currently imprisoned on another frame-up sentence, also for three years plus a \$5,000 fine. The charge is giving so-called false information about a federally funded meals-for-children program.

The program was similar to others Carthan tried to establish while mayor of Tchula. He was the first Black elected as mayor in Tchula since Reconstruction — after the Civil War. Tchula is 80 percent Black.

The white businessmen and landowners who hold economic power in the area were determined to get Carthan and his supporters out of the way.

He was framed up on a murder charge, but a jury took only 45 minutes to acquit him.

Then he and his supporters, since known as the Tchula Seven, were charged by the state with assault on a police officer. Carthan got three years, the others suspended sentences.

At Parchman, Carthan went on a hunger strike, both as a protest and because he

feared poisoned food. He left Parchman March 11 for the city jail in Jackson, where he was held until March 25, when he was taken to Maxwell.

Shirley Carthan, the ex-mayor's wife, told the *Militant* a jury had found her and eight others not guilty of disturbing the peace at a February 1 demonstration at the county jail near Tchula. The demonstrators were demanding Carthan's freedom.

She also said messages protesting the federal charges against Carthan should be sent to President Reagan at the White House, Washington, D.C. 20500 and to Attorney General William French Smith at the Justice Department, Washington, D.C. 20537.

Copies should be sent to the National Campaign to Free Mayor Eddie Carthan and the Tchula Seven, P.O. Box 29, Tchula, Miss. 39169. Contributions are also welcome.

New Jersey rail bosses force concessions

BY GEOFF MIRELOWITZ

The first statewide commuter train strike in New Jersey history is over. The strikers, members of the United Transportation Union (UTU) representing trainmen and conductors, felt compelled to accept a contract offer from New Jersey Transit that is not much better than the original offer the union rejected in February.

Meanwhile, the strike on the Metropolitan Transit Authority's Metro-North line in New York continues.

The settlement on the NJ Transit line was accepted by a vote of 268-158 on April 2. Although the hourly pay scale for trainmen and conductors will go up to an average of \$13.64 an hour over the 30-month contract, at the heart of the settlement are major changes in work rules. Even with the hourly raise, it is estimated the new contract will cost the average worker \$5,000 a year.

The main work-rule concession concerns "turnarounds" or idle time. This is time spent by workers at outlying areas waiting for a train to take back to their starting point. This was the major issue in the strike. Under the new contract this time will no longer be paid.

Edward Farrell, a conductor for 16 years, voted against the contract. He told reporters, "It's no good. I'm going to have

to sell my house and move into an apartment. I won't be able to afford the mortgage payments anymore. For me it probably means a \$10,000 pay cut.

"The vote tells you that the union has a majority of older men who just want to get back to work. . . . The younger guys are not happy at all," said Farrell.

The attacks on rail labor that forced the strike have been in the works for some time.

Until 1983 the commuter lines were run by Conrail. Congressional action in 1981 ordered the two state agencies — NJ Transit and Metro-North — to take them over as of Jan. 1, 1983. On that date all existing union contracts were torn up and the new rail management insisted on sweeping wage cuts and work-rule changes.

This further angered rail workers, who had been forced into a 12 percent wage "deferral" while still employed by Conrail.

Although UTU members do not have the right to vote on their contracts, this anger forced union officials to put the original agreement worked out with NJ Transit to a vote. It was overwhelmingly rejected at a meeting of over 300 workers. That contract, it was estimated, would have cost each worker \$6,000 a year.

All the big-business media in the New

York-New Jersey area assisted NJ Transit in its attempts to create the false impression that it was rail workers, not management, who were making too much money.

The newspapers echoed NJ Transit's claims that the average worker's salary had been \$34,000-\$36,000 a year. In fact, most workers made less than \$28,000.

Workers also faced the out-and-out threat to bust their union, PATCO-style.

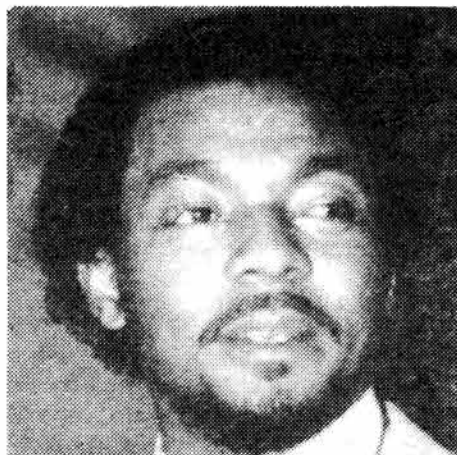
In its March 22 edition, the Newark *Star-Ledger* wrote:

"When air traffic controllers walked off the job in 1981, the President gave them a fast deadline for returning. Those who refused were discharged. This type of approach would not be out of place. . . ."

Although the trains began rolling again on April 4, a "good possibility" exists that a new strike may be called, according to UTU official C.P. Jones. Jones says he may still hold out for a wage increase that will bring the hourly rate to \$14.25 an hour in the first year.

In the UTU strike against Metro-North, the main issue is management's insistence on its unilateral right to determine crew size and thereby eliminate jobs.

Heavy pressure is also being brought to bear on workers there to make concessions and end the strike. New York Gov. Mario Cuomo has threatened to intervene if a settlement is not reached.



Eddie Carthan: frame-up continues.